

# Michael Beckley

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## ACADEMIC POSITIONS

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### **Tufts University, Department of Political Science**

Associate Professor, 2019-present; Assistant Professor, 2013-19

### **American Enterprise Institute**

Jeane Kirkpatrick Visiting Scholar, 2019-21

Nonresident Senior Fellow, 2021-present

### **Harvard Kennedy School, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs**

Fellow, 2011-12, 2017-19

## EDUCATION

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### **Columbia University**

Ph.D., Political Science, 2012.

### **Emory University**

B.A., International Studies, 2004.

## RESEARCH

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### **Books**

2022. *Danger Zone: The Coming Conflict with China*. W.W. Norton (with Hal Brands).

- Featured in the Wall Street Journal, NPR, the Financial Times, the Economist, MSNBC, Fox News, and CNN.

2018. *Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower*. Cornell University Press.

- Featured in the New York Times, the Atlantic, NPR, and Foreign Affairs.

### **Journal Articles**

2023. The Peril of Peaking Powers. *International Security*, 48(1): forthcoming.

2023. The Meddling Kingdom: China's Growing Threat to Global Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 34(1): 65-79 (with Hal Brands).

2020. China's Economy Is Not Overtaking America's. *Journal of Applied Corporate Finance*, 32(2): 10-23.

2020. Conditional Convergence and the Rise of China: A Political Economy Approach to Understanding Global Power Transitions, *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 5(2): 1-9.

2018. The Power of Nations: Measuring What Matters. *International Security* 43(2): 7-44.

- Winner: Best International Security Article, American Political Science Association, 2019.

2018. America's Role in the Making of Japan's Economic Miracle. *Journal of East Asian Studies* 18(1): 1-12 (with Yusaku Horiuchi and Jennifer M. Miller).

2017. The Emerging Military Balance in East Asia: How China's Neighbors Can Check Chinese Naval Expansion. *International Security* 42(2): 78-119.

2015. The Myth of Entangling Alliances: Reassessing the Security Risks of U.S. Defense Pacts. *International Security* 39(4): 7-48.

- Outstanding Article Award in International History and Politics, Honorable Mention, American Political Science Association, 2016.

2011/12. China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure. *International Security* 36(3): 41-78.

- Reprinted in *The United States and China* (MIT Press, 2014).

2010. Economic Development and Military Effectiveness. *Journal of Strategic Studies* 34(1): 43-71.

- Winner: Amos Perlmutter Prize, Best Article, Journal of Strategic Studies, 2010.
- Winner: Carl Beck Award, Best Grad Student Paper, International Studies Association, 2009.
- Reprinted in David Galbreath and Alex Neads, eds., *Defence Studies: Critical Concepts* (Routledge, 2020).

### Peer-Reviewed Book Chapters

2020. The End of the Affair: U.S. China Policy under Trump. In Stanley Renshon and Peter Suedfield, eds., *The Trump Doctrine and the Emerging International System*. Palgrave MacMillan.

2017. The United States and China. In Donette Murray and David Brown, eds., *Power Relations in the Twenty-First Century: Mapping a Multipolar World?* Routledge.

2014. China in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In Andrew Scobell, Ely Ratner, and Michael Beckley, *China's Strategy toward South and Central Asia: An Empty Fortress*. RAND Corporation.

### Selected Essays

2023. "A More Hawkish China Policy?" *The Conversation*, March, 2.

2022. "Accepting a Cold War with China Is the Best Option." *Washington Examiner*, December 6.

2022. What Does China Want? *Foreign Policy*, August 13 (with Hal Brands).

2022. The Coming War over Taiwan. *Wall Street Journal*, August 4 (with Hal Brands).

2022. China's COVID-19 Lockdowns Are a Symptom of Deeper Problems. *Fox News*, May 2 (with Hal Brands).

2022. The Return of Pax Americana? *Foreign Affairs*, March 14 (with Hal Brands).

2022. Enemies of My Enemy: How Fear of China Is Forging a New World Order. *Foreign Affairs*, 101(2) March/April.

2021. Washington Is Preparing for the Wrong War with China. *Foreign Affairs*, December 16 (with Hal

Brands).

2021. What Will Drive China to War? *The Atlantic*, November 1 (with Hal Brands).

2021. The End of China's Rise. *Foreign Affairs*, October 1 (with Hal Brands).

2021. China Is a Declining Power—and That's the Problem. *Foreign Policy*, September 24 (with Hal Brands).

- Winner: Best Long Read Article of the Year, *Foreign Policy*

2021. America Is Not Ready for a War with China. *Foreign Affairs*, June 10.

2021. The United States Needs to Rediscover Strategic MacGyverism. *National Interest*, March 27 (with Hal Brands).

2021. Challenges Facing Democracy in the United States. *International Affairs Forum*, February 26.

2020. Competition with China Could Be Short and Sharp. *Foreign Affairs*, December 17 (with Hal Brands).

2020. China Keeps Inching Closer to Taiwan. *Foreign Policy*, October 19.

2020. Rogue Superpower: Why This Could Be an Illiberal American Century. *Foreign Affairs*, 99(6) November/December.

- Selected as one of the 10 best print articles of 2020 by *Foreign Affairs*.
- Runner Up: Best Policy Article on U.S. Foreign Policy and Grand Strategy, *American in the World Consortium*, a partnership among University of Texas and Duke and Johns Hopkins Universities.

2020. How Will China Shape Global Governance? *ChinaFile*, May 9.

2019. In Future Wars, the U.S. Military Will Have Nowhere to Hide. *Foreign Policy*, November 20.

2019. The United States Should Fear a Faltering China: Beijing's Assertiveness Betrays Its Desperation. *Foreign Affairs*, October 28.

- Selected as one of the 10 best web articles of 2019 by *Foreign Affairs*.

2018. Stop Obsessing about China: Why Beijing Will Not Imperil U.S. Hegemony. *Foreign Affairs*, September 21.

- Selected as one of the 10 best web articles of 2018 by *Foreign Affairs*.

2017. How America Can Build a Durable Military Balance in Asia. *The Interpreter*. December 6.

2017. Balancing China: How the United States and Its Asian Partners Can Check Chinese Naval Expansion. *War on the Rocks*, November 15.

2016. Enforcing International Law in the South China Sea: Can Southeast Asian Nations Keep China in Check? *RSIS Commentary*, October 6.

2015. The Myth of Entangling Alliances. *War on the Rocks*, June 9.

2014. Will This Be China's Century? *Congressional Quarterly Researcher* 24(9) (with Kishore Mahbubani).

2012. China and Pakistan: Fair-Weather Friends, *Yale Journal of International Affairs* 7(1): 9-22.
2012. How Big a Competitive Threat Is China, Really? *Harvard Business Review*, online, February 29.
2012. Defining Decline, with Erik Voeten. *The Washington Post*, February 6.
2012. U.S.-China: Measuring Decline and Rise, with Hugh White, Andrew Shearer, Mark Thirlwell, Malcolm Cook, and Robert Ayson, *The Interpreter*.
2011. China Is Rising But Not Catching Up. *Christian Science Monitor*, December 14.
2005. The End of the Beginning: Why Bush and Rumsfeld Don't Promise an Early Exit from Iraq. *Weekly Standard*, April 15.
2004. NATO's Afghan Failure Will Hurt Europe. *Financial Times*, September 30.

### **Government and Think Tank Reports**

2022. Modelling a Chinese Assault on Taiwan. Prepared for the American Enterprise Institute, January (with Zachary Cooper and Allison Schwartz).
2022. Protracted U.S.-China War over Taiwan. Prepared for the American Enterprise Institute, January (with Hal Brands).
2021. Into the Danger Zone: The Coming Crisis in U.S.-China Relations. Prepared for the American Enterprise Institute, January (with Hal Brands).
2020. Russian Operations in the Competitive Space and the Arctic. Prepared for U.S. European Command, December 3.
2019. The Chinese Economic Miracle: How Much Is Real...How Much Is a Mirage? In G. Allen et al., eds. *Chinese Strategic Intentions: A Deep Dive into China's Worldwide Activities*. Prepared for the U.S. Department of Defense, Strategic Multilayer Assessment, December 13.
2017. A Long-Term Asia-Pacific Strategy for the United States. Prepared for the U.S. Department of Defense, Office of Net Assessment.
2014. Dynamics of Decisionmaking in China's Politburo, with Alan Campana, Aaron Gray, Kristen Gunness, Matt Joyce, Marc Langer, Christopher Lew, David Millar, Margaret Myers, Dennis Roy, and Larry Wortzel. Prepared for U.S. Pacific Command (SAIC).
2012. To Stay Ahead of China, Stay Engaged in Asia. Policy Brief, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School.

### **Review Articles**

2020. Michael Beckley. *Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower Policy* (Cornell University Press, 2018) for H-Diplo: Diplomatic and International History Discussion Network.

2019. Christopher J. Fettweis. *Psychology of a Superpower: Security and Dominance in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Columbia University Press, 2018) for *Political Science Quarterly*, 134(2): 334-35.
2016. Stefano Recchia, *Reassuring the Reluctant Warriors: U.S. Civil-Military Relations and Multilateral Intervention* (Cornell University Press) for H-Diplo: Diplomatic and International History Discussion Network.
2014. Nuno Monteiro, *Theory of Unipolar Politics* (Cambridge University Press) for H-Diplo: Diplomatic and International History Discussion Network.
2013. Claude Meyer, *China or Japan: Which Will Lead Asia?* for *Political Science Quarterly* 128(1): 191-192.
- 2012/13. Robert Lieber, *Power and Willpower in the American Future: Why the United States Is Not Destined to Decline* for *Political Science Quarterly* 127(4): 693-694.

### **Selected TV, Radio, and Podcast Appearances**

2023. Xi Meets with Putin. *CNN*, March 20.
2023. China's Alliance with Russia. *Fox News*, March 17.
2023. China and Russia, Ukraine War. *The Back Story*, March 2.
2023. China's Aid to Russia. *CNN*, February 26.
2023. Has China's Power Peaked? A Debate with Ian Bremmer and Michael Beckley. *NPR*, February 17.
2022. Dissecting China, Its Future, the Authoritarian Threat, and the Repercussions for the U.S. *The Optimistic America*, December 7.
2022. What Zero-COVID Protests Mean for China and the World. *In the Bubble*, December 2.
2022. What Main Street Needs to Know about the Coming Conflict with China. *Monday Morning Radio*, November 28.
2022. The Biden-Xi Summit. *CNN*, November 14.
2022. Why China's Decline Is Dangerous. *NPR*, October 18.
2022. Discussing a Peaking China. *Hidden Forces*, October 11.
2022. China, America, and the Danger Zone. *NonZero Podcast*, October 3.
2022. America Is Poking the Dragon, says Expert. *CNN, Amanpour*, September 20.
2022. The Growing Risk of Conflict with China. *NPR, Fresh Air*, August 24.
2022. China's Military Strategy. *MSNBC, Morning Joe*, August 16.

2022. The Coming Conflict with China. *The Bulwark Podcast*, August 3.

2022. How Russia's War Affects the Risk of Chinese-American Conflict. *Fox News*, March 4.

2022. Power Trip: The Story of Energy. A six-part documentary by *PBS*.

2022. The Olympics in China. *NPR, Morning Edition*, February 3.

2022. The Exaggerated Rise of China. *Eudaimonia Radio*, January 18.

2021. U.S. Readiness for a Conflict with China. *Julie Mason Mornings*, December 23.

2021. China's Peaking Power. *U.S.-China Perception Monitor*, November 12.

2021. President Biden's Comments on Taiwan, *DW News*, October 22.

2021. Great Power Competition Debate with Graham Allison and Michael Beckley. *BENS Competitiveness Council*, October 18.

2021. China's Cyber Capabilities. *Fox News*, October 1.

2021. The World after AUKUS. *Formiche*, September 23.

2021. The Rise of China. *Kortunov Global Affairs Debate*, September 21.

2021. The Rise and Fall of China. *Conversations with Coleman*, August 13.

2021. The Shape of the Emerging Global Order. *Shaking the Global Order*, July 1.

2021. Defending Taiwan. *Munk Debates Podcast*, March 25.

2021. China's 2021 National People's Congress. *DW News*, March 5.

2021. U.S.-China Relations Explained. *Wired*, February 23.

2021. U.S.-China Relations. *Congressional Quarterly Future Podcast*, February 8.

2021. Competition with China. *Tokyo Broadcasting Corporation*, January 13.

2021. China's Future. *American Enterprise Institute, reTHINK TANK*, January 4.

2020. Rogue Superpower. *Conversation Six*, October 16.

2020. The UN's 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. *China Global Television Network*, September 22.

2020. China in the 2020s. *Decade of 2020 Podcast*, August 14.

## **GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS**

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2021 Wilson China Fellowship, Wilson Center  
 2019 Jean Kirkpatrick Fellowship, American Enterprise Institute

2019 National Asia Research Fellowship, National Bureau of Asian Research  
2018 Grant in Aid, Committee on Faculty Research, Tufts University  
2016 Grant in Aid, Committee on Faculty Research, Tufts University  
2015 Strategy and Policy Fellowship, Smith Richardson Foundation  
2014 Summer Faculty Fellowship, Committee on Faculty Research, Tufts University  
2012 U.S. Foreign Policy and International Security Fellowship, Dartmouth College  
2012 Princeton-Harvard China and the World Fellowship, Princeton University (declined)  
2011 International Security Fellowship, Belfer Center, Harvard Kennedy School  
2011 Miller Center National Fellowship, University of Virginia  
2011 Lindt Fellowship, Columbia University  
2011 Humane Studies Fellowship, Institute for Humane Studies  
2011 Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship, Columbia University  
2011 World Politics Fellowship, Smith Richardson Foundation  
2011 Minerva Scholars Research Award, U.S. Department of Defense  
2010 Dwight D. Eisenhower/Clifford Roberts Fellowship, Gettysburg College  
2010 V.K. Wellington Koo Fellowship, Columbia University  
2010 David L. Boren Fellowship, National Security Education Board  
2009 Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, U.S. Department of Education  
2008 Weatherhead Ph.D. Training Grant, Columbia University  
2008 A.W. Cordier Fellowship, Columbia University  
2006 Faculty Fellowship, U.S. Department of Defense  
2005 Faculty Fellowship, Columbia University  
2004 Junior Fellowship, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

## **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

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Oct 2013 – Oct 2014 Science Applications International Corporation  
Senior China Policy Analyst

Jun – Sep 2011 RAND Corporation  
Summer Associate

May – Aug 2006 U.S. Department of Defense (DoD), Policy Planning  
Faculty Fellow in National Security

Aug 2004 – Aug 2005 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Junior Fellow

Aug – Dec 2003 Carter Center, Conflict Resolution Program  
Intern

## **INVITED TALKS**

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The United States Should Fear a Faltering China.

- Public Affairs Lecture Series, Farleigh Dickinson University, March 8, 2021
- Hoover Institution, Stanford University, January 29, 2021.
- Center for International Security Studies, Princeton University, October 8, 2021.

Rogue Superpower: Why This Could Be an Illiberal American Century.

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, South Korea, March 28, 2021.
- World Affairs Council of Orange County, February 18, 2021.

#### Defense Options for Taiwan.

- Hoover Institution, Stanford University, September 27, 2021.
- Global Taiwan Institute, September 16, 2020.

#### Assessing the Durability of the Chinese Regime.

- U.S. National Intelligence Council, February 19, 2020.
- U.S. Department of Defense, Joint Staff, Strategic Multilayer Assessment, February 13, 2020.

#### When Fast-Growing Powers Slow Down: International Evidence and Implications for China.

- Dickey Center for International Understanding, Dartmouth College, February 5, 2021.
- Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, September 24, 2020.
- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 8, 2020.
- National Bureau of Asian Research, June 26, 2019.
- Tower Center for Political Studies, Southern Methodist University, October 30, 2019.
- Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, December 4, 2019.

#### America's Role in the World: A Debate in Denver about America's Alliances.

- Brookings Institution/University of Denver, October 4, 2019.

#### Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower

- U.S. Naval Academy, July 14, 2020.
- Brookings Institution, September 13, 2018.
- ISS Brady-Johnson Speaker Series in Grand Strategy, Yale University, October 2, 2018.
- MIT Security Studies Program, October 31, 2018.
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, November 16, 2018.
- U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, January 11, 2018.
- Boston Committee on Foreign Affairs, January 16, 2018.
- Council on Foreign Relations, February 19, 2018.
- Freeman Spogli Institute, Stanford University, February 25, 2019.
- U.S. Defense Science Board, April 18, 2019.
- New Books Network Podcast, August 7, 2019.
- Geopolitics and Empire Podcast, March 12, 2020.

#### Pax Americana: The Rise of the United States and the Decline of War

- Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston MA, September 2, 2018.
- Dartmouth College, Dickey Center for International Understanding, September 28, 2018.
- Yale University, Department of Political Science, October 2, 2018.
- University of Chicago, Program on International Politics, Economics, and Security, December 6, 2018.

#### Drones and Strategic Stability in East Asia

- George Washington University, June 1, 2018.
- Yonsei University, February 2018.

#### An American Grand Strategy for the Middle Class

- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 23, 2018.

#### Hegemony, Polarity, and the United States

- National Security Program, Canadian Forces College, January 18, 2018

#### A Long-Term Asia-Pacific Strategy for the United States

- Office of Net Assessment, U.S. Department of Defense, September 9-16, 2017

#### Plausible Denial: How China's Neighbors Can Check Chinese Naval Expansion



- Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 2017.

#### Unipolarity and the New World Order

- Roundtable discussion with Stephen Walt, G. John Ikenberry, David Lake, Jennifer Lind, and Nuno Monteiro at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association

#### Long-term Threat Assessment for the U.S. Military

- Office of Net Assessment, U.S. Department of Defense, October 5, 2016

#### The U.S. Rebalance in Southeast Asia

- S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, March 2016.

#### Why Great Powers Rise and Fall

- Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, March 2016.

#### Containing China: How the Geopolitics of Asia Check China's Rise

- Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, September 2016.
- Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, March 2016.

#### National Power: Measuring What Matters.

- Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 2015.
- Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, January 2016.
- ISSS-ISAC Joint Annual Conference, Springfield, MA, October 2015.
- Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, October 2015.

#### Imperial Overstretch? U.S. Defense Burdens in Historical Perspective.

- Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2014.

#### Will China's Rise Be Peaceful?

- School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, October 2013, 2014, 2015

#### Entangling Alliances? Assessing the Security Risks of America's Defense Pacts.

- Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, October 2013.
- Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2013.

#### America's Role in the Making of Japan's Economic Miracle.

- Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, February 2013.
- Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2013.

#### America's Allies: Friends or Foes?

- Dickey Center for International Understanding, Dartmouth College, November 2012.

#### Globalization: Diffusion or Polarization?

- Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, September 2012.

#### What the U.S. Can Learn from China.

- Democratic Leadership for the 21st Century, New York, NY, April 2012.

#### China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure.

- Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, October 2012.

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

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Sep 2013 – Present    Tufts University

- Chinese Foreign Policy
- Political Economy of China
- American Primacy
- U.S. Foreign Policy in Asia
- Introduction to International Relations

Sep 2007 – Present    Columbia University

- Chinese Foreign Policy
- Introduction to International Relations
- International Security

## **SERVICE**

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Reviewer: *American Political Science Review, Asian Journal of Political Science, Asian Security, China Quarterly, Columbia University Press, Foreign Policy Analysis, H-Diplo, Harvard University Press, International Organization, International Relations, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of East Asian Studies, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Strategic Studies, Political Science Quarterly, Routledge, Security Studies, Strategic Asia, World Politics.*

### Tufts Service:

Pre-Major Advisor (Summer 2017 – Present)

Member, Committee on Student Life (Fall 2018 – Present)

Chair, Political Science Transfer of Credit Committee (Spring 2017 – Present)

International Relations Subfield Head, Department of Political Science (Fall 2019 – Present)

Events: ALLIES speaker, (Fall 2020), IR Alumni Career Symposium Keynote Speaker (Spring 2014), China-U.S. Symposium Speaker (Fall 2013, Spring 2012), China-U.S. Symposium Faculty Advisor (Fall 2014, Spring 2015), ALLIES Joint Research Project Indonesia Faculty Advisor (Spring/Summer 2014)