

THOMAS M. NICHOLS

U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE
686 CUSHING BLVD
NEWPORT, RI 02841
401-841-7507
NICHOLST@USNWC.EDU

PROJECT ON MANAGING THE ATOM
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY PROGRAM
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
401-207-6001
THOMAS_NICHOLS@HKS.HARVARD.EDU

CURRENT POSITION

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

- Course Director, *Security, Strategy and Forces*, 2008-present
- Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2008-present
- Senior Associate, Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, 2005-present
- Fellow, International History Institute, Boston University, 2007-present
- Forrest Sherman Chair of Public Diplomacy, Naval War College, 2002-2009

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 faculty teaching courses on international relations.

1989- **Dartmouth College**, Hanover NH
1997 *Associate Professor of Government*
Courses taught included comparative politics, Russian and Soviet politics and foreign policy, and civil-military relations. Assistant Professor 1989-1995.

1988- **Georgetown University**, Washington DC
1991 *Visiting Professor*
Courses taught included international relations and graduate courses in U.S.-Soviet relations.

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.

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)

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

- Senior Associate, Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs
- Fellow, Inter-University Seminar on the Military and Society
- Fellow, International History Institute, Boston University
- Member, American Political Science Association
- Member, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies
- Life Member, U.S. Naval War College Foundation
- Member, IREX Individual Advanced Research Opportunities in Eurasia selection committee, 1994-1997, 1999; Chair, 1997

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND AWARDS

- 2008 **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
- 2006 **Harvard University Extension School**
Dean's letter of commendation for "distinguished teaching performance."
- 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.
- 2005 **The Smith Richardson Foundation**
Grant awarded to support the writing of *Eve of Destruction*.
- 2004 **Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs**
Awarded Council Fellowship in the "Ethics and the Use of Force" program, 2004-2005.
- 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*.
- 1994 **Rockefeller Center for the Social Sciences, Dartmouth College**
Grant awarded for project titled "The Russian Presidency."
- 1991 **United States Department of the Navy**
Secretary of the Navy Fellowship at the Naval War College, 1990-1991.
- 1990 **Social Science Research Council**
Support awarded to attend SSRC Summer Workshop in Toronto, Canada.
- 1988 **William and Mary Greve Foundation**
Research grant at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- 1988 **John M. Olin Foundation**
John M. Olin Postdoctoral Fellow at the U.S. Naval War College Foundation.

PUBLICATIONS, PAPERS, AND LECTURES

BOOKS

No Use: Nuclear Weapons and the Reform of American Security Strategy (in progress)

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.

(Excerpt published in Russia as "Voina za mir: SSSR, SShA, i politika razriadki v 'dolgie' 70-e," in *Neprikosnovennyi zapas*, no. 52, 2007.)

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.

ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS

"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.

"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.

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.

"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 *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Slavic Review*, *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*.

OTHER WRITINGS (SELECTED)

"U.S. Power Slipping? It's All Relative." (with Joan Johnson-Freese) DoDBuzz.com, November 26, 2009

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

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

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

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

"Submarine Incursions in Swedish Waters During the Second Cold War: A Comment." Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact, October 2002.

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

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

PAPERS AND INVITED LECTURES (selected)

"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 21st 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 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, 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.
- "A Look Ahead at the Russian Elections." Russia Society of New Hampshire, Bedford NH, December 1995
- "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 4th 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.