

DAVID P. AUERSWALD

Professor of Security Studies
National War College, National Defense University
and
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Employment History

Professor of Security Studies, National War College, August 2001 – present.

Nonresident Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council, June 2022 – present.

Acting Dean of Faculty and Academic Programs, National War College, July 2010 – May 2011

Associate Dean of Academic Programs, National War College, January 2010 – June 2011.

Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, July 2008 – July 2009

Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University, August 1994 through July 2001.

Staff Member, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC, November 1998 through August 1999 (as an APSA Congressional Fellow).

Instructor and Teaching Assistant, University of California at San Diego, 1991 – 1994.

Staff Assistant, office of the Hon. Timothy E. Wirth, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC, 1988.

Research Assistant, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Arms Control and National Security Division, Washington, DC, 1987.

Legislative Intern, office of the Hon. Don Edwards, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC, 1987.

Education

Ph.D.	June 1994	Political Science	University of California at San Diego
M.A.	June 1991	Political Science	University of California at San Diego
B.A.	May 1987	Political Science	Brown University
B.A.	May 1987	English Literature	Brown University

Research in Progress

- *Legislatures and Civil-Military Relations*. This is a book manuscript comparing legislative oversight of militaries in 15 democracies. An article version of the project, titled "Some Assembly Required: Explaining Variations in Legislative Oversight Over the Armed Forces," is under review. The project was supported by a \$254,000 grant from Canada's Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) with co-investigators Stephen Saideman and Phillip Lagasse of Carlton University.

Publications

Books:

Congress and Civil-Military Relations. Edited with Colton Campbell. (Georgetown University Press, 2015).

NATO in Afghanistan: Fighting Together, Fighting Alone. Co-authored with Stephen Saideman. (Princeton University Press, 2014).

Congress and the Politics of National Security. Edited with Colton Campbell. (Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Disarmed Democracies: Domestic Institutions and the Use of Force. (University of Michigan Press, 2000).

The Kosovo Conflict: A Diplomatic History through Documents. Edited with Philip Auerswald. (Kluwer Law International, 2000).

Refereed Articles:

"Toward Integrated Deterrence: Sweden's Role on NATO's Northern Flank," *Journal of Arctic and Climate Security Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1 (forthcoming 2023), with Lisa Aronsson, Jaclyn Kerr and Brett Swaney.

["Some Assembly Required: Explaining Variations in Legislative Oversight Over the Armed Forces,"](#) *Foreign Policy Analysis*, vol. 19, issue 1 (January 2023), with Philippe Lagasse and Stephen Saideman.

["A U.S. Security Strategy for the Arctic,"](#) *War on the Rocks*, 27 May 2021, available at <https://warontherocks.com/2021/05/a-u-s-security-strategy-for-the-arctic/>.

["NATO in the Arctic: Keep Its Role Limited, For Now,"](#) *War on the Rocks*, 12 October 2020, available at <https://warontherocks.com/2020/10/nato-in-the-arctic-keep-its-role-limited-for-now/>.

["Now is not the Time for a FONOP in the Arctic,"](#) *War on the Rocks*, 11 October 2019, available at <https://warontherocks.com/2019/10/now-is-not-the-time-for-a-fonop-in-the-arctic/>.

[“China’s Multifaceted Arctic Strategy,”](https://warontherocks.com/2019/05/chinas-multifaceted-arctic-strategy/) *War on the Rocks*, 24 May 2019, available at <https://warontherocks.com/2019/05/chinas-multifaceted-arctic-strategy/>.

[“Legislatures and Civil-Military Relations in the U.S. and U.K.”](#) *Western European Politics*, vol. 40, no. 1 (2017): 1-20.

[“Geopolitical Iceberg,”](#) *Proceedings*, vol. 141, no. 12 (December 2015): 18-23.

[“Comparing Caveats: Understanding the Sources of National Restrictions upon NATO’s Mission in Afghanistan,”](#) *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 1 (March 2012): 67-84, with Stephen Saideman.

“It’s Not Just the Economy, Stupid: Linking Free Trade and the War on Terror,” GUISD/Pew Case Study 293 (Washington DC: Georgetown University’s Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 2007), with Caroline Shaver.

“Deterring Non-State WMD Attacks,” *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 121, no. 4 (Winter 2006/2007): 543-568.

“Senate Reservations to Security Treaties,” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, vol. 2, no. 1 (January 2006): 83-100.

“Explaining Wars of Choice: An Integrated Decision Model of NATO Policy in Kosovo,” *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 3 (September 2004): 631-662.

“Teaching Strategy Through Theory and Practice,” with Janet Breslin-Smith and Paula Thornhill. *Defence Studies* vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 1-17.

“Policymaking Through Advice and Consent: Treaty Consideration by the United States Senate,” with Forrest Maltzman. *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 65, no. 4 (November 2003): 1097-1110.

“The President, the Congress, and American Missile Defense Policy,” *Defence Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 57-82.

“Inward Bound: Domestic Institutions and Military Conflicts,” *International Organization*, vol. 53, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 470-504.

“Ballotbox Diplomacy: The War Powers Resolution and the Use of Force,” with Peter Cowhey. *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 3 (September 1997): 505-528.

Book Chapters, Monographs and Opinion Pieces:

“U.S. Military Capabilities and Intent in the European Arctic,” in *Power Projection, Defense and Joint Operations on NATO’s Northern Flank*, edited by Njord Wegge and Lon Strauss (book manuscript under review for publication in 2023).

“Civilian Control of the Military,” chapter 12 in *NATO Research Handbook*. Edited by Sebastian Mayer. (Edward Elgar Publishing, forthcoming in July 2023), with Stephen Saideman.

- “How the US Senate could slow down Sweden and Finland’s NATO future,” *Atlantic Council*, 17 May 2022, available at <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/how-the-us-senate-could-slow-down-sweden-and-finlands-nato-future/>.
- “Should Finland Join NATO? Consider These Factors,” *Defense News*, 30 April 2022, available at <https://www.defensenews.com/opinion/commentary/2022/04/30/should-finland-join-nato-consider-these-factors/>.
- “All Security is Local: Arctic Defense Policies and Domain Awareness,” *Atlantic Council* report, 30 March 2022, available at <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/all-security-is-local-arctic-defense-policies-and-domain-awareness/>.
- “Arctic Narratives and Geopolitical Competition,” chapter 15 in *Handbook on Geopolitics and Security in the Arctic*. Edited by Joachim Weber. (Springer Publishing, 2020): 251-271.
- “Competing Visions and Actions by China, Russia and the United States in Latin America, the Middle East, Africa and the Arctic,” chapter 13 in *Strategic Assessment 2020: Into a New Era of Great Power Competition*. (National Defense University Press, 2020): 271-289, with Bryce Loidolt, Douglas Farah, Shannon Smith and Caitlyn Yates. Available at <https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Publications/Books/Strategic-Assessments-2020/>.
- “China, Russia move into the Arctic – and put U.S. at Risk,” *The Hill*, 14 May 2019, available at <https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/443324-china-russia-move-into-the-arctic-and-put-us-at-risk>, with Terry Anderson.
- “The Evolution of the NSC Process,” chapter 2 in *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth, second edition*. Edited by Roger George and Harvey Rishikof. (Georgetown University Press, 2017): 32-56.
- “Congress: The Other Branch,” chapter 13 in *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth, second edition*. Edited by Roger George and Harvey Rishikof. (Georgetown University Press, 2017): 281-299, with Colton Campbell.
- “The High North,” chapter 17 in *Charting a Course: Strategic Choices for a New Administration*. (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2017): 355-375.
- “Crisis in Dominion: An Intelligence Simulation,” GUIDS/Pew Case Study #333 (Georgetown University’s Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 2015).
- “Coalitions at the Limits: NATO’s Restricted Effort in Afghanistan,” chapter 9 in *The International Community and Statebuilding*. Edited by Patrice McMahon and Jon Western. (Routledge, 2012): 152-168, with Stephen Saideman.
- “Arms Control and a New START,” chapter 9 in *Congress and the Politics of National Security*. Edited by David Auerswald and Colton Campbell. (Cambridge University Press, 2012): 167-188.
- “The Evolution of the NSC Process,” chapter 2 in *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth*. Edited by Roger George and Harvey Rishikof. (Georgetown University Press, 2011): 31-54.

“Deterring Non-State WMD Attacks,” chapter 4 in *Crisis in National Security: Can Terrorist Attacks and Nuclear Proliferation Be Stopped?* Edited by Demetrios Caraley and Loren Kando. (The Academy of Political Science, 2007): 75-100.

“Advice and Consent: The Forgotten Power,” chapter 3 in *Congress and the Politics of Foreign Policy*. Edited by Colton C. Campbell, Nicol C. Rae, John F. Stack, Jr. (Prentice Hall, 2002): 44-69.

“The Domestic Politics of NMD and Missile Proliferation in the United States,” in *MIIS Occasional Paper No. 7: Strategic Missiles – Problems and Prospects* (Monterey Institute of International Studies, August 2001): 51-58.

The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy: A Symposium, edited with John G. Ruggie, University of California’s Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, Studies in Conflict and Cooperation, No. 1 (1990).

Government Monographs:

The Domestic Context and U.S. National Security Decision-Making. Prepared for the National Defense University, Department of Defense, Washington, DC, editions in 2007, 2008, 2020, 2021 and April 2023, 70 pages.

The Non-Military Instruments of Power. Prepared for the National Defense University, Department of Defense, Washington, DC, editions in 2014 and 2015, 95 pages.

CENTCOM Assessment Team: Lessons Learned. Official “Lessons Learned” report prepared for U.S. Central Command, Washington, DC, March 2009, 61 pages.

Fundamentals of Strategic Logic. Prepared for the National Defense University, Department of Defense, Washington, DC, editions in 2004, 2005, 91 pages.

Recent Research Presentations and Outreach

“Game changers in the High North,” presented at the Atlantic Council conference titled *Looking North: Conference on Security in the Arctic* (Norwegian Embassy in Washington, DC, 2 March 2023).

“Trends in United States Arctic Policy,” presented at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (Washington, DC, 7 December 2022).

“Strategic Implications of a Changing Arctic,” presented at the Center for Security Policy Studies, Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University (Arlington, VA, 27 October 2022).

“Military Dilemmas in the Arctic,” podcast, for the four-part podcast series *Voices from the North*, sponsored by the U.S. Embassy in Stockholm and the Atlantic Council, 29 April 2022, available at <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/programs/europe-center/northern-europe-office/voices-from-the-north/>.

“The Implications of Russian Strategy for the Arctic,” testimony before the Canadian Senate Committee on National Security and Defense, 25 April 2022, webcast available at <https://senparlvu.parl.gc.ca/Harmony/en>.

“Preventing Spillover Conflict in the High North,” presented at the Atlantic Council conference titled *Looking North: Conference on Security in the Arctic* (Norwegian Embassy in Washington, DC, 4 April 2022).

“Arctic Logistical Challenges for the U.S. Military,” presented to Lt. Gen. Sam Barrett, USAF, Director for Logistics – J4, and other flag/general officers from U.S. Combatant Commands and allied nations attending the Joint Staff-J4’s Worldwide Logistics Conference, Joint Staff, Department of Defense (Fort Belvoir, VA, 9 March 2022).

“The Domestic Politics of Great Power Competition in the Arctic,” presented to the Canadian Forces College (Washington, DC, 2 February 2022).

Quoted in Liz Ruskin’s “The Military Sharpens Its Focus on the Arctic,” Alaska Public Media, 11 November 2021, <https://www.alaskapublic.org/2021/11/11/the-military-sharpens-its-focus-on-the-arctic/>

“U.S. Arctic Security Strategies,” presented virtually at the George C. Marshall Center (Garmisch, Germany, 31 August 2021).

“NATO’s Possible Future in the Arctic,” presented virtually to the NATO Science and Technology Organization, Centre for Maritime Research and Experimentation (La Spenzia, Italy, 8 March 2021).

“An Arctic Security Assessment,” briefing to Maj. Gen. David Maxwell, USMC, Vice Director for Logistics – J4, Joint Staff, Department of Defense (Washington, DC, 1 March 2021).

“Climate Change and Arctic Security,” presented at Georgetown University’s Science, Technology and International Affairs program (Washington, DC, 6 October 2020).

“The Future of Arctic Security,” a *Defense One* podcast, episode 71, 5 June 2020, available at: <https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2020/06/ep-71-future-arctic-security-featuring-us-coast-guard-commandant-adm-karl-schultz/165933/>

“Determinants of U.S. Arctic Policy,” presented at a Norwegian government and Atlantic Council conference titled *Looking North: Conference on Security in the Arctic* (Washington, DC, 6 February 2020).

“Arctic Regional Developments,” presented at the Baltic Defense College (Tartu, Estonia, 25 June 2019).

“Anti-Access, Area Denial in the Arctic,” presented at the Swedish Defense University / George C. Marshall Center conference on Arctic Security (Stockholm, Sweden, 25 May 2019).

“A2-AD Scenarios in the Baltic Region,” presented at the Swedish Defense Research Agency (Stockholm, Sweden, 21 May 2019).

“Evolving Political and Security Dynamics in Europe,” presented to the Joint Enabling Capabilities Command, Joint Staff, Department of Defense (Norfolk Naval Station, Norfolk, VA, 2 May 2019).

“Arctic Competition,” presented to the 2019 Rumsfeld Fellows (Washington, DC, 16 April 2019).

“Cooperation and Competition in the Arctic,” presented at the George C. Marshall Center’s program on *The Arctic: Risks and Opportunities for Europe and North America* (Garmisch, Germany, 7 February 2019).

“The Geopolitics of the Arctic,” presented to the 2018 Rumsfeld Fellows (Washington, DC, 19 April 2018).

“Principal-Agent Theory, Congress and the NSC,” presented to the College of William and Mary’s Washington Program (Washington, DC, 8 January 2018 and 7 March 2017).

“Just Chilling: Parliamentary Oversight of Nordic Militaries,” presented at the International Studies Association annual meeting (Baltimore, MD, 25 February 2017).

“The Evolution of the Arctic Council,” presented at the Norwegian Embassy (Washington, DC, 6 May 2016).

“The Arctic from a Nordic Perspective,” presented at the RAND Corporation conference on US-Russian Relations in the Arctic (Crystal City, VA, 4 May 2016).

“Organizing the Arctic: Competing Narratives and International Organizations,” presented at the International Studies Association annual meeting (Atlanta, GA, 16-19 March 2016).

“The Future of Transatlantic Relations,” presented to the Department of State’s International Visitor Leadership Program (Washington, DC, 11 February 2016).

Grants and Honors

Joint Civilian Service Achievement Award, Department of Defense, January 2023.

University President’s Special Act Award, National Defense University, 10 September 2021, for substantial contributions to advancing the University’s goals.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) grant, “Legislatures and Civil-Military Relations,” 2015-2020 (\$254,000), co-investigator with Stephen Saideman and Philippe Lagasse of Carleton University.

Department of Defense, Minerva R-DEF grant, “Arctic Security,” 2015-2016 (\$29,700).

Commander’s Certificate of Appreciation, United States Central Command, February 2009, for work on the 2008-09 CENTCOM Assessment Team.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) grant, "Double the Hats, Triple the Trouble: Understanding the Problem of Delegation in Multilateral Military Interventions," 2006-2008 (\$85,000), co-investigator with Stephen Saideman.

National Defense University Foundation grant, "Deterring Rogue States and Terrorist Groups," 2002-2003 (\$4,000).

Resident Academic Fellow, William C. Foster Fellowship Program, U.S. Department of State, 2001-2002 (\$50,000, declined).

University Facilitating Fund Award, George Washington University, 2000 (\$11,000).

Congressional Fellow, American Political Science Association, 1998-1999 (\$35,000).

Dissertation Fellowship, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, 1992-1994 (\$24,000).

Recent and Ongoing Professional Development

Invited participant, German Marshall Fund of the United States virtual workshop on *Russia's Security Interests in the Arctic*, Washington, DC: 28 February 2023.

Invited participant, Atlantic Council small-group discussion on transatlantic relations with Ine Eriksen Soreide, Norwegian parliamentarian and former Norwegian Foreign Minister and Defense Minister, Washington, DC: 5 December 2022.

Invited participant, Atlantic Council small-group discussion on Swedish preparation for NATO membership with Ambassador Henrik Landerholm, Director of the Swedish Psychological Defense Agency, Washington, DC, 5 October 2022.

Invited participant, small-group discussion on *Operational Perspectives in the Arctic* with VADM Daniel Dwyer, USN, Commander of US 2nd Fleet and JFC Norfolk, and VADM Olivier Lebas, Commander of French Naval Forces in the Atlantic, Washington, DC, 17 May 2022.

Invited participant, CNAS workshop on *How Ukraine Will Shape Russia's Approach to the Arctic: A Virtual Scenarios Workshop*, Washington, DC, 6 April 2022.

Invited participant, Atlantic Council workshop on *Western Defense Cooperation in the Arctic*, Washington, DC, 24 June 2021.

Invited participant, George C. Marshall Center virtual conference on *China in the High North*, Garmisch, Germany, 8 December 2020.

Invited participant, *Mitigating Potential Arctic Military Conflict*, RAND Corporation tabletop exercise, 13 October 2020.

Invited participant, *Conference on Climate Change and National Security*, Center for Ethics and the Rule of Law, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1-3 October 2020.

Invited member, *Newport Arctic Scholars Initiative*, Naval War College, Rhode Island, 2020.

Invited participant, *Alaska Command Arctic Symposium 2019*, U.S. Alaska Command, Fairbanks, Alaska, 13-15 November 2019.

Invited participant, *Atlantic Council Fact-Finding trip to Norway*, Oslo, Bodo and Kirkenes, Norway, 2-9 November 2019.

Invited participant, *Atlantic Council Fact-Finding trip to Denmark*, Copenhagen, Denmark, 30 September – 3 October 2019.

Graduate of the George C. Marshall Center's program on *The Arctic: Risks and Opportunities for Europe and North America*, Garmisch, Germany, 4-8 February 2019.

Invited participant, *Arctic Maritime Domain Awareness Symposium*, U.S. Alaska Command, Department of Defense, Anchorage, Alaska, 13-17 August 2018.

Discussion Facilitator, *Shaping Tomorrow's Coast Guard*, U.S. Coast Guard Senior Leadership Conference, Washington, DC, 27 October 2017.

Senior Mentor, *Crisis in the Baltics: Confrontation and War at the Nuclear Threshold*, RAND Corporation tabletop exercise, Washington, DC, 7-8 June 2016 and 8-9 February 2017.

Editorial Board, *Defence Studies*, 2001 – present.

Manuscript Reviewer: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Atlantic Council*, *Brookings Institution Press*, *Cambridge University Press*, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Georgetown University Press*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Policy Studies Quarterly*, *RAND Corporation*, *Routledge Press*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Strategic Studies Review*, *Texas A&M Press*.

Arctic Field Research

- Sweden, September 2022
- Alaska, November 2019
- Norway, November 2019
- Denmark, October 2019
- Sweden, June 2019
- Canada and Alaska, April 2019
- Finland, August 2018
- Sweden, April 2018
- Denmark, April 2016
- Sweden, December 2015
- Norway and Iceland, November 2015
- Finland, September 2015
- Norway, April 2015

Teaching Experience

Undergraduate Courses:

- Military Force and Foreign Policy
- Theories of Coercive Diplomacy

Graduate Courses:

- American Foreign Policy
- Coercive Diplomacy
- Congress and National Security
- Domestic Politics and Int'l Relations
- Fundamentals of Strategic Logic
- The Global Context of National Security
- Geopolitical Competition in the Arctic
- Instruments of National Power
- International Relations Theory
- National Security Policy Processes
- Negotiations in an Interagency and International Context
- Nordic-Baltic Security
- War-gaming and Simulations
- Security Strategy Implementation
- U.S.-Canadian Security Cooperation
- War and Statecraft

Faculty-lead on National War College student immersion trips:

- Mexico and Panama (2002)
- Australia and New Zealand (2003)
- Central Asia (2004)
- Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia (2005)
- England and France (2006)
- England, France, Netherlands (2007)
- Argentina and Chile (2008)
- Indonesia and Australia (2010)
- Poland and Estonia (2012)
- Norway and Canada (2013, cancelled due to federal budget sequestration)
- Norway (2015)
- Sweden and Estonia (2018)
- Canada and Alaska (2019)
- Norway (2023)

Personal

- Married, two grown children
- Security clearances: U.S. Top Secret, NATO Secret
- Raised on Maui, Hawaii

Updated: 2/26/23