

David A. Cooper

318 Conolly Hall ♦ U.S. Naval War College ♦ Newport, Rhode Island 02841
(401) 841-3540 ♦ david.cooper@usnwc.edu

Scholar-practitioner with foreign policy and international relations expertise in nonproliferation, arms control and disarmament, weapons of mass destruction, multilateral negotiations, international organizations, U.S. foreign and defense policy, foreign policy analysis, and international relations theory

EDUCATION

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD), *Australian National University (ANU)*, Canberra 2000

- Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs. Field of Study: Political Science and International Relations.

MASTER OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (MIA), *Columbia University*, New York, New York 1990

- School of International and Public Affairs. Specialization: International Security Policy.

BACHELOR OF ARTS (BA), *Oberlin College*, Oberlin, Ohio 1987

- College of Arts and Sciences. Majors: Government and History.

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE, Newport, Rhode Island 2010–Present

The James V. Forrestal Professor of National Security Affairs

- Currently hold a tenured appointment as the named professor within the Department of National Security Affairs (NSA). Develop and teach core and elective classes, conduct scholarly and policy research and publication, and contribute to the institutional life of the college through various service roles.
- Previously served as Department Chair from 2010-2018. Led one of the college's three core academic departments responsible for two resident master's degree programs. In this capacity oversaw all aspects of developing common core curricula for distinctive war and staff college courses of study in contemporary national security affairs encompassing modules in international relations, regional studies, foreign policy analysis, U.S. foreign policy, and leadership studies.

NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY (NDU), Washington, District of Columbia 2009–2010

Senior Research Fellow and Director of Education & Outreach, Center for the Study of Weapons of Mass Destruction

- Conducted policy-oriented research primarily at the classified level focusing on nonproliferation, disarmament, and homeland security. Organized, led, and participated in various conferences, symposia, workshops, panels, and gaming exercises.
- Oversaw outreach and educational collaboration with higher education institutions, federal agencies, and the wider national security community.

- Led the conceptualization and oversaw the initial phases of development in the successful creation of a new master's degree program in "WMD Studies" for federal employees.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, Washington, DC 2009
Adjunct Professor of U.S. Foreign Policy, School of International Service

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, Washington, DC 2003–2004
Adjunct Associate Professor of International Affairs, Walsh School of Foreign Service

GUEST SPEAKER (Various) 1998–Present

- Served as keynote speaker, panelist, moderator and discussant at numerous domestic and overseas academic and public policy conferences. Presented at major think tanks. Participated in high-level "track-II" dialogues. Served as a guest lecturer at numerous undergraduate and graduate academic programs. Served as expert in congressional hearings and committee staff briefings.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

(Nota bene: excludes numerous classified studies and reports)

BOOKS

Decision Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice. New York: Cambridge University Press, January 2019 (co-author with Nikolas K. Gvosdev and Jessica D. Blankshain)

Competing Western Strategies Against the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2002

JOURNAL ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS

"Deconstructing the 'Deep State': Subordinate Bureaucratic Politics in U.S. National Security." *Orbis* 62:4 (Fall 2018) (lead author with Nikolas K. Gvosdev and Jessica D. Blankshain).

"Hedging the Iran Nuclear Bet: Reinvigorate Supply-Side Nonproliferation." *The Washington Quarterly* 39:3 (Fall 2016)

"U.S. Responses to Middle Powers and China." In Bruce Gilley and Andrew O'Neil (Eds.), *Middle Powers and the Rise of China*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014 (lead author with Toshi Yoshihara).

"Somewhere Between Great and Small: Disentangling the Conceptual Jumble of Middle, Regional, and 'Niche' Powers." *The Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* 14:2 (Summer/Fall 2013)

"Globalizing Reagan's INF Treaty: Easier Done Than Said?" *The Nonproliferation Review* 20:1 (March 2013)

"Challenging Contemporary Notions of Middle Power Influence: Implications of the Proliferation Security Initiative for 'Middle Power Theory'." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 7(3), (July 2011)

"Aligning Disarmament to Nuclear Dangers: Off to a Hasty START?" *Strategic Forum* 244 (July 2009)

"The Evolving Arms Control Relationship with Russia: Toward a Cooperative Approach?" In *Proceedings of the 12th Annual International Arms Control Conference*. Albuquerque, NM: Sandia National Laboratories. 2002

"The United States and the Evolution of International Supply-side Missile Nonproliferation Controls." In *Missile Proliferation and Missile Defenses: Problems and Prospects*. Monterey, CA: Monterey Institute of International Studies, 2001

FEATURE ARTICLES

["Could a U.S.-Russian Deployment Ban Avoid a Nuclear Arms Race in Europe?"](#) *The National Interest* (April 2, 2019).

["White House Intrigue Is Not A 'Deep State' Conspiracy."](#) *The Hill* (September 12, 2018)

["Nebulous Language Enables Tehran's Missile Ambitions."](#) *The Cipher Brief* (September 1, 2017)

["The Real Iran Threat \(Hint: It's Not Just Nukes\)."](#) *The National Interest* (March 23, 2015)

CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

Iran's Enduring Ballistic Missile Threat, testimony before the House Foreign Relations Committee and the Subcommittee on Middle East and North Africa, June 10, 2015.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

U.S. AFRICA COMMAND (AFRICOM), Stuttgart, Germany 2007–2009
Interim Director of Outreach (J-9) and Director of Strategic Communication, Senior Executive Service (SES) at 2-star equivalent level

- Served as the founding Director of Outreach from December 2007 – July 2008. Functioned as one of six joint staff directors. Then served as Deputy Director of Outreach during planned J-9 transition to an incoming Senior Foreign Service officer while simultaneously dual-hatted as the Command's Director for Strategic Communication.
- Organized, developed, and led a joint directorate responsible for a U.S. Combatant Command's external partnerships (including interagency relationships, partnerships with non-governmental organizations, international organizations, and coalition partners), liaison, and strategic communication.
- Oversaw development and implementation of Command strategies for partnership and strategic communication. Directed operational integration and implementation of strategic communication including for crisis response. Chaired Command-wide Strategic Communication Council. Organized and led major outreach conferences including for industry and academia and represented the Commander at numerous conferences and other external events.

OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY, Washington, DC 1992–2007
Principal Director for Homeland Security Integration, SES at 1-star equivalent level (February–December 2007)

- Managed all aspects of strategic planning, policy development, analytical assessments, program and budget development, interagency and intergovernmental coordination, international cooperation and capacity building, and strategic communication for Department of Defense (DOD) homeland defense and security missions including: protection of the maritime, air, and land domains and approaches; domestic anti-terrorism; crisis management and support to civil authorities; international disaster assistance; critical infrastructure protection; government continuity; science and technology experimentation; technology transfer to intergovernmental partners; and, identity management and biometrics.
- Served as the focal point for intradepartmental synchronization and DOD interaction with the White House Homeland Security Council (HSC), Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and other federal agencies, state, territorial, tribal, and local governments, and foreign governments and international organizations.

- Served as the senior DOD representative at high-level interagency meetings, congressional briefings, and conferences. Interacted routinely with senior Defense Department, interagency, congressional, industry, and foreign officials. Chaired the Defense Identity Management Policy Senior Working Group.

Director, Office of Nonproliferation Policy, SES at 1-star equivalent level (June 2003–January 2007)

- Led development and implementation of a broad spectrum of DOD and U.S. Government policies to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and missiles. Focused on innovating across diverse areas including WMD interdiction, treaties and agreements, export control regimes, regional disarmament, bilateral counterproliferation mechanisms, government-industry partnerships, proliferation finance measures, and sanctions. Served as U.S. Government lead for operational aspects of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI).
- Specific oversight responsibilities included: PSI and WMD interdiction; Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism and preventing WMD terrorism; Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT); International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); nuclear safeguards agreements including the Additional Protocol; Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and its Preparatory Commission; Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT); Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) negotiations; regional nuclear weapons free zones; Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material; Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and the Organization for the Prevention of Chemical Weapons (OPWC); Biological Weapons Convention (BWC); Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and Zangger Committee; Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR); Australia Group; regional disarmament initiatives (e.g., Six Party Talks, Libyan WMD dismantlement); and, bilateral counterproliferation mechanisms including with China, Russia, Singapore, South Korea, and UAE.
- Served as the U.S. Head of Delegation to the PSI Operational Experts Group (OEG), bilateral CWC Host Country Agreement (HCA) negotiations, and bilateral counterproliferation talks with key partners such as Singapore, South Korea, and the United Arab Emirates. Served as the U.S. Representative to the *United Nations Panel of Governmental Experts on Missiles*. Served as the senior DOD representative to numerous multilateral and bilateral talks.
- Represented DOD at senior-level interagency meetings, congressional briefings, and conferences. Interacted routinely with senior Defense Department, interagency, congressional, industry, non-governmental organization (NGO), and foreign officials. Organized, hosted and led five major international conferences. Conducted media engagement.
- Co-led development of the National Military Strategy for Combating WMD, providing the first-ever strategic framework and guidance for this mission area. Served as a principal member of the 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) working group on combating WMD.

Director, Office of Strategic Arms Control Policy, Supervisory General Schedule-15 (GS-15), (September 2000–June 2003)

- Served as Deputy Director and then as Director beginning August 2001. Managed all nuclear arms control issues including negotiation, implementation, and compliance enforcement. Focused on transforming Cold War-era approaches to U.S.-Russian bilateral nuclear arms control based on the new strategic relationship being charted by Presidents Bush and Putin.
- Specific oversight responsibilities included: negotiating, ratifying, and implementing the “Moscow Treaty” on Strategic Offensive Reductions including its Bilateral Consultative Commission (BIC); Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and its Joint Commission on Implementation and Compliance (JCIC); Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty and its Special Verification Commission (SVC); Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and its Preparatory Commission; Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty

(FMCT) negotiations; Conference on Disarmament (CD); First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly; and, UN Disarmament Commission (UNDC).

- Represented DOD at senior-level interagency meetings, congressional briefings, and on U.S. negotiating teams. Served as Executive Secretary to the Bilateral Working Group on Transparency Measures. Interacted regularly with senior DOD, interagency, congressional, NGO, and foreign officials.

Senior Assistant for Nonproliferation Policy, GS-14/15, (December 1994–September 2000)

- Served as portfolio manager for biological weapons nonproliferation from November 1999 to September 2000. Served as the senior DOD representative on the U.S. Delegation to the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) Protocol negotiations (involving more than 60 countries) and frequent bilateral consultations. Represented DOD within the interagency and in meetings with industry and Congress.
- Undertook professional development through graduate studies from November 1997 to November 1999.
- Served as portfolio manager for missile nonproliferation from December 1994 to November 1997. Formulated policies on the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), sanctions determinations, export licensing decisions, and multilateral arms control initiatives related to missiles. Served as the senior DOD representative on the U.S. Delegation to the MTCR, and in frequent bilateral meetings including with China, North Korea, South Korea, Russia, and Ukraine. Represented OSD in four interagency committees.

Assistant for Regional Security Negotiations, GS-12/13, (August 1992–December 1994)

- Assisted in developing and implementing policies on Conventional Forces Europe (CFE) Treaty, Open Skies Treaty, Vienna Document on Confidence and Security Building Measures, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS) Working Group of the Middle East Peace Process, Organization of American States (OAS) security forum, and a range of conventional arms transfer issues including the President's Arms Control Middle East (ACME) initiative.
- Served as OSD Representative to ACRS, OSCE, NATO High Level Task Force (HLTF), and the implementation commissions for the CFE and Open Skies treaties. Chaired a multilateral ACRS experts group on information sharing that produced the only ACRS agreement to be finalized.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, Washington, DC

1990–1992

Presidential Management Fellow (PMF), GS-9/11

- Completed the U.S. Office of Personnel Management's highly competitive two-year PMF (then Presidential Management Intern) executive leadership development program. Gained experience in a wide spectrum of foreign and defense policy, programmatic, and budget issues and processes.
- Developmental assignments included: Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy assisting with the 1991 NATO Strategy Review; State Department Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs as assistant desk officer for U.S.-Soviet Short Range Nuclear Forces (SNF) negotiations; Defense Security Assistance Agency as lead desk officer for defense sales policy; Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Research, Development & Acquisition) as assistant budget analyst; and, Office of Chief of Naval Operations (N-80) as lead programmer for the \$6 Billion strategic sea-lift acquisition element of the Future Years Defense Program (FYDP) to address shortfalls identified during Operation Desert Shield.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE

- Member, Dean of Academics Faculty Committee on Creating an International Master Degree program (2016-17)
- Member, Joint Faculty Committee for Institutional Collaboration with Brown University's Watson Institute (2013-17). Co-organized "In and Out of Uniform" conference on civil-military relations and a series of joint faculty research workshops
- Chair or Member, Reinauer Prize Student Writing Award Judging Committee (2010-2017)
- Chair, NSA Faculty Search Committee (2015-16)
- Chair, NSA Faculty Search Committee (2014-15)
- Chair, Provost's Faculty Working Group on FY-15 Strategic Plan Objectives for Goal #7 (Diversity) (2014)
- Chair, NSA Faculty Search Committee (2013-14)
- Member, Provost's Faculty Committee on Indefinite Appointment (2013-14)
- Member, Search Committee for Director of Institutional Effectiveness (2013-14)
- Member, Search Committee for Chair Strategic Research Department (2013)
- Chair, Faculty Working Group on "Mission" Issues in preparation for Inspector General Inspection (2013)
- Chair, Search Committee for Library Director (2011)
- Service to the profession including as peer reviewer for *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Georgetown University Press, *Insight Turkey*, *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, *Naval War College Review*, *Nonproliferation Review*, and the Smith Richardson Foundation

NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY

- Member, NDU President's Senior-Level Committee on Realigning the Research Enterprise (2009-2010)
- Member, Search Committee for Senior Research Fellow (Africa) for Institute for National Strategic Studies (2010)

OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY

- Member, Career Development Board (2004-2008). Served on the Policy organization's SES-level enterprise governance board responsible for human capital strategy and management. Involved in developing personnel policies, overseeing implementation of professional development, and adjudicating promotions for all career civilians.

VOLUNTEER SERVICE

- ANU North American Alumni Association (2012-2014)
- Secretary of the Board of Trustees, Channing Memorial Church (2012-2014)
- Member, Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs DC Alumni Council (2000-2003)
- Suicide hotline volunteer, Samaritans of Washington, DC (1990-1994)
- Mayoral Appointee, Mayor's Community Relations Committee, Yonkers, New York (1989-1990), focusing on outreach and advocacy to promote fair and effective housing desegregation.
- Vice President and Co-Director of Public Affairs, CANOPY, Inc, Yonkers New York (1988-1990), a non-profit coalition of civic organizations seeking to promote fair and effective housing desegregation for New York State's third largest city in compliance with federal court orders

AFFILIATIONS

- American Political Science Association (APSA), Washington, District of Columbia (active)

- American Society for Public Administration (ASPA), Washington, District of Columbia (previous)
- Australian American Leadership Dialogue (AALD), Melbourne, Australia (active)
- Australian & New Zealand Studies Association of North America, Austin, Texas (active)
- Federal Managers Association, Alexandria, Virginia (previous)
- International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), London, United Kingdom (previous)
- International Studies Association (ISA), Tucson, Arizona (active)
- National Eagle Scout Association, Irving, Texas (active)
- Senior Executives Association (SEA), Washington, District of Columbia (previous)

AWARDS

Department of the Navy Meritorious Civilian Service Award, July 2018. Awarded for exceptional accomplishments serving from 2010-2018 as Chair of the Department of National Security Affairs at the U.S. Naval War College.

Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Civilian Service (Silver Palm), March 2009. Awarded the highest civilian medal in the Office of the Secretary of Defense by Secretary of Defense Secretary Robert Gates for making decisive contributions to the standup of the new U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM).

Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Civilian Service (Bronze Palm), August 2005. Awarded the highest civilian medal in the Office of the Secretary of Defense for exceptional contributions to U.S. national security for leadership of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) as the U.S. Head of Delegation to the PSI Operational Experts Group and as the Defense Department's representative to the National Security Council's interdiction coordinating group.

Memorandum of Commendation from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, May 2005, for contributions to the 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) as co-lead of the working group on combating WMD, which resulted in a significant realignment of DOD priorities to improve military support for this critical national security mission.

Component Head Individual Superior Accomplishment Award (Highest Level), October 2004. Awarded by the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy in recognition of numerous contributions to advancing the effective implementation of the President's National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Individual Accomplishment Award (Special Act) (Highest Level), December 2001. Awarded by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy for leading the management of Defense Department participation in the U.S.-Russia New Strategic Framework negotiating process ("Moscow Treaty" negotiations).

Office of the Secretary of Defense Graduate Fellowship, November 1997. Received a highly competitive Secretary of Defense Graduate Fellowship, providing full tuition for a year of study at an outside university. Nominated by the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and awarded based on competitive selection.

Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Civilian Service, January 1997. Awarded the highest civilian medal in the Office of the Secretary of Defense for exceptional contributions to preventing global missile proliferation including as the Defense Department's senior representative to both the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and the multilateral security negotiations of the Middle East Peace Process.

Memorandum of Commendation from the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, April 1991, for co-authoring the *1991 DOD Naval Arms Control Report to Congress*.

Dean's Fellowship, 1990. Full tuition scholarship, awarded competitively based on academic merit, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University.

Columbia University's Saglyn Prize, 1989. Awarded annually for the best graduate student essay on a topic relevant to the field of international security studies. Winning essay: "The Schmidt Concept of a Franco-German Defense Axis".