CURRICULUM VITAE

JOHN DAVID STEINBRUNER

CURRENT POSITIONS

Professor of Public Policy, School of Public Policy, University of Maryland.

Director of the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM).

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, 1996-1999.

Director, Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, 1978-1996.

Associate Professor (with tenure), School of Organization and Management and Department of Political Science, Yale University, 1976-1978.

Associate Professor of Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government and Assistant Director, Program for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, 1973-1976.

Assistant Professor of Government and Executive Director, Research Seminar on Bureaucracy, Politics and Policy, Institute of Politics, Harvard University, 1969-1973.

Assistant Professor of Political Science and Research Associate, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1968-1969.

Research Assistant, Center for International Studies and Operations Research Center, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1967 (thesis research).

Executive Secretary, President's Task Force on Campaign Financing, 1966-1967.

EDUCATION

Stanford University, 1959-1963. Major in Psychology, A.B. with Great Distinction, 1963, Department honors in Psychology; Phi Beta Kappa.

University of Freiberg, West Germany, 1963-1964, one year fellowship.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1964-1968, Ph.D. in Political Science, 1968.

General Examination Fields:
- Political Communication and Behavior
- Political Development
- International Relations and Foreign Policy
- Defense Policy

Dissertation topic:
- *The Mind and Milieu of Decision-Makers: A Case Study of the Multilateral Force*.

OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1992; co-chair of its Committee on International Security Studies since 2000.

Committee on International Security and Arms Control, National Academy of Sciences: member 1981 – 2004; Vice Chair 1996-2004.

Committee on International Security and Arms Control's Working Group on Biological Weapons Control, National Academy of Sciences, 1985-2004.

Council on Foreign Relations, since 1971.

Arms Control Association, Board Member since 1991, Board Chairman since 2000.

Chair, Committee on Deterring Cyberattacks, National Academy of Sciences/National Research Council, 2009 – 2010.

Sandia National Laboratories, Distinguished Advisory Group for Nonproliferation and Arms Control, 1994-2005.

Board of Directors, Financial Services Volunteer Corps, since July 1, 2005.

Senior Arms Control Advisory Panel to the Director of Central Intelligence, 2000.

Consultant to the International Policy Committee, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, since 1997.

Aspen Strategy Group, 1980-2001.

Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1995-98.

Defense Policy Board, Department of Defense, 1993-97.

Chair, Committee on Deterring Cyberattacks, National Academy of Sciences/ National Research Council. 2009-2010.

PUBLICATIONS

Current Working Papers:

"Security Policy and the Question of Fundamental Change," November 2010, http://cissm.umd.edu/papers/display.php?id=448**.**

"Prudent Regulation of Geoengineering," March 2010, http://cissm.umd.edu/papers/display.php?id=491.

Books and Monographs:

(with Nancy Gallagher) Reconsidering the Rules for Space Security, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2008.

(with Elisa D. Harris, Nancy Gallagher, and Stacy M. Okutani) Controlling Dangerous Pathogens: A Protective Oversight System, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, March 2007.

The Cybernetic Theory of Decision: New Dimensions of Political Analysis, Princeton University Press, originally published 1974; second edition with new preface, 2002.

Principles of Global Security, Brookings Institution, 2000.

(with Ashton Carter and William Perry) A New Concept of Cooperative Security, Brookings Occasional Paper, September 1992.

(with William W. Kaufmann) Decisions for Defense: Prospects for a New Order, Brookings Institution, 1991.

(ed.) Restructuring American Foreign Policy, Brookings Institution, 1988.

(with Michael M. May and George F. Bing) Strategic Arms Reductions, Brookings Institution, 1988.

(ed. with Ashton B. Carter and Charles A. Zraket) Managing Nuclear Operations, Brookings Institution, 1987.

(ed. with Leon V. Sigal) Alliance Security: NATO and the No-First-Use Question, Brookings Institution, 1983.

(with Henry Jacoby) Clearing the Air: Federal Policy on Automotive Emissions Control, Ballinger Press, 1973.

Selected Articles:

"International Agreements of Limit Cyberattacks," Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. LXIV, No.2 (Winter 2011) pp 61-62.

"Comment," Energy Econ. (2010), doi:10.1016/j.eneco.2010.11.015

(with David Victor, Granger Morgan, Jay Apt and Katharine Ricke) "Geoengineering the Climate?" Foreign Affairs 88:2, March /April 2009

"Engagement with Russia: Managing Risks, Repairing Rifts," Arms Control Today, Vol. 39, # 1, January/February 2009

"Looking Back: Carter's 1978 Declaration and the Significance of Security Assurances," Arms Control Today, October 2008.

"Consensual Security," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, March/April 2008.

(with Nancy Gallagher) "If you Lead, They Will Follow: Public Opinion and Repairing the U.S. – Russian Strategic Relationship," Arms Control Today, January/February 2008.

(with Tim Gulden) "The Security Implications of Global Warming", Current Thinking on Critical Issues, University of Maryland, School of Public Policy, Winter 2008.

(with Tim Gulden) "Violence in Iraq is Beyond Our Control," Baltimore Sun op ed., September 10, 2007.

"Burdens of Proof: Can Civilizations Cope With the Unthinkable," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, vol. 63, # 1, January/February 2007, pp 59 – 61.

"In the Name of Defense", New Scientist, 25 November 2006, p 20.

"The Nuclear Impasse with Iran," America, vol. 195, # 1, July 3-10, 2006.

"Reflections on the Doctrine of Sovereignty, the Process of Globalization, and the Prospects for Security Transformation" in Shifting Boundaries of Sovereignty, Challenges for the 21st Century, Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2005.

"Perspective on United States Security Policy," in Bart van der Sijde ed. The United Sates and Europe: Partners or Rivals?, The Hague, Pugwash Netherlands, May 2005, pp 41-46.

"Terrorism: Practical Distinctions and Research Priorities," International Studies Review, Vol. 7, Issue 1, March 2005, pp 137-140.

Book Review of The Future of Arms Control by Michael A. Levi and Michael E. O'Hanlon, Arms Control Today, vol. 35, no. 2, March 2005.

"The Protective Oversight of Biotechnology," with Stacy Okutani, Biosecurity and Bioterrorism, vol 2, no. 4, 2004.

(with Jason Forrester) "Perspectives on Civil Violence: A Review of Current Thinking," in William J. Lahneman, ed., Military Intervention: Cases in Context for the Twenty-First Century, Rowman and Littlefield, 2004.

(with Nancy Gallagher) **"**Constructive transformation: an alternative vision of global security," Dædalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Summer 2004.

"The Protective Management of Biotechnology," Proceedings, Global and Homeland Security: Science, Technology and the Role of the University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge MA, May 2, 2003.

(with Elisa Harris) "Controlling Dangerous Pathogens," Issues in Science and Technology, vol. XIX, no. 3 Spring 2003.

"Confusing Ends and Means," Arms Control Today, vol. 3, no. 1, January/February, 2003.

(with Carl Kaysen, Steven E. Miller, Martin B. Malin, and William D. Nordhaus) War with Iraq: Costs, Consequences and Alternatives, , Occasional Paper, Committee on International Security Studies, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, November 2002.

(with Jeffrey Lewis) "The Unsettled Legacy of the Cold War," Dædalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Fall 2002.

The Significance of Missile Surveillance, Occasional Paper, Committee on International Studies, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge MA, July 2001.

"A Tough Call," Arms Control Today, Vol.31, No. 4, May 2001, pp 23-24.

"NMD and the Wistful Pursuit of Common Sense," National Security Studies Quarterly, vol. 6, issue 3, Summer 2000.

"Renovating Arms Control Through Reassurance," The Washington Quarterly, vol. 23, no. 2, Spring 2000.

"National Missile Defense: Collision in Progress," Arms Control Today, vol. 29, no. 7, November 1999.

"The Consequences of Kosovo," International Politics and Society [Politik und Gesellschaft], no. 3, 1999.

"Can the United States Lead the World?," in Ken Booth, ed., Statecraft and Security: The Cold War and Beyond, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press Syndicate 1998.

"Biological Weapons: A Plague Upon All Houses," Foreign Policy, Winter 1997-98.

"International Security Reconsidered," chapter with William W. Kaufmann in Setting National Priorities: Budget Choices for the Next Century, Robert D. Reischauer, ed., Brookings Institution, 1997.

"Revising the Practice of Deterrence," in Post-Cold War Conflict Deterrence, Naval Studies Board and National Research Council, National Academy Press, 1997.

"The Strategic Implications of Emerging International Security Conditions," Gabriel Sheffer, ed., U.S.-Israeli Relations at the Crossroads,1997.

"Problems of Predominance," The Brookings Review, Fall 1996.

"Reluctant Strategic Realignment: The Need for a New View of National Security," The Brookings Review, Winter 1995.

"The Problems of Strategic Realignment," in Is the Atlantic Widening? Atlantic Area Nations After the Cold War, Papers from the Atlantic Conference, Sea Island, GA, November 1994; Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 1995.

"The Imperatives of Cooperation," chapter co-authored with Janne Nolan, Ken Flamm, Steven Miller, David Mussington, William Perry and Ash Carter; and "Transition Strategy for the 1990s," chapter with Janne Nolan in Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century, Janne E. Nolan, ed., Brookings Institution, 1994.

"Relating to Russia in a New Era," The Brookings Review, Spring 1994.

"Tests of Leadership: Unavoidable Issues of Foreign Policy," The Brookings Review, Winter 1994.

"NATO: A Crisis of Purpose," European Brief, November/December 1993.

(contributing author) Harmonizing the Evolution of U.S. and Russian Defense Policies, report issued by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C. and the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, Moscow, November, 1993.

"Safety First: The Transformation of Nuclear Weapons Operations," paper commissioned for the Common Security Forum, Fall 1993.

(with Paul Stares) "Regional and Global Security: The Case for Cooperative Security," Prepared for the NATO-Argentine International Seminar on Global Security, Buenos Aires, Argentina, October 1993.

Management and Disposition of Excess Weapons Plutonium, report issued by the Committee on International Security and Arms Control of the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 1994.

"Business as Usual? The Redesign of National Security," The Brookings Review, Summer 1992.

"The Consequences of the Gulf War," The Brookings Review, Spring 1991.

(with Bruce G. Blair) The Effects of Warning on Strategic Stability, Brookings Occasional Paper, 1991.

"Revolution in Foreign Policy," in Setting National Priorities, Henry J. Aaron, ed., Brookings Institution, 1990.

"The Principles of Defensive Deterrence," The Brookings Review, Summer 1987. (Originally delivered as the Edmund James Lecture at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, December 1986).

"Managerial Demands of Modern Weapons Systems," in The Medical Implications of Nuclear War, Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences, National Academy Press, 1986.

"Arms Control: Crisis or Compromise," Foreign Affairs, vol. 63, no. 5, Summer 1985.

"U.S. and Soviet Security Perspectives," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, vol. 41, no. 7, August 1985.

"Security Policy" in The New Direction in American Politics, John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson, eds., Brookings Institution, 1985.

"Comments on Richard Kaufman's Article," Soviet Economy, vol. 1, January/March 1985.

"The Security Aspect of U.S.-Soviet Relations," in U.S.- Soviet Relations: Perspectives for the Future, Alternatives for the 1980s, Center for National Policy, no. 14, September 1984.

"Launch Under Attack," Scientific American, vol. 250, no. 1, January 1984.

"The Future of Détente," The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, vol. 5, no. 3, 1981.

"Nuclear Decapitation," Foreign Policy, no. 45, Winter 1981-82.

"American Strategic Policy in the Process of Evolution," Politique Internationale, no. 7, Spring 1980.

"An Assessment of Nuclear Crises" in The Dangers of Nuclear War, Franklyn Griffiths and John C. Polanyi, eds., University of Toronto Press, 1979.

"National Security and the Concept of Strategic Stability," Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol. 22, no. 3, September 1978.

(with Thomas M. Garwin) "Strategic Vulnerability: The Balance Between Prudence and Paranoia," International Security, Summer 1976.

"Beyond Rational Deterrence: The Struggle for New Conceptions," World Politics, January 1976.

(with Barry Carter) "The Organizational and Political Dimensions of the Strategic Posture: The Case for Reform," Daedalus, Summer 1975.

(with Arnold Horelick and Ross Johnson) The Study of Soviet Foreign Policy: A Review of Decision-Theory Related Approaches, R-1334, The RAND Corporation, December 1973.

(with Henry Jacoby) "Solving the Federal Attempt to Control Auto Pollution," Public Policy, vol. 21, Winter 1973; also in Benefit-Cost and Policy Analysis, Chicago: Adline, 1973.

"Some Effects of Decision Procedures on Policy Outcomes," Center for International Studies, MIT, 1969.

(with David Mundel) "A Preliminary Evaluation of PPB," Center for International Studies, MIT, 1969; also U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, Subcommittee on Economy in Government, January 1970.

(with Jonathan Freedman) "Perceived Choice and Resistance to Persuasion," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, vol. 68, 1964, pp. 678-681.

CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

United States House of Representatives, Committee on National Security, 104th Congress, 2nd Session, *United States Security Interests in the Post-Cold War World*, June 6, 1996.

United States House of Representatives, Armed Services Committee, 103rd Congress, 2nd session, *United States Security Relationship with Russia*, March 17, 1994.

United States Senate, Budget Committee, 103rd Congress, 2nd session, *Hearings on the Defense Budget*, March 9, 1994.

United States House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Economic Policy, Trade and Environment, 103rd Congress, 1st session, *Reauthorization of the Export Administration Act*, June 23, 1993.

United States Senate, Appropriations Committee, 102nd Congress, 2nd session, *Deliberations on the Defense Budget*, February 19, 1992.

United States House of Representatives, Budget Committee, 102nd Congress, 2nd session, *Review of the National Defense Effort (rev)*, February 13, 1992.

United States Senate, Budget Committee, 102nd Congress, 2nd session, *Review of the National Defense Effort*, February 5, 1992.

United States House of Representatives, Armed Services Committee, 102nd Congress, 1st session, *Remarks on Decisions for Defense, Brookings Institution, 1991, (by William W. Kaufmann and John D. Steinbruner)*, December 11, 1991.

United States Senate, Finance Committee, 102nd Congress, 1st session, *Deliberations on the Defense Budget, based on Decisions for Defense: Prospects for a New Order, Brookings Institution, 1991, (by William W. Kaufmann and John D. Steinbruner)*, November 26, 1991.

United States House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Legislation and National Security, 102nd Congress, 1st session, *Deliberations on the Defense Budget, based on Decisions for Defense*, November 6, 1991.

United States House of Representatives, Budget Committee, 102nd Congress, 1st session, *Considerations of the Defense Budget, based on Decisions for Defense*, September 26, 1991.

United States Senate, Foreign Relations Subcommittee on European Affairs, 102nd Congress, 1st session, *Consolidating Free Market Democracy in the Former Soviet Union*, September 24, 1991.

United States House of Representatives, Committee on Small Business, 102nd Congress, 1st session, *Comments on Centesimus Annus*, June 18, 1991.

United States House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, 101st Congress, 2nd Session, *Implications of the Changes in the Soviet Union*, March 23, 1990.

United States House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, 101st Congress, 2nd session, *New Directions and New Problems in Foreign Assistance*, February 28, 1990.

United States Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, 101st Congress, 1st Session, *The Restructuring of Military Forces due to Changes in the Soviet Union*, May 18, 1989.

United States Senate, Subcommittee for Defense Appropriations, 101st Congress, 1st Session, *Perspectives on Gorbachev's Initiatives to Reconfigure Conventional Forces*, February 9, 1989.

United States Senate, Committee on Budget, 100th Congress, 2nd session, *Changes in International Security*, March 18, 1988.

United States Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, 100th Congress, 2nd session, *Considerations of the INF Treaty*, February 19, 1988.

United States House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, 100th Congress, 1st session, *Reflections of the Recent U.S.-Soviet Summit*, December 16, 1987.

United States House of Representatives, Committee on the Budget, Task Force on Defense and International Affairs, 100th Congress, 1st session, *The Security of the NATO Alliance*, October 19, 1987.

United States House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Security and Science, 100th Congress, 1st session, *Overview of U.S. Arms Control Policy*, July 29, 1987.

United States Senate, Committee on Armed Services, 100th Congress, 1st session, *Comments on the 'First National Security Strategy' Report*, April 3, 1987.

United States House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, 99th Congress, *The Implications for U.S. Policy of the Gorbachev Succession*, April 1, 1985.

United States Senate, Committee on Armed Services, Subcommittee on Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces, 98th Congress, *Prospects for Arms Control Arrangements in Space*, April 12, 1984.

United States Senate, Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Defense, 98th Congress, *The Military Implications of Alleged Soviet Violations of Arms Control Arrangements*, March 28, 1984.

United States House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs, 98th Congress, *Arms Control in Outer Space*, November 10, 1983.

United States Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Arms Control, Oceans, International Operations and Environment, 97th Congress, *Arms Control and the Militarization of Space*, September 20, 1982.

United States House of Representatives, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Subcommittee on Oversight, 96th Congress, 2nd session, *Soviet Strategic Forces*, February 20, 1980.

United States Senate, Committee on the Budget, 96th Congress, 1st session, February 28, 1979.

United States House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services, 96th Congress, 1st session, *Vulnerability of Land-based ICBM Systems*, February 7, 1979.

United States Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Committee Report on U.S.-Soviet Relations, 95th Congress, *The Purpose and Value of Arms Negotiations*, November 20, 1978.

United States House of Representatives, Committee on Science and Astronautics, Subcommittee on Space Science and Applications, 93rd Congress, 2nd session, *Research on Ground Propulsion Systems*, Hearings on H.R. 10392, June 1974.

United States Senate, Committee on Commerce, 93rd Congress, 1st session, *Automotive Research and Development and Fuel Economy*, Hearings on S. 1055 and S. 1903, May-June 1973.

SELECTED CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMITTEE AND COMMISSION REPORTS

National Academy of Sciences/National Research Council, Committee on Deterring Cyberattacks, Computer Science and Telecommunications Board, Division on Engineering and Physical Sciences Division on Policy and Global Affairs, *Letter Report from the Committee on Deterring Cyberattacks: Informing Strategies and Developing Options for U.S. Policy*, March 2010.

Committee on International Security and Arms Control, National Academy of Sciences, *The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1997).

Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, *Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1997).

National Academy of Sciences/Institute of Medicine/National Research Council, *Controlling Dangerous Pathogens: A Blueprint for U.S.- Russian Cooperation,* Report to the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program of the U.S. Department of Defense, October 27, 1997.

Committee on International Security and Arms Control, National Academy of Sciences**,** *The Future of the U.S.- Soviet Nuclear Relationship,* (Washington DC, National Academy Press, 1991).

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