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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,
Washington, DC, July 2001-present.

Ambassador at Large and Special Adviser to the Secretary for the New Independent States, 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.

Graduate study, Columbia University, 1972-1973.

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

RECENT PUBLICATIONS:

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

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

- “Trump and Putin at the G20: No More Smiles,” Council on Foreign Relations, CFR.org, November 29, 2018.
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- “Can Reagan Show Trump How to Save the INF Treaty?” The American Interest, June 15, 2018.
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- “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.
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- “What Donald Trump Could Learn From Andrew Jackson,” *Washington Wire* (blog), Wall Street Journal, Jan 23, 2017.
- “Three Hard Questions for Rex Tillerson About Russia Sanctions,” *Washington Wire* (blog), Wall Street Journal, Jan 10, 2017.
- “Why Obama Erred in Waiting to Disclose Details of Election Hacking,” *Washington Wire* (blog), Wall Street Journal, Jan 3, 2017.
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- “How to Talk to Donald Trump About Valuing U.S. Allies,” *Washington Wire* (blog), Wall Street Journal, Nov 19, 2016.
- “What the ‘Hillary Hawk’ Talk Gets Wrong,” *Washington Wire* (blog), Wall Street Journal, Oct 28, 2016.
- “Are U.S. Voters Becoming Isolationist—or Just More Partisan?” *Washington Wire* (blog), Wall Street Journal, Oct 11, 2016.
- “Behind Vladimir Putin’s Trouble With the Truth,” *Washington Wire* (blog), Wall Street Journal, Oct 2, 2016.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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- “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.
- “A Genius? No Way.” Politico Magazine, March 13, 2014.
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- “Barack Obama’s Paragraph,” Politico Magazine, February 16, 2014.
- “The Price of Pulling Back From the World,” New York Times, February 10, 2014.
- “Russia After Sochi,” Expert Brief, CFR.org, February 3, 2014.
- “There Will Never Be a Unified Theory of JFK,” The New Republic, December 27, 2013.
- “What Would Richard Holbrooke Do?” Politico Magazine, December 9, 2013.
- “Russia’s Foreign Policy Is a Near-Complete Failure,” Financial Times, November 3, 2013.
- “Of Myths and Missiles,” Foreign Policy, October 12, 2012.
- “Cheer Up, Little Dima,” Foreign Policy, September 29, 2011.
- “The Three Changes Coming to Obama’s Approach to the Middle East,” Foreign Policy, February 4, 2011.
- “Sometimes, the Conventional Wisdom is Right,” Foreign Policy, January 5, 2011.
- “Why New START Was Ratified,” First Take, CFR.org, December 22, 2010.
- “America’s Facile, Self-Congratulatory Response to Wikileaks,” The New Republic, December 12, 2010.
- “Is the Devil to Blame for American Foreign Policy?” The New Republic, October 29, 2010.
- “The Firing of Moscow’s Mayor Could Actually Make Russia More Democratic,” New Republic Online, September 30, 2010.
- “How Do Long Wars Become So Long?” The New Republic, September 1, 2010.
- “Look Who Thinks America Is Cool Again,” The New Republic, July 30, 2010.
- “How Obama Will Deal With Our Wayward Ally, Turkey,” The New Republic, July 1, 2010.
- “Why Russia Didn’t Act,” Expert Brief, CFR.org, June 23, 2010.
- “Is Democracy Dead in Russia?” The Daily Beast, April 3, 2010.
- “The Strategic Arms Treaty’s Promise,” First Take, CFR.org, March 25, 2010.
- “The Dinner Guest,” American Interest, March/April 2010.
- “What Biden Should Have Said,” The Washington Post, August 6, 2009.
- “Cold War Leftovers,” The New York Times, May 20, 2009.
- “Hostile Territory for Obama’s Foreign Policy,” The Washington Post, April 24, 2009.
- “Ask Not What Europe Can Do for You,” ForeignPolicy.com, March 2009.

RECENT ACADEMIC LECTURES:

- “The Future of Russian-American Relations,” Atilim University, Ankara, Turkey, October 16, 2008.

“Do Russian-American Relations Have To Be So Bad?” Russian and Eurasian Studies/Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies lecture, Princeton University, March 26, 2008.

“Why Do Russian-American Relations Always Fall Short?” The Walter LaFeber-Joel Silbey Lecture, Cornell University, September 18, 2003.

“New War, New Allies: If the U.S. Can’t Go It Alone, Whom Should It Go With?” The Alexander Dallin Memorial Lecture, Stanford University, February 27, 2003.

RECENT CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY:

“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.

“Russian Civil Society and U.S. Policy,” Prepared Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, June 13, 2013.

“Evaluating the Reset: Is It Time for a Pause?” Prepared Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. July 7, 2011.

“Is It Time to Repeal Jackson-Vanik for Russia?” Prepared Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs’ Subcommittee on Terrorism, Non-proliferation, and Trade, April 27, 2010.

“Prospects for Engagement with Russia,” Prepared Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, March 19, 2009.

“Russian-American Relations: Problems and Prospects,” Prepared Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, May 17, 2007.

Testimony to Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, June 29, 2006.

Testimony to Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives, March 18, 2004.

VOLUMES EDITED:

Editor, Rethinking Russia’s National Interests, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1993.

General Editor, Creating the Post-Communist Order [Volume 1: Bruce Porter, Red Armies in Crisis; Volume 2: Anders Aslund, How Big a Bang?; Volume 3: Michael McFaul, Post-Communist Politics; Volume 4: Robert Scalapino, The Last Leninists], Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1991-1993.

“The Empire’s New Clothes,” The National Interest [Special Issue: The Soviet Union in the Third World], Summer 1988.

SELECT INTERVIEWS AND RECENT MEDIA APPEARANCES:

“Russia's Campaign in Syria: Three Things to Know,” CFR.org, November 4, 2015.

“Where is Putin Leading Russia?” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Visiting Fellow, 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?” PBS NewsHour, August 23, 2014.
- “What MH17 Means for Russia,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Visiting Fellow, CFR.org, July 23, 2014.
- “Russia’s Role in Investigating the Malaysia Airlines Plane Crash,” PBS NewsHour, July 21, 2014.
- “Ukrainian Army Takes Back Areas from Pro-Russian Separatists,” *Morning Edition*, NPR, July 11, 2014.
- “Has Obama’s Foreign Policy Failed,” *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,” *Morning Edition*, NPR, April 2, 2014.
- “Russians Beyond Russian Borders Spell Distress for Eastern Europe,” *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, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, March 10, 2014.
- “Political and Cultural Splinters are Deep in Ukraine,” *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,” *Here and Now*, NPR, February 7, 2014.
- “Russia Before the Olympics,” *Charlie Rose*, PBS, January 18, 2014.
- “Power Plays in Ukraine,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, December 4, 2013.
- “Another Cold Spell for U.S.-Russia Relations,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, August 8, 2013.
- “What to Expect at Putin-Obama Meeting,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, June 13, 2013.
- “Doubts Over U.S.-Russia Push for Syria Peace,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, May 9, 2013.
- “Reassessing the U.S.-Russia ‘Reset’,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, December 13, 2012.
- “What’s at Stake in Putin’s Culture War,” Interviewed by Jeanne Park, CFR.org, August 17, 2012.
- “Selling Putin’s Mideast Policy,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, June 27, 2012.

- “What Putin’s Latest Elections Says About Russia,” Interview on NPR’s “Talk of the Nation,” May 7, 2012.
- “The Next Putin Presidency,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, May 4, 2012.
- “Will Putin’s Victory Change Russia?” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, March 7, 2012.
- “What’s Next for Russia’s Political Leadership?” PBS Newshour, December 27, 2011.
- “Russian Politics,” Interview on WNYC’s “Backstory,” December 15, 2011.
- “Why Russian Protests Matter,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, December 13, 2011.
- “Impact of Russia’s WTO Entry on U.S.” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, November 10, 2011.
- “Putin’s Presidential Return,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, September 27, 2011.
- “The U.S.-Russia Missile Defense Impasse,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, June 1, 2011.
- “Kinder, Gentler U.S.-Russia Mood at NATO Summit,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, November 19, 2010.
- “Russia’s Courtship of Silicon Valley,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, June 24, 2010.
- “In Moscow Talks, Iran Looms,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR.org, March 17, 2010.
- “Obama’s Summit in Russia: Which Side ‘Blinks’ First?” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, CFR.org, July 1, 2009.
- “A Russian Reset Button?” Interview by Eric Lukas, Columbia Political Review, May 2009.
- “U.S. Analyst Says Russia, U.S. Leaders Seek Pragmatic Approach,” Interview by Dmitry Gornostaev, RIA Novosti, April 7, 2009.
- “Georgia-Russia Clash: A ‘Bump’ or ‘Fork’ in Road?” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, August 11, 2008.
- “Behind the Scenes ‘Warfare’ As Russia Awaits Putin Successor,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, February 26, 2008.
- Commentator on Russia, PBS series Great Decisions, January-February 2008.
- “Putin’s Choice for Next Russian President Seen as ‘Liberal’ for Kremlin,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, December 11, 2007.
- “Putin Promotes guessing Game on Russia’s Leadership,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, October 24, 2007.

“U.S.-Russia Relations Once More Revolving around Nuclear Issues,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, July 3, 2007.

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“Russia-Georgia Spat ‘Part of a Much Bigger Confrontation,’” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, October 4, 2006.

Appearance on “Charlie Rose Show,” aired June 6, 2006.

Appearance on “News Hour with Jim Lehrer,” aired May 10, 2006.

“Russia’s Attitude toward Iran Seen as Decisive in Measuring Policy,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, March 3, 2006.

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“Putin Using Concern Over Terrorism to Strengthen Control Over Russia,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, September 15, 2004.

“Putin Lacks Coherent Formula to Deal with Chechnya,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, September 9, 2004.

“Putin Is Sending a Message to Sleazy Officials Across Russia That Harassing Business Is Okay,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, October 31, 2003.

“Council Expert Says Putin Eager to Repair Relations With U.S.,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, September 24, 2003.

“Expert Says U.S.-Russian Strains May Not Be Easily Repaired,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, May 30, 2003.

“Expert Says Strained U.S.-Russian Relations at a Critical Point,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, May 12, 2003.

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.

PUBLICATIONS, 1983-2008:

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