

# THOMAS M. NICHOLS

## CURRENT POSITION AND AFFILIATIONS

2008- **United States Naval War College**, Newport RI  
*Professor of National Security Affairs*  
*University Professor of the Naval War College*

- Adjunct Professor and Inaugural Faculty, U.S. Air Force School of Strategic Force Studies
- Senior Associate, Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs
- Senior Fellow, Graham Centre for Contemporary International History, University of Toronto
- Board of Advisers, Niskanen Center, Washington, DC
- Board of Contributors, *USA Today*
- Fellow, International History Institute, Boston University

## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

1997- **United States Naval War College**, Newport RI  
2008 *Professor of Strategy*

- Department Chairman, 2002-2005
- Associate Professor 1997-2000

2005- **Harvard University**, Cambridge, MA  
*Adjunct Faculty*, Summer and Extension Schools

Courses taught:

- The Future of War: Conflict and Order in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century
- Nuclear Weapons and International Security
- Seminar: The Origins and Development of Deterrence Theory
- Cold War Popular Culture and Foreign Policy
- The Crisis Game: A Cold War Simulation

2005 **La Salle University**, Philadelphia, PA  
*Visiting Professor*

1989- **Dartmouth College**, Hanover NH  
1997 *Associate Professor of Government*  
*Assistant Professor 1989-1995*

1988- **Georgetown University**, Washington DC  
1991 *Visiting Professor*

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

1990-1991 **U.S. Senator John Heinz**, Washington DC  
*Legislative Aide (Personal staff for defense and foreign affairs)*

1987-1990 **Center for Strategic and International Studies**, Washington DC  
*Fellow (1987-88), Associate (1988-1990)*

1986-1989 **SRS Technologies**, Arlington VA  
*Senior Research Analyst*

1981-1986 **Massachusetts House of Representatives**, Boston MA  
*Legislative Aide (1981-83), Program Analyst (1985-86)*

## **EDUCATION**

- 1988 **Georgetown University**, PhD in Government. (Thesis defense with Distinction)  
1985 **Columbia University**, Certificate of the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union.  
1984 **Columbia University**, MA in Political Science  
1983 **Boston University**, BA in Political Science.

## **AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS (selected)**

- 2018 **University Professor, Naval War College**  
Named a University Professor of the Naval War College, “recognizing superior scholarship and a depth of understanding and accomplishment that enables teaching across the spectrum of the College’s curriculum.”
- 2018 **Citta della Rose Book Prize**  
Awarded best foreign author prize of 2018 by the jury of Roseto degli Abruzzi, Italy, for *The Death of Expertise*.
- 2017 **POLITICO Magazine**  
Named one of the “POLITICO 50” for 2017, as one of the 50 “key thinkers, doers, and visionaries reshaping American politics and policy.”
- 2012 **Harvard University Extension School**  
Winner of 2012 Petra Shattuck Memorial Award for Excellence in Teaching. Dean’s letters of commendation for “distinguished teaching performance,” 2006-2017.
- 2008-2011 **John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University**  
Joint appointment as a fellow in the International Security Program and the Project on Managing the Atom at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.
- 2005 **Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs**  
Awarded Council Fellowship in the “Ethics and the Use of Force” program, 2004-2005.
- 2005 **United States Department of the Navy**  
Awarded Meritorious Civilian Service Medal for “outstanding meritorious service” as Strategy and Policy Department chairman at the U.S. Naval War College.
- 2001 **United States Naval War College**  
Professional Achievement award for excellence in teaching.
- 1999 **The Smith Richardson Foundation**  
Grant awarded to support the writing of *Winning the World*.
- 1997 **National Council for Soviet and East European Research**  
Special Research Competition grant to support the writing of *The Russian Presidency*.
- 1988 **John M. Olin Foundation**  
John M. Olin Postdoctoral Fellow at the U.S. Naval War College Foundation.

## **PUBLICATIONS, PAPERS, AND LECTURES**

### **BOOKS**

*Our Own Worst Enemy: The Assault on Democracy from Within*. New York: Oxford University Press, (under contract for 2021 release).

*The Death of Expertise: The Campaign Against Established Knowledge and Why it Matters*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. Editions in translation in Italian, Russian, Korean, Chinese, Finnish, Japanese, Romanian, Portuguese, Ukrainian, Vietnamese, and Indonesian.

*No Use: Nuclear Weapons and U.S. National Security*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

*Eve of Destruction: The Coming Age of Preventive War*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

*Winning the World: Lessons for America's Future from the Cold War*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003.

*The Russian Presidency: Society and Politics in the Second Russian Republic*, revised and expanded edition. New York: Palgrave/St. Martin's Press, 2001. (First publication 1999.)

*The Sacred Cause: Civil-Military Conflict over Soviet National Security, 1917-1992*. Ithaca: Cornell Studies in Security Affairs, Cornell University Press, 1993.

### **EDITED VOLUMES AND MONOGRAPHS**

*Tactical Nuclear Weapons and NATO*. (co-editor) Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army Strategic Studies Institute, 2012.

*The Logic of Russian Presidentialism*. The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies, no. 1301. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Center for Russian and East European Studies, 1998.

*The Current Soviet Debate on National Security: A Survey of Possible Outcomes*. Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, CSIS Contingencies Series, 1988.

### **ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS**

"Mourning the INF Treaty." *Foreign Affairs*, March 4, 2019.

"U.S. Nuclear Strategy: The Search for Meaning," in Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John A. Cloud, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

"How America Lost Faith in Expertise." *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2017.

"How Did the Public's View of Science Go Wrong?" *Scientific American*, March 2, 2017.

"*Eve of Destruction: A Retrospective*," in Kerstin Fisk and Jennifer Ramos, eds., *Preventive Force: Targeted Killing and Technology*. New York: New York University Press, 2016.

- "The Soviets and the Forgotten Ford Administration: The End of Détente in the *Foreign Relations of the United States*, vol XVI (2012) (review essay) H-DIPLO H-Net List for Diplomatic History, January 2014.
- "Preface" and "Summing Up: Issues for the Future," in Tom Nichols, Douglas Smith, and J. D. Mccausland, eds., *Tactical Nuclear Weapons and NATO*. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army Strategic Studies Institute, March 2012.
- "The Evolution of U.S. Nuclear Strategy: From Massive Retaliation to the Nuclear Posture Review," in Jung-Ho Bae and Jae Ku, eds., *Nuclear Security 2012: Challenges of Proliferation and Implications for the Korean Peninsula*. Seoul: KINU Press, 2011.
- "Space, Stability, and Nuclear Strategy: Rethinking Missile Defense." (with Joan Johnson-Freese) *China Security* 6 (2), Fall 2010.
- "Space, Security, and the New Nuclear Triad." (with Joan Johnson-Freese) *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Fall/Winter 2007.
- "Anarchy and Order in the New Age of Prevention." *World Policy Journal*, Fall 2005.
- "Who Gave You the Right to Mock a Great Power Like the Soviet Union? From Reform to Collapse in Eastern Europe and the USSR, 1988-1991." (review essay) H-DIPLO H-Net List for Diplomatic History, May 2005.
- "Presidentialism and Democracy in Russia: The First Ten Years." *Problems of Post-Communism*, September/October 2003.
- "Just War, Not Prevention." *Ethics and International Affairs*, Spring 2003.
- "Russia's Turn West: Sea-Change or Opportunism?" *World Policy Journal*, Winter 2002/2003.
- "Putin's First Two Years: Democracy or Authoritarianism?" *Current History*, October 2002.
- "Carter and the Soviets: The Origins of the U.S. Return to a Strategy of Confrontation." *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, June 2002.
- "Soldiers and War: A Top Ten List." *International Journal*, Spring 2001.
- "Brezhnev's Elephant: Why Can't International Relations Theory Integrate New Revelations about the Cold War and the Role of Ideology in it?" (review essay) H-DIPLO H-Net List for Diplomatic History, September 1999.
- "Mules, Missiles, and McCarthy," *International Journal*, Summer 1999. (Reprinted in Arnold Beichman, ed., *CNN's Cold War Documentary: Issues and Controversy*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2000.)
- "Lessons from the New History of the Cold War." *International Journal*, Autumn 1998.
- "The Soviet Legacy: Nationalism, Ideology and the New CIS Militaries," in Theodore Karasik, ed., *Russia and Eurasia Military Review Annual*, vol. 15. Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1999.

"Russian Democracy and Social Capital." *Social Science Information*, December 1996.

"Refighting and Rewriting the Cold War." (review essay) *Strategic Review*, Spring 1995.

"An Electoral Mutiny? Zhirinovskiy and the Russian Armed Forces." *Armed Forces and Society*, Spring 1995.

"No Misunderstanding: A Critique of Cold War Revisionism." *Harvard International Review*, Fall 1994.

"Soviet Civil-Military Relations Under Gorbachev," and "Conclusions: What Lies Ahead?" in William Green and Theodore Karasik, eds., *Gorbachev and His Generals: The Reform of Soviet Military Doctrine*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1990.

"Novoe Myshlenie and the Soviet Military: The Impact of Reasonable Sufficiency on the Ministry of Defense." (with Ted Karasik) *Naval War College Review*, Autumn 1989.

**BOOK REVIEWS** in *Slavic Review*, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Strategic Review*, *International Journal*, *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, *Russian Review*, *Demokratizatsiya*, *Russian History*, *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, *Journal of Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Journal of Soviet Military Studies*, *Naval War College Review*, *H-Net Reviews*, *Journal of Military History*

#### **OTHER WRITINGS (SELECTED)**

"If This Isn't Impeachable, Nothing Is." *The Atlantic*, September 21, 2019.

"At least Bolton didn't start a war before Trump fired him." *USA Today*, September 11, 2019.

"No Thanks, Joe Walsh." *The Washington Post*, August 28, 2019.

"Chernobyl Should Make Humanity Count Its Blessings." *The Atlantic*, June 3, 2019.

"Don't Let the Students Run the Universities." *The Atlantic*, May 7, 2019.

"NATO Saved Us - and the World." *USA Today*, April 3, 2019.

"Trump Escalates His Assault on Civil-Military Relations." *The Atlantic*, January 2, 2019.

"Leaving the INF Treaty is a Gift to Russia." *The National Interest*, October 23, 2018.

"Why I Left the Republican Party." *The Atlantic*, October 7, 2018.

"Why the Kavanaugh nomination must wait." *The Washington Post*, August 23, 2018.

"Hold the irrational exuberance on North Korea: Kim is already winning." *USA Today*, May 2, 2018.

"Trump is delivering what he promised: A government with no experts." *The Washington Post*, March 9, 2018

"Theatrics or threat? Putin leans on nuclear hysteria to mask insecurity." *The Hill*, March 5, 2018.

"Trump's First Year: A Damage Assessment." *The Washington Post*, Outlook, January 19, 2018.

"Mass shootings, irrationality, and why you shouldn't bring a gun to church," *The Los Angeles Times*, November 8, 2017.

"Don't comfort yourself with talk of a 'preemptive' strike on North Korea." *The Hill*, October 16, 2017.

"How We Killed Expertise (and why we need it back)." *POLITICO Magazine*, September/October 2017.

"After 9/11, are we in danger of defeating ourselves?" *The Hill*, September 17, 2017.

"Donald Trump, North Korea and nuclear weapons: Should presidents alone decide?" *USA Today*, August 29, 2017.

"Now Montana Knows Why Early Voting Is Bad." *The New York Times*, May 25, 2017.

"Chill, America. Not every Trump outrage is outrageous." *The Washington Post*, February 2, 2017

"Our Graduates are Rubes." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 20, 2017.

"Never-Trump Confidential." *The New York Times Magazine*, July 18, 2016.

"Why an Obama-Putin Summit Would Be a Big Mistake." *The National Interest*, September 22, 2015.

"The Iran Deal Truthers." *The Daily Beast*, August 22, 2015.

"Earth to GOP: The Right Way to Answer the Iraq Question." *The New York Post*, May 18, 2015.

"What Makes Rogue States Dangerous." *The National Interest*, May 16, 2015.

"Russia Can't Beat NATO--But Putin May Try." *RealClearDefense*, February 25, 2015

"NATO's Tactical Nuclear Weapons Must Go—But Not Today." *The National Interest*, August 23, 2014.

"This Is What Kremlin Panic Looks Like." *Business Insider*, July 20, 2014.

"America's Hollow Foreign Policy Debate." *The National Interest*, July 10, 2014.

"Intervention in Syria and the Myth of the 'Exit Strategy'." *WarOnTheRocks.com*, March 4, 2014.

"Were America's Nuclear Codes Set to Zero?" *Business Insider*, January 27, 2014.

"The Coming Nuclear War with...the Soviet Union?" *The National Interest*, August 25, 2013.

"Why Can't Washington Act in Syria?" *Toronto Star*, May 12, 2013.

"Repeal the War Powers Resolution." *World Politics Review*, May 24, 2011.

"Rumours of U.S. Decline are Greatly Exaggerated." *The Toronto Star*, January 2, 2011.

"Obama Made the Right Decision on Missile Defense." *National Review Online*, September 17, 2009.

"Improving Russia-U.S. Relations: The Next Steps." Policy Memo, International Security Program, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, June 2009.

"Bush's 'Orphans' Haunt the World." *The Toronto Star*, December 29, 2008.

"A New Cold War? Not Quite." *The Toronto Star*, May 11, 2006.

"Preventive War" and "Preemptive War" in John Resch, ed., *Americans at War: Society, Culture, and the Homefront* (New York: Macmillan, 2004).

"How Really New Is the New Bush National Security Strategy?" *History News Network*, October 14, 2002.

"The Battle of Sphacteria," in J. Vance, ed., *Encyclopedia of Prisoners of War and Internment* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO Press, 2000).

"Unreal Notions about Russia." *The Boston Globe*, op-ed, July 24, 2000. (Reprinted as "Ne brosaite Rossiu," in *Moskovskie Novosti*, Moscow, Russia, August 15, 2000.)

"Don't Use NATO to Fence Russia In." (with Steven Ross) *The Boston Globe*, op-ed, December 19, 1997.

"An Impending Russian Coup? Nyet." *The Christian Science Monitor*, op-ed, November 6, 1996.

"Nationalism and Nukes." *The Christian Science Monitor*, op-ed, December 1, 1992.

"The Military and the 'New Political Thinking.'" *Radio Liberty Reports*, RL 80/87, February 26, 1987.

#### **PRESENTATIONS AND INVITED LECTURES (selected)**

"The Silent Crisis in US Civil-Military Relations." University of Wisconsin, Center For The Study Of Liberal Democracy, Madison, WI.

"Democracy and the Death of Expertise." The 2018 Binns Lecture on Power and Justice, William Jewell College, Liberty, MO, October 30, 2018.

"The Death of Expertise: The Campaign Against Established Knowledge and Why It Matters." University of Rochester, October 25, 2018.

"The Death of Expertise: The Risks to American Democracy," Workshop on Democracy in the Post-Truth Condition: Contentious Knowledge, Populism, and Expertise, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, September 28, 2018.

"The Importance of Listening to Experts: Advice for Policymakers," Canada School of Public Service, Ottawa, Canada, May 8, 2018.

“The Death of Expertise: What the Campaign Against Established Knowledge Means to You,” Dr. Herbert Platter Memorial Lecture, annual meeting of the Federation of State Medical Boards, Charlotte, NC, April 26, 2018.

“Russia vs. America: The New Cold War in Cyberspace,” Hamilton Hall Lectures, Salem, MA, March 15, 2018.

“Knowledge Under Siege: The Future of Expertise In The Information Age,” University of Oxford, Mathematical Institute, Oxford, UK, February 2, 2018.

“The Role of Experts in an Age of Populism,” Chatham House, London, UK, February 1, 2018.

“The Death of Expertise: The Risk to U.S. National Security and Democracy.” The Clements Center for National Security, University of Texas, Austin, TX, December 2017.

“Science and Truth,” The Post-Truth Initiative Symposium, University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia, November 2017.

“Disinformation Campaigns - and How to Fight Them,” U.S. Department of State Speaker Series, Plzen, Ostrava, and Olomuc, Czech Republic, October 2016

“Experts and the Public,” The National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine, meeting of the Committee on Science, Technology, and Law, Pasadena, CA, March 2017.

“National Security and the Death of Expertise in the Information Age,” Texas State University, San Marcos, TX, March 2017

“Effective Nuclear Deterrence Strategy, 2030 and Beyond,” National Security Speaker Series, Sandia National Laboratories, Albuquerque, NM, December 2016.

“Russia’s Disinformation Campaign in Europe,” U.S. Department of State Speaker Series, Prague and Brno, Czech Republic, October 2016.

“Nuclear Deterrence for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” Harvard Alumni Association, Tampa, FL, February 2016.

“The U.S. and Russia Today: New Cold War, Hot War, or Reconciliation?” Hudson Valley World Affairs Council, FDR Library, Hyde Park, NY, September 2015.

“Reforming Nuclear Deterrence.” First Annual Polanyi Conference on Science and Social Responsibility, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, November 2014.

“Russia and America: Doomed to Conflict or Destined to Cooperation?” Hamilton Hall Lectures, Salem, MA, March 2014.

“Nuclear Weapons and U.S. National Security,” Bard College Program in Globalization and International Affairs, New York, NY, February 2014.

“War in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.” The Salem Athenaeum, Salem, MA, September 2013.

“Why We Study War.” Harvard Graduate Council “Lectures that Last” Series, Cambridge, MA, April 2013.



- "The Strategic and Moral Implications of Deep Nuclear Cuts." Keynote, 19th annual Community of Christ Peace Colloquy, Independence, MO, October, 2012.
- "Nuclear Deterrence and Missile Defense." Czech Institute for International Studies, Prague, Czech Republic, May 2011.
- "Is America in Decline?" The Metropolitan University of Prague, Prague, Czech Republic, May 2011.
- "The Morality of Nuclear Retaliation," Loyola University School of Law International Symposium, Chicago, IL, February 2011.
- "Nuclear War with Small States," International Security Program, Belfer Center for International Affairs, JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, February 2011.
- "Deterrence in the 21st Century: U.S. Choices on the Roles of Nuclear Weapons, Conventional Capabilities, and Missile Defense." Presentation to the Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw, Poland, October 2010.
- "Nuclear Attack and Conventional Retaliation." Paper presented at the conference on "Uncovering the Sources of Nuclear Behavior: Historical Dimensions of Nuclear Proliferation," Center for Security Studies, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich, Switzerland, June 2010.
- "Humanitarian Intervention: The Role of the United Nations." Suffolk University, Boston, MA, March 2010.
- "New Threats, New Rules? Preventive War and Preventive Nuclear Attack," International Security Program, Belfer Center for International Affairs, JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, November 2009.
- "The Future of U.S. - Russian Relations," keynote address, U.S.-Russia Relations Symposium, Tufts University, Medford, MA, April 2009.
- "Nuclear Attack and Conventional Retaliation: Toward a New American Nuclear Doctrine." Project on Managing the Atom Seminar, Belfer Center for International Affairs, JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, December 2008.
- "The Role of the United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." Moscow School of Political Studies Seminar Series, Golitsyno, Russia, July 2008.
- "Eve of Destruction: The Coming Age of Preventive War." International History Institute, Boston University, Boston, MA, January 2008.
- "Deterrence or Prevention? Countering the WMD Threat." Watson Institute, Brown University, Providence, RI, July 2007.
- "The Just War Tradition." The Center for Religious Inquiry, Los Angeles, CA, November 2006.
- "Anarchy and Order in the New Age of Prevention." University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, April 2006.

- “Entering the New Age of Preventive War: America’s Choices, Multilateral Solutions?” Paper presented to the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs Foreign Policy Roundtable, New York, NY, September 2005.
- “The New Age of Prevention.” Paper presented to the 2005 Fellows Conference, Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, New York, NY, June 2005.
- “Russian-American Security Cooperation and the Reform of International Institutions.” Moscow School of Political Studies Seminar Series, Golitsyno, Russia, June 2005.
- “Conflict and Order in the New Age of Preventive War.” Carnegie Council Young Associates Program, New York, NY, February 2005.
- “Conflict in the New Age of Prevention.” Paper presented at the conference on Conflicts and Compromises in World History, Yaroslavl State University, Yaroslavl, Russia, June 2004.
- “Ideology, Terrorism, and Conflict in the 21st Century.” Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology, and Policy, Boston University, Boston, MA, December 2003.
- “Alone or Together? The U.S. and the World.” Council for International Visitors, Newport, RI, February 2003.
- “Putin’s First Two Years: Democratic Partner or Future U.S. Competitor?” Paper presented to the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs Foreign Policy Roundtable, New York, NY, October 2002.
- “Russia Reexamined.” Great Decisions Series, Pell Center for International Relations, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, March 2002.
- “The End of the Revolution: From Yeltsin to Putin.” Paper presented at the 2001 Annual Summer Symposium, Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois, Champaign IL, June 2001.
- “Two Camps: Soviet Ideology and the Common Defense.” Paper presented at the International Conference on NATO: The First Fifty Years, Bonn, Germany, May 1999.
- “Fighting to Win or Prolonging the Agony? U.S. Strategy in the Cold War.” Harvard University National Resource Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies Workshop: Teaching the Cold War, Cambridge MA, January 1999.
- “Divided Loyalties, Dividing the Fleet: The Soviet Black Sea Fleet, 1992.” Paper presented at the Canadian Nautical Research Society, International Conference on Naval War, Exploration and Societies at Sea, Calgary, Canada, June 1998.
- “The Military in the 1995 Duma Campaign.” Paper presented at the 1996 AAASS Annual Meeting, Boston MA, November 1996.
- “Terrorism and the Limits of Government Response.” Dartmouth College Alumni Seminar Program, Locust Valley NY, November 1996
- “The Russian Officer as Politician.” Paper presented at the International Political Science Association, interim meeting of the Research Group on Armed Forces and Society, Seoul, South Korea, July 1996.

- "The Russian Military and the 1995 Duma Campaign." Paper presented at the Conference on Armed Forces and Society, Moscow, Russia, June 1996.
- "NATO Expansion and Russian Foreign Policy in Central Europe." New London Public Library Lecture Series, New London NH, May 1996.
- "Developments in Russia: Implications for U.S. National Security." U.S. Naval Reserve Seminar Program, Seattle WA, March 1995.
- "Executive Power and Military Control in Russia since 1993." Paper presented at 1994 AAASS Annual Meeting, Philadelphia PA, November 1994.
- "The Political Role of the Russian Military." 1994 Peace and World Security Studies Seminar, Hampshire College, Amherst MA, July 1994.
- "The 1993 Russian Election and Civil-Military Relations." Paper presented at the U.S. Army War College Conference on the 1993 Russian Elections, Washington DC, January 1994.
- "Ideology and Nationalism in the Russian Armed Forces." Paper presented at the IPSA Interim Meeting of the Research Group on Armed Forces and Society, Moscow, Russia, July 1993.
- "Evolving Russian Political Institutions: The Russian Armed Forces." Paper presented at the New England Slavic Association annual conference, Providence RI, April, 1993.
- "The Collapse of the Soviet Union: Implications for U.S. National Security." New Hampshire Council for the Humanities Lecture Series, Dover, Nashua and Newport, NH, October 1992.
- "Nationalism, Ideology, and the New CIS Militaries." Paper presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Bedford Symposium, Bedford, Canada, July 1992.
- "The Future of Civil-Military Relations in the USSR." Paper presented at the Conference on Armed Forces and Military Service in a Democratic State, Moscow, USSR, November 1991.
- "Nationalism and the End of Empire." Summer Seminar Series in International Affairs, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, July 1991.
- "The New Eastern Europe." Keynote Address, Scholastic Press Forum, American International College, Springfield MA, March 1990.
- "Change and Challenge in Eastern Europe." The Joseph Hearst Memorial Lecture, Frank Church Symposium on International Affairs, Idaho State University, Pocatello ID, February 1990.
- "Developments in Soviet Military Politics." U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, Washington DC, August 1989.
- "Gorbachev and Civil-Military Relations." Paper presented at 1988 AAASS Annual Meeting, Honolulu HI, November 1988.
- "Testing the Limits: The New Thinking and Military Opposition," Paper presented at the U.S. Air Force Symposium on Soviet Political Military Relations, Washington DC, October 1988.

"The Military Instruments of Foreign Policy." Summer Seminar Series in International Affairs,  
Georgetown University, Washington DC, July 1988.