

STEPHEN R. SESTANOVICH

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Professor in the Practice of International Diplomacy, School of International and Public Affairs, 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, 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:

“The Brilliant Incoherence of Trump’s Foreign Policy.” The Atlantic, May 2017.
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["Vladimir Putin and the Murder of Alexander Litvinenko,"](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), *Wall Street Journal*, January 22, 2016.

["The Long History of Leading From Behind,"](#) *The Atlantic*, January/February 2016.

["Joe Biden's Mission in Ukraine,"](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), *Wall Street Journal*, December 7, 2015.

["The Perplexing Case of the Three Vladimir Putins,"](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), *Wall Street Journal*, December 3, 2015.

["Clinton vs. Rubio: Who's Right About 'Radical Islam'?"](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), *Wall Street Journal*, November 23, 2015.

["More Sympathy for Paris Attack Victims Than Russian Terror Victims?"](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), *Wall Street Journal*, November 16, 2015.

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[“Will Obama Look Weak If He Meets With Putin?”](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), [Wall Street Journal](#), September 17, 2015.

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

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[“An Agenda for a Revamped Obama Foreign Policy Team,”](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), *Wall Street Journal*, October 31, 2014.

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

[“Who Really Runs Obama’s Policy?”](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), *Wall Street Journal*, September 18, 2014.

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

[“Does South Korea Really Face Extinction?”](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), *Wall Street Journal*, August 26, 2014.

[“Obama Needs Larger Goal Than Securing Ukraine Crash Site,”](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), *Wall Street Journal*, July 21, 2014.

[“What the Senate Gets Wrong About Ukraine,”](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), *Wall Street Journal*, July 12, 2014.

[“Is the Ukraine Crisis Unwinding?”](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), [Wall Street Journal](#), June 27, 2014.

[“Why the Daschle-Lott Senate Reforms Fall Short,”](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), [Wall Street Journal](#), June 25, 2014.

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

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[“A Firsthand View of Ukraine’s Elections”](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), [Wall Street Journal](#), May 25, 2014.

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

[“What Obama Could Learn From the Monica Lewinsky Scandal,”](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), [Wall Street Journal](#), May 12, 2014.

[“A Bold EU Move Against Vladimir Putin?”](#) *Washington Wire* (blog), [Wall Street Journal](#), May 7, 2014.

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

[“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.

[“The Steel in Barack Obama’s Spine,”](#) [Politico Magazine](#), March 3, 2014.

[“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.

“La Russia per Washington,” Aspenia, Aspen Institute Italia No. 35, 2006.

“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.

“Azerbaijan Vote Could Turn Violent If ‘Grossly Manipulated,’” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, November 4, 2005.

“Key Question in Russia is Who Will Succeed Putin in 2008?” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, September 30, 2005.

“Bush Will Press Putin on Backsliding,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, September 30, 2005.

“Crossed Signals at Bush-Putin Meeting?,” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, March 3, 2005.

“To Resolve Ukrainian Standoff, ‘Something Is Going to Have to Give,’” Interview by Bernard Gwertzman, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org, November 29, 2004.

“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-present.

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:

“Russia and the Global Economic Crisis,” cfr.org, November 25, 2008. [Republished as “Russia’s Comeuppance,” Newsweek, November 26, 2008. Republished as “Ekho sobytii 1998 goda,” Nezavisimaya Gazeta, December 8, 2008.]

“What Has Moscow Done? Rebuilding U.S.-Russian Relations,” Foreign Affairs, November/December 2008.

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