

Paul Alexander Van Hooft

Senior Policy Analyst, Hague Centre for Strategic Studies

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Research experience and interests

Grand strategy, United States, Europe, Indo-Pacific, alliances, autonomy, nuclear deterrence, extended deterrence, emerging technologies and strategic stability, national security institutions, strategic retrenchment, and lessons of the past.

Research and teaching positions

2020-present	Senior Strategic Analyst, Hague Centre for Strategic Studies
2020-present	Fellow, the Dutch Defence Academy
2018-2020	Fellow M.I.T. Security Studies Program, Stanton Nuclear Security Fellowship (2018-2019)
2016-2018	Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute
2015-2016, 2022	Undergraduate thesis supervisor, lecturer, Leiden University
2011-2016	Graduate and undergraduate thesis supervisor, lecturer, University of Amsterdam

Education

2009-2014	<p>PhD in Political Science, University of Amsterdam (date of defense: 27/01/2015). <i>The Future in the Past: Victory, Defeat, and Grand Strategy in the US, UK, France and Germany</i></p> <p>Awarded best political science dissertation (2016) by the Dutch and Flemish political science associations in annual thesis prize.</p> <p>Adapting the thesis into a manuscript for a US academic publisher.</p>
1999-2004	<p>MSc. International Relations, University of Amsterdam.</p> <p>Grade final thesis MSc.: 9 (outstanding).</p>

Publications (refereed)

Journal articles

"All-In or All-Out: Why insularity pushes and pulls U.S. grand strategy to extremes" (2020), *Security Studies*, 29 (4), 701-729. [[link](#)]

"Land Rush: American grand strategy, NATO enlargement, and the consolidation and fragmentation of European security" (2020), *International Politics*, 57(3): 530-553. [[link](#)]

"Informalization of Nonproliferation: Why PSI is a problematic solution" (with Michal Onderco) (2016), *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 9(1): 81-108. [[link](#)]

Chapters

"State of Denial: the upcoming age of great power competition over economic and military access" in *The Future of War after the War in Ukraine*, edited by Jeffrey R. Michaels and Tim Sweijs (forthcoming 2023, Hurst)

"Every Which Way But Loose: The United States, NATO Enlargement, European Strategic Autonomy and Fragmentation." (2023) In *Evaluating NATO Enlargement: From Cold War Victory to the Russia-Ukraine*

War, edited by James Goldgeier and Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shiffrin, 415–53. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

“The US and Extended Deterrence.” (2021) In *NL ARMS Netherlands Annual Review of Military Studies 2020: Deterrence in the 21st Century—Insights from Theory and Practice*, edited by Frans Osinga and Tim Sweijs, 87–107. NL ARMS. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.

“Europe may be done with power, but power is not done with Europe: Europe in an era of American unipolarity and relative decline” (with Annette Freyberg-Inan) (2019), *Fear and Uncertainty: Realism and Foreign Policy in Europe* (ed. Della Salla, V. & Belloni, B.), Palgrave.

Other

“Alliances in the 21st Century” (2018). Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations. Invited Contribution.

“Grand Strategy” (2017). Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations. Invited contribution.

Book manuscripts in preparation

“Anti-Europeanism: Europe as the Other in US Grand Strategy, from 1776 to the Present” (with Jack Thompson) for Bridging the Gap Oxford University Press, first draft to be submitted November 2023.

The Future in the Past: Victory, Defeat, and Grand Strategy in the US, UK, France and Germany

Articles (in preparation and under review)

In preparation

“Future Warfare in Eastern Europe”. Journal manuscript, with Stephen Biddle and Ivan Oelrich, to be submitted summer 2023.

“European Perspectives on Arms Control” in “After Ukraine: A Future for Nuclear Arms Control?” compilation, for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, to be submitted May 2023.

“The Illusion of Inevitability: US Grand Strategy in Europe after WWII”. Journal manuscript, to be submitted April 2023

“Denying Denial: how economic and military denial compound each other”, Journal manuscript, to be submitted June 2023.

“Double Eagle: U.S. Retrenchment from Europe and the Consequences for Strategic Stability”, Journal Manuscript, to be submitted July 2023.

“Strategies of Inhibition versus Strategies of Restraint: American Extended Deterrence and a European nuclear weapon”, to be submitted December 2023.

“Cost-passing versus Control: US Grand Strategy and European Security Autonomy”. Journal manuscript, to be submitted January 2024.

Under review

“War Prism: how WWII shaped British and French Cold War grand strategy”.

Publications (not refereed)

Research reports (selection)

"Good Fear, Bad Fear: How European Defence Investments Could Be Leveraged to Restart Arms Control Negotiations with Russia." with Davis Ellison (2023) The Hague, Netherlands: Hague Centre for Strategic Studies.

"Pathways to Disaster: Russia's War against Ukraine and the Risks of Inadvertent Nuclear Escalation." With Davis Ellison, and Tim Sweijts (2023) The Hague, Netherlands: Hague Centre for Strategic Studies.

"Not One without the Other: Realigning Deterrence and Arms Control in a European Quest for Strategic Stability." with Lotje Boswinkel (2022) The Hague, Netherlands: Hague Centre for Strategic Studies.

"Guarding the Maritime Commons: What Role for Europe in the Indo-Pacific." with Benedetta Girardi, and Tim Sweijts (2022) The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies.

"Shifting Sands of Strategic Stability: Towards a New Arms Control Agenda." with Lotje Boswinkel, and Tim Sweijts (2022) The Hague, Netherlands: Hague Centre for Strategic Studies.

"Preventing the (Un)Thinkable: Escalation Scenarios and Risk Reduction Measures for Russia and NATO Following the War in Ukraine." with Daan Sanders and Tim Sweijts (2022) The Hague, Netherlands: Hague Centre for Strategic Studies.

"Surviving the Deadly Skies: Integrated Air and Missile Defence 2021-2035." with Lotje Boswinkel (2022) The Hague, Netherlands: The Hague Centre For Strategic Studies.

"Strengthening deterrence against nuclear, conventional, and hybrid threats Strengths, weaknesses, and insights for US allies in Europe and Asia." with Tim Sweijts and Philip Geurts (2022) The Hague, Netherlands: The Hague Centre For Strategic Studies.

"Raising the Costs of Access: Active Denial Strategies by Small and Middle Powers against Revisionist Aggression." with Nora Nijboer, and Tim Sweijts (2021) The Hague, Netherlands: The Hague Centre For Strategic Studies.

Journal articles

"China and the Indo-Pacific in the 2022 NATO Strategic Concept" (2022), *Atlantisch Perspectief*

"Europa in de Indo-Pacific: moeilijk te vermijden en moeilijk uit te voeren" (2022), *Atlantisch Perspectief*

"Transatlantic relations after four years of Trumpism: a postmortem" (2021), *Atlantisch Perspectief*

"Eindtijden: trans-Atlantische betrekkingen 75 jaar na het einde van de oorlog" (2020), *Atlantisch Perspectief*.

"Erosion, then Collapse. The end of the US-led liberal global order" (2018), *Atlantisch Perspectief*.

"Big plus small plus small. The future of European defense integration" (2017), *Atlantisch Perspectief*.

"The renationalization of foreign policy and international order" (2016), *Atlantisch Perspectief*.

"Te veel vraagtekens voor vrede en veiligheid. Europese veiligheid en afhankelijkheid van de VS" (2015), *Atlantisch Perspectief*.

"The Long Shadow: victory, defeat, and grand strategy" (2015), *Atlantisch Perspectief*.

Other (working papers, reviews)

"Don't Knock Yourself Out: How America Can Turn the Tables on China by Giving up the Fight for Command of the Seas." (February 2021) *War on the Rocks*.

“Too much, too soon: American ambitions, NATO enlargement, and European security” (September 2020). H-Diplo | ISSF.

“Roundtable 11-17 on Atomic Assurance: The Alliance Politics of Nuclear Proliferation” (2020). H-Diplo | ISSF.

“Multipolarity, Multilateralism, and Strategic Competition” (2012) GR:EEN-GEM Doctoral Working Papers Series.

Awards and scholarships

2019	2019-2020 Postdoctoral Fellowship at the M.I.T. Security Studies Program, Approx. \$80,000
2018	2018-2019 Stanton Nuclear Security Fellowship at the M.I.T. Security Studies Program, Approx. \$80,000.
2016	Best political science dissertation of 2016 , annual thesis prize awarded by Dutch and Flemish political science associations, worth €1,000.
2015	2016-2017 and 2017-2018 Max Weber Fellowship at the European University Institute (EUI), Florence. Approx. €25,000. Extended for 2017-2018 academic year.
2009	Competitive open-round, four-year PhD Scholarship at the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR), University of Amsterdam.
2004	Winner essay competition on transatlantic relations organized by the Remarque Institute New York University (NYU), Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and UVA.

Professional experience

Research

2020-present	Senior Strategic Analyst, Hague Centre for Strategic Studies. Chair Europe in the Indo-Pacific Hub; Chair Initiative on the Future of Transatlantic Relations
2020-present	Fellow, Dutch Defence Academy
2019-2020	Postdoctoral Fellowship, M.I.T. Security Studies Program.
2018-2019	Stanton Nuclear Security Fellowship, M.I.T. Security Studies Program.
2016-2018	Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute.
2011-2013	Strategic Expert, Pax Ludens Simulation Gaming and Conflict Resolution Organisation.
2010-2013	Consultant, Dialogue Advisory Group (DAG).
2008-2009	Analyst, The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS).

Teaching

2022	Lecturer, Leiden University. Bachelor thesis project: Grand strategy in the 21 st Century
2019	Lecturer, University of Amsterdam. Pre University Honours Program, International Security. Student evaluation: 9.4/10.
2017	Lecturer Masaryk University. Summerschool: teaching in classroom situations
2015-2016	Lecturer, Leiden University. Elective Msc. course Dynamics of International Organisation.
2013-2015	Thesis Supervisor, University of Amsterdam. Master thesis Research Project Grand Strategy in the 21st Century. Total supervised theses: 26. Last student evaluation: 8.6/10.

2015-2016	Thesis Supervisor, University of Amsterdam. Bachelor thesis Research Project International Security. Total supervised theses: 14. Student evaluation: 8.7/10.
2011-2016	Lecturer, University of Amsterdam. Designed and taught the following courses/projects: Grand Strategy (Elective, 3rd year BA). Last student evaluation: 9.1/10. The United States, Europe and the transatlantic relationship (Elective, 3rd year BA)
2007-2010	Junior Lecturer, University of Amsterdam. International Relations and Political Economy (Core modules, 2nd year BA).

Conference presentations (recent)

2023	International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference,
2022	Future of War Conference of the Dutch Defence Academy and the Oxford Changing Character of War
2022	International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference,
2022	European Initiative on Security Studies, Berlin
2021	International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference, [Online due to COVID]
2021	European Initiative on Security Studies, Paris, France
2020	International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference, [Canceled due to COVID]
2019	International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference, Toronto, Canada
2018	ISSS-IS (International Security Studies-International Security Sections) Conference, Purdue University, West Lafayette, US
2018	European Initiative on Security Studies, Paris, France
2018	International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference, San Francisco, US

Public outreach and dissemination

Op-eds national newspapers

06/02/2023	<i>Koop slimmer in om slinkende wapenvoorraad te compenseren</i> (with Frederik Mertens en Adam Meszaros) NRC Handelsblad
22/01/2023	<i>Schijnvrede in Oekraïne is gevaarlijker dan oorlog.</i> NRC Handelsblad
20/10/2022	<i>Kerncentrales zijn beheersbaar risico, ook in oorlogstijd.</i> Trouw
22/09/2022	<i>Zet de sancties door: het maakt de Russische oorlogsmachine wél kapot</i> (with Sofia Romansky). NRC Handelsblad
19/06/2022	<i>Europa moet voor zijn eigen veiligheid gaan zorgen.</i> NRC Handelsblad
03/04/2022	<i>Niet investeren in Europese wapenindustrie is geen optie.</i> NRC Handelsblad
18/03/2022	<i>Met zijn oorlog heeft Poetin Europa en de VS versterkt.</i> NRC Handelsblad
28/11/2021	<i>Europa kan zichzelf verdedigen, met conventionele wapens.</i> NRC Handelsblad
29/06/2016	<i>Let op bedreigde veiligheid in Europa na Brexit.</i> NRC Handelsblad
27/11/2015	<i>Vier scenario's voor Syrië: kies de minst slechte.</i> NRC Handelsblad
06/05/2015	<i>Uit '1945' valt in 2015 niet zoveel meer te leren.</i> De Volkskrant
24/03/2015	<i>Militaire doctrine is aan ons helaas niet meer besteed.</i> NRC Handelsblad
17/03/2005	<i>Wat nu, als Irak een niet-Amerikaanse weg inslaat?</i> (with Paul Aarts and Gep Eisenloeffel). De Volkskrant (national newspaper).

Media appearances

2018-now	Extensive tv, radio, podcast, and print appearances in Dutch national media.
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Academic service

2015-present	Member of academic editorial board. <i>Atlantisch Perspectief</i> , outlet of the Atlantic Commission, The Hague.
2013-present	Reviewer: <i>International Security</i> ; <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i> ; <i>Security Studies</i> ; <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> ; <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> ; <i>Journal of International Relations & Development</i> ; <i>Review of International Political Economy</i> .

Summer schools and additional training

2020	Foreign Imposed Regime Change workshop, CKF, Atlanta, US.
2017	Teaching Certificate (including guest teaching at Humboldt University Berlin), EUI.
2012	"Squaring Multipolarity and Multilateralism", Summer school Green-Gem, Shanghai, CN.
2012	Causal Modelling, Short Intensive Course VU, NL.
2011	English Academic Writing, AISSR, NL.
2011	Event History Analysis using R., University Utrecht, NL.
2011	Cross-sectional Time Series, University of Essex 2011 Summer school in Methods, UK.
2010	Graduate course on Advanced multivariate analysis, (UVA Graduate School), NL.
2010	Decision-Making under Uncertainty, Co-organized with V. Di Stasio, Short Intensive Course, AISSR, NL.
2010	Visual Communication for Social Scientists, Co-organized with R. Podkolinski, Short Intensive Course, AISSR, NL.
2009	Methodology Clinic, AISSR, NL.
2006	Course on Academic Journalism, Wetenschapscorrespondentie Amsterdam, NL.

Professional membership

International Studies Association (ISA): International Security Section.

Languages

English (fluent), Dutch (fluent), German (limited professional proficiency) French (limited professional proficiency)

Skills

Stata

References

1. **Professor Dr. Barry Posen.** Ford International Professor of Political Science, Security Studies Program, at MIT. posen@mit.edu ; 617-253-8088.
2. **Professor Dr. Stephen Walt.** Robert and Renee Belfer Professor of International Affairs International Security Program, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. stephen_walt@harvard.edu; 617-495-5712.
3. **Professor Dr. Annette Freyberg-Inan.** Professor of Political Economy and Transnational Governance, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, University of Amsterdam. A.FreybergInan@uva.nl
4. **Professor Dr. Jon Caverley.** Professor of strategy in the Strategic and Operational Research Department of the Naval War College's Center for Naval Warfare Studies. Jon.Caverley@usnwc.edu; 401 856-6056.