ONLINE APPENDICES FOR:

ILLUSIONS OF AUTONOMY:
Why Europe Cannot Provide for Its Own Security Even if the United States Pulls Back

by

Hugo Meijer and Stephen G. Brooks

International Security, **Vol. 45, No. 4 (Spring 2021)**

Table of Contents:

- *Appendix A* – Page 1

  87 Official Documents and Reports Consulted for Coding Threat Assessments

- *Appendix B* – Page 5

  Chapters of *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces* Consulted for Coding Threat Assessments

- *Appendix C* – Page 6

  Main Battle Tank (MBT), Armored Personnel Carriers (APC), Artillery (ARTY), Active Army Troops, Total Reserve Troops and Army Reserve Troops from 1990 to 2020, for Large, Medium and Small European powers

- *Appendix D* – Page 13

  Russia versus 4 European Coalitions' Conventional Defense Capabilities in Selected Areas: Main Battle Tanks (MBT), Armored Personnel Carriers (APC), Artillery, Total Active Troops, Total Reserve Troops

- *Appendix E* – Page 19

  Selected Scholarly Works on European Defense Interests and Capabilities

- *Appendix F* – Page 20

  U.S. Troop Presence in Europe, 1953–2019

- *Appendix G* – Page 21

  Selected Scholarly Works Advocating for Restraint

APPENDIX A

87 Official Documents and Reports Consulted for Coding Threat Assessments

Document #	Document Title
1	Austrian Federal Chancellery, *Austrian Security Strategy: Security in a New Decade—Shaping Security*, 2013.
2	Johann Frank and Gustav Gustenau, "Österreichs Sicherheitspolitik in Zeiten zunehmender Unsicherheiten," in Austrian Ministry of Defense, *Sicher. Und morgen? Sicherheitspolitische Jahresvorschau*, 2020.
3	Belgian Chamber of Representatives, *Projet du budget général des dépenses*, December 12, 2018.
4	Belgian Ministry of Defense, *The Strategic Vision for Defense*, 2016.
5	Bulgarian National Assembly, *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Bulgaria*, 2011.
6	Bulgarian Council of Ministers, *Plan for the Development of The Armed Forces Of The Republic Of Bulgaria 2020*, 2015.
7	Bulgarian Ministry of Defense, *National Defense Strategy*, 2011.
8	Bulgarian Ministry of Defense, *White Paper on Defence and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bulgaria*, 2010.
9	Croatian Government, *National Security Strategy*, 2017.
10	Czech Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces, *Defense Strategy of the Czech Republic*, March 13, 2017.
11	Danish Defense Intelligence Service, *Intelligence Risk Assessment 2017*, 2017.
12	Danish Government, *Foreign and Security Policy Strategy 2017-2018*, 2017.
13	Danish Ministry of Defense, *Defense Agreement 2018-2023*, 2018.
14	Dutch Government, *National Counterterrorism Strategy for 2016-2020*, 2016.
15	Dutch Ministry of Defense, *Defense White Paper*, 2018.
16	Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *An Integrated International Security Strategy 2018-2022*, 2018.
17	Dutch National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism, *National Counterterrorism Strategy for 2016-2020*, 2016.
18	Estonian Government, *The National Security Concept of the Republic of Estonia*, 2010.
19	Estonian Ministry of Defense, *National Defence Development Plan 2017–2026*
20	Estonian Ministry of Defense, *National Defense Strategy*, 2011.
21	Estonian Ministry of Defense, *National Security Concept of Estonia*, 2010.
22	Finnish Ministry of Defense, *Security Strategy for Society*, 2010.
23	Finnish Prime Minister's Office, *Government Report on Finnish Foreign and Security Policy*, 2016.

24	Finnish Prime Minister's Office, *Government's Defence Report*, 2017.
25	French Ministry for the Armed Forces, *Defense and National Security Strategic Review*, 2017.
26	French Ministry for the Armed Forces, *Actualisation stratégique*, 2021.
27	French Ministry of Defense, *French White Paper on Defence and National Security*, 2013.
28	French Secretariat-General for National Defense and Security, *Tackling Terrorism Together. Vigilance, Prevention and Protection Against the Terrorist Threat*, 2016.
29	German Federal Government, *Preventing Crises, Resolving Conflicts, Building Peace*, 2017.
30	German Federal Government, *White Paper on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr*, 2016.
31	German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, *Development Policy as Future-Oriented Peace Policy*, 2017.
32	German Ministry of Defense, *Defense Policy Guidelines*, 2011.
33	German Ministry of Defense, *White Paper 2006*, 2006.
34	Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *National Security Strategy*, 2012.
35	Hungarian Ministry of National Defense, *National Military Strategy*, 2012.
36	Irish Department of Defense and Armed Forces, *Strategy Statement 2011-2014*, 2011.
37	Irish Department of Defense and Armed Forces, *White Paper on Defense*, 2015.
38	Irish Department of Defense and Defense Forces, *Annual Report*, 2017.
39	Irish Department of Defense and Defense Forces, *Strategy Statement 2017-2020*, 2018.
40	Irish Government, *National Risk Assessment Overview of Strategic Risks*, 2018.
41	Italian Ministry of Defense, *Documento Programmatico Pluriennale 2017–2019*.
42	Italian Ministry of Defense, *Documento Programmatico Pluriennale 2018–2020*.
43	Italian Ministry of Defense, *White Book on International Security and Defense*, 2015.
44	Latvian Ministry of Defense, *National Security Concept*, 2016.
45	Lithuanian Ministry of National Defense, *National Security Strategy 2017*, 2017.
46	Lithuanian Ministry of National Defense, *The Military Strategy 2016*, 2016.
47	Luxemburgish Government, *National Cybersecurity Strategy*, 2018.
48	Luxemburgish Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, *Luxembourg Defense Guidelines for 2025 and Beyond*, 2017.
49	Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Bosnia and Herzegovina Strategy for Prevention and Fight Against Terrorism 2010-2013*, 2010.
50	National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria, *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Bulgaria*, 2011.
51	Norwegian Armed Forces, *A Stronger Defence: The Military Advice of the Chief of Defence*, 2019.
52	Norwegian Armed Forces, *Strategic and Defense Review 2015*, 2015.

53	Norwegian Intelligence Service, *Assessment of Current Security Challenges*, 2018.
54	Norwegian Ministry of Defense, *Capable and Sustainable: Long Term Defence Plan*, 2016.
55	Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *White Paper – Setting the Course for Norwegian Foreign and Security Policy*, 2016.
56	Norwegian Police Security Service, *Threat Assessment 2017*, 2017.
57	Norwegian Police Security Service, *Threat Assessment 2018*, 2018.
58	Polish Government, *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland*, 2014.
59	Polish Ministry of National Defense, *The Defense Concept of the Republic of Poland 2017*.
60	Portuguese Government, *Conceito Estratégico de Defesa Nacional*, 2013.
61	Portuguese Government, *National Cybersecurity Strategy*, 2015.
62	Romanian Ministry of National Defense, *The Military Strategy of Romania*, 2016.
63	Romanian Presidential Administration, *National Defense Strategy 2015-2019*, 2015.
64	Serbian Government, *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia,* 2009.
65	Serbian Ministry of Defense, *Defense Strategy of the Republic of Serbia*, 2009.
66	Serbian Ministry of Defense, *Strategy of Defence of the Republic of Serbia*, 2019.
67	Serbian Ministry of Defense, *White Paper on Defense*, 2010.
68	Slovak Ministry of Defense, *White Paper on Defense*, 2016.
69	Slovenian Government, *Resolution on the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia*, 2010.
70	Slovenian Ministry of Defense, *Annual Report of the Ministry of Defence for 2016*, 2017.
71	Slovenian Ministry of Defense, *Annual Report of the Ministry of Defence for 2017*, 2018.
72	Slovenian Ministry of Defense, *Resolution on General Long-Term Development and Equipping Programme of the Slovenian Armed Forces Up to 2025*, 2011.
73	Slovenian Ministry of Defense, *Resolution on the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia*, 2010.
74	Slovenian Ministry of Defense, *Strategic Defense Review*, 2016.
75	Spanish Government, *The National Security Strategy 2017*.
76	Swedish Defense Commission, *White Book on Sweden's Security Policy and the Development of the Military Defense 2021-2025*, 2019.
77	Swedish Government, *National Security Strategy*, 2017.
78	Swiss Federal Department of Finance, *National Strategy for the Protection of Switzerland Against Cyber Risk*, 2014.
79	Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, *Swiss Foreign Policy Strategy 2016-19*, 2016.
80	Swiss Federal Intelligence Service (FIS), *Switzerland's Security: Situation Report 2017 of the FIS*, 2017.
81	UK Government, *National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review*, 2015.

82	UK Government, *The UK National Security Capability Review*, 2018.
83	UK Government, *The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering Terrorism*, 2018.
84	UK House of Commons Defence Committee, *Russia: Implications for UK Defence and Security*, First Report of Session 2016–17.
85	UK Intelligence and Security Committee of Parliament, *Russia*, House of Commons, 21 July 2020.
86	UK Ministry of Defense, *Global Strategic Trends: The Future Starts Today*, 2018.
87	UK Ministry of Defense, *Mobilising, Modernising and Transforming Defence: A Report of the Modernising Defence Programme*, 2018.

APPENDIX B
Chapters of *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*
Consulted for Coding Threat Assessments

Source:

Hugo Meijer and Marco Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Chapters:

Andersson, Jan Joel, "Finland and Sweden," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 344-359.

Arteaga, Félix, "Spain and Portugal," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 140-156.

Baev, Jordan, "Bulgaria and Romania," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 263-278.

Chourchoulis, Dionysios, "Greece, Cyprus, and Albania," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 313-329.

Coticchia, Fabrizio, "Italy," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 109-124.

Dorman, Andrew, "The United Kingdom," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 71-86.

Ejdus, Filip, "Serbia and Croatia," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 297-312.

Hauser, Gunter and Mauro Mantovani, "Austria and Switzerland," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 187-213.

Hedberg, Masha and Andres Kasekamp, "The Baltic States," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 231-246.

Klinkert, Wim, "Benelux Countries," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 247-262.

Kraft, Ina, "Germany," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 52-70.

Michta, Andrew A., "Poland," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence*, pp. 140-156.

Onderco, Michal, "Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 279-288.

Petersson, Magnus, "Denmark and Norway," in Hugo Meijer and Marco Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, p. 363-364.

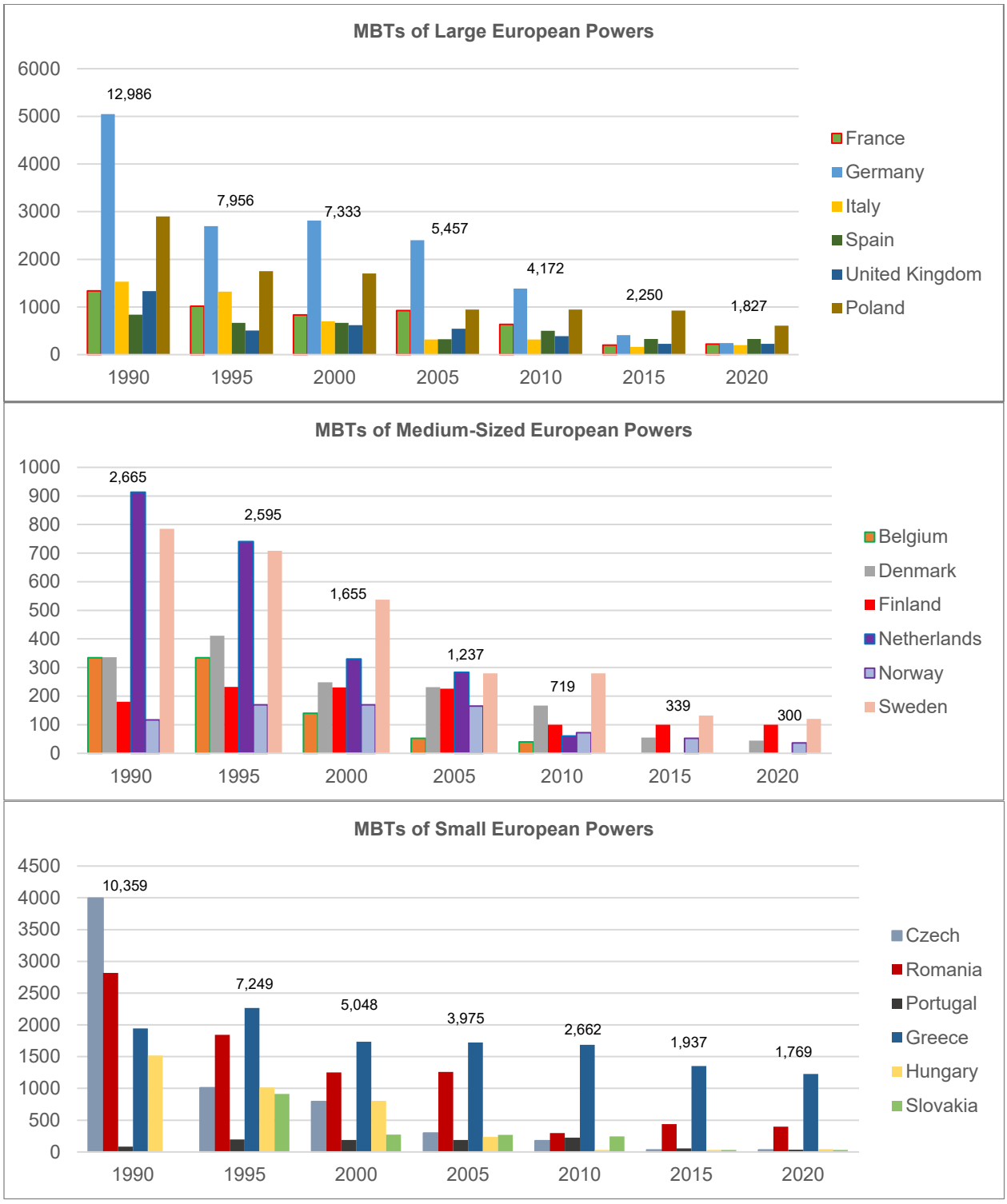
Schmitt, Olivier and Sten Rynning, "France," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 35-51.

Speller, Ian, "Ireland," in Meijer and Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, pp. 330-343.

APPENDIX C

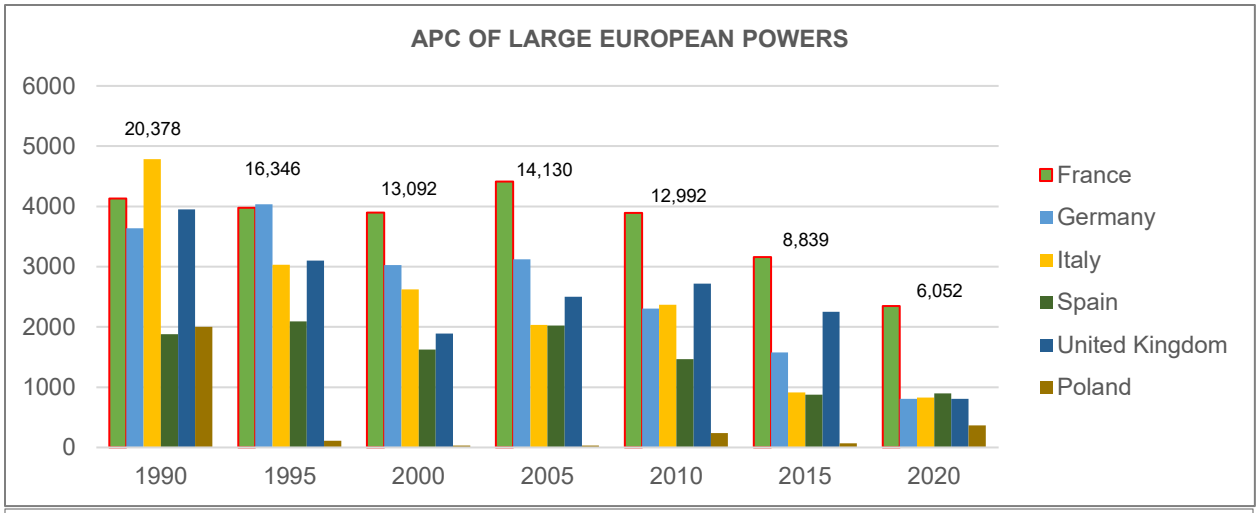
Main Battle Tank (MBT), Armored Personnel Carriers (APC), Artillery (ARTY), Total Active Troops, Active Army Troops, Total Reserve Troops and Army Reserve Troops from 1990 to 2020, for Large, Medium and Small European powers.

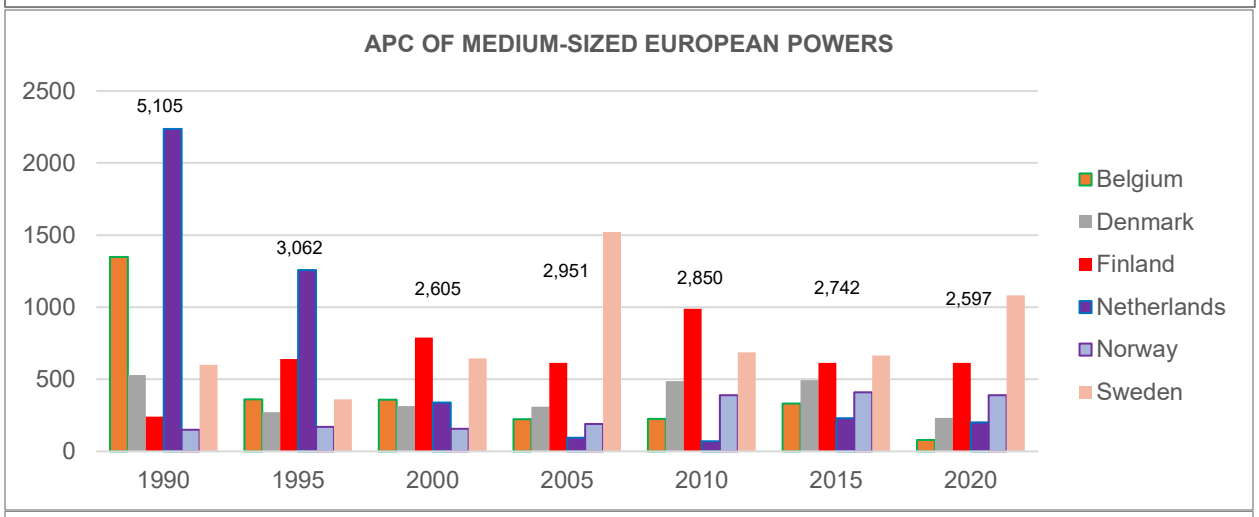
Main Battle Tank

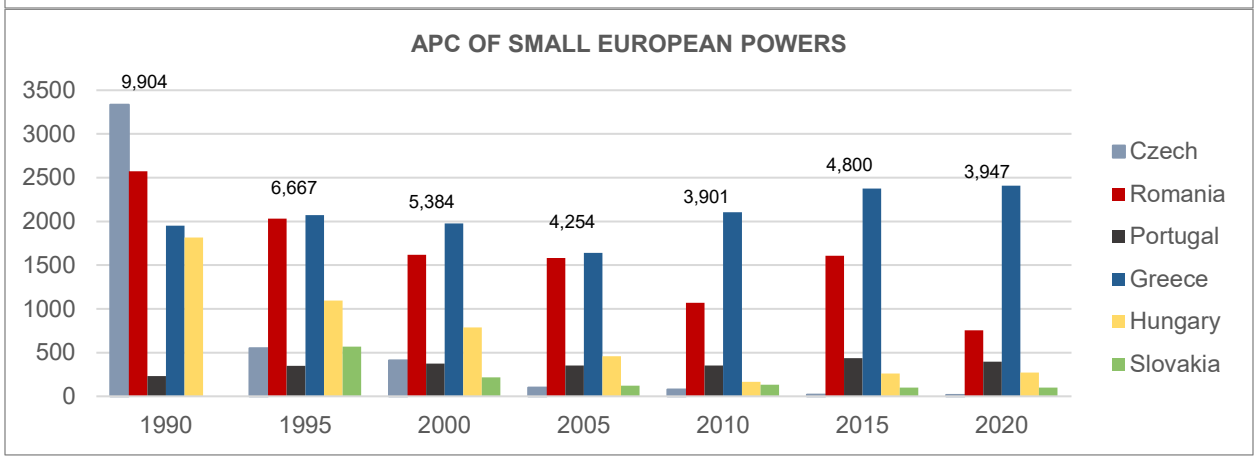


Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Military Balance*, 1990–2020

Armored Personnel Carriers

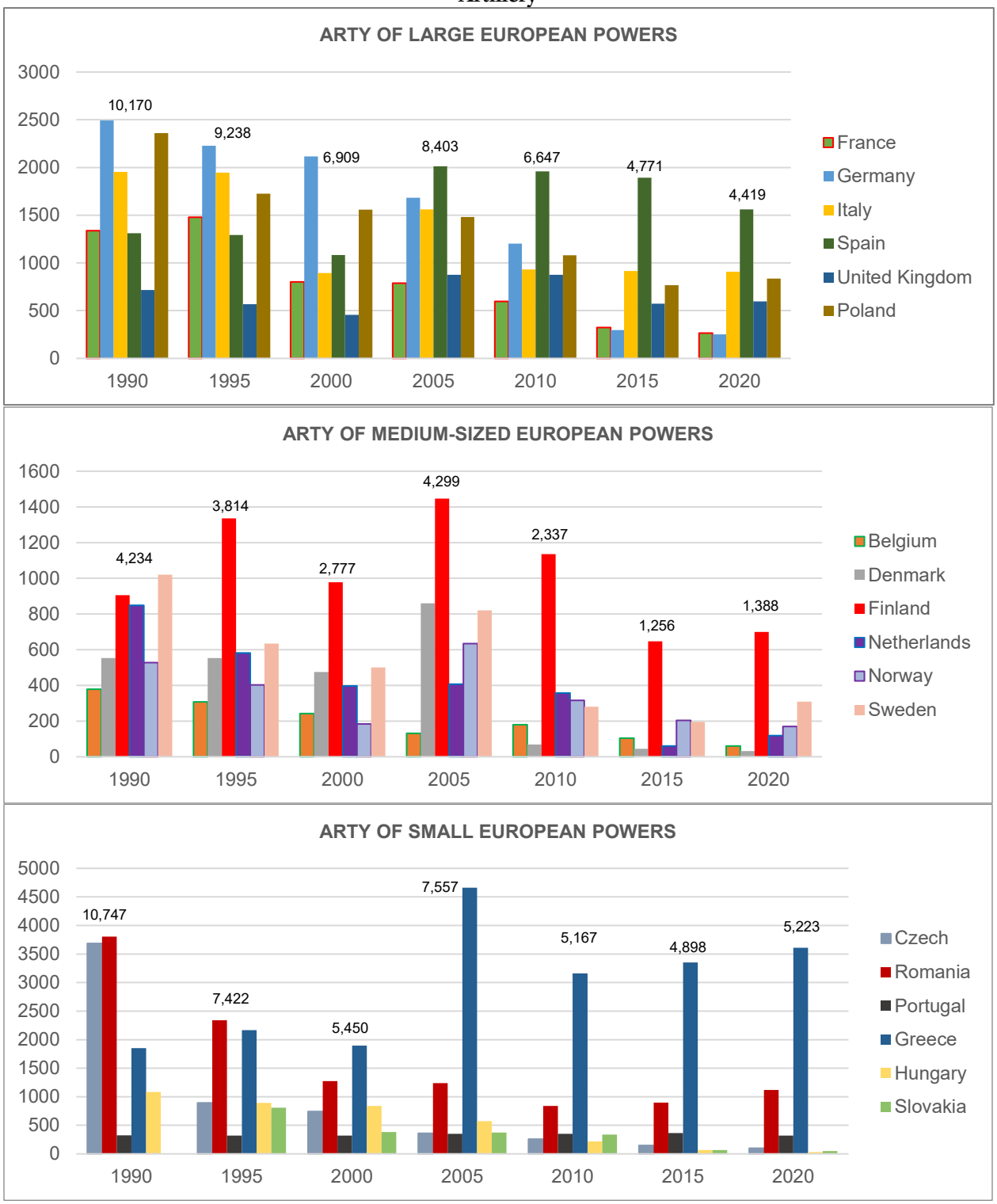






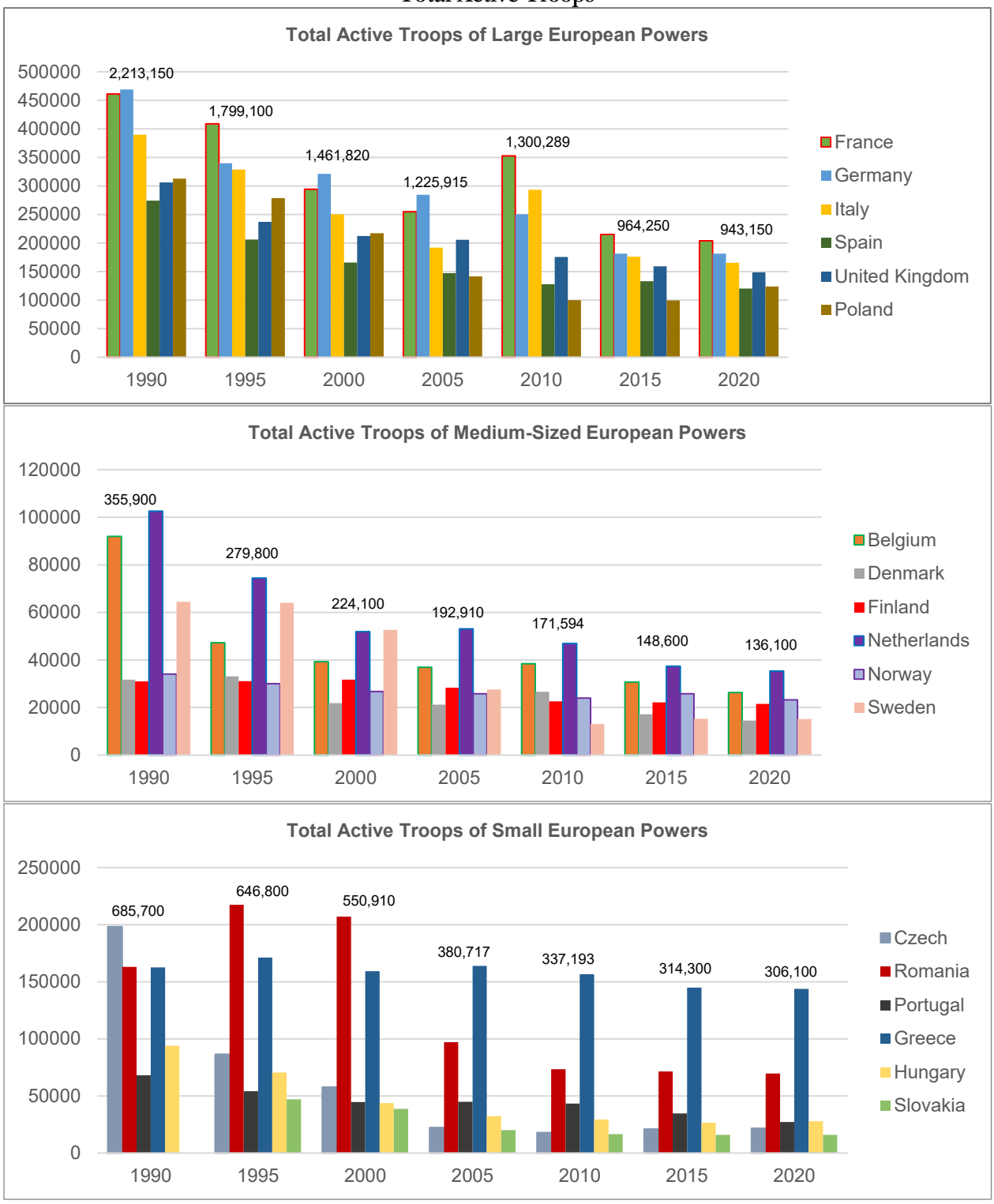
Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Military Balance*, 1990-2020

Artillery



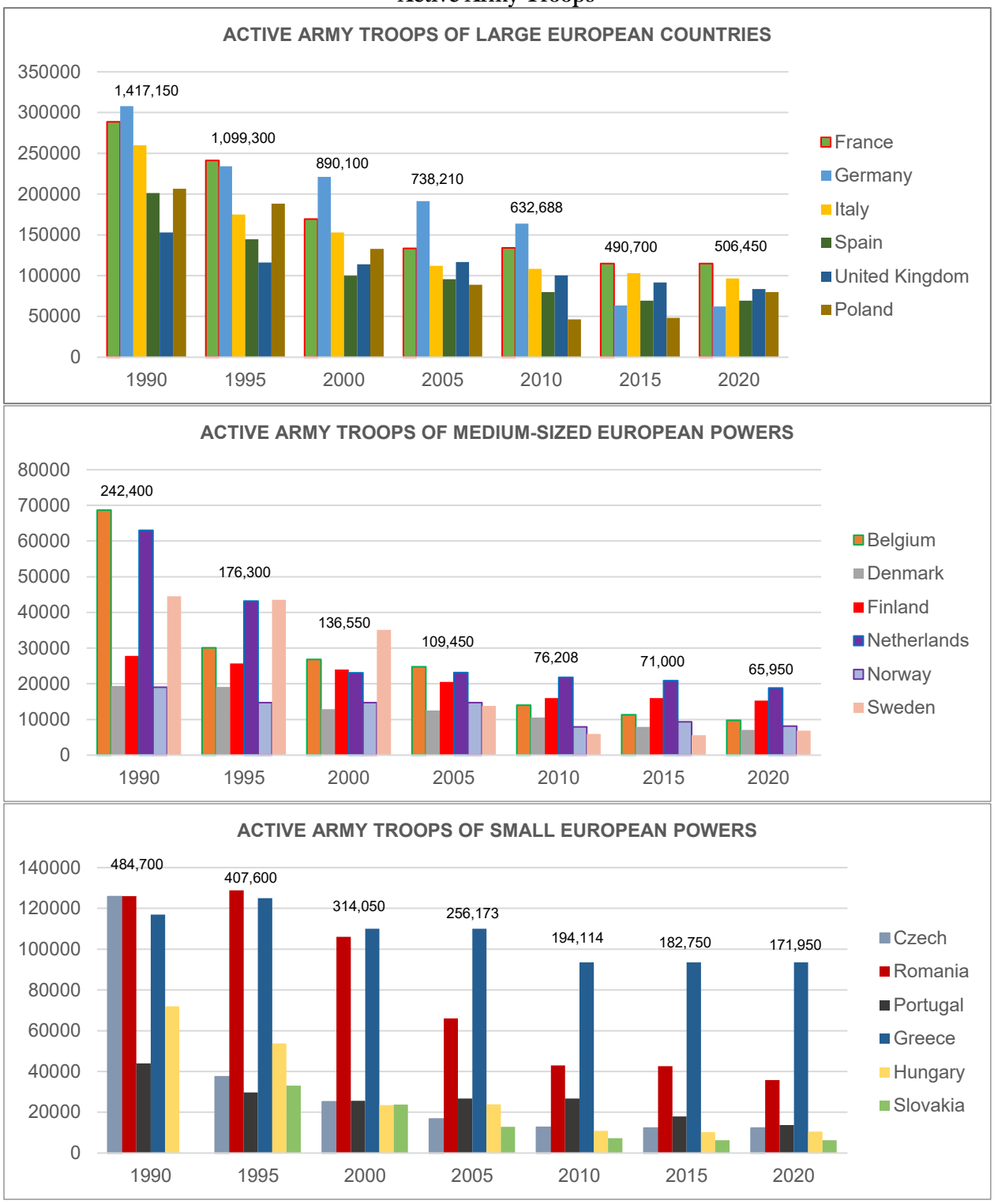
Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Military Balance*, 1990-2020

Total Active Troops



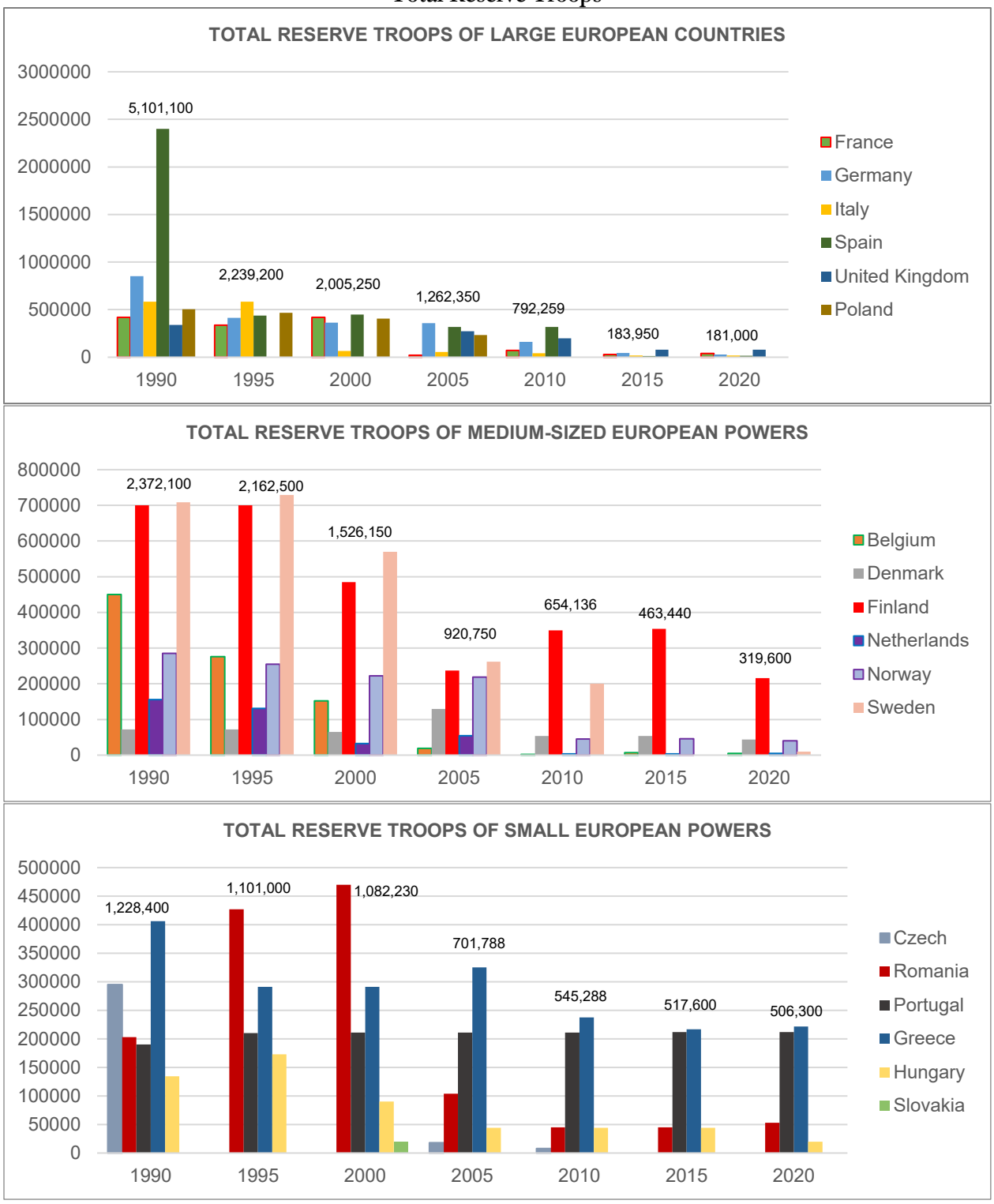
Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Military Balance*, 1990-2020

Active Army Troops



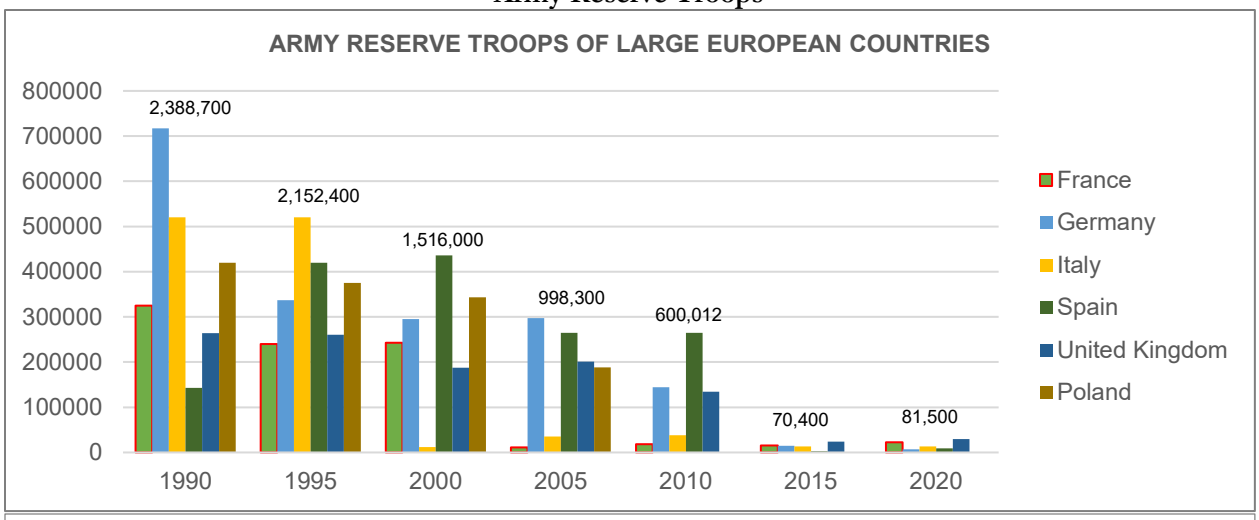
Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Military Balance*, 1990-2020

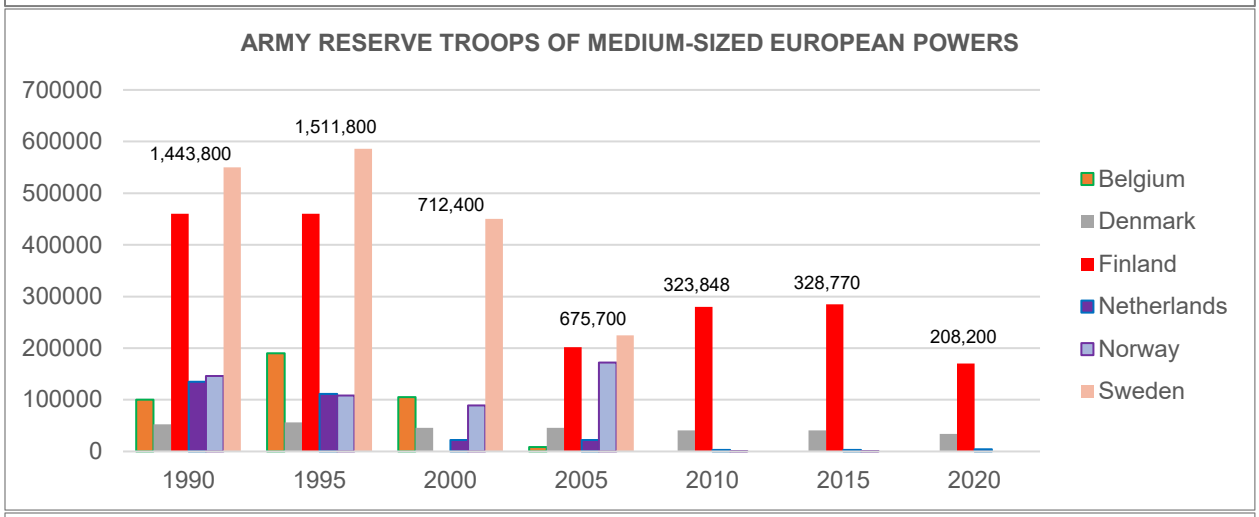
Total Reserve Troops

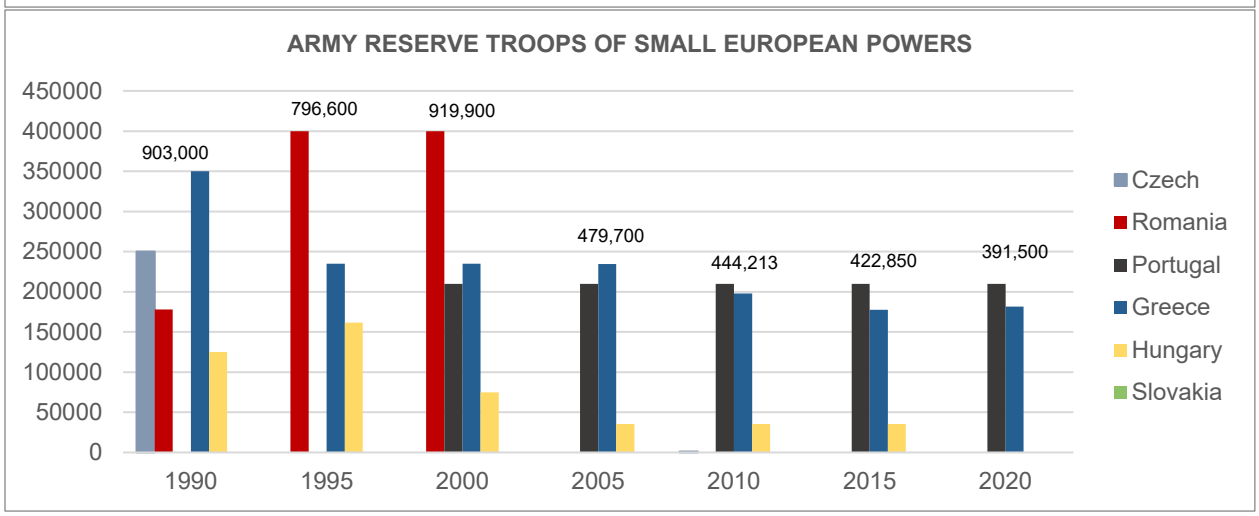


Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Military Balance*, 1990-2020

Army Reserve Troops







Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Military Balance*, 1990-2020

APPENDIX D

Russia vs 4 European Coalitions' Conventional Defense Capabilities in Selected Areas: Main Battle Tanks (MBT), Advanced Personnel Carrier (APC), Artillery (ARTY), Total Active Troops, Total Reserve Troops

The next five figures compare Russia with four potential European balancing coalitions regarding the two overall measures of military personnel (total active and total reserves) as well as three core weapon systems for conventional warfare (main battle tanks, artillery and armored personnel carriers). These four potential European coalitions are derived from our threat assessments in Section 2.

Coalition 1:

This coalition includes all non-neutral countries in the left two columns of our threat assessment chart (that is, those European countries that either see Russia as the dominant threat by far or that see it as the highest threat, see Table 1). Specifically, the members of this coalition are as follows:

Czech Republic
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Norway
Romania
Slovakia

Coalition 2:

This coalition is the exact same as Coalition 1 but also adds Germany, the large European power that most likely would come to see Russia as a higher threat if the US pulls back (and would thus move to the second column from the left on Table 1). Specifically, the members of this coalition are as follows:

Czech Republic
Estonia
Germany
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Norway
Romania
Slovakia

Coalition 3:

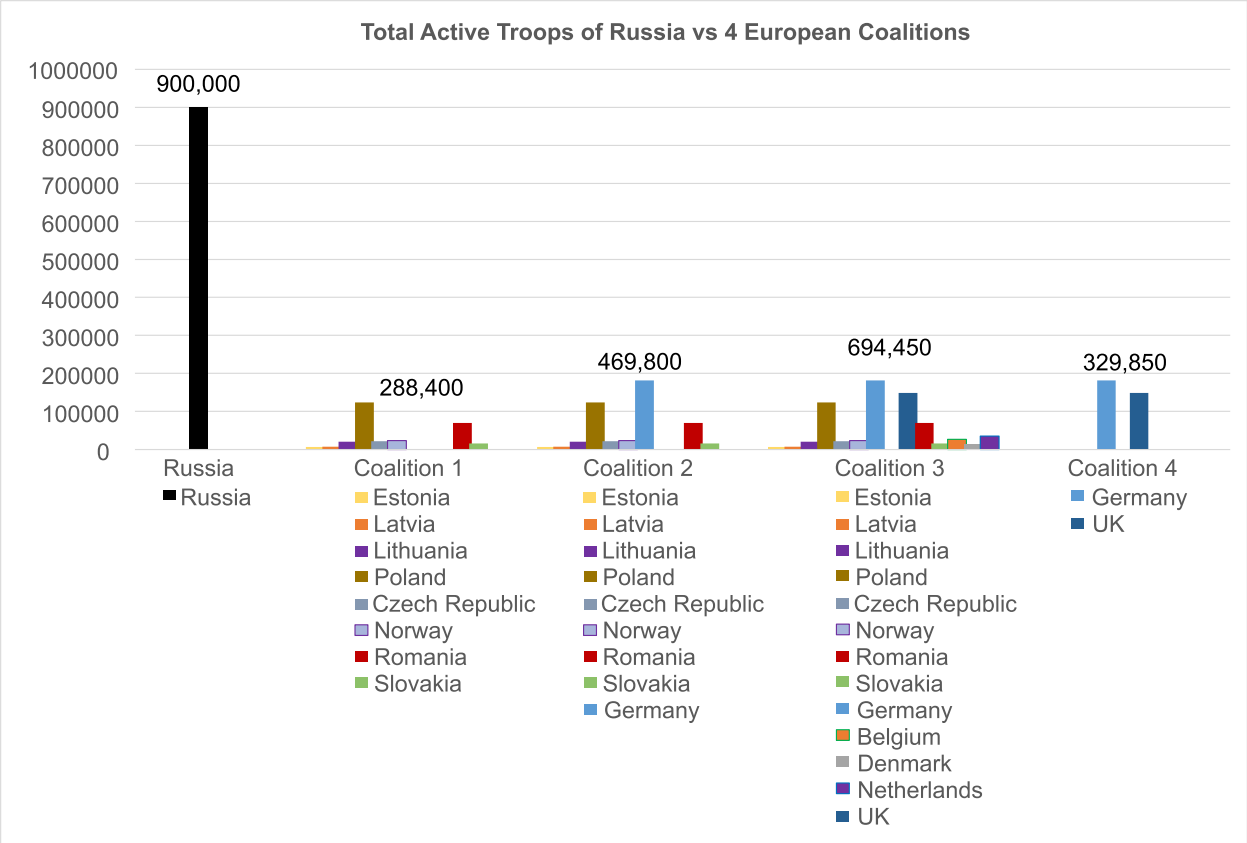
This coalition includes the Coalition 1 countries as well as all countries from the middle column of our threat assessment chart (that is, those countries that see Russia and other threats as having roughly equal significance). Specifically, the members of this coalition are as follows:

Belgium
Czech Republic
Denmark
Estonia
Germany
Latvia
Lithuania
Netherlands
Poland
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
United Kingdom

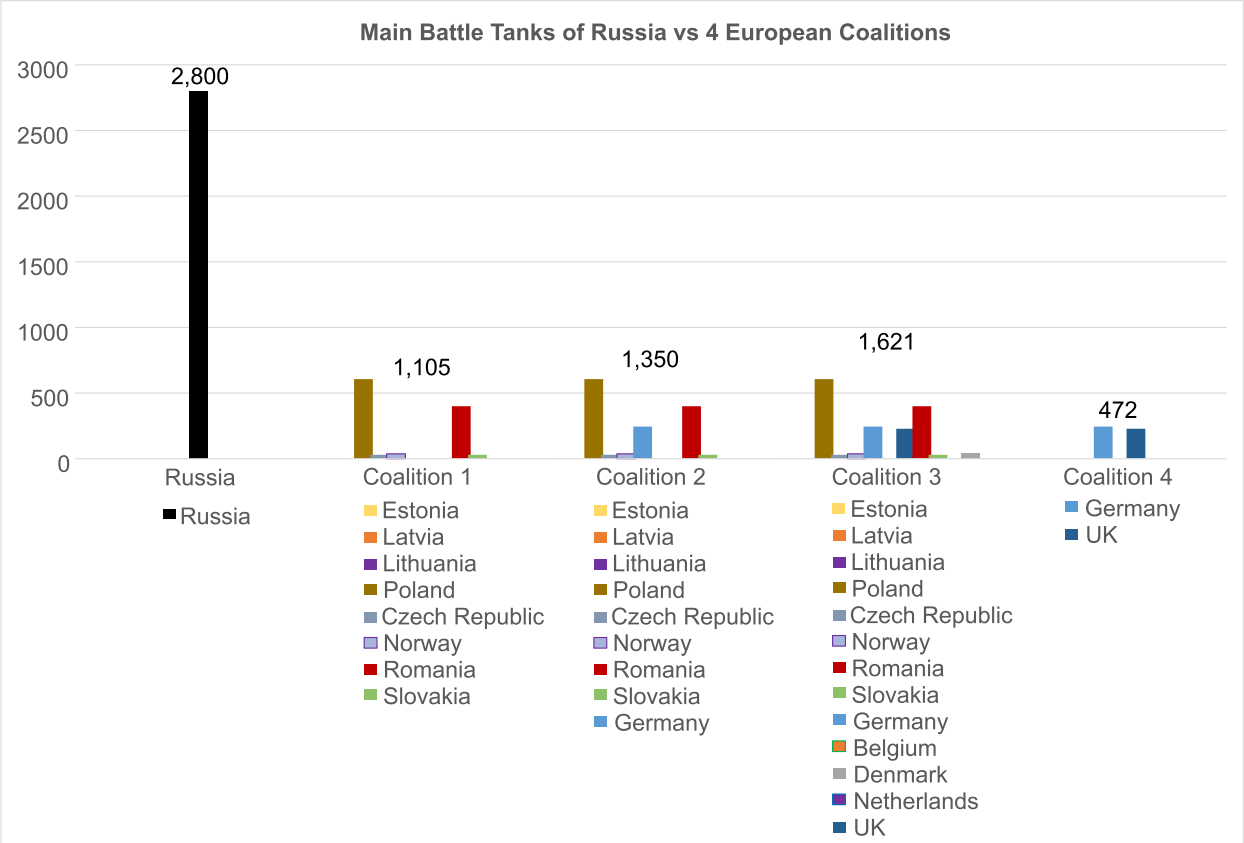
Coalition 4:

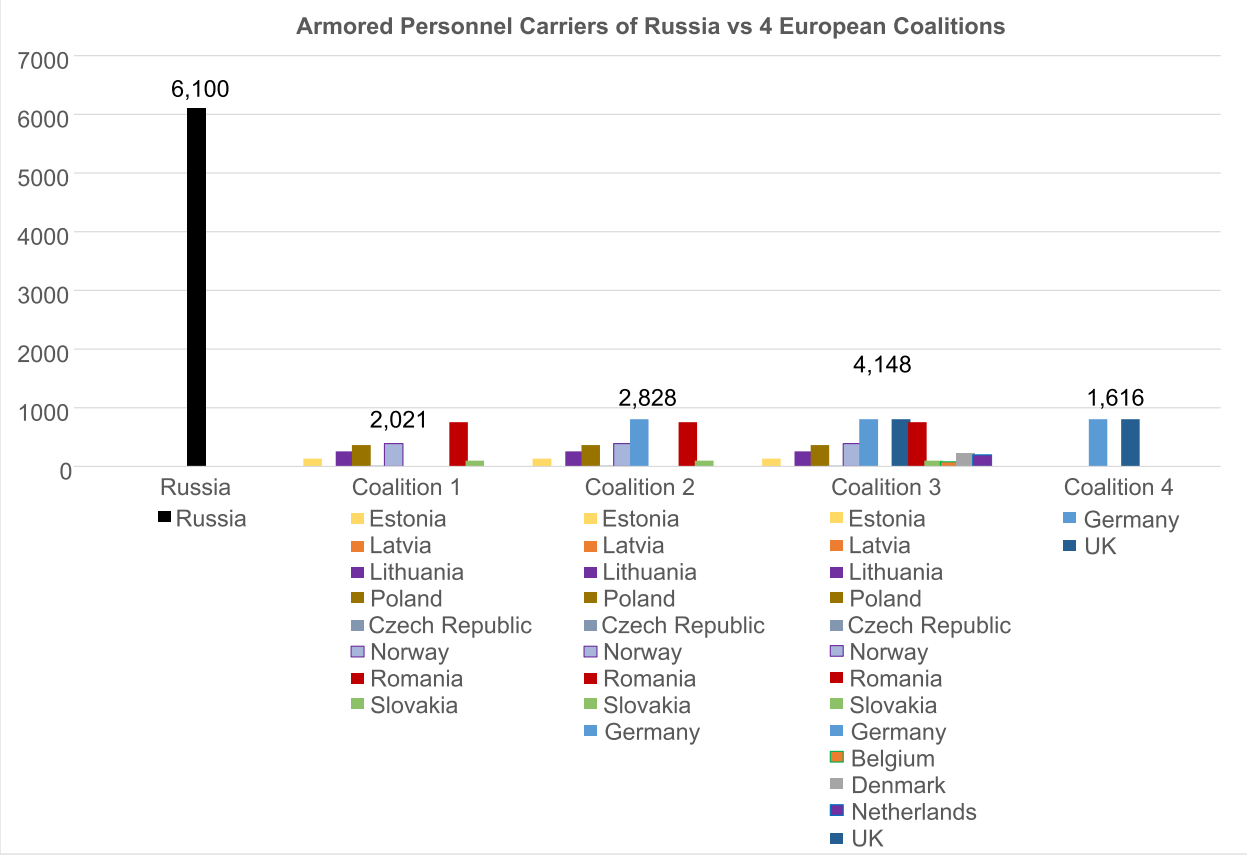
Reflecting Posen's contention that just two large European powers could balance Russia, Coalition 4 comprises the two large powers most likely to balance Russia. Specifically, the members of this coalition are as follows:

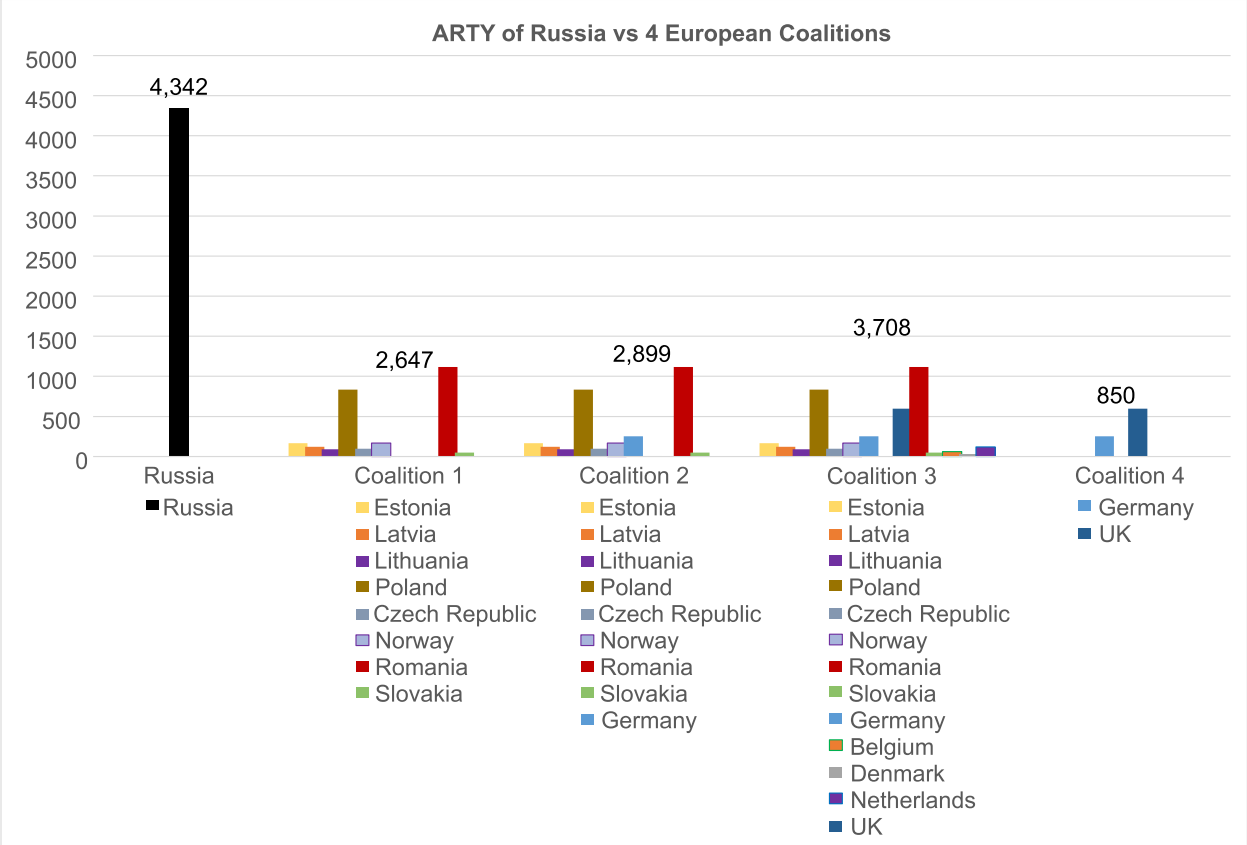
Germany
United Kingdom


Total Active Troops of Russia vs 4 European Coalitions
1000000
900000
800000
700000
600000
500000
400000
300000
200000
100000
0
900,000
288,400
469,800
694,450
329,850
Russia
Russia
Coalition 1
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Czech Republic
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
Coalition 2
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Czech Republic
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
Germany
Coalition 3
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Czech Republic
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
Germany
Belgium
Denmark
Netherlands
UK
Coalition 4
Germany
UK

Total Reserve Troops of Russia vs 4 European Coalitions
2500000
2000000
1500000
1000000
500000
0
2,000,000
122,000
151,400
284,800
109,000
Russia
Russia
Coalition 1
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Czech Republic
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
Coalition 2
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Czech Republic
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
Germany
Coalition 3
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Czech Republic
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
Germany
Belgium
Denmark
Netherlands
UK
Coalition 4
Germany
UK


Main Battle Tanks of Russia vs 4 European Coalitions
3000
2500
2000
1500
1000
500
0
2,800
1,105
1,350
1,621
472
Russia
Coalition 1
Coalition 2
Coalition 3
Coalition 4
Russia
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Czech Republic
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
Germany
Belgium
Denmark
Netherlands
UK


Armored Personnel Carriers of Russia vs 4 European Coalitions
7000
6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
6,100
2,021
2,828
4,148
1,616
Russia
Coalition 1
Coalition 2
Coalition 3
Coalition 4
Russia
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Czech Republic
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
Germany
Belgium
Denmark
Netherlands
UK


ARTY of Russia vs 4 European Coalitions
5000
4500
4000
3500
3000
2500
2000
1500
1000
500
0
4,342
2,647
2,899
3,708
850
Russia
Coalition 1
Coalition 2
Coalition 3
Coalition 4
Russia
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Czech Republic
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Czech Republic
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
Germany
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Czech Republic
Norway
Romania
Slovakia
Germany
Belgium
Denmark
Netherlands
UK
Germany
UK

APPENDIX E

Selected Scholarly Works on European Defense Interests and Capabilities

Barrie, Douglas et al., *Defending Europe: Scenario-Based Capability Requirements for NATO's European Members* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2019).

Barrie, Douglas et al., *Protecting Europe: Meeting the EU's Military Level of Ambition in the Context of Brexit* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2019).

Béraud-Sudreau, Lucie and Alice Pannier, "An 'Improbable Paris-Berlin-Commission Triangle': Usages of Europe and the Revival of EU Defense Cooperation after 2016," *Journal of European Integration* (2020), pp. 1-16.

Béraud-Sudreau, Lucie and Bastian Giegerich, "NATO Defense Spending and European Threat Perceptions," *Survival*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (2018), pp. 53-74.

DeVore, Marc R., "International Armaments Collaboration and the Limits of Reform," *Defense and Peace Economics*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (2014), pp. 415-443.

Farrell, Theo, Sten Rynning, and Terry Terriff, *Transforming Military Power since the Cold War: Britain, France, and the United States, 1990-2012* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Fiott, Daniel, *Defense Industrial Cooperation in the European Union: The State, the Firm and Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

Forster, Anthony, *Armed Forces and Society in Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006).

Haaland Matlary, Janne, and Magnus Petersson, eds., *NATO's European Allies: Military Capability and Political Will* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Henke, Marina, "Networked Cooperation: How the EU Recruits Military Forces," *Security Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 5 (2019), pp. 901-934.

Hofmann, Stephanie, "Why Institutional Overlap Matters: CSDP in the European Security Architecture," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 11 (2011), pp. 101-120.

Howorth, Jolyon, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Hyde-Price, Adrian, *European Security in the Twenty-First Century: The Challenge of Multipolarity* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Jones, Seth G., *The Rise of European Security Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

King, Anthony, *The Transformation of Europe's Armed Forces: From the Rhine to Afghanistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Krotz, Ulrich and Richard Maher, "Europe in an Age of Transition," *Global Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (2017), pp. 193-210.

Krotz, Ulrich, "Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe Won't Emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage Soon," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (2009), pp. 555-578.

Meijer, Hugo and Marco Wyss, eds., *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Missiroli, Antonio, James Rogers, and Andrea Gilli, "Enabling the Future – European Military Capabilities 2013–2025: Challenges and Avenues", Report No. 16 (Paris: EUISS, May 2013)

Posen, Barry, "European Union Security and Defense Policy: Response to Unipolarity?," *Security Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2006), pp. 149-186.

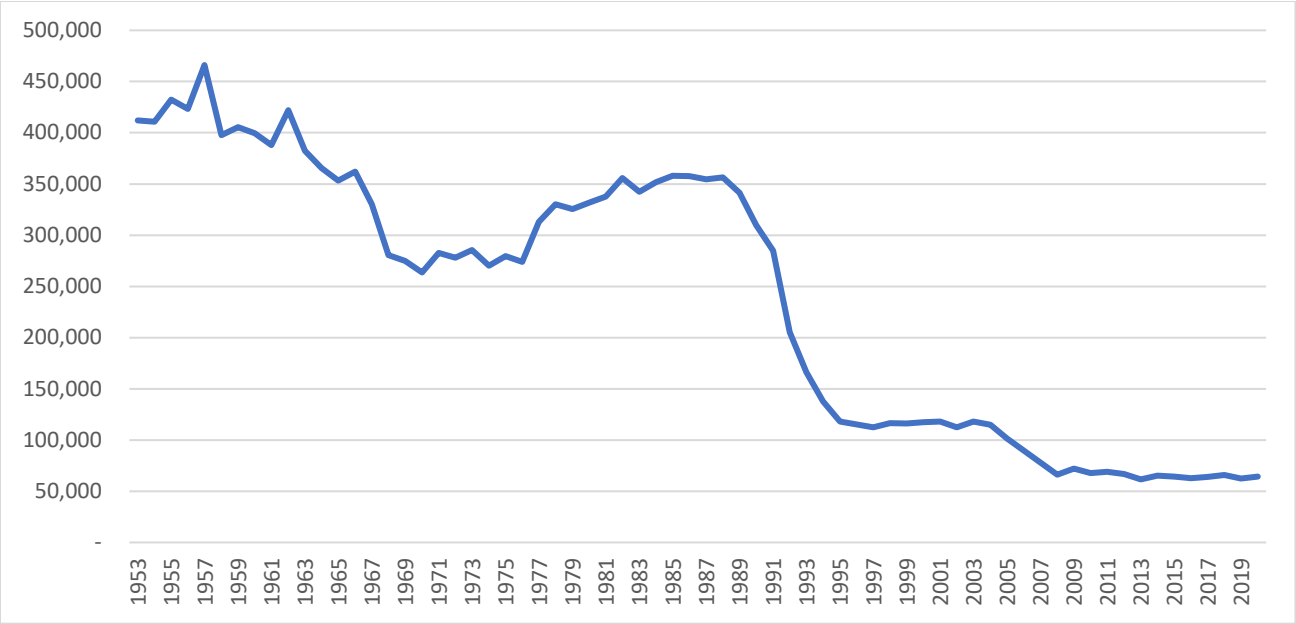
Rosato, Sebastian, *Europe United: Power Politics and the Making of the European Community* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).

Simón, Luis, "Neorealism, Security Cooperation, and Europe's Relative Gains Dilemma," *Security Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2017), pp. 197-211.

Terriff, Terry, Frans Osinga, and Theo Farrell, eds., *A Transformation Gap? American Innovations and European Military Change* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

APPENDIX F

U.S. Troop Presence in Europe, 1953–2019



Source: Data retrieved from U.S. Department of Defense, available at https://www.dmdc.osd.mil/appj/dwp/dwp_reports.jsp

APPENDIX G

Selected Scholarly Works Advocating for Restraint

Ashford, Emma M. "Better Balancing in the Middle East," in Trevor Thrall and Benjamin Friedman, eds., *US Grand Strategy in the 21st century: The Case for Restraint* (Routledge: 2018).

Bandow, Doug. "First Among Equals." *The National Interest*, January 12, 2009.

Carpenter, Ted Galen, "Delusions of Indispensability," *The National Interest*, March/April 2013.

Edelstein, David and Joshua Shifrinson, "It's a Trap! Security Commitments and the Risk of Entrapment," in Friedman and Thrall, *U.S. Grand Strategy,* pp. 19-41.

Fettweis, Christopher, *Psychology of a Superpower: Security and Dominance in U.S Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).

Fettweis, Christopher, "Unipolarity, Hegemony, and the New Peace," *Security Studies*, Vol 26. No. 3. (2017), pp. 423-445.

Friedman, Benjamin and Trevor Thrall, "National Interests, Grand Strategy, and the Case for Restraint," in Trevor Thrall and Benjamin Friedman, eds., *US Grand Strategy in the 21st century: The Case for Restraint* (Routledge: 2018).

Friedman, Benjamin, Eugene Gholz, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey Sapolsky, "Restraining Order: For Strategic Modesty," *World Affairs,* Fall 2009, pp. 84-94.

Gady, Franz-Stefan, "How the 1952 Republican Primary Killed Offshore Balancing," *The National Interest*, April 24, 2020.

Gholz, Eugene, Daryl Press, and Harvey Sapolsky, "Come Home, America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation," *International Security,* Vol. 21, No. 4 (Spring 1997), pp. 5-48.

Gholz, Eugene and Daryl Press, "Footprints in the Sand," *The American Interest*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (March 2010).

Gholz, Eugene and Daryl Press, "Protecting the Prize," *Security Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (2010), pp. 453-485.

Gholz, Eugene, "Restraint and Oil Security," in Trevor Thrall and Benjamin Friedman, eds., *US Grand Strategy in the 21st century: The Case for Restraint* (Routledge: 2018).

Glaser, John, *Withdrawing From Overseas Bases: Why A Forward-Deployed Military Posture is Unnecessary, Outdated, and Dangerous* (Washington DC: CATO Institution, 2017).

Green, Brendan, Benjamin Friedman, and Justin Logan, "Debating American Engagement: The Future of U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Fall 2013), pp. 183-192.

Layne, Christopher, "From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy," *International Security,* Vol. 22, No. 1 (Summer 1997), pp. 86–124.

Layne, Christopher, "Offshore Balancing Revisited," *Washington Quarterly,* Vol. 25, No. 2 (Spring 2002), pp. 233–248.

Layne, Christopher, "The US Foreign Policy Establishment and Grand Strategy: How American Elites Obstruct Strategic Adjustment," *International Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (2017), pp. 260-275.

Lee, Dong Sun, "America's International Leadership in Transition: From Global Hegemony towards Offshore Leadership," *Journal of International and Area Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (2017), pp. 1–19.

Lind, Michael, "A Concert-Balance Strategy for a Multipolar World," *The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters,* Vol. 38, No. 3 (2008), pp. 48-60.

MacDonald, Paul K. and Joseph M. Parent, "Graceful Decline? The Surprising Success of Great Power Retrenchment," *International Security*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Spring 2011), pp. 7– 44.

Mearsheimer, John J., "Imperial by Design," *National Interest,* No. 111 (January/February 2011), pp. 16–34.

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen Walt, "The Case for Offshore Balancing," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2016).

Mott, Christopher, "The Case for U.S. Offshore Balancing in the Middle East," *The National Interest*, October 14, 2020.

Mueller, John, "Embracing Threatlessness: US Military Spending, Newt Gingrich, and the Costa Rica Option," in Trevor Thrall and Benjamin Friedman, eds., *US Grand Strategy in the 21st century: The Case for Restraint* (Routledge: 2018).

Pape, Robert A. and James K. Feldman, *Cutting the Fuse: The Explosion of Global Suicide Terrorism and How to Stop It* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

Pape, Robert A., "Empire Falls," *National Interest*, No. 99 (January/ February 2009), pp. 21– 34.

Paul, Joshy, "US and India: Emerging Offshore Balancing in Asia." *India Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (May 2019), pp. 221–242.

Prifti, Bledar, "The Bush Doctrine in the Middle East: A New American Century," in Bledar Prifti, ed., *US Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Case for Continuity* (Springer, 2017), pp. 91–112.

Porter, Patrick, *Sharing Power?: Prospects for U.S. Concert-Balance Strategy* (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, 2013).

Posen, Barry, "A Grand Strategy of Restraint," in Michèle A. Flournoy and Shawn Brimley, eds., *Finding Our Way: Debating American Grand Strategy* (Washington DC: Center for a New American Security, 2008), pp. 81–102.

Posen, Barry, "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (January/February 2013), pp. 116-128.

Posen, Barry, *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2014).*

Posen, Barry, "The Case for Restraint," *American Interest,* Vol. 3, No. 1 (November/December 2007), pp. 7–17.

Preble, Christopher, *Power Problem: How American Military Dominance Makes Us Less Safe, Less Prosperous, and Less Free* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009).

Shifrinson, Joshua, "NATO Enlargement and Foreign Policy: The Origins, Durability, and Impact of an Idea," *International Politics*, Vol. 7 (March 2020), pp. 342-370.

Walt, Stephen, *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006).

Walt, Stephen, "The End of Hubris and the New Age of American Restraint," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2019.

Walt, Stephen, *The Hell of Good Intentions: America's Foreign Policy Elite and the Decline of U.S. Primacy* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2018).