

Randall L. Schweller

Department of Political Science
The Ohio State University
2140 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, OH 43210-1373
614-292-5357 (w)
614-447-0788 (h)
fax: 614-292-1146
schweller.2@osu.edu

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Director, Program for the Study of Realist Foreign Policy, Sept. 2018 to present
Full Professor, The Ohio State University, July 2006 to present.
Associate Professor, The Ohio State University, July 1999 to June 2006.
Assistant Professor, The Ohio State University, Sept. 1994 to June 1999.

EDUCATION

Ph.D.: Columbia University, New York, NY, 1993
M.Phil.: Columbia University, New York, NY, 1991
M.A.: Columbia University, New York, NY, 1990
B.A.: State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1984

BOOKS

Broken Cycle: World Politics in the Age of Dissent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2026)

Maxwell's Demon and the Golden Apple: Global Discord in the New Millennium (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

Chinese edition of *Maxwell's Demon and the Golden Apple: Global Discord in the New Millennium* (Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2021)

Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006).

Romanian edition of *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of*

Power (Policom, 2023)

Chinese edition of *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power*, translated by Liu Feng, with a new preface by the author (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2014).

Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

ARTICLES

“Biden’s Legacy of Unprincipled Stagnation,” *The American Conservative* (February 3, 2025)

“A Cold Peace with China: East Asia is the Most Important Security Challenge for Trump’s Second Term,” *The American Conservative* (September/October 2024), pp. 22-27. With Andrew Byers.

“Trump the Realist: The Former President Understands the Limits of American Power,” *Foreign Affairs* (July 2024), pp. 1-11. With Andrew Byers.

“Neorealism’s Power and Restraint: A Tribute to Waltz on his 100th Birthday,” *Journal of Global Strategic Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (December 2022), pp. 6-36.

“Thoughts on Robert Jervis,” H-Diplo/ISSF (January 2022).

“Trump’s Realism,” The H-Diplo/ISSF Policy Series, *President Trump and IR Theory* (April 2021).

Randall L. Schweller and Joseph Nye, “Has Trump’s Foreign Policy Been Successful? A Four-Part Debate,” *Pairagraph*, October 7, 2020:

<https://www.pairagraph.com/dialogue/b04b6f07cc10434aa56d5da047c3d9fb>

Francis J. Gavin, James B. Steinberg, Daniel W. Drezner, Ronald R. Krebs, and Randall Schweller, “The Vision Thing: Is Grand Strategy Dead?” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 4 (July/August 2020).

“The End of Grand Strategy: America Must Think Small,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 3 (May/June 2020). With Ronald Krebs and Daniel Drezner.

“Three Cheers for Trump’s Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 5 (September/October 2018).

"Organised Anarchy: Revisiting G. John Ikenberry's After Victory," *The British Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 20, Issue 3 (August 2018).

"Opposite but Compatible Nationalisms: A Neoclassical Realist Approach to the Future of US-China Relations," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 11, Issue 1 (March 2018), pp. 23-48.

"A Third-Image Explanation for Why Trump Now." For H-Diplo/ISSF Roundtable: *President Trump and IR Theory Roundtable*. The other contributors are Robert Jervis and Michael Barnett. The H-Diplo/ISSF Policy Series: America and the World—2017 and Beyond. Posted February 8, 2017. <https://issforum.org/roundtables/policy/1-5m-third-image>

"Rising Powers and Revisionism in Emerging International Orders," Paper #16, Valdai Institute Publication, Russia (May 2015); in Russian and English.

"Statement by the New Editor-in-Chief," *Security Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (January-March 2015).

"China's Aspirations and the Clash of Nationalisms in East Asia: A Neoclassical Realist Examination," *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (December 2014).

"Weltweiter Unfriede im Zeitalter der Entropie: Weshalb die Vorstellung einer globalen Führungsmacht nicht mehr zeitgemäß ist," [Worldwide Strife in the Age of Entropy: Why the Idea of a Global Leading Power is No Longer Appropriate], *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft (ipg-journal)* August 2014.

"The Age of Entropy," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot*, June 16, 2014.

"After Unipolarity: China's Vision of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline" *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Summer 2011). Co-authored with Xiaoyu Pu. Reprinted in Karen A. Mingst and Jack L. Snyder, eds., *Essential Readings in World Politics*, 5th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2014); and Sean M. Lynn-Jones, ed., *The United States and China: A Batch from International Security* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014).

"Emerging Powers in the Age of Disorder." *Global Governance*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (July-Sept. 2011).

"Rational Theory for a Bygone Era," *Security Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (September 2011).

"The Future is Uncertain and the End is Always Near," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (September 2011).

"Knowing the Unknown Unknowns: Misplaced Certainty and the Onset of War," *Security Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Jan-March 2011). Co-authored with Jennifer Mitzen.

"The Logic and Illogic of Contemporary Realism," *International Theory*, Vol. 2, Issue 3 (July 2010).

"Ennui Becomes Us," *The National Interest*, No. 105 (Jan/Feb 2010).

"Entropy and the Trajectory of World Politics: Why Polarity Has Become Less Meaningful," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (March 2010).

"Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing," *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Fall 2004).

"Institutionalized Disagreement," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Summer 2002).

"The Problem of International Order Revisited: A Review Essay," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Summer 2001).

"Brother Can You Spare a Paradigm? (Or Was Anybody Ever a Realist?)" *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Summer 2000).

"Power Test: Updating Realism In Response to the End of the Cold War," *Security Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Spring 2000), with William Wohlforth.

"Linking the Levels: The Long Wave and Shifts in U.S. Foreign Policy, 1790-1993," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (April 1999), with Brian Pollins.

"Fantasy Theory," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (1999).

"New Realist Research on Alliances: Refining, Not Refuting, Waltz's Balancing Proposition," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (December 1997).

"A Tale of Two Realisms: Expanding the Institutions Debate," *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol. 41, Supplement 2 (April 1997), with David Priess.

"Neorealism's Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?" *Security Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Spring 1996).

"Bandwagoning For Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Summer 1994).

"Tripolarity and the Second World War," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 1

(March 1993).

"Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?" *World Politics*, Vol. 44, No 2 (January 1992).

CHAPTERS IN EDITED VOLUMES

"Robert Jervis's Fourth Crucial Assumption for the Operation of Balance of Power Systems," in Diane Labrosse, Stacie Goddard, and Richard Immerman, eds., *The Jervis Effect: The Scholarship and Legacy of Robert Jervis* (Columbia University Press, 2026), ch. 6.

"Trump's Realism," in Robert Jervis, Diane Labrosse, Stacie Goddard, and Joshua Rovner, eds., *Chaos Reconsidered: The Liberal Order and the Future of International Politics* (Columbia University Press, 2023).

"An Emerging World that Defies Historical Analogy," in Bertel Heurlin, Nina Græger, Ole Wæver and Anders Wivel, eds., *Polarity in International Relations: Past, Present, Future* (Palgrave, 2022).

"Grand Strategy Under Nonpolarity," in Thierry Balzacq and Ronald R. Krebs, eds., *The Oxford Handbook on Grand Strategy* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

"Why Trump Now: A Third-Image Explanation," in Robert Jervis, Francis Gavin, Joshua Rovner, and Diane Labrosse, eds., *America and the World—2017 and Beyond* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), chap. 3.

"The Concept of Middle Power," in Victor D. Cha and Marie Dumond, eds., *The Korean Pivot: The Study of South Korea as a Global Power* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, July 2017).

"Domestic Politics and Nationalism in East Asian Security," in Robert Ross and Øystein Tunsjø, eds., *Strategic Adjustment and the China Factor: Power and Politics in East Asia* (Cornell University Press, 2017).

"The Balance of Power in World Politics," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Politics* (politics.oxfordre.com), Oxford University Press, 2016 (Online Publication Date: May 2016). DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.119

"Status Signaling, Multiple Audiences, and China's Blue-Water Naval Ambition," in Deborah Welch Larson, T.V. Paul, and William C. Wohlforth, eds., *Status in World Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Co-authored with Xiaoyu Pu.

"Jervis's Realism," in James W. Davis, ed., *Psychology, Strategy and Conflict: Perceptions of Insecurity in International Relations Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

"Neoclassical Realism and State Mobilization: Expansionist Ideology in the Age of Mass Politics," in Steve Lobell, Jeffrey Taliaferro, and Norrin Ripsman, eds., *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

"The Progressiveness of Neoclassical Realism," in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, eds., *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field* (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 2003).

"New Realist Research on Alliances: Refining, Not Refuting, Waltz's Balancing Proposition," reprinted in John Vasquez and Colin Elman, eds., *Realism and the Balancing of Power: The New Debate* (New York: Prentice Hall, 2003).

"The Concept of Alliance," in Yoichi Funabashi, ed., *Alliance Tomorrow: Security Arrangements After the Cold War* (Tokyo: The Tokyo Foundation, 2001)

"The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: Why a Concert Didn't Arise," in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, eds., *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001).

"Democracy in the Post-Cold War Era," in Bertel Heurlin and Birthe Hansen, eds., *The New World Order: Contrasting Theories* (New York: Macmillan, 2000).

"U.S. Democracy Promotion: Realist Reflections," in Takashi Inoguchi, G. John Ikenberry, and Michael Cox, eds., *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies and Impacts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

"Managing the Rise of Great Powers: History and Theory," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, eds., *Engaging China: Managing a Rising Power* (London and New York: Routledge Press, 1999).

"Realism and The Present Great-Power System: Growth and Positional Competition Over Scarce Resources," in Ethan Kapstein and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies After the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

"Neorealism's Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?" in Benjamin Frankel, ed., *Realism: Restatements and Renewal* (London and NY: Frank Cass, 1996).

"Bandwagoning For Profit: Bringing The Revisionist State Back In," reprinted in Michael

E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller, eds., *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995).

"Hitler's Tripolar Strategy For World Conquest," in Jack L. Snyder and Robert Jervis, eds., *Coping With Complexity in the International System* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993).

BOOK REVIEWS

Jakub J. Grygiel, Great Powers and Geopolitical Change (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). In *Perspective on Politics*.

Michael C. Williams, The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations (Cambridge University Press, 2005). In *International Studies Review*.

John D. Orme, The Paradox of Peace: Leaders, Decisions, and Conflict Resolution (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). In *Political Science Quarterly*.

Jeffrey Taliaferro, Balancing Risks: Great Power Intervention in the Periphery (Cornell University Press, 2004). In *Journal of Cold War Studies*.

Martha Finnemore, The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force (Cornell University Press, 2003). In International Journal.

Patrick James, International Relations and Scientific Progress: Structural Realism Reconsidered (The Ohio State University Press, 2002). In Perspectives on Politics

Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. All International Politics is Local: The Diffusion of Conflict, Integration, and Democratization (The University of Michigan Press, 2002). In International History Review.

Vesna Danilovic, When the Stakes are High: Deterrence and Conflict Among Major Powers (The University of Michigan Press, 2002), in International History Review.

John A. Vasquez, ed., What Do We Know About War? (The University of Michigan Press, 2001), in International History Review Vol. 24, No. 4 (2002): 994-5.

Paul Kennedy and William I. Hitchcock, eds., From War to Peace: Altered Strategic Landscapes in the Twentieth Century (Yale University Press, 2000), in Journal of Cold War Studies (2002).

Roger Beaumont, The Nazi March to Chaos: The Hitler Era Through the Lenses of

Chaos-Complexity Theory (Praeger, 1999), in Journal of Military History (October 2000): 1184-86.

James M. Goldgeier, Not Whether But When: The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO (Brookings Institution Press, 1999), in Political Science Quarterly (Summer 2000):315-17.

Alexander V. Kozhemiakin, Expanding the Zone of Peace: Democratization and International Security (St. Martin's Press, 1998), in Slavic Review (Spring 2000): 108-09 .

Fareed R. Zakaria, From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role (Princeton University Press, 1998), in the American Political Science Review, Vol. 93, No. 2 (June 1999):497-99.

Glenn H. Snyder, Alliance Politics (Cornell University Press, 1997), in Political Science Quarterly (Fall 1998):513-14.

Barbara Rearden Farnham. Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis: A Study of Political Decision-Making (Princeton University Press, 1997), in The International History Review (December 1998):1029-30.

Dan Reiter, Crucible of Beliefs: Learning, Alliances, and World Wars (Cornell University Press, 1996), in Political Science Quarterly (Summer 1997):329-30.

Benjamin Miller, When Opponents Cooperate (The University of Michigan Press, 1995) and Fred Chernoff, After Bipolarity (The University of Michigan Press, 1995), in Journal of Politics (May 1996):605-608.

MEDIA AND OTHER APPEARANCES

Interview with Miki Ebara from Japan's NHK World TV, *Trump's Foreign Policy in East Asia*, 45 minutes, appeared on October 21, 2020.

Presidential Debate 2020: The Future of American Foreign Policy, Thomas Wright (Brookings Institution) vs. Randall Schweller, moderated by Peter Mansoor, sponsored by the Alexander Hamilton Society and The Mershon Center, October 13, 2020.

Appeared in Korean Broadcasting System (KBS News) documentary on 2020 Presidential Election.

Appeared live on *All Sides* with Ann Fisher, *WOSU Radio* to discuss Donald Trump's 3rd State of the Union Address, February 5, 2020, 10-11am.

“Interview with Randall Schweller: After the Election, What Role Does Taiwan Play in China-US Relations?” *The Initium Media*, an online magazine for Mandarin readers, Hong Kong, January 10, 2020.

Op-ed, “Iran? Il gioco non vale la candela. La versione di Randall Schweller,” *Formiche*, January 4, 2020.

Appeared in Korean Broadcasting System (KBS News) documentary on the 1st anniversary of Singapore Summit, June 14, 2019.

<http://news.kbs.co.kr/news/view.do?ncd=4219735>

Appeared live on *All Sides* with Ann Fisher, *WOSU Radio* to discuss Donald Trump’s 2nd State of the Union Address, February 6, 2019, 10-11am.

Appeared live on *THINK*, the daily talk show for KERA (NPR’s station for Dallas), October 11, 2018 from 1-2pm to talk about my *Foreign Affairs* article, “Three Cheers for Trump’s Foreign Policy.”

Debated Jake Patterson about Trump’s foreign policy at the annual Board of Directors meeting for the *East-West Institute* (703 Lexington Ave. at 55 street). October 4, 2018.

Appeared on *Nieuwsuur*, the flagship current affairs program on Dutch Public Television to talk about Trump’s foreign policy. July 2, 2018.

Talked about North Korean Summit and Trump’s tariffs on *National Public Radio’s Weekend Edition* with Scott Simon, June 9, 2018.

Interviewed and appeared in Daniel Dale, “‘Making billions screwing us’: Trump has long been suspicious of American allies,” *Toronto Star* (June 6, 2018). Washington Bureau Chief

Discussant – along with Herb Asher: “A Conversation with Chelsea Handler,” Columbus Athenaeum, Columbus, Ohio, February 2, 2018 @ 7-8:00pm.

President Donald J. Trump, State of the Union address, “Here and Now.” *National Public Radio*, January 30, 2018.

“The First Year of Donald Trump.” *China Radio International*, January 19, 2018, Beijing, China.

“The Trump Administration’s Foreign Policy,” *Vox News*, an interview with Zack Beauchamp: <https://www.vox.com/world/2018/1/11/16875344/trump-foreign-policy-randall-schweller>

“Return to Sovereignty.” Canadian Public Television, *The Agenda with Steve Paikin*: TVO’s flagship current affairs program (Toronto, Canada), October 17, 2017. Appeared with Roland Paris and Janice Stein. Length: 22:37

President Donald J. Trump, Inauguration Day, “Here and Now.” *National Public Radio*, January 20, 2017.

“Two Approaches – Realist and Idealist.” Canadian Public Television: *The Agenda with Steve Paikin*: TVO’s flagship current affairs program (Toronto, Canada), November 11, 2015. Appeared with Janice Stein. Length: 22:37

“Are Current Conflicts a Prelude to World War III?” Public Radio International’s show, “To the Point,” hosted by Warren Olney (89.9 KCRW, Santa Monica, Calif.) on NPR stations, August 5, 2014. Appeared with Roger Cohen, *New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune*, and Robin Wright, US Institute of Peace and Woodrow Wilson Center.

CURRENT PROJECTS

Book manuscript: *Broken Cycle: Birth of an Empty Order* (469 pp.)

GRANTS AND AWARDS

\$608,000, awarded by the Charles Koch Foundation and the Stand Together Trust for *Program for the Study of Realist Foreign Policy*, Ohio State University, 2018-2025.

Social and Behavioral Sciences Joan N. Huber Faculty Fellow, Ohio State University, 2012-2015

Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations Survey, 2009. Voted by international relations faculty in 10 countries as one of the top 25 scholars who have produced the most interesting work in the field of international relations.

Department of Political Science Teaching Award, 2005.

John M. Olin Post-Doctoral Fellowship in National Security, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1993-1994.

MacArthur Foundation Fellowship in the Areas of International Conflict, Peace, and Security, 1990-1991.

MacArthur Foundation Fellowship, Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy, 1990.

Ford Foundation Fellowship in Combined Soviet/East European and International Security Studies, 1988-1989.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND AFFILIATIONS

Director

Program for the Study of Realist Foreign Policy, Mershon Center for International Security Studies, Ohio State University. 2018-present.

Editor-in-Chief

Security Studies (July 2014 - 2021)

Associate Editor

Security Studies (January 2014-June 2014)

Co-editor (January 2008-present)

Asian Security Monograph Series. Published by Stanford University Press under the auspices of the East-West Centre, Washington, D.C.

Jury Panel Member

The Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order (2013-2016)
\$100,000 Award

Director of National Security Studies, Mershon Center, Ohio State University (2010-2019).

Editorial Board Membership:

International Security

Security Studies

Foreign Affairs Review (Beijing) published in both Chinese and English.

International Security Studies (a leading IR journal in China)

Field Head: International Relations subfield in the Dept. of Political Science, The Ohio State University, 2004-2010.

Section Head: (International Security) for the Midwest Political Science Association 65th Annual Meeting, April, 12-15, 2007, Chicago, IL

Core Consultant:

United States National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends, 2020, 2025, and 2030* (2002-

present)

United States National Intelligence Council Workshop, Geopolitical Implications of Global Advances in Information and Communication Technologies through 2020 (October 5, 2010)

Participant: National Intelligence Council, Conferences on Strategic Reactions to American Global Predominance, Georgetown University (2002-2003).

NIC Group: Fourth Annual Conference of the Strategic Assessment Group: *Present at the Re-Creation? World Reactions to US Grand Strategy* (July 2002-June 2003).

National Intelligence Council's Unipolar Working Group (2004-2005)

Meeting of the Study Group on Strategic Reactions to American Preeminence, sponsored by the National Intelligence Council and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the U.S. Department of State (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 9. 2007).

Referee: *American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, International Organization, International Interactions, Millennium, Security Studies, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Peace Research, World Politics, The European Journal of International Relations, Review of International Studies*, Cornell University Press, Princeton University Press, Cambridge University Press, The Ohio State University Press, The University of Kentucky Press, Palgrave, Oxford University Press.