

ROBERT LEGVOLD

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EDUCATION: A.B. (1962) University of South Dakota
M.A. (1963), The Fletcher School of
M.A.L.D. (1964), Law and Diplomacy
and Ph.D. (1967)

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS:

1992 - 2008: Marshall D. Shulman Professor, Department of Political
Science, Columbia University and Member of the
Executive Committee, The Harriman Institute
1986 - 1992: Director, W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study
of the Soviet Union, Columbia University, New York,
N.Y. --and-- Professor of Political Science,
Columbia University
1984 - 1986: Associate Director, The Harriman Institute
1978 - 1984: Senior Fellow and Director, Soviet Studies Project, Council
on Foreign Relations, New York, N.Y.
1977 - 1978: Acting Associate Director, Russian Institute -- and --
Visiting Associate Professor, Political Science
Columbia University (On leave from Tufts
University)
1967 - 1977: Assistant Professor (1967-70) and Associate Professor
(1970-77), Political Science, Tufts University,
Medford, Massachusetts

FELLOWSHIPS and GRANTS:

Predocctoral

Woodrow Wilson Fellowship
National Defense Education Act
Irwin Doctoral Fellowship
Title IV Foreign Area Fellowship
Ford Foundation Fellowship

Postdoctoral

American Philosophical Society Grant
American Council of Learned Societies/

Social Sciences Research Council
 Russian Research Center Fellowship (Harvard)
 Senior Fellow, Russian Institute (Columbia)

HONORS:

Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (2005)
 Selected by the World Affairs Councils of America as one of the “500 most influential people in the United States in the field of foreign policy.” (2004)
 Honorary Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) degree, University of South Dakota,
 May 1989
 Alumni Distinguished Service to Profession Award, Tufts University, April 1991
 Listed in Marquis Who’s Who
 The DeGruyter Lecture, The London School of Economics, November 1995

LANGUAGES: Russian; French.

CURRENT PROFESSIONAL

ASSOCIATIONS:

2000- Member, Board of Directors, The International Foundation for International Peace and Democracy, Chair, Mikhail Gorbachev
 1998- Member, Board of Visitors, Thomas Watson Center for International Studies, Brown University (Chair of the Program Committee)
 1991- Member, Committee on International Security Studies, American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Vice-Chairperson 1995-)
 1990- Member, Advisory Board, National Bureau of Asian Research
 1985- Member, Editorial Board, Cambridge Soviet Paperbacks series, Cambridge University Press
 Member, Advisory Board, *Journal of International Affairs*, Columbia University

MEMBERSHIPS:

Council on Foreign Relations

PERSONAL:

Born February 26, 1940, Minneapolis, Minnesota
 Married to Gloria Dee (Welch); two children (Nancy Diane [Rubbico] and Nathan Cameron); five grandchildren (Brittany Lamae [Rubbico], Ryan James [Rubbico], Savannah Lee [Rubbico], Cameron James Benjamin [Legvold] and Caitlin Ann [Legvold])

PUBLICATIONS

Books

The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing U.S. Policy toward Russia (The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2010)

- Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century and the Shadow of the Past* (Columbia University Press, 2007)
- Statehood and Security: Georgia after the Rose Revolution*, with Bruno Coppieters (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2005)
- Swords and Sustenance: The Economics of National Security in Belarus and Ukraine*, with Celeste Wallander (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2004)
- Thinking Strategically: Kazakhstan, The Major Powers and the Central Asian Nexus* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2003)
- Belarus at the Crossroads*, with Sherman Garnett (Washington, DC: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999)
- Russia and the West: The 21st Century Security Environment*, with Alexei Arbatov and Karl Kaiser (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1999)
- After the Soviet Union: From Empire to Nations*, with Timothy Colton (New York: Norton, 1992)
- Soviet Policy in West Africa* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).

Chapters in Edited Volumes:

- “Reconciling Limitations on Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons Conventional Arms Control, and Missile Defense Cooperation,”** in Steve Andreasen and Isabelle Williams, eds., *Reducing Nuclear Risks in Europe: A Framework for Action* (NTI, 2011)
- “Encountering Globalization Russian Style,”** in Julie Wilhelmsen and Elana Wilson Rowe, *Russia’s Encounter with Globalization* (Routledge, 2011)
- “Russian Foreign Policy: Familiar Hopes, Unfamiliar Challenges,”** in Hiski Haukkala, ed., *Russia Lost or Found* (Edita, 2009)
- “Corruption, the Criminalize State, and Post-Soviet Transitions,”** in Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *Corruption, Global Security and World Order* (The Brookings Institution, 2009)
- “The Role of Multilateralism in Russian Foreign Policy,”** in Elana Wilson Rowe and Stina Torjesen, eds., *The Multilateral Dimension in Russian Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 2008)
- “Implosion of the USSR – Geostrategic Consequences,”** in Andrei Grachev, *et.al.* eds., *1985-2005 Twenty Years that Changed the World* (Rome: Editori Laterza, 2005), pp. 186-190.
- “Современные отношения США, России, и Китая выводы по Центральной Азии,”** in M. Ashimbaeva and Dzh. Mennuti, eds., *Сотрудничество стран центральной Азии и США по обеспечению безопасности с регионе* (Almaty: Institute of World Economy and Policy, 2005), pp. 11-19.
- “U.S. Policy Toward Kazakhstan,”** in *Kazakhstan: Building Bridges to the West*, Gregory A. Maniatis and Askar Alimzhanov, eds. (Almaty: Perspektiva, 2005), pp. 45-50.
- “Clinton Foreign Policy and the Revolution in the East,”** in Todd G. Shields, et. al., eds., *The Clinton Riddle: Perspectives on the Forty-second President* (Little Rock: University of Arkansas Press, 2004), pp. 173-208.
- “The Three Russias: Decline, Revolution, and Reconstruction,”** in Robert Pastor, *A Century’s Journey* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), pp. 139-91.

- "Russia, the Baltic States, and European Security,"** in Joseph P. Kruzich & Anna Fahraeus, *Towards an Inclusive Security Structure in the Baltic Sea Region* (Washington: USIA, 1998), pp. 47-53.
- "Lessons from the Soviet Past,"** in C. Richard Nelson and Kenneth Weisbrode, eds., *Reversing Relations with Former Adversaries: U.S. Foreign Policy after the Cold War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. 17-43.
- "Russia and the West,"** in *Globalization in the Economy, Regionalization in Security?* (Rome: Centro Studi de Politica Internazionale, 1997), pp. 55-63.
- "The 'Russian Question,'"** in Vladimir Baranovksy, ed., *Russia and Europe: Emerging Security Agenda* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- "Russia and the Strategic Quadrangle,"** in Michael Mandelbaum, ed., *The Strategic Quadrangle in East Asia* (New York: The Council on Foreign Relations, 1995).
- "Western Europe and the Post-Soviet Challenge,"** in Armand Clesse, Richard Roscranz and Yoshikazu Sakamoto, eds., *After the Collapse of the East-West Order* (1994).
- "Sino-Soviet Relations: The American Factor,"** in Robert Ross, ed., *China, the United States, and the Soviet Union: Tripolarity and Policymaking in the Cold War* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1993).
- "Designing U.S. Policy toward the New States of the Former Soviet Union,"** in Dick Clark, ed., *Russia, Ukraine, and the U.S. Response* (Queenstown: The Aspen Institute, 1993), pp. 43-51.
- "Nekotorye suzheniya o kontseptsii bezopasnosti v XX veke,"** in D.G. Nadzhafov, ed., *XX Vek: Osnovnye problemy i tendentsii mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenii* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences, 1992), pp. 177-82.
- "The Third World and the Superpowers in a Different Era,"** Chapter 4 in Richard J. Bloomfield and Howard R. Swearer, eds., *Third World Security in the Post-Cold War Era* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1991).
- "Soviet Foreign Policy after the Cold War,"** in Dick Clark, ed., *United States-Soviet and East European Relations: Building a Congressional Cadre*, Post-Coup Conference (Ninth Conference), August 24-30, 1991 (Queenstown, MD: The Aspen Institute, 1991).
- "Soviet Learning in the 1980s,"** in George W. Breslauer and Philip E. Tetlock, eds., *Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991).
- "Soviet Policy in Western Europe,"** in Dick Clark, ed., *United States-Soviet Relations: Building a Congressional Cadre*, Sixth Conference, Aug. 26 - Sept. 1, 1989 (Queenstown, MD: The Aspen Institute, 1989), pp. 5-11.
- "War, Weapons, and Soviet Foreign Policy,"** in Seweryn Bialer, ed., *Gorbachev's Russia and American Foreign Policy* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1988).
- "The Soviet Union and the Issue of Military Power,"** in Dick Clark, *United States-Soviet Relations: Building a Congressional Cadre*, (Second Conference, January 14-18, 1987) (Washington, D.C.: Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1987), pp. 17-22.
- "The Soviet Threat in Southern Africa,"** in Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *South Africa and Its Neighbors* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1985), pp. 27-53.
- "The Soviet Union and France,"** in Herbert J. Ellison, ed., *Soviet Policy Toward Western Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983), pp. 61-90.
- "Military Power in International Politics: Soviet Doctrine on its Centrality and Instrumentality,"** in Uwe Nerlich, ed., *Soviet Power and Western Negotiating Policies*, Vol. I (Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger, 1983), pp. 123-59. First published as "Der politische Nutzen militärischer Macht in sowjetischer Perspektive," in Uwe Nerlich, ed., *Sowjetische Macht und*

westliche Verhandlungspolitik im Wandel militärischer Kräfteverhältnisse (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1982), pp. 187-236.

- "**The 26th Party Congress and Soviet Foreign Policy,**" in Seweryn Bialer and Thane Gustafson, eds., *Russia at the Crossroads: The 26th Congress of the CPSU* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), pp. 156-77.
- "**The Soviet Union and the Middle East: Another View,**" in Thomas Naff, ed., *The Middle East Challenge, 1980-1985* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), pp. 63-72.
- "**Europe, America and the Soviet Challenge,**" in *Politik: East-West Issues X* (Hamburg: Atlantik-Brücke e.V. and Freiburg: Verlag Rombach, 1979), pp. 6-38.
- "**The Soviet Union and West European Communism,**" in Rudolf Tökés, ed., *Eurocommunism and Détente* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), pp. 314-84. (A Council on Foreign Relations Book)
- "**The Soviet Strategic Stake in Africa,**" in Jennifer S. Whitaker, ed., *Africa and the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), pp. 153-86. (A Council on Foreign Relations Book)
- "**Finlandization and Franco-Soviet Relations,**" in George Ginsburgs and Alvin Z. Rubinstein, eds., *Soviet Foreign Policy Toward Western Europe* (New York: Praeger, 1978), pp. 86-101.
- "**The Soviet Union and Current Multilateral Arms Negotiations,**" in Lawrence L. Whetten, ed., *The Future of Soviet Military Power* (New York: Crane, Russak, 1976), pp. 173-81.
- "**The Soviet Union and Western Europe,**" in William E. Griffith, ed., *The Soviet Empire: Expansion & Détente* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1976), pp. 217-57. (Sponsored by the Commission on Critical Choices organized by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller)
- "**Soviet and Chinese Influence in Black Africa,**" in Alvin Z. Rubinstein, ed., *Soviet and Chinese Influence in the Third World* (New York: Praeger, 1975), pp. 154-75.
- "**The Soviet Union's Changing View of Sub-Saharan Africa,**" in W. Raymond Duncan, ed., *Soviet Policy in Developing Countries* (Waltham, MA: Ginn-Blaisdell, 1970), pp. 62-82.

Articles

- "**The Russia File: How to Move toward a Strategic Partnership,**" *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2009)
- "**U.S.-Russian Relations: An American Perspective,**" *Russia in Global Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October-December 2006), pp. 157-169.
- "**All the Way: Crafting a U.S.-Russian Alliance,**" *The National Interest*, Vol. 34, No. 70 (Winter 2002-03), pp. 21-31.
- "**Russia's Unformed Foreign Policy,**" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 5 (September/October 2001), pp. 62-75.
- "**Foreword to Intervention, Sovereignty and International Security,**" *Pugwash Occasional Papers*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (February 2000), pp. 5-10.
- "**Belarus vo vneshnei politike SshA,**" *Belarus v mire*, No. 3 (October 1997), pp. 16-25.
- "**Five Years After the Collapse of the USSR: East-West Relations,**" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 13, (March/April 1997), pp. 4-8.
- "**Amerikanskii vzglyad na rossiiskuyu vneshnyuyu politiku: strakhi I fantazii,**" *Pro et Contra*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (February 1997), pp. 38-52.
- "**Western Europe and East Asia: Facing the Post-Soviet Challenge,**" *Business and the Contemporary World*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (1996), pp. 12-26.

- "Observations on International Order,"** *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 10 (July-September 1994), pp. 270-76.
- "The Collapse of the Soviet Union and the New Asian Order"** *Analysis*, National Bureau of Asian Research, Vol. 3, No. 4 (September 1992).
- "The Soviet Union: Where to Now?,"** *Foresight Magazine* (Tokyo), April 1991.
- "Gorbachev in Japan,"** *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* (Tokyo), April 9, 1991.
- "Soviet Policy in East Asia,"** *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Spring 1991), pp. 129-142.
- "The Gulf Crisis and the Future of Gorbachev's Foreign Policy Revolution,"** *The Harriman Institute Forum*, vol. 3, no. 10 (October 1990) [published by the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University, New York]. Reprinted in Frederic J. Fleron, et al., eds., *Contemporary Issues in Soviet Foreign Policy: From Brezhnev to Gorbachev* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1991).
- "Soviet Policy Toward the Republic of Korea in the New Era,"** Hyundai Research Institute Annual Lecture, Seoul, Korea, November 21, 1990 (Seoul: Hyundai Research Institute, 1991).
- "The Revolution in Soviet Foreign Policy,"** *Foreign Affairs*, Special issue: America and the World, 1988/89, vol. 68, no. 1 (1989), pp. 82-98. Reprinted in *Annual Editions: World Politics, 1990/91* (Guilford, CT: The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., 1990); in Frederic J. Fleron, et al., eds., *Soviet Foreign Policy: Classic and Contemporary Issues* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1991); and in Alexander Dallin and Gail W. Lapidus, eds., *The Soviet System in Crisis: A Reader of Western and Soviet Views* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991).
- "Gorbachev's New Approach to Conventional Arms Control,"** *The Harriman Institute Forum*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January 1988).
- "Gorbachev's 'New Thinking,'"** in Robert Legvold and The Task Force on Soviet New Thinking, *Gorbachev's Foreign Policy: How Should America Respond?*, Headline Series no. 284, (New York: Foreign Policy Association/Institute for East-West Security Studies, 1988).
- "Reagan Through Soviet Eyes,"** (co-authored with Lawrence T. Caldwell), *Foreign Policy*, no. 52 (Fall 1983), pp. 3-21.
- "The Strategic Implications of the Soviet Union's Nonfuel Mineral Resources Policy,"** *The Journal of Resource Management and Technology*, vol. 12, no. 1 (January 1983), pp. 47-55.
- "La politique soviétique vis-à-vis de la France socialiste,"** *Politique Etrangère*, no. 4 (December 1982), pp. 881-901; reprinted as "Soviet Policy toward Socialist France" in *Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 61-79.
- "Containment without Confrontation,"** *Foreign Policy*, no. 40 (Fall 1980), pp. 74-98.
- "The Concept of Power and Security in Soviet History,"** *Adelphi Paper*, no. 151 (Summer 1979), pp. 5-13.
- "The Super Rivals: Conflict in the Third World,"** *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1979), pp. 755-78.
- "U.S. and Soviet Strategic Doctrine and SALT,"** *Survival* (January-February 1979), pp. 8-13.
- "The Nature of Soviet Power,"** *Foreign Affairs* (Fall 1977), pp. 49-71. Reprinted in Erik P. Hoffmann and Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., eds., *The Conduct of Soviet Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Aldine Publishing Co., 1980), pp. 673-93; and in Robbin F. Laird and Erik P. Hoffmann, eds., *Soviet Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (New York: Aldine, 1986).
- "The Economics and Politics of East-West Relations"** (with Franklyn D. Holzman), *International Organization* (Winter 1975), pp. 275-320; reprinted in Erik P. Hoffmann and Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., eds., *The Conduct of Soviet Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Aldine Publishing Co., 1980), pp. 428-78.

- "The Franco-Soviet Rapprochement after de Gaulle," *Survey* (Autumn 1974), pp. 67-93.
 "The Problem of European Security," *Problems of Communism* (January-February 1974), pp. 13-33.
 "European Security Conference," *Survey* (Summer 1970), pp. 41-52.
 "Moscow's Changing View of Africa's Revolutionary Regimes," *Africa Report*, (March-April 1969), pp. 54-58.
 "Lignes de force de la diplomatie soviétique en Afrique," *Le mois en Afrique* (March 1967), pp. 30-52.
 "The Soviet Union and Senegal," *Mizan*, no. 4 (1966), pp. 161-170.

Other

1991 to present: Book Review Editor for *Foreign Affairs* (Eurasia and Eastern Europe)

Served as the overall editor for the following Council on Foreign Relations books:

- Soviet Policy in East Asia*, Donald S. Zagoria, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 360 pp.
Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe, Sarah Meiklejohn Terry, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 375 pp.
The Making of America's Soviet Policy, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 369 pp.
The Dilemma of Reform in the Soviet Union, Timothy J. Colton, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1984), 113 pp.
The Russians and Reagan, Strobe Talbott, (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 140 pp.

Additional:

Conference papers; prepared statements for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on International Finance, and Committee on the Budget; and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, its Subcommittee on Africa, and Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East; written testimony before the Southern African Commission sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation; various newspaper articles; and radio and television interviews and consulting.

Current Research

Book project on the Great Powers and the Post-Soviet Space, a study of the challenges posed by this region and the responses to date of the United States, China, Japan and Europe funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

APPENDIX

FORMER PROFESSIONAL
AFFILIATIONS:

- 1993-08 Trustee, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Member of the Oversight Committee for Carnegie Moscow Center)
- 2000-07 Member of the International Board of the Transatlantic and European Studies Center, The European Humanities University, Minsk, Belarus
- 1994-05 Member, Board of Directors of The International Forum of the U.S.-Russian Business Council
- 1993-08 Member, Board of Advisors, Institute for Disarmament and Defense Studies
- 1996-05 Member, Board of Visitors, Davis Center of Russian Studies, Harvard University.
- 1996-05 Member, Nominating Committee, Council on Foreign Relations.
- 1991-01 Trustee, Tufts University (Chair of Trusteeship Committee and member of the Executive and Academic Affairs Committees)
- 1995-97 Member, Atlantic Council Study Commission on U.S. Policy in Central Asia.
- 1990-95 Member, Board of Advisors, The CEO Institutes (International Media Partners)
- 1985-94 Member, Editorial Board, *Comparative Politics*
- 1993-94 Member International Advisory Committee, Institute of International Relations, Prague, The Czech Republic
- 1992-98 Member, Advisory Committee, Project "Initiative for Conflict Management in Russia," Search for Common Ground
- 1992-94 Field Advisor for USSR and East Europe Research Scholar Program of ACTR/ACCELS1993
- 1990-96 Member, Board of Advisors, The CEO Institutes (International Media Partners)
- 1989-93 Member, Steering Committee, The American Assembly, Columbia University
- 1986-92 Member, Advisory Board, Samantha Smith Foundation
- 1983-93 Member, Academic Committee, Institute for East-West Studies
- 1990-92 Member, Ad Hoc Committee on Present and Future Associated Organizations of the International Studies Association in East and Central Europe
- 1991-92 Member, International Advisory Group on Sources of Stability and Instability in Eastern Europe, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
- 1989-91 Member, Panel on the Future Design and Implementation of U.S. National Security Export Controls, National Academy of Sciences (1990-91; Report issued in February 1991 entitled *Finding Common Ground: U.S. Export Controls in a Changed Global Environment* [Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1991]).
- 1987-91 Member, Advisory Board, Global Outlook
- 1986-91 Member, Commission on U.S.-Soviet Relations, International Center for Development Policy
- 1984-92 Member, National Advisory Board, Center for National Policy
- 1981-90 Member, Binational Commission on the Humanities, American Council of Learned Societies/Soviet Academy of Sciences, and Chairman of Subcommittee on International Relations.

- 1981-86 Member, Joint Committee on Soviet Studies, Social Science Research Council and
Chairman of the International Relations Subcommittee.
- 1993-95 Member, International Advisory Committee, Russian Security Project, Stockholm
International Peace Research Institute.
- 1986-96 Member, Editorial Board, *Business in the Contemporary World*
Member, Advisory Board, *The Fletcher Forum*, The Fletcher School of Law and
Diplomacy