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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Professor in the Practice of International Diplomacy, SIPA, Columbia University, July 2001-present.

George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, July 2001-present.

Ambassador at Large and Special Adviser to the Secretary for the New Independent States, U.S. Department of State, 1997-2001.

Vice President for Russian and Eurasian Affairs, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1994-1997.

Director of Soviet and East European Studies [after 1991: Russian and Eurasian Studies], Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1987-1994.

Senior Director for Policy Development, National Security Council, 1985-1987.

Director of Political-Military Affairs, National Security Council, 1984-1985.

Member, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State, 1981-1984.

Senior Legislative Assistant for Foreign Policy, Office of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, 1980-1981.

Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, 1979-1980.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Graduate Faculty, The New School for Social Research, 1978-1980 (on leave, 1979-1980).

EDUCATION:

Ph.D., Department of Government, Harvard University, 1978.

B.A. *summa cum laude*, Cornell University, 1972.

KEY RECENT PUBLICATIONS, 2014-present:

“Ukraine Should Wait on Cease-fire Talks with Russia. Here’s Why.” Council on Foreign Relations, May 24, 2022.

“The Russia-Ukraine Crisis: A Scorecard on Biden’s Response,” Council on Foreign Relations, December 23, 2021.

Review of Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, *To Build a Better World: Choices to End the Cold War and Create a Global Commonwealth* (2019), H-Diplo, January 8, 2021.

“The Day After Putin,” Foreign Affairs, March 4, 2020.

Maximalist: America in the World from Truman to Obama (Knopf, 2014).

“Can Reagan Show Trump How to Save the INF Treaty?” American Interest, June 15, 2018.

“The Brilliant Incoherence of Trump’s Foreign Policy,” The Atlantic, May 2017 Issue.

“The Truth About Populism and Foreign Policy,” Foreign Affairs, May 30, 2016.

“The Long History of Leading From Behind,” The Atlantic, January/February 2016 Issue.

“Could It Have Been Otherwise?” The American Interest, May/June 2015 Issue.

“Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis?” Foreign Affairs, November/December 2014 Issue.

OP-EDS AND SHORT ARTICLES, 2014-present:

“Is Putin Burning Out?” New York Times, August 2, 2019.

“Trump Trashes Another Treaty,” American Interest, October 21, 2018.

“The Art of Containing Trump (and Putin),” New York Times, July 12, 2018.

“What Might Be Keeping Putin from a Good Night’s Sleep? Watch This Film,” The Washington Post, March 17, 2018.

“The Russia Story, Year One,” Slate.com, November 6, 2017.

“Vladimir Putin Is Suddenly on the Defensive Against Corruption,” The Washington Post, June 22, 2017.

“Trump Should Be Wary of Putin’s Syria Plan,” New York Times, May 12, 2017.

“The West’s Post-Cold War Strategies Worked,” New York Times, December 22, 2016.

“The Two Putin Problem,” New York Times, Nov. 25, 2016.

“What a Failed Soviet Coup Can Teach Us About 21st-Century Populism,” The Washington Post, August 12, 2016.

“What Trump Doesn’t Know About Allies,” New York Times, July 29, 2016.

“Vladimir Putin,” Time, April 21, 2016.

“Why Credibility Matters,” The Atlantic, March 14, 2016.

“Coming Soon: The Other Lyndon Johnson,” Politico Magazine, March 7, 2015.

“Putin’s Reckless Gamble,” New York Times, March 29, 2014.

“Obama’s Focus Is on Nation-Building at Home,” New York Times, March 11, 2014.

“Barack Obama’s Paragraph,” Politico Magazine, February 16, 2014.

“The Price of Pulling Back From the World,” New York Times, February 10, 2014.

ISSUE BRIEFS AND COMMENTARY FOR COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, 2014-present:

“Putin’s Long Game in Ukraine: The Kremlin Perspective,” Council on Foreign Relations, May 6, 2022.

“Is Russia Using Energy as a Weapon Again?” Council on Foreign Relations, October 28, 2021.

“Putin vs. Navalny: Can Russia’s Protesters Prevail?” Council on Foreign Relations, January 25, 2021.

“Has Russia Ended the War Between Armenia and Azerbaijan?” Council on Foreign Relations, November 18, 2020.

“Putin and Belarus: Five Reasons Not to Save Lukashenko,” Council on Foreign Relations, August 17, 2020.

“Will Russia’s Constitutional Changes Allow Putin to Hold on to Power?” Council on Foreign Relations, July 1, 2020.

“Will the Pandemic Weaken Russia’s ‘Deep State’—or Make it Stronger Still?” Council on Foreign Relations, May 11, 2020.

“What to Expect from Putin’s Shake-Up,” Council on Foreign Relations, January 16, 2020.

“Why Ukraine Might Make a TV Actor Its President,” Council on Foreign Relations, March 25, 2019.

“The Russia Sanctions Test in the U.S. Senate,” Council on Foreign Relations, January 17, 2019.

“Trump and Putin at the G20: No More Smiles,” Council on Foreign Relations, November 29, 2018.

“The Trump-Putin Summit: Issues at Stake,” Council on Foreign Relations, July 12, 2018.

“What’s Next for Russia’s Relations With the West?” Council on Foreign Relations, March 27, 2018.

“The Warsaw Summit: NATO Examines Itself, Again,” Council on Foreign Relations, June 30, 2016.

“Russia’s 2016 Parliamentary Elections: A Putin Scorecard,” Council on Foreign Relations, June 14, 2016.

“Russia After Sochi,” Expert Brief, CFR.org, February 3, 2014.

MINI OP-EDS FOR THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, 2014-present:

“What Donald Trump Could Learn From Andrew Jackson,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Jan 23, 2017.

“Three Hard Questions for Rex Tillerson About Russia Sanctions,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Jan 10, 2017.

“Why Obama Erred in Waiting to Disclose Details of Election Hacking,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Jan 3, 2017.

“Why Exposing Putin’s Wealth Would Be Obama’s Best Revenge,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Dec 23, 2016.

“Trump and China: 5 Views From Beijing,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Dec 14, 2016.

“A Checklist for Mitt Romney to Consider Before Signing On as Trump’s Secretary of State,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Nov 20, 2016.

“How to Talk to Donald Trump About Valuing U.S. Allies,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Nov 19, 2016.

“What the ‘Hillary Hawk’ Talk Gets Wrong,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Oct 28, 2016.

“Are U.S. Voters Becoming Isolationist—or Just More Partisan?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Oct 11, 2016.

“Behind Vladimir Putin’s Trouble With the Truth,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Oct 2, 2016.

“4 Things to Watch in Russia’s Parliamentary Elections,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Sep 16, 2016.

“Uzbekistan’s Islam Karimov, and the Backstage Intrigue When a Dictator Dies,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Aug 29, 2016.

“The Costs of an American ‘No First Use’ Nuclear Doctrine,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Aug 15, 2016.

“Donald Trump, Vladimir Putin and the Polls,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Jul 27, 2016.

“Police Shootings—and the Role of Law Enforcement—in a Global Perspective” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Jul 14, 2016.

“How Little Do U.S. Allies in NATO Spend on Defense?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Jul 6, 2016.

“Do Americans Want a New ‘Grand Strategy’ or Less Overseas Engagement?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, Jun 16, 2016.

“An Earful for Vladimir Putin in Latest ‘Direct Line’ Call-In Show,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, April 18, 2016.

“Donald Trump vs. Barack Obama on Nuclear Weapons in East Asia,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, April 5, 2016.

“Comparing Obama’s Speech in Havana With Reagan’s in Moscow,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, March 23, 2016.

“Vladimir Putin’s Surprise Withdrawal From Syria,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, March 14, 2016.

“The Pentagon, the CIA, and the Saudis vs. Vladimir Putin,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, February 25, 2016.

“Falling Oil Prices, the Saudis, and the Soviets,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, January 31, 2016.

“Vladimir Putin and the Murder of Alexander Litvinenko,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, January 22, 2016.

“Joe Biden’s Mission in Ukraine,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, December 7, 2015.

“The Perplexing Case of the Three Vladimir Putins,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, December 3, 2015.

“Clinton vs. Rubio: Who’s Right About ‘Radical Islam’?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, November 23, 2015.

“More Sympathy for Paris Attack Victims Than Russian Terror Victims?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, November 16, 2015.

“Did Reagan Make Nuclear War More Likely?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, October 26, 2015.

“Is Russia an ‘Existential Threat’?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, October 15, 2015.

“Will Obama Look Weak If He Meets With Putin?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, September 17, 2015.

“What Stood Out From Obama’s Speech on Iran Deal at American University,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, August 5, 2015.

“A Suggestion for Obama’s American University Speech About Iran Deal,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, August 3, 2015.

“Reagan, Nixon and Lessons for Obama’s Iran Deal,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, July 16, 2015.

“Suppose Iran Doesn’t Cheat but Abides by a Nuclear Deal. What Then?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, July 10, 2015.

“Greece’s Lesson for Ukraine: More Populism, Please,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, July 2, 2015.

“Why the Long-Term Fate of an Iran Nuclear Deal Rests With . . . Iran,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, May 29, 2015.

“Obama’s Exasperation—and Challenge to Middle East Allies,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, May 22, 2015.

“Signs That Putin Doesn’t Think He’s Lost the Sanctions Game,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, May 12, 2015.

“Barack ‘O’Bama’ and His Irish-American Advisers,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, May 6, 2015.

“From Putin, a New Tune on Ukraine?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, April 21, 2015.

“What Made Singapore’s Lee Kuan Yew So Great,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, March 22, 2015.

“Is Netanyahu Right About How to Bargain?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, March 11, 2015.

“Diplomacy, Putin, and What Comes After a Cease-Fire in Ukraine,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, February 9, 2015.

“Will Putin Bail Out Greece?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, January 30, 2015.

“A Scorecard for Obama’s 2015 State of the Union Address,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, January 16, 2015.

“Will Voters Choose the ‘Nixon’ Candidate in 2016,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, January 5, 2015.

“3 Things That Could Cheer Up Putin Amid the Ruble’s Crash,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, December 16, 2014.

“3 Things to Watch for in Putin’s State of the Union Speech,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, December 3, 2014.

“Kerry, Kissinger, and Nuclear Deals That Fail,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, November 22, 2014.

“What We’ve Forgotten About the Fall of the Berlin Wall,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, November 10, 2014.

“An Agenda for a Revamped Obama Foreign Policy Team,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, October 31, 2014.

“The Surprise in Ukraine’s Coming Elections,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, October 24, 2014.

“What Obama Could Gain From Shaking Up His Foreign Policy Team,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, October 10, 2014.

“Who Really Runs Obama’s Policy?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, September 18, 2014.

“Mystery Explained: Why Obama is Tongue-Tied on Foreign Policy,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, September 10, 2014.

“Does South Korea Really Face Extinction?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, August 26, 2014.

“Obama Needs Larger Goal Than Securing Ukraine Crash Site,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, July 21, 2014.

“What the Senate Gets Wrong About Ukraine,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, July 12, 2014.

“Is the Ukraine Crisis Unwinding?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, June 27, 2014.

“Why the Daschle-Lott Senate Reforms Fall Short,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, June 25, 2014.

“What Made ‘The End of History?’ Go Viral Before the Web Existed,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, June 9, 2014.

“What We Can’t Know Now About Hillary Clinton’s Legacy at State,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, June 3, 2014.

“A Firsthand View of Ukraine’s Elections” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, May 25, 2014.

“What Will Obama Say at West Point?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, May 22, 2014.

“Fighting ‘Fascism’ Isn’t the Way to Stop Putin,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, May 17, 2014.

“What Obama Could Learn From the Monica Lewinsky Scandal,” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, May 12, 2014.

“A Bold EU Move Against Vladimir Putin?” *Washington Wire*, Wall Street Journal, May 7, 2014.

RECENT CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY, 2014-present:

“Has Russia Gone Rogue?” Prepared Testimony before the Senate Committee on Armed Services, October 8, 2015.

“Russia, Ukraine, and U.S. Policy,” Prepared Testimony before the Senate Committee on Armed Services, April 28, 2015.

SELECT INTERVIEWS AND RECENT MEDIA APPEARANCES, 2014-present:

“Transition 2021 Series: How to Deal With Russia,” Council on Foreign Relations, February 22, 2021.

“Russia,” Podcast with Jill Dougherty, Angela Stent, and Gabrielle Sierra, *Why It Matters*, January 19, 2021.

“The Belarus Protests,” Podcast with James M. Lindsay, *The President’s Inbox*, September 8, 2020.

“MasterClass Series with Stephen Sestanovich,” Council on Foreign Relations, July 7, 2020.

“Transition 2021: How Will Biden Handle Russia?” Podcast with James M. Lindsay, *The Presidents Inbox*, December 1, 2020.

“Update on Russia: Policy, Power, and Public Health,” Council on Foreign Relations Conference Call, April 28, 2020.

“Current State of U.S.-Russia Relations,” Discussion with Cameron Munter, EastWest Institute, October 22, 2018.

“Discussion of US-Russia Relations,” Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN, July 22, 2018.

“What the U.S. Needs From Russia,” Interview by Michel Martin, *All Things Considered*, NPR, July 21, 2018.

“Ambassador Steve Sestanovich reacts to Trump-Putin summit,” Media interview by Stephanie Ruhle, MSNBC, July 19, 2018.

“With Trump More Isolated on Russia, Putin Could See Few Gains From Summit,” *Expert Voices*, Axios, July 16, 2018.

“Trump Meets With Putin and Trade Talks Commence Between EU and China,” Podcast with Robert McMahon, *The World Next Week*, CFR.org, July 12, 2018.

“Singapore and Reykjavik: The Perils of Summitry,” Interview by Robert McMahon, CFR.org, May 25, 2018.

“Secretary of State Rex Tillerson is Fired,” Podcast with James M. Lindsay and Paul B. Stares, *The President’s Inbox*, CFR.org, March 13, 2018.

“Meeting Putin,” Podcast with James M. Lindsay and Robert McMahon, *The President’s Inbox*, CFR.org, July 6, 2017.

“Did Obama do Trump a favor with Russia sanctions?,” Interview by Ari Melber, MSNBC, December 30, 2016.

“Russia,” Podcast with James M. Lindsay and Robert McMahon, *The President’s Inbox*, CFR.org, December 16, 2016.

“Trump dismisses concerns over Tillerson’s Russia ties,” Video discussion with Thomas Wright, Stephen Sestanovich, and Kate Snow, MSNBC, December 13, 2016.

“Russia’s Campaign in Syria: Three Things to Know,” Explainer Video on CFR.org, November 4, 2015.

“On GPS: A New Cold War?” Debate with Fareed Zakaria and Stephen Cohen, CNN, February 8, 2015.

“Where is Putin Leading Russia?” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, CFR.org, December 10, 2014.

“Conversation About Khodorkovsky, Putin, and the Future of Russia,” *Charlie Rose*, PBS, October 4, 2014.

“What Will Shape Poroshenko and Putin’s Upcoming Meeting?” Interview by Hari Streenivasan, PBS NewsHour, August 23, 2014.

“What MH17 Means for Russia,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, CFR.org, July 23, 2014.

“Will the MH17 Disaster Cause Putin to Change Course In Ukraine?” Interview by Gwen Ifill, PBS NewsHour, July 21, 2014.

“Ukrainian Army Takes Back Areas from Pro-Russian Separatists,” Interview by Renee Montagne, *Morning Edition*, NPR, July 11, 2014.

“Is Obama’s Foreign Policy Failing?” Video with Ambassador Thomas Pickering, *State of the Union*, CNN, April 27, 2014.

“‘Maximalist’ Author Steve Sestanovich,” *Charlie Rose*, PBS, April 24, 2014.

“Is Ukraine on a Long Road to Rupture?” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, April 22, 2014.

“Obama’s European Trip Overshadowed by Crimea Crisis,” Conversation with Cokie Roberts and Steve Inskeep, *Morning Edition*, NPR, April 2, 2014.

“Russians Beyond Russian Borders Spell Distress for Eastern Europe,” Interview by Robert Siegel, *All Things Considered*, NPR, April 1, 2014.

“What’s Next for Ukraine?” *Charlie Rose*, PBS, March 21, 2014.

“Putin’s Risky Improvisation in Ukraine,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, CFR.org, March 10, 2014.

“Political and Cultural Splinters are Deep in Ukraine,” Interview by Robert Siegel, *All Things Considered*, NPR, February 19, 2014.

“International Diplomacy: Professor Stephen Sestanovich on American Foreign Policy from Truman to Obama,” Interview for Columbia News, February 18, 2014.

“Fallout Continues Over U.S. Diplomat’s Comments,” Interview by Robin Young, *Here and Now*, NPR, February 7, 2014.

“Russia Before the Olympics,” *Charlie Rose*, PBS, January 18, 2014.

MEMBERSHIPS:

Council on Foreign Relations, 1994-present.

Board of Directors, National Endowment for Democracy, 2009-2018.

Advisory Board, The National Interest, 1991-1997, 2001-2005.

Included in the World Affairs Councils of America 500 most influential people in the United States in the field of foreign policy.