

## KANTI PRASAD BAJPAI

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### Professional Experience

#### Present Position

- Wilmar Professor of Asian Studies, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, 2014-
- Director, Centre on Asia and Globalisation (CAG), Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, July 2017-

#### Earlier Positions

- Visiting Professor, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, January 2011-August 2012. Full time Professor from September 2012.
- Professor in the Politics and International Relations of South Asia, Oxford University, and Governing Body Fellow, Wolfson College, Oxford University, April 2009-July 2010.
- Headmaster, The Doon School, Dehra Dun, India, July 2003-March 2009.
- Professor of International Politics, Center for International Politics, Organization, and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (2001-2003)
- Associate Professor of Disarmament Studies, Center for International Politics, Organization, and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (1994-2001)
- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Maharajah Sayajirao University of Baroda, Baroda, India (June 1989-December 1991)

#### Visiting/Short-Term Appointments

- Visiting Fellow, Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA), Canberra (May 1-June 15, 2002)
- Visiting Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. (July 2000-February 2001)
- Visiting Fellow, Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame (May-June 2000)
- Resident Fellow, Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies (RGICS), Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, New Delhi (June 1993-July 1994)
- Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (July 1992-June 1993)
- Pew Visiting Scholar, Department of Government, The John E. Andrus Center for Public Affairs, Wesleyan University, Spring 1992 (January 1992-June 1992)
- Research Associate, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi (September 1986-January 1988)
- Assistant Master, The Doon School, Dehra Dun, July 1980-May 1981

### Books/Reports

*India Versus China: Why They are Not Friends* (New Delhi: Juggernaut, 2021)

*India in the World: Trials of the Republic* (New Delhi: Times Group Books, 2017)

*Roots of Terrorism* (New Delhi: Penguin India, 2002)

(co-authors Dipankar Banerjee, Salman Khurshid, Amitabh Mattoo, Arun Varma, and B.G. Verghese) *Jammu and Kashmir: An Agenda for the Future*. A report for the Delhi Policy Group, New Delhi, March 1999.

(co-authors P.R. Chari, Pervez Iqbal Cheema, Stephen P. Cohen, and Sumit Ganguly) *Brasstacks and Beyond: Perception and Management of Crisis in South Asia* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1995).

### Edited Books (Selected)

*Realism in Indian Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: Routledge India, 2022), forthcoming

(with Selina Ho and Manjari Chatterjee Miller) *Routledge Handbook of China-India Relations* (Abingdon, UK: 2020)

(with Siddharth Mallavarapu) *India, the West, and International Order* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2019), volume 1 in the series *India's International and Strategic Thought*. An anthology of writings by Indian statesmen-scholars, organized in 4-5 volumes.

(with Huang Jing and Kishore Mahbubani) *China-India Relations: Cooperation and Conflict* (London: Routledge, 2016).

(with V. Krishnappa and Saira Basit) *India's Grand Strategic Thought and Practice: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014).

(with Harsh V. Pant), *India's National Security: A Reader* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013).

(with Harsh V. Pant), *India's Foreign Policy: A Reader* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013).

*Contemporary World Politics*, an advanced textbook for grade 11-12 students in Indian schools. The book was commissioned by the National Council for Education Research and Training (NCERT), New Delhi, for the Political Science syllabus of the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE). These books are written by a committee. I served as the Convenor of the committee and was responsible for conceptualizing and editing the book. It was published in

2007.

(co-editor Siddharth Mallavarapu) *International Relations in India: Bringing Theory Back Home* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2005).

(co-editor Siddharth Mallavarapu) *International Relations in India: Theorising the Region and Nation* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2005).

(co-editor Amitabh Mattoo) *Securing India: Strategic Thought and Practice* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1997).

(co-editor H.C. Shukul) *Interpreting World Politics* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995).

(co-editor Stephen P. Cohen) *South Asia After the Cold War: International Perspectives* (Boulder: Westview Publications, 1993).

#### Journal Publications

(with Brandon Yoder) "Explaining the Enigmatic China-India Relationship," *Journal of Contemporary China*, forthcoming. This is the framing paper for a Special Issue of the journal on "IR Theory and China-India Relations".

(with Byron Chong) "India's Foreign Policy Capacity," *Policy Design and Practice*, 2:2 (2019), 137-162.

"Modi's China Policy and the Road to Confrontation," *Pacific Affairs* vol. 91, no. 2 (June 2018), pp. 245-260.

"Narendra Modi's Pakistan and China Policy: Assertive Bilateral Diplomacy, Active Coalition Diplomacy," *International Affairs* (UK), vol. 93, no. 1 (January 2017), pp. 69-91.

"Obstacles to Good Work in Indian IR." *International Studies* (New Delhi), vol. 46, nos. 1 and 2 (January and April 2009), pp. 109-128.

"India and the United States: Grand Strategic Partnership for a Better World." *South Asian Survey* (New Delhi), vol. 15, no. 1 (January-June 2008), pp. 33-47.

"Pakistan and China in Indian Strategic Thought." *International Journal* (Toronto), vol. 62, no. 4 (Autumn 2007), pp. 805-22.

"Crisis and Conflict in South Asia After September 11, 2001." *South Asian Survey* (New Delhi), vol. 10, no. 2 (July-December 2003), pp. 197-213.

"The Idea of Human Security." *International Studies* (New Delhi), vol. 40, no. 3 (July-September 2003), pp. 195-228.

“Add Five Es to Make a Partnership.” *The Washington Quarterly* (Washington, D.C.), a journal of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, pp. 83-94.

"India's Nuclear Posture After Pokhran II," *International Studies* (New Delhi), vol. 37, no. 4 (October-December 2000), pp. 267-301.

"Samuel P. Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations* Reconsidered," *International Studies* (New Delhi), vol. 36, no. 2 (April-June 1999), pp. 165-189.

"Security and SAARC," *South Asian Survey* (New Delhi), vol. 3, nos. 1 and 2, pp. 295-308.

"Pathways to Peace in South Asia," *B.I.I.S.S. Journal* (Dhaka), vol. 15, no. 2, April 1994, pp. 117-150.

(with Sumit Ganguly) "India and the Crisis in Kashmir," *Asian Survey* (Berkeley), vol. 34, no. 5, May 1994, pp. 401-416.

(with Sumit Ganguly) "The Transition to Democracy in Pakistan," *In Depth: A Journal of Values and Public Policy* (Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute of Values and Public Policy), vol. 3, no. 2, Spring 1993, pp. 59-86.

#### Book Chapters/Other Publications

“Indian Realisms and Grand Strategic Choices.” In Kanti Bajpai, ed., *Realism in Indian Foreign Policy: Essay for Bharat Karnad* (New Delhi: Routledge India, 2021), forthcoming.

“Cooperation and Defection Cycles in India-Pakistan Relations.” In Sumit Ganguly and Dinshaw Mistry, eds., *Enduring and Emerging Issues in South Asian Security* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2022), pp. 86-108.

“India’s Emerging Grand Strategy after Galwan: Bridging the Power Gap with China.” In Tim Huxley and Lynn Kuok, ed. *Asia-Pacific Regional Security Assessment 2021: Key Developments and Trends* (London: International Institute of Strategic Studies, 2021), pp. 61-76.

“Kissinger’s Secret Trip, China’s Rise, and a New Bipolarity.” In Sanjaya Baru and Rahul Sharma, eds., *A New Cold War: Henry Kissinger and the Rise of China* (New Delhi: HarperCollins, 2021), pp. 31-43.

“South(ern) Asia’s Realist Future.” In Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, eds., *Is Peace and Conflict Diplomacy Broken? Peacemaking in an Era of Political Constraints* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2021), pp. 156-178.

(with Harald Muller) “Between Informality and Formality: Concert Operations in a Densely

Institutionalized World.” In Harald Muller and Carsten Rauch, eds., *Great Power Multilateralism and the Prevention of War: Debating a 21<sup>st</sup> Century Concert of Powers* (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 195-205.

“Indian Higher Education: Privatization, Dignified Spaces, and Curricular Reform.” In C. Raj Kumar, ed., *The Future of Indian Universities: Comparative and International Perspectives* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 167-191.

“Five Approaches to the Study of Indian Foreign Policy.” In David Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 21-34.

“India-ASEAN Security Cooperation: Dealing with a Rising China.” In Rajiv K. Bhatia, Vijay Sakhuja, and Asif Shuja, eds., *India-ASEAN: Vision for Partnership and Prosperity* (New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs and Shipra, 2014), pp. 57-66.

“Indian Grand Strategy: Six Schools of Thought.” In Kanti Bajpai, V. Krishnappa, and Saira Basit, eds., *India’s Grand Strategic Thought and Practice: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014), pp. 113-150.

“Introduction: India’s Grand Strategic Thought and Practice.” In Kanti Bajpai, V. Krishnappa, and Saira Basit, eds., *India’s Grand Strategic Thought and Practice: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014), pp. 1-28.

“India’s Regional Disputes.” In WPS Sidhu, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, and Bruce Jones, eds., *Shaping the Emerging World Order: India and Multilateralism* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2013), pp. 115-130.

“India and Nuclear Weapons.” In Atul Kohli and Prerna Singh, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 339-349.

“The Global Commons and India’s National Security Strategy.” In V. Krishnappa and Princy Marin George, eds., *Grand Strategy for India 2020 and Beyond* (Pentagon Security International, New Delhi, 2012), pp. 40-63.

“Terrorism.” In B.S. Chimni and Siddharth Mallavarapu, eds., *Handbook on International Relations: Essays from the Global South* (New Delhi: Pearson Education, 2012), pp. 312-327.

“Defence Strategy.” In Kaushik Basu and Annemie Martens, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Economics in India*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, vol. I (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 118-122.

“Pakistan’s Future: Muddle Along.” In Stephen P. Cohen, ed., *The Future of Pakistan* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press, 2011), pp. 70-81.

“The UPA’s Foreign Policy, 2004-9.” In Lawrence W. Saez and Gurharpal Singh, eds., *New*

*Dimensions of Politics in India* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 99-112.

“India and Canada: Moving Ahead.” In Paul Heinbecker and Fen Osler Hampson, eds., *As Others See Us: Canada Among Nations 2009-10* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), pp. 159-166.

“India and the World: The Grand Strategy Debate.” In Niraja Jayal and Pratap Bhanu Mehta, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 521-541.

“The BJP and the Bomb.” In Scott D. Sagan, ed., *Inside Nuclear South Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 25-67.

“Managing Ambivalence: Pakistan’s Relations with the United States and China Since 2001.” In Rajshree Jetly, ed., *Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics* (New Delhi and Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 63-97.

“To War or Not to War: The India-Pakistan Crisis of 2001-2.” In Sumit Ganguly and S. Paul Kapur, eds., *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia: Crisis Behaviour and the Bomb* (Oxford: Routledge, 2008), pp. 162-82.

“Democratization and Peace in South Asia.” In V.A. Pai Panindker and Rahul Tripathi, eds., *Towards Freedom in South Asia: Democratization, Peace, and Regional Cooperation* (New Delhi: Konark Publishers, 2008), pp. 17-46.

(with Varun Sahni) “Hegemony and Strategic Choice.” In Chandra Chari, ed., *War, Peace and Hegemony in a Globalized World: The Changing Balance of Power in the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Routledge, 2008), pp. 93-108.

“Roots of Terrorism.” In *The Non-Fiction Collection: Twenty Years of Penguin India*, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Penguin India, 2007), pp. 84-92.

“Defence Strategy.” In Kaushik Basu, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Economics in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 92-95.

“India and International Order: Challenger and Stabilizer.” In David A. Kelly, Ramkishan S. Rajan, and Gillian H.L. Goh, eds., *Managing Globalization: Lessons from China and India* (New Jersey: World Scientific, 2006), pp. 307-29.

“Indian Strategic Culture and the Problem of Pakistan.” In Swarna Rajagopalan, ed., *South Asia and Security: Ideas, Institutions, Initiatives* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2006).

“Indian Conceptions of Order/Justice in International Relations: Nehruvian, Gandhian, Hindutva, and Neo-Liberal”. In V.R. Mehta and Thomas Pantham, eds., *Political Ideas in Modern India: Thematic Explorations*, Volume X, Part 7, History of Science, Philosophy and

Culture in Indian Civilization (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), pp. 367-90.

“The War in Afghanistan and US Policy Towards India and Pakistan.” In Salman Haidar, ed., *The Afghan War and its Geopolitical Implications for India* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and the Academy of Third World Studies, Jamia Millia University, New Delhi, 2004), pp. 29-49.

“Hinduism and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Pacifist, Prudential, and Political.” In Sohail Hashmi, ed., *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

“A Peace Audit on South Asia” and “The Indian Nuclear Debate.” Essays reprinted in Ranabir Samaddar, ed., *Peace Studies: An Introduction to the Concept, Scope and Themes* (New Delhi: Sage, 2004), pp. 38-71 and pp. 339-367.

“Confidence Building Measures Between India, China, and Russia.” In Gilles Bouquerat, ed., *The India-China-Russia Strategic Triangle* (New Delhi: The India Press, 2003).

“The Effects of Terrorism on Indian Democracy.” In Sridhar K. Khatri and Gert W. Kueck, eds., *Terrorism in South Asia: Impact on Development and Democratic Process* (Delhi: Shipra Publications for the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo, and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, New Delhi, 2003), pp. 183-196.

“Nehru and Disarmament.” In *Nehru Revisited* (Mumbai: Nehru Centre, 2003), pp. 353-93.

“Indian Strategic Culture.” In Michael R. Chambers, ed., *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances* (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2003), pp. 245-303.

“U.S. Non-Proliferation Policy After the Cold War.” In David Malone and Yuen Foong Khong, eds., *Unilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy: International Perspectives* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003), pp. 217-247.

“Managing Conflict in South Asia.” In Paul F. Diehl and Joseph Lepgold, eds., *Regional Conflict Management* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), pp. 209-238.

“Indian Conceptions of Order and Justice: Nehruvian, Gandhian, *Hindutva*, and Neo-Liberal.” In Rosemary Foot, John Lewis Gaddis, and Andrew Hurrell, eds., *Order and Justice in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 236-261.

“Strategic Threats and Nuclear Weapons: India, China, and Pakistan.” In M.V. Ramana and C. Rammanohar Reddy, eds., *Prisoners of the Nuclear Dream* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2003), pp. 27-52.

“Add Five Es To Make a Partnership.” In Alexander T.J. Lennon, ed., *What Does the World Want of America: International Perspectives on U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: The

MIT Press, 2002), pp. 25-39. (Previously published in *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, pp. 83-94).

“Managing a Strategic Triangle: India, China, and Pakistan.” In P. Sahadevan, ed., *Conflict and Peacemaking in South Asia* (New Delhi: Lancers, 2001), pp. 81-105.

“India’s Role in Asian Security.” In *The ‘Nation-State’ and Transnational Forces in South Asia*, Publication of Scientific Research Results No. 9, “Research Project: Institutions, Networks and Forces of Change in Contemporary South Asia”, Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports, and Culture, Tokyo, 2001, pp. 191-211.

“Military Power and the Security of Nations.” In Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust (IGMT), *New Century: Whose Century?* (New Delhi: UBSPD Publishers, 2001), pp. 289-295.

“Bombs, Coups, Wars, and Hijacks: Making South Asia Into a Flashpoint.” In Kanti Bajpai, Afsir Karim, and Amitabh Mattoo, eds., *Kargil and After: Challenges for Indian Policy* (New Delhi: Har Anand, 2001), pp. 15-31.

“The Major Powers and Asian Security.” In Jasjit Singh, ed., *Asia’s New Dawn: The Challenges to Peace and Security* (New Delhi: Knowledge World with Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 2000), pp. 3-20.

“The Great Indian Nuclear Debate.” In Anindyo J. Majumdar, ed., *Nuclear India into the New Millennium* (New Delhi: Lancer’s, 2000), pp. 47-74.

“Human Security: Concept and Measurement.” *Kroc Institute Occasional Paper # 19: OP:1*, August 2000, Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana.

“India, China and Asian Security.” In Kanti Bajpai and Amitabh Mattoo, eds., *The Peacock and the Dragon: India-China Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (New Delhi: Har-Anand, 2000), pp. 26-49.

“The Future of the ARF: An Indian Perspective.” In Khoo How San, ed., *The Future of the ARF* (Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Nanyang Technological University, 1999), pp. 83-106.

“Minorities and Majorities in South Asia.” In D.L Sheth and Gurpreet Mahajan, eds., *Minority Identities and the Nation-State* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 220-241.

“Non-alignment and the New World Order.” In Girijesh Pant, ed., *Indo-Egyptian Perspectives: Global and Regional Concerns* (New Delhi: School of International Studies, 1999), pp. 29-40.

“India-U.S. Foreign Policy Concerns: Conflict and Cooperation.” In Gary K. Bertsch, Seema Gahlaut, and Anupam Srivastava, eds., *Engaging India: U.S. Strategic Relations with the World*



*Largest Democracy* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 193-212.

"War, Peace, and International Order: India's View of World Politics." In *Conflict or Convergence: Global Perspectives on War, Peace and International Order*, Centre for International Affairs, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, Cambridge, 1999.

"India's Defence and Diplomacy After Pokhran II," in *Post Pokhran II: The National Way Ahead* (New Delhi: India Habitat Centre, 1999), pp. 27-50.

"The Fallacy of an Indian Deterrent." In Amitabh Mattoo, ed., *India's Nuclear Deterrent: Pokhran II and Beyond* (New Delhi: Har-Anand, 1998), pp. 150-190.

"India's Security and the Future of South Asia." In Nancy Jetly, ed., *India's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Prospects* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1999), pp. 80-100.

"India: Modified Structuralist." In Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 157-197.

"India's Global Role in the 21st Century: Politics of Community, Order, and Cooperation." In Foreign Service Institute, *Indian Foreign Policy: Agenda for the 21st Century*, vol. I (New Delhi: Konark Publishers, 1997), pp. 3-20.

"Diversity, Democracy, and Devolution in India." In Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly, eds., *Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1997), pp. 33-81.

"International Studies in India: Bringing Theory Back Home." In M.S. Rajan, ed., *International and Area Studies in India* (New Delhi: Lancers Books, 1997), pp. 31-49.

"Institutional Sources of Conflict and Opportunities for Cooperation in South Asia: An Indian Perspective." In D.D. Khanna, ed., *Sustainable Development: Environmental Security, Disarmament and Development Interface in South Asia*, (Delhi: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 131-168.

"Discord and Collaboration: Domestic Politics and India's Diplomacy in SAARC." In Baladas Ghoshal, ed., *Diplomacy and Domestic Politics in South Asia* (New Delhi: Konarak, 1996), pp. 61-88.

"State, Society, Strategy." In Kanti Bajpai and Amitabh Mattoo, eds., *Securing India: Strategic Thought and Practice* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1996), pp. 140-159.

"Nuclear Weapons and the Security of India: Giving Up the Bomb." Working Paper No. 161, Peace Research Centre, Australian National University, 1996.

"Conflict, Cooperation, and CSBMs With Pakistan and China: A View From New Delhi." In Sumit Ganguly and Ted Greenwood, eds., *Mending Fences: Confidence- and Security-Building*

*Measures in South Asia* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 15-43.

"India-Pakistan Relations: Conspectus and Prospectus." In *India-Pakistan Dialogue*, February 5-6, 1996, RGICS Proceedings No. 11, Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies, Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 36-54.

"Abstaining: The Nonnuclear Option." In David Cortright and Amitabh Mattoo, eds., *India and the Bomb* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996), pp. 23-52.

(with Bonnie Coe) "Confidence Building Between India and China." In Michael Krepon and Amit Sewak, eds., *Crisis Prevention, Confidence Building, and Reconciliation in South Asia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), pp. 199-226.

"Regions, Regional Politics, and South Asian Security." In Marvin E. Weinbaum and Chetan Kumar, eds., *South Asia Approaches the Millennium: Reexamining National Security* (Boulder: Westview Publications, 1995), pp. 205-233.

"Bangladesh and SAARC: Origins and Expectations." In S.R. Chakravarti, ed., *Foreign Policy of Bangladesh* (New Delhi: Har Anand Publishers, 1994), pp. 244-292.

(with Varun Sahni) *Secure and Solvent: Thinking About an Affordable Defence for India*. Occasional Paper No. 11 of the Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies, New Delhi, May 1994.

(with Stephen P. Cohen) "Cooperative Security and South Asian Insecurity." In Janne E. Nolan, ed., *Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994), pp. 447-480.

#### Book Reviews/Short Articles/Essays

"Annus Horribilis," *Seminar*, vol. 737, January 2021, pp. 49-52.

"India-Pakistan: Peace by Pieces," Asia Peace Programme (APP), Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 2020.

"China-India: A New Diplomacy," Asia Peace Programme (APP), Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 2020.

"The China-India Confrontation in Ladakh: Three Explanations," *Asia Global Online*, June 23, 2020.

"India's Two-Front China Problem," *Limes: Italian Review of Geopolitics* (in Italian)

"The Modi-Trump Summit in India: No Worries for China," *China-India Brief 153*, February 2020.

“Modi’s China Challenge,” *East Asia Forum*, 16 July 2019.

“Diplomatic Retrenchment,” *Seminar*, No. 713 (January 2019), pp. 74-78.

“Modi’s Foreign Policy: No Better and No Worse than Predecessors,” *Seminar*, No. 701, January 2018, pp. 71-74.

“The India-China-Pakistan Triangle: Strategic Ebbs and Flows,” *China Policy Institute: Analysis*, the online journal of the China Policy Institute, Nottingham University, October 19, 2017.

“Four Indian Interpretations of the Doklam Stand-off,” *China-India Brief*, No. 100, August 23-September 2, 2017.

“Modi’s Foreign Policy of Shanti and Shakti,” *Seminar*, No. 677, January 2016, pp. 69-73.

“The Making of Asia,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. L, no. 20, May 16, 2015, pp. 48-51. A review article of Ramachandra Guha, ed., *Makers of Modern Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Belknap, 2015).

“An Inside-Out View of the Academy.” In Richard Hartung, ed., *Singapore: Insights from the Inside*, vol. II (Singapore: Singapore International Foundation, 2015), pp. 41-45.

“Continuity – But with Zeal,” *Seminar*, No. 668, April 2015, pp. 23-27. (On Modi’s foreign policy.)

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“India’s Territorial Disputes: Getting to Yes?” *Asian Journal of Public Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2013), pp. 14-18.

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“India and China: The Shadow of the Future.” *Seminar*, no. 691, January 2012, pp. 91-96.

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“The US and Us,” *IIC Quarterly*, Winter 2006/Spring 2007, pp. 94-105. A special issue of the journal, edited by Ira Pande, to commemorate 60 years of India’s independence.

“Where are India and the US Heading?” *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 6, 2005, pp. 3577-81.

“An Expression of Threats Versus Capabilities Across Time and Space,” *Security Dialogue*, vol. 35, no. 3 (September 2004), pp. 360-61.

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“An Indian ‘War on Terrorism’ Against Pakistan?” *Dissent* (New York), Summer 2003, pp. 23-27.

“Foreign Policy Dilemmas.” *Seminar*, No. 519 (November 2002), pp. 23-6.

Review of Smith Kothari and Zia Mian, eds., *Out of the Nuclear Shadow* (Delhi: Lokayan and Rainbow; London: Zed Books, 2001), *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 34, no. 2 (2002), pp. 312-15.

“Foreign Policy: What’s Going On?” *Seminar*, Annual Issue, 2001.

“Through a Looking Glass: Strategic Prisms and the Problem of Pakistan,” *IIC Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 2 (Monsoon 2001), pp. 119-132.

“India and the Bomb,” *Dissent* (New York), Fall 2001, pp. 21-25.

“Options for Nuclear Disarmament,” *IIC Quarterly*, Summer 2000, pp. 174-181, a review of Praful Bidwai and Achin Vanaik, *South Asia on a Short Fuse* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

"India's Security Problems: South Asia Context," *Politics India* (New Delhi), vol. 1, no. 9, March 1997, pp. 33-36.

"Defence and Nationalism: India and the CTBT," *Voices* (Bangalore), vol. IV, no. 3, 1996, pp. 26-28.

Review of Kumar Rupesinghe and Khawar Mumtaz, eds., *Internal Conflicts in South Asia* (London: Sage Publications, 1996) in *Himal* (Kathmandu), vol. 9, no. 8, November/December

1996, pp. 65-66.

"Secure Without the Bomb," *Seminar* (New Delhi), No. 444, August 1996, pp. 57-60.

"Double-Edged Sword: Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security," *Harvard International Review*, vol. 18, no. 3 (Summer 1996), pp. 20-23, 77.

Review of Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (New York: Norton, 1995) in *Biblio* (New Delhi), April 1996.

"Thinking the Unthinkable," *Security Technology and Arms Control News* (Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, University of London), vol. 2, no. 3 (February 1996).

"India and the Region: Community, Order, and Cooperation," *Seminar* (New Delhi), "India 1994," Annual Number 425, January 1995, pp. 49-52.

Review of various recent books on India-US relations in *Seminar* (New Delhi), No. 422, October 1994, pp. 48-49.

Review of Santosh Mehrotra, *India and the Soviet Union: Trade and Technology Transfer* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) in *Slavic Review*, 1993, pp. 392-93.

Review of Veena Kukreja, *Civil-Military Relations in South Asia: Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991) in *Journal of Asian Studies*, February 1993.

Review of Partha S. Ghosh, *Conflict and Cooperation in South Asia* (Columbia, MO.: South Asian Publishers and the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University, 1989) in *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 64, no. 4, Winter 1991-92.

Review of K.V. Kesavan, *Contemporary Japanese Politics and Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1989) in *India Quarterly: A Journal of the Indian Council of World Affairs*, July 1992.

(with Daniel R. Kempton) "Selected bibliography on Soviet and American relations with the developing states", in *The Limits of Soviet Power in the Developing World*, eds. Edward A. Kolodziej and Roger E. Kanet (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1989).

"Security and Regional Association in South Asia," *Swords and Ploughshares* (Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, University of Illinois, Urbana), vol. 4, no. 2, December 1989, pp. 6-8.

Conference Presentations/Talks/Panel Discussions/Keynotes/Podcasts

“India's Relations with Pakistan and China in a Multipolar World,” a podcast interview conducted by Kishore Mahbubani for the Asia Peace Programme, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 18 March 2022.

“India and China: Will They Be Friends in 2047?” presentation at a panel discussion “India and the World in 2047”, Canada India Research Centre and Learning for Engagement, University of Guelph, 9 March 2022.

“India-China Relations and Indian Grand Strategic Choices,” a talk delivered to Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies (CGPACS) at the University of California, Irvine, 25 February 2022.

“India Versus China: Why They are Not Friends,” a talk at the Department of International Relations, Ashoka University, 26 October 2021.

“Revisiting Discourse on India’s Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy,” Distinguished Online Lecture, Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal Academy of Higher Education, 31 August 2021.

“India Versus China,” podcast with Amit Varma in his series “The Seen and Unseen,” (episode 234), 19 July 2021.

“Why India and China are Not Friends,” a podcast in the Grand Tamasha series of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 7 July 2021.

“Indian Realisms and Grand Strategic Choices,” a paper presented at the conference on “Realism and India’s Foreign Policy,” organized by the Centre on Policy Research, New Delhi, 7 December 2020.

“Cycles of Conflict and Cooperation in India-Pakistan Relations after the Kargil War: Tribulations of Strong-Weak States” a paper presentation at the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore, 29 April 2020.

“Managing Great Power Politics: Resetting the Tripod of East Asian Security,” a paper for the 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Five University Conference, Tokyo, December 6-7, 2019.

“Climate Change: The End of Security?” a presentation at the conference on “Security Challenges in the Global South,” organized by the School of International Relations and Strategic Studies, Jadavpur University, Kolkata, August 8-9, 2019.

“The Indian Ocean as a Region and the Implications for Indian Security,” keynote at conference on “India and the Indian Ocean Region: Dynamics of Geopolitics, Security, and Global Commons,” organized by the Peninsula Foundation, Chennai, India, July 12-13, 2019.

“Regions in a Bipolar World: Back to the Future?” a paper presented at Harvard Shanghai Regions Workshop, Shanghai, May 17-18, 2019.

“Global Diplomacy and Peace and Security in South Asia”, a paper for the author workshop, “Is Peace and Conflict Diplomacy Broken?” held at the Salamander Resort, Middleburg, Virginia, May 14-15, 2019. The workshop is part of an initiative led by Pamela Aall, Chester Crocker, and Fen Hampson, and the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), Waterloo, Canada, on the future of global diplomacy.

“India and Japan: Strategic Partners for the 21st Century”, the keynote address at the International Conference on “India and Japan: Growing Partnerships and Opportunities for Co-operation” organized by the Centre for Public Policy Research in collaboration with the Consulate-General of Japan, Kochi, India, February, 26-27 2019.

“India and the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP),” a paper presented at the International Workshop, on “The New International Relations Template and Japan’s Indo-Pacific Vision,” organized by Hiroshima Peace Institute and Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), Japan Office, held at Hiroshima City University, Hiroshima, January 24-25, 2019.

“India and the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP),” a paper presented at the 10th Annual Five University Conference, held at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, December 7-8, 2018.

“East Asian Internationalism and Global Order,” a paper presented at the conference, “Regional and Global Order,” organized by the Centre on Asia and Globalisation (CAG), Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, and King’s College London, May 2-3, 2018.

“India and the United States: Cooperation Imperatives, Stubborn Differences/Limits,” a paper presented at the conference on “A Global Partnership or a Relationship Oversold: The India-US Strategic Partnership,” held at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, March 2, 2018.

“Policy Capacity in Indian Foreign Policy: Need for Organizational Reforms,” a paper presented at the first conference of the Indian Public Policy Network, Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology (KIIT), Bhubaneswar, February 28, 2018.

“Dealing with Global Challenges: Domestic-International Connections,” a presentation at the Five University Conference on East Asian Security, organized by the Global Research Institute, Graduate School of International Studies, Korea University, Seoul, and Korea Foundation, Seoul, December 7-9, 2017.

“US-China-India Relations and Implications for Singapore and ASEAN,” presentation at a panel discussion organized for the Australia New Zealand School of Government programme, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS, on November 22, 2017.

“India’s China Policy Under Narendra Modi,” a presentation at the East Asia Institute, National University of Singapore, June 16, 2017.

“India’s South China Sea Policy: Acting East but Acting Prudently,” paper presented at the conference “South China Sea: Impact on Major Power Relations and Regional Stability”, co-organized by the Centre on Asia and Globalisation (CAG), Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy/NUS and the Australia–China Relations Institute (ACRI), held in Sydney, February 10-11, 2017.

“The Great Powers and Regional Orders,” a paper presented at the conference “Strategic Diplomacy in Southeast Asia,” organized by ANU Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy & Strategic and Defence Studies Centre Workshop in collaboration with Centre on Asia and Globalisation, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, 2-3 February 2017.

“What is the Western Ideal?” A presentation at “Is the Western Idea Losing its Lustre?” a conference held at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, July 14-15, 2016.

“India’s Policy in South Asia.” A presentation at “The Promise of South Asia: The Next Global Growth Powerhouse,” a panel discussion organized by the Economist Corporate Network, Four Seasons Hotel, Singapore, May 24, 2016.

“Modi’s Foreign Policy,” a presentation at the conference “Modi and the World: (Re) Constructing Indian Foreign Policy,” organized by the Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS), National University of Singapore, November 25-26, 2015.

“Modi’s Foreign Policy in South Asia and Greater Asia,” a paper presented at the workshop on Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s foreign policy, organized by the Contemporary South Asian Studies Programme, University of Oxford, and the Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, held at the Pardee School, Boston University, October 7, 2015.

“The Global Political Order, Nuclear Order, and Nuclear Security,” a paper presented at the conference “Reimagining the Global Nuclear Order: International Approaches in Historical Perspectives,” Nuffield College, Oxford University, September 21-23, 2015.

“Mr. Modi’s Foreign Policy in Greater Asia: Geo-strategy, Geo-Economics, and Geo-Culture,” a presentation at a workshop on Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s foreign policy, organized by the Contemporary South Asian Studies Programme, University of Oxford, and the Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, held at St. Antony’s College, Oxford University, May 4, 2015.

“Regional Geopolitics,” a presentation at “India Scenarios Workshop,” organized by Shell Scenario Unit, held at Shell, Singapore, April 28-29, 2015.



“Modi’s Act East Policy: Towards a New Equilibrium in Asia? Remarks.” A talk at the Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA), April 8, 2015.

“Are new dangerous currents emerging in Asian geopolitics?” Presentation at the Dean’s Lecture Series panel, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, March 4, 2015.

“India.” A talk at “Insights into Regional Politics, Economics and Culture in Southeast Asia for Japanese Business Leaders and Policymakers,” organized by the Executive Education Programme, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS, March 3, 2015.

Presentation at panel discussion on “Future Thinking,” in the World Economic Forum Young Global Leaders Symposium titled “Politics, Policy and Paradigms in Asia”, held at Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS, December 3, 2014.

Presentation at panel discussion on “Can Asian Leaders Prevent Geopolitical Rivalry and Instability in Asia?” in the World Economic Forum Young Global Leaders Symposium titled “Politics, Policy and Paradigms in Asia”, held at Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS, December 1, 2014.

“China-India Relations.” Lecture to Master’s in Public Policy students from Graduate School of Public Policy, Nazarbaev University, Kazakhstan, November 27, 2014.

“India.” A talk at “Insights into Regional Politics, Economics and Culture in Southeast Asia for Japanese Business Leaders and Policymakers,” organized by the Executive Education Programme, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS, September 2, 2014.

“Two Rising Powers: China and India.” Presentation to Home Team Senior Command and Staff Course (HTSCSC), August 4, 2014.

“The State of Domestic Politics and Decision Making in the United States, China, India, and Russia,” and “Foreign Policy Challenges Facing Global Powers Today.” Presentations at panel discussions at the “First Symposium of the Project on New Frameworks for Addressing Global Challenges in International Finance, Energy Security and Climate Change: Cooperation among the United States, Russia, China and India”, organized by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and Financial Services Volunteer Corps, held in Hong Kong, June 13-15, 2014.

“The Geopolitical Scene and Security in South Asia.” A talk to J.P. Morgan Private Bank’s CIO Event, Singapore, May 2, 2014.

“The Indian Elections: Prospects and Consequences.” A talk at the American Chambers of Commerce, Singapore, April 23, 2014.

“The Indian Elections.” A talk for the Asian Journalism Fellows at the Wan Kim Wee School of

Communication and Information, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, April 2, 2014.

“Can Asian Leaders Prevent Geopolitical Rivalry and Instability?” A talk at the UN Leaders’ Programme, “UN Leadership: Challenges, Trends, and Opportunities: Lessons from Asia,” organized by the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, March 31, 2014.

“The Ukraine Crisis: Asia’s Reactions.” Presentation at the Dean’s Lecture Series panel, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, March 20, 2014.

“Geopolitical Risk, Elections, and the Markets.” A presentation at the 5<sup>th</sup> Annual Central Bank and Sovereign Wealth Conference, organized by Merrill Lynch Bank of America, January 23, 2014.

“Approaches to the Study of Indian Foreign Policy,” A paper presented at Author’s Conference, for the Oxford University Press Handbook on Indian Foreign Policy, organized by the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, January 9-11, 2014.

“Can ASEAN Withstand Great Power Rivalry?” Presentation at a panel discussion, Five University Consortium Conference on East Asian Security, held at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, Singapore, December 13-14, 2013.

“Vision for 2020: What Needs to be Done Today.” Presentation at Dean’s Roundtable, Global Public Policy Network (GPPN) Annual Student Conference, held at the Graduate School of Public Policy (GraSPP), University of Tokyo, Tokyo, December 7, 2013.

“Energy and Resource Management: Post-Fukushima Challenges.” Presentation at the Global Public Policy Network (GPPN) Annual Faculty Conference, held at the Graduate School of Public Policy (GraSPP), University of Tokyo, Tokyo, December 6, 2013.

“Re-imagining India.” Presentation at a panel discussion titled “Reimagining India,” at the South Asia Diaspora Convention, organized by the Institute of South Asian Studies and McKinsey and Company, November 21, 2013.

“The Formal and the Informal in a 21st Century Concert of Powers.” A presentation at “21<sup>st</sup> Century Concert of Powers,” the third annual workshop organized by the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), Frankfurt, October 18-19, 2013.

“Interdisciplinarity in Higher Education, Management, Public Policy, and International Relations,” a paper presented at “Future of Indian Universities: Comparative Perspectives,” a conference organized by the O.P. Jindal University, New Delhi, March 21-23, 2013.

“India-ASEAN Security Cooperation: Towards Peace and Stability.” A paper presented at “India-ASEAN: Vision for Partnership and Prosperity”, a conference organized by Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, in partnership with the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA),

New Delhi, and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), with the support of SAEA Group Research, Singapore, and Economic Research Institute of ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA), Jakarta, held in New Delhi, February 19-20, 2013.

Presentations on India-China relations at National Maritime Foundation, Observer Research Foundation, and Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, January 23-24, 2013.

“The Logic of Global Governance,” a paper presented at the First Annual Conference of the Indian Association of International Studies (IAIS), held in the India International Centre, New Delhi, December 10-12, 2012.

“Non-Traditional Security in East Asia,” a presentation at the Five University Consortium Conference, “Towards a New Equilibrium of Regional Order in the Asia-Pacific,” held at Korea University, Seoul, December 7-8, 2012.

Participation in the “21<sup>st</sup> Century Concert of Powers,” the second annual workshop organized by the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), Frankfurt, September 21-22, 2012. This three-year project will culminate in a report to be made available globally on the prospects of a concert of great powers. Submitted four preparatory papers for the conference: “India’s Security, Multilateralism, and the Idea of a Concert”, “Balance of Power and Concert: Reciprocal Conditions”, “Decision-Making in a Concert”, and “The Relationship Between Formal and Informal Institutions”.

“India’s View of Multilateralism,” a presentation at a panel on “Non-Western Great Powers and their Position Towards Multilateralism,” at the conference “Multilateralism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” organized by the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), Frankfurt, September 20, 2012.

“Global Governance: Asia and the Future of the International System.” A talk for the Home Team Senior Command and Staff Course (HTSCSC), organized by the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, May 10, 2012.

“India’s Rise: Realities and Challenges.” A talk organized for Singapore diplomats, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore, April 12, 2012.

“Will India, China or the United States Eventually Rule the World?” a debate on geopolitics, organized by the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, February 27, 2012.

“India’s Relations in Southern Asia: Third Parties – Er...Yes, No, Maybe,” a paper presented at the conference “India and Multilateralism”, organized by the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, and the Center for International Cooperation (CIC), New York University, held at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, on February 24, 2012.

Presentations on India-China relations for the Executive Programme for the India-Singapore Forum of Parliamentarians, organized by the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National

University of Singapore, January 9-10, 2012.

“Power Transition in Asia: Rise of China and Regional Stability.” A presentation on India’s perspective on China’s rise, at the 2011 Five University Workshop titled “The Future of Security and Governance in East Asia”, hosted by the Policy Alternatives Research Institute, The University of Tokyo, held at The International House of Japan, Tokyo, December 8-10, 2011.

“Political and Economic Impact of China, India, and Japan.” A presentation at the Workshop on “Impact of Asian Geopolitical Shifts on Southeast Asia,” organized by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore, November 17, 2011.

“Evolving Dynamics of India’s Foreign Policy.” A talk at the Brunei Officers Programme, organized by the Executive Education Programme, LKY School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, October 26, 2011.

“India-China Relations,” a talk, with Professor Huang Jing, organized by the University Scholars Programme, National University of Singapore, September 29, 2011.

“Emerging Powers: Shifts in the Strategic Balance in the Asia-Pacific.” A three-way dialogue with Mr. Gideon Rachman, Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent, *Financial Times* (UK), and Professor Huang Jing, LKY School of Public Policy, organized by the LKY School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, September 27, 2011.

Participation in the “21<sup>st</sup> Century Concert of Powers”, the first annual workshop organized by the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), Frankfurt, September 24-24, 2011. This three-year project will culminate in a report to be made available globally on the prospects of a concert of great powers.

“Centres of Power and Influence in the Evolving Regional Order: India.” A presentation at the 13<sup>th</sup> Asia-Pacific Programme for Senior Military Officers, organized by the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore, held at the Sentosa Resort and Spa, Singapore, August 8, 2011.

“The Future of Global Public Policy: A View from Asia.” (with Kishore Mahbubani and Scott Fritzen). Paper presented at “The Future of Global Public Policy Education,” a conference organized by the Global Public Policy Network and The Rockefeller Foundation, held at The Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, Bellagio, Italy, June 14-18, 2011.

“Recent Developments in India’s Foreign and Security Policies.” A talk to U.S. foreign-affairs military officers from the US Pacific Command (PACOM), organized by the Naval Postgraduate College, Monterey, USA, at the Swissotel the Stamford, Singapore, May 18, 2011.

“Will the US, China or India Eventually Rule the World?” A panel discussion at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, March 29, 2011.

“India-US Relations and the Implications for Southeast Asia”. A presentation at a business and policy forum on “The Impact of President Obama’s Visit to India,” organized by the American Embassy, the Indian High Commission, the Institute for South Asian Studies (ISAS), the American Chamber, and the Singapore Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SICCI), February 10, 2011.

“A United South Asia: Problems and Prospects.” A presentation at a panel discussion organized by the Bengal Club and the *Telegraph* newspaper, Kolkata, January 29, 2011.

“The Global Commons and India’s National Security.” A paper presented at the “International Workshop on India’s National Strategy” organized by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi, December 20-23, 2010.

“Democracy in Asia and India.” A talk delivered before the Italian Chamber of Deputies, Rome, October 15-16, 2010.

“Indian Grand Strategic Thought: Six Approaches in Search of a Core?” A paper presented at the conference on “India’s Grand Strategic Thought: Past, Present, Future”, organized by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi, and the Institute for Defence Studies, Oslo, held in Oslo, September 8-11, 2010.

“India’s Foreign Policy.” A talk at Policy Network, London, February 25, 2010.

“Indian Strategic Culture.” A talk organized by the Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy and the Department of Politics and International Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, UK, January 27, 2010.

“The Study of South Asia’s International Relations: Where are We?” a talk at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi, December 18, 2009.

“The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Defence Ministers’ Meeting (ADMM), and Security in the Asia Pacific,” a paper presented at the conference titled “The Asia Pacific: A Community for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” organized by the Government of Australia held in Sydney, December 3-5, 2009.

“Does Asia’s Experience in Solving Shared Problems Offer Any Lessons for Global Solutions?” a presentation at the “Global Redesign Initiative: Singapore Hearing” organized by the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, Singapore, December 1-2, 2009.

“Gandhian Thought and Its Implications for International Relations: Some Initial Thoughts,” a presentation at the seminar on “Moral and Political Ideas of Gandhi,” held at Wolfson College, Oxford University, November 27, 2009.

“Recent Developments in Disarmament, Proliferation, and Non-Proliferation,” a presentation at a

one-day symposium, “Nuclear Deterrence: Prospects for Disarmament and the Future of Trident,” organized by the James Martin Twenty First Century School, Oxford University, November 20, 2009.

“The Study of South Asia’s International Relations: Towards an Agenda?” Annual Lecture 2009 of the British Association of South Asian Studies (BASAS), held at The British Academy, London, November 12, 2009.

“India’s Grand Strategy: Three Schools of Thought,” a talk at the Oxford University Strategic Studies Group (OUSSG), held at All Souls College, Oxford University, October 20, 2009.

“The UPA’s Foreign Policy, 2004-2009,” a paper presented at an international conference on “The UPA in Power: New Dimensions of India’s Political System,” held at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), September 17-18, 2009.

“Dousing the Fire: Managing Identity Crisis and Violence in South Asia,” a panel discussion organized by the Oxford India Society, Oxford University, held at Queen Elizabeth House, June 5, 2009.

“Nuclear Proliferation,” a talk to foreign diplomats at Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University, May 20, 2009.

A talk on the Indian elections, organized by the Centre for the Study of Democracy and Inequality, Oxford University, held at the Social Sciences Building, Oxford University, May 18, 2009.

“Obstacles to Good Work in IR,” a paper on the study of International Relations in India presented at a workshop on “International Studies in India” held in Singapore at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore on March 28-29, 2009.

“Concepts of Sovereignty and Order,” a presentation at “Governance of a Globalizing World: Whither Asia and the West?” a conference of the Centre on Asia and Globalisation, held at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, December 3-6, 2008.

“The Evolution of Indian Strategic Thought Since 1998.” A talk at the Department of Politics and International Relations, Social Sciences Building, Oxford University, May 14, 2008.

“National Security in Age of Globalization: India as Challenger and Collaborator in the International Order.” A paper presented at “India and China: The Response to Globalization,” a conference organized by the School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, Singapore, April 4-5, 2005.

“The Iraq War.” A talk at Welham Boys School, Dehra Dun, August 17, 2004.

“Negotiating an India-Pakistan Agreement: A Simulation,” and “Managing an India-Pakistan Crisis: A Simulation.” Organized two simulations for a group of 40 Indians and Pakistanis between the ages of 15-19 years, at “Challenges and Opportunities in South Asia: A Youth Perspective,” a YIP-Mahindra United World College initiative, held at Mahindra United World College, Pune, June 20-30, 2004.

“The BJP, Domestic Politics, and the Bomb.” A paper presented at the conference on South Asian security held at the Center for International Security and Arms Control (CISAC), Stanford University, Palo Alto, June 4-5, 2004.

“Dealing With the US.” A presentation to the Indo-European Security Dialogue, hosted by the Centre D’Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI), Paris, May 2-3, 2004.

“The Challenges Before Private Education,” The Kit Thomas Memorial Lecture, Chennai, April 7, 2004.

“Founder’s Day Address to the YPS School, Patiala,” Yadavindra Public School, Patiala, March 28, 2004.

“Educating India: A 21<sup>st</sup> Century Perspective,” The Fifth E.S. Krishnamoorthy Memorial Lecture, Chennai, December 22, 2003.

“Our Strategic Culture.” A lecture to the first course on “Civil-Military Training on National Security,” for mid-career officers, organized by the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Government of India, Mussoorie, February 12, 2003.

Three lectures to foreign diplomats at the Foreign Service Institute, New Delhi, January 27, February 19, 2003.

Discussant at the conference on “Democracy and Diversity: India and the American Experience,” organized by the University of Pennsylvania Institute for the Advanced Study of India (UPIASI), New Delhi, January 24-25, 2003.

Five lectures to the officer trainees of the Indian Foreign Service at the Foreign Service Institute, New Delhi, January 14, 15, 17, 2003.

“Just War.” A response to Michael Walzer at a workshop organized by the Department of Political Science, Delhi University, December 21, 2002.

“Asian Security Environment After 9.11 Terrorism.” A policy symposium at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade, and Industry (RIETI), Tokyo, December 18, 2002.

“South Asian Security After the Cold War.” A paper presented at “Asian Conceptions of Security: Regional Dynamics,” a conference held at Research Institute of Economy, Trade, and Industry (RIETI), Tokyo, December 17, 2002.

“South Asia After 9/11.” A talk at Research on International Peace and Security (RIPS), Tokyo, December 16, 2002.

“Terrorism in India.” A presentation at the workshop on “Violence” organized by the Seminar Educational Foundation, Neemrana, December 1-2, 2002.

“National Security: Issues and Challenges.” Presentation at a panel discussion for the participants of the 91<sup>st</sup> Induction Training Programme for IAS Officers, Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Government of India, Mussoorie, November 29, 2002.

“India’s Future Wars.” A paper presented at “Air Power and Joint Operations,” a national seminar organized by the Centre for Air Power Studies, India Habitat Centre, New Delhi, November 25-26, 2002.

“Scenarios on Geopolitical Uncertainties.” A presentation at a panel on “Geopolitical Uncertainties,” India Economic Summit of the World Economic Forum (WEF), New Delhi, November 25, 2002.

“The Concept of Human Security.” A presentation at “Human Security in Post Conflict Situations with Madame Sadako Ogata,” a workshop organized by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), New Delhi, November 19, 2002.

“No First Use in the India-Pakistan Context.” A paper presented at “No First Use,” a conference organized by Pugwash, London, November 15-17, 2002.

“Prospects of an India-Pakistan Dialogue.” A presentation at “South Asian Security,” a workshop organized by Pugwash, Geneva, November 1-3, 2002.

Three lectures to the course for foreign diplomats organized by the Foreign Service Institute, New Delhi, October 29, 30, and November 8, 2002.

“India’s Foreign Policy.” Two talks to the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, October 8, 2002.

“Ethics and Politics.” A talk to the special course on ethics and society, Gargi College, Delhi University, September 21, 2002.

“Globalization and the State.” A talk at the refresher course for teachers of International Relations, Academic Staff College, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, September 17, 2002.

“The State of Indian IR,” A talk at the refresher course for teachers of International Relations, Academic Staff College, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, September 13, 2002.



“September 11, Terrorism, and India-US Relations.” A panel discussion at the Open Forum, India Habitat Centre, New Delhi, September 6, 2002.

Five lectures to the officer trainees of the Indian Foreign Service, Foreign Service Institute, New Delhi, September 2-6, 2002.

“Democracy in Pakistan.” A presentation at “Democracy in South Asia,” a seminar organized by the Forum for Democracy in South Asia, held at the Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, August 31, 2002.

“India’s Security in a Globalizing World.” A panel discussion at the Open Forum, India Habitat Centre, New Delhi, August 21, 2002.

“Implications of the War on Terrorism.” A talk to the journalism students at Lady Shri Ram College, New Delhi, August 5, 2002.

“Geopolitical Shifts in Asia Post September 11 and December 13.” A lecture to the cadets and staff of the National Defence Academy (NDA), Khadakwasla, August 7, 2002.

“South Asia in India’s Grand Strategy.” A presentation at the workshop on “Alternative Architectures in South Asia,” of the Ford Foundation funded project on “IR Theory and South Asia,” organized by the University of Pennsylvania Institute for the Advanced Study of India, New Delhi, July 27-28, 2002.

“The War in Afghanistan and US Policy Towards India and Pakistan.” A presentation at “The Geopolitical and Socio-Economic Implications of the US’s Involvement in Afghanistan,” a seminar organized by the Academy of Third World Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, July 22, 2002.

“The Current Crisis Between India and Pakistan.” A talk to the Strategy and Defence Studies Programme, Australian National University (ANU), June 5, 2002.

“Order and Justice in Indian International Thought.” A talk at the Department of International Relations, Australian National University (ANU), June 5, 2002.

A series of talks on the India-Pakistan crisis at the Australian National University (ANU), Canberra, the Australian Defence College (ADC), Canberra, the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI), Deakin University, Melbourne, and the University of Western Australia, Perth, May 29-31, 2002. The talks were sponsored by ASPI, Australia’s leading security think tank.

“Security in the Indian Sub-Continent.” A presentation at the Australia-Indian Security Roundtable, Sydney, May 27-28, 2002.

“Globalization and the State.” A lecture at the Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru Memorial Lectures

on International Affairs-2002, organized by the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, April 24, 2002.

“Nuclear Confidence-Building in South Asia.” Discussant of a paper by Professor Rajen Harshe, University of Hyderabad, at a conference organized by the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi, April 18-19, 2002.

“Regional Security in South Asia.” A lecture to the Officers of the Border Security Force (BSF) organized by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), April 15, 2002.

“National Security: Issues and Prospects.” A panel discussion organized by the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, April 10, 2002

“Consultation Workshop on National Security.” A workshop organized by the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, April 8-10, 2002.

“Impacts of Globalisation: Situating Social Sciences.” A panel discussion organized by the Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), New Delhi, April 1, 2002.

“Nuclear Weapons in South Asia After September 11.” A lecture delivered at the Centre d’Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI), Paris, March 18, 2002.

“The Measurability of Human Security.” A presentation at “Human Development and Human Security in South Asia: Elements of a Possible Regional Strategy,” a workshop organized by the India International Centre (IIC) and York University, Toronto, held at IIC, March 8, 2002.

“Rethinking Space, Security and Sovereignty in South Asia ” a keynote address at the dialogue on “Geopolitics and Peace,” organized by the Centre for the Study of Geopolitics, Department of Political Science, Panjab University, in collaboration with Jean Monnet European Centre for Excellence, University of Tampere, Finland, March 4, 2002.

“A Solution for Kashmir.” A lecture delivered to the Political Science students club, Deshbandhu College, New Delhi, February 20, 2002.

“South Asian Security: An Overview.” A lecture to the teachers of Delhi Public School, R.K. Puram, New Delhi, February 15, 2002.

“Nehru and Disarmament.” A lecture delivered at the Nehru Centre, Mumbai, January 19, 2002.

“Confidence Building Measures Between India, China, and Russia.” A paper presented at “India, Russia, China: Dynamics of the Asian Triangle,” a conference organized by the India International Centre(IIC), New Delhi, Centre de Sciences Humaines (CSH), New Delhi, and the Core Group for the Study of National Security (CSNS) of Jawaharlal Nehru University, held at IIC, New Delhi, January 16-17, 2002.

“Indian Strategic Culture.” A paper presented at the conference on “South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances,” organized by the Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, Stanford, California, January 4-5, 2002.

“International Relations Theory.” A lecture to the Refresher Course in Political Science for college teachers, organized by the Academic Staff College, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, December 20, 2001.

“Indian Foreign Policy.” A lecture at the Indian Naval War College, Mumbai, December 10, 2001.

“The US War on Terrorism: An Indian Perspective.” A presentation at the American School, New Delhi, December 5, 2001.

“India’s Strategic Culture.” A lecture at Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, November 29, 2001.

“India, the NMD, and Asian Security.” A paper presented at “National Missile Defence: Some Indian and French Perspectives,” a conference organized by the Centre de Sciences Humaines and India International Centre, New Delhi, held at IIC, November 9, 2001.

“Negotiation and Mediation.” Ran a simulation for Indian and Pakistani students attending a workshop organized by Women in Security, Conflict Management, and Peace (WISCOMP), New Delhi, October 4, 2001.

“Thinking About Conflict.” A panel discussion organized by Women in Security, Conflict Management, and Peace (WISCOMP), New Delhi, October 3, 2001.

“The U.S. Perspective on Terrorism.” A presentation at a one-day seminar on the events of September 11, organized by the Institute for Chinese Studies, New Delhi, September 26, 2001.

“The Terrorist Attack on the U.S.” A panel discussion organized by St. Stephen’s College, Delhi University, September 24, 2001.

“U.S. Policy Towards Terrorism.” A panel discussion organized by JNU students, JNU Auditorium, New Delhi, September 20, 2001.

“South Asia and India’s Strategic Environment.” A lecture to the Annual Refresher Course in Political Science for college teachers, organized by Rohtak University, Rohtak, August 21, 2001.

“Indo-Pakistani Summit: A Post-Mortem.” A panel discussion organized by Meerut College Alumni, held at India International Centre, 27 July 2001.

“Non-Traditional Security Threats.” A presentation at the “Australia-India Security Roundtable,” organized by the Core Group for the Study of National Security (CSNS), JNU,

held at the India International Centre, New Delhi, 9-10 July 2001.

“Negotiation and Mediation.” A simulation organized for Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP), involving students of Lady Shri Ram College, New Delhi, and Kinnaird College, Lahore, held at the India Habitat Centre, New Delhi, 7 June 2001.

“India and NMD.” A panel discussion organized by the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, 29 May 2001.

“US Non-Proliferation Policy: The NPT and CTBT.” A paper presented at “International Perspectives on US Multilateralism and Unilateralism,” New York University, New York, May 11-12, 2001.

“Regional Conflict Management in South Asia.” A paper presented at “Regional Conflict Management,” a workshop held at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 5-7 May 2001.

“Hinduism and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Pacifist, Prudential, and Political.” A paper presented at “Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction,” a conference organized by the Ethikon Institute, held at Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, April 27-29, 2001.

“Nukes, Anthrax, and Poison Gas: Ethical Perspectives on Weapons of Mass Destruction.” Participant in a public symposium organized by the Weissman Center for Leadership and the Ethikon Institute, held at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, 26 April 2001.

“Security Dimensions of India-ASEAN Relations.” A presentation at “India-ASEAN Relations: Assessing India’s Look East Policy,” a workshop organized by the India International Centre, New Delhi, 17 April 2001.

“International Relations: Theory, Practice, and Changing Structures.” A talk at the National Defence College, New Delhi, 10 April 2001.

“Balance-sheet of Success and Failures in Arms Control in the Last Decade.” A presentation at “The New Nuclear Arms Control Environment: A Parallel Bilateral Approach,” an India-US dialogue organized by the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi, held at the India Habitat Centre, 6 April 2001.

“Alternative Approaches to Conflict Resolution.” A presentation at “State Sovereignty in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Concepts, Relevance, and Limits,” a seminar organized by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, held at the Indian Council for World Affairs, New Delhi, 29 March 2001.

“The Military Utility of Nuclear Weapons.” A paper presented at “3<sup>rd</sup> Pugwash Workshop on Moving Towards the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons: Strengthening the Political Conditions,” Pugwash Meeting No. 260, held at the India Habitat Centre, New Delhi, 25-27 March 2001.

“The Military in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.” A panel discussion at “The Role of the Military in Asian Democracies,” a conference organized by The Statesman Newspaper and the Asian News Network, at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 17 March 2001.

“Indian Grand Strategy and Political Ideology.” A paper presented at “Democracy and Diversity,” a conference organized by the Dialogue on Democracy and Diversity, Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 13-17 March 2001.

“Brainstorming Session on India-US Relations.” Invited to brief the new Indian Ambassador to the US at a meeting organized by the Ministry of External Affairs at Hyderabad House, New Delhi, 7 March 2001.

“Nuclear War: Imminent in South Asia?” A public debate with Sumit Ganguly, Professor of Asian Studies, University of Texas, Austin, held at the University of Texas, 12 February 2001.

Three lectures on Asian security, Center for Asian Studies, University of Texas, Austin, 5-12 February 2001.

“Nuclear Weapons and Grand Strategy in India.” A talk at Colgate University, 1 February 2001.

“Nuclear Weapons, Grand Strategy and Political Ideology in India.” A talk at the Center for International Security and Arms Control (CISAC), Stanford University, 26 January 2001.

“Nuclear Weapons, Grand Strategy and Political Ideology in India.” A talk at the Triangle Institute for Security Studies/Program in Asian Security Studies (TISS/PASS), a consortium of Duke University, University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), and North Carolina State (Raleigh), 18 January 2001.

One day seminar on the setting up of an International Human Security Commission, organized by the Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE), Tokyo, held at the Madison Hotel, Washington, DC, 14 January 2001. (The Commission will likely be co-chaired by Sadako Ogata, former head of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Amartya Sen, Master Trinity College, Cambridge University.)

“Russia in Indian Grand Strategy.” A presentation at “South Asia in International Relations,” a seminar organized by the Centre d’Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI), Paris, 18 December 2000.

“Nuclear Weapons and Grand Strategy in India.” A presentation at the Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS), Tokyo, 12 December 2000.

“India’s Role in Asian Security.” A paper presented at “The Nation State and Transnational Forces in South Asia,” an international conference sponsored by The Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, Government of Japan, held at the Kyoto International Community House, Kyoto, 8-10 December 2000.

“Indian Conceptions of Order and Justice in International Relations.” A talk at St. Antony’s College, Oxford University, 21 November 2000.

“Nehru’s Grand Strategy.” A talk at All Soul’s College, Oxford University, 17 November 2000.

“India-US Relations After the Presidential Elections.” A talk organized by the South Asia Forum, World Bank, 15 November 2000.

“Nuclear Weapons and Grand Strategy in India.” A talk organized by the South Asia Forum, SAIS, 13 November 2000.

“India’s Future Strategy for Dealing With the US.” A talk at “New Directions in India-US Relations (Post Clinton-Vajpayee Visits),” a one-day conference organized by Emory University, Atlanta, 4 November 2000.

“The Security Situation in South Asia.” A talk at the inauguration seminar of the Near East and South Asia (NESA) Strategic Center, National Defense University, Washington, DC, 31 October 2000.

“Rising India.” A workshop organized by Ambassador Teresita Schaffer, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 26 October 2000. Presentation on “India’s Grand Strategy.” “Rising India” is a one-year project of CSIS. Invited to be part of the ongoing CSIS project.

“India-China Relations.” A talk for the Georgetown India Forum organized by James Clad, Georgetown University, Airlie House, Airlie, Virginia, 6-7 October 2000.

“Regions Set Free.” A project directed by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI), 22-24 September 2000. Commentator on chapters on regional security in South Asia and East Asia after the Cold War.

“India’s Ethnic Policies.” Presentation at the US-India people- to-people conference, “Cultivating Multifaceted Partnerships,” organized by the Indian American Leadership Council, held at the Department of State, 15 September 2000.

“Nuclear Weapons, Grand Strategy and Political Ideology in India.” A talk at the Peace Research Center, Cornell University, 7 September 2000.

“India-US Relations,” a panel discussion organized by the “Festival of India” in Atlanta, 12 August 2000.

“The Transformed Structure of the International System.” A presentation at “Indo-US Conference on Global Issues,” jointly organized by The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC and the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, held at the India International Centre, New Delhi, 6-7 March 2000.

“Nuclearization of Asia.” A panel discussion with former Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit and the High Commissioner of Pakistan, organized by the World Presidents Organization (WPO) at the Taj Palace Hotel, New Delhi, 2 March 2000.

“Arms Trade, Cold War, and Post-Cold War Scenario with Particular Reference to the Third World,” and “Notions of Sustainable Defence and Human Security,” two lectures at “Human Rights and Peace Studies Orientation Course,” a workshop organized by the South Asia Forum for Human Rights (SAFHR), on 11 February 2000.

“Nuclear Weapons and India’s Security.” A talk at Kamla Nehru College, Delhi University, 4 February 2000.

“What’s Ahead in India’s Security: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly.” A talk to the FICCI Ladies Organisation, FICCI, New Delhi, 31 January 2000.

“India’s Nuclear Doctrine: The Security Perspective.” A panel discussion at the Department of Political Science, University of Delhi South Campus, 28 January 2000.

“India and the World: India’s Foreign Policy.” A talk at “The Idea of India: From Genesis to Millennium,” a conference organized by the Department of Political Science, Gargi College, Delhi University, 25 January 2000.

“The Major Powers and Asian Security.” A paper presented at “Asian Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” a conference organized by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), at the India Habitat Centre, New Delhi, 24 January 2000.

“Existing Flashpoints and Future Prospects: South Asia.” A paper presented at the “Security Challenges and Responses in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” a conference organized by the Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies, Singapore, at the Marina Mandarin Hotel, Singapore, 17-18 January 2000.

Discussant at the “Third India-Korea Dialogue” organized by the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), New Delhi, December 17-18, 1999.

“India’s Nuclear Posture After Pokhran II” and “South Asian Security After the Cold War,” two talks delivered at the Department of Political Science, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 26 November 1999.

“India’s Nuclear Posture After Pokhran II” and “South Asian Security After the Cold War,” two talks delivered at the Department of Political Science, M.S. University of Baroda, 25 November 1999.

“Post Pokhran Indian Security Issues.” A panel discussion with former Ambassador Arundhati Ghose and Jasjit Singh (IDSA) organized by Janaki Devi College, Delhi University, 24

November 1999.

“Military Power and the Security of Nations.” A presentation at “New Century: Whose Century? The Evolution and Interaction of Technology, Economy, Polity, and Society,” a conference organized by the Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust, New Delhi, at the India Habitat Centre, 22 November 1999.

“India’s Role in Regional Security.” Invited to discuss South Asian security issues with K. Subrahmanyam for the visiting Prime Minister of Holland, Wim Kok, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, 11 November 1999.

“India-Pakistan Relations After the Kargil War.” A talk to the students of Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi University, 11 November 1999.

“The State of International Relations Theory.” A talk at the Academic Staff College, Old Campus, JNU, 9 November 1999.

“India’s Nuclear Doctrine.” A talk to the Senior Citizen’s Forum, NOIDA, UP, 10 October 1999.

A roundtable on India’s China policy, organized by the Institute of Chinese Studies, at the India International Centre, New Delhi, 8 September 1999.

“Kargil, Kashmir, and the Future of India-Pakistan Relations.” A panel discussion with C. Raja Mohan and Rajdeep Sardesai, organized by the India Habitat Centre, 27 August 1999.

“Women in Zones of Conflict.” Chaired inaugural panel discussion of Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP). Panelists included Mrinal Pande, Barkha Dutt, and Shailaja Bajpai. Held at the India Habitat Centre, New Delhi, 20 August 1999.

“India’s Security.” A keynote address to the Social Science Research Council Fellows’ Annual Meeting held in New Delhi, 19 August 1999.

“The Kargil War.” A keynote address at the CII Northern Headquarters Meeting, Agra, 24-25 July 1999.

“Confidence Building Measures: Contexts, Achievements, Prospects.” A paper presented at “CBMs in South Asia,” a conference organized by the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Colombo, 17-19 June 1999.

“Regional Cooperation: Patterns of Partnership.” A talk at the National Defence College, New Delhi, 7 June 1999.

“India’s Security: An Audit.” A talk at the Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, 25 May 1999.



“India-US Relations: An Assessment.” A talk at the United States Educational Foundation in India (USEFI), New Delhi, 5 May 1999.

"India's Nuclear Deterrent After Pokhran II." A paper presented at "India After Pokhran II: Towards a New Millennium," a conference organized by the Department of International Relations, Jadavpur University, Calcutta, February 25-26, 1999.

“Future of India’s Role in Non-Proliferation.” A talk at the Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi University, 16 December 1998.

Presentation on confidence building in South Asia at “Trust- and Confidence-Building Measures in South Asia,” a conference organized by UNIDIR, Geneva, 23-24 November 1998.

“The State of International Relations Theory.” A talk at the Academic Staff College, Old Campus JNU, New Delhi, 10 November 1998.

"India's Nuclear Strategy." A presentation at the National Defence College, New Delhi, November 3, 1998.

Two lectures on confidence building measures at “Defence, Technology, and Cooperative Security in South Asia” a workshop organized by the Regional Center for Strategic Studies (RCSS) in Shanghai, 21-24 September 1998.

"Diplomacy and Defence After Pokhran II." A paper presented at "After Pokhran II: The National Way Ahead," a seminar organised by the India Habitat Centre, New Delhi, September 19, 1998.

“Non-nuclear Approaches to India’s Security.” A talk at the Institute for Chinese Studies (ICS), New Delhi, 18 August 1998.

“The Future of the ARF: An Indian Perspective.” A paper presented at “The Future of the ARF,” a conference organized by the Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Singapore, 27-28 April 1998.

“Direction of International Politics and Future of India-US Relations.” A presentation at “South Asian Futures Conference,” organized by the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), at the India International Centre, New Delhi, 21 March 1998 and by the Institute for Regional Studies, Islamabad, 24 March 1998.

“Obstacles to Globalization: Regional Conflicts and Arms Races.” A talk at the H.N. Kunzru Memorial Lectures organized by the School of International Studies, JNU, 26 February 1998.

"The Security of South Asia After the Cold War." A paper presented at "Sub-Regional Dynamics of Asian Security," organized by Keio University, Tokyo, at the Malaysian Strategic

Research Centre, Kuala Lumpur, December 1-4, 1997.

"War, Peace, and International Order: India's View of World Politics." A paper presented at "Conflict or Convergence: Global Perspectives on War, Peace, and International Order," organized by the Center for International Affairs, The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, November 13-15, 1997. Professor Samuel Huntington organized the conference built around his essay on the "Clash of Civilizations".

"Visions of Peace in South Asia." A paper presented to "South Asian Peace Studies Refresher Course" organised by the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Calcutta, October 20-29, 1997.

"Rethinking Indian Security." A paper presented at "Rethinking India's Role in the World," a conference organized by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London, at Neemrana Fort, Rajasthan, India, September 16-18, 1997.

"India and its Asian Role." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London, held in Singapore, September 11-14, 1997.

"Sub-Regional Dynamics of Asian Security." A symposium at International House, Tokyo organised by Keio University, Tokyo and the East-West Center, Hawaii, March 13, 1997.

"The Security of South Asia After the Cold War." Paper presented at the workshop "Sub-regional Dynamics of Asian Security," organised by Keio University, Tokyo, held on March 10-12, 1997.

"Proliferation Challenges after the East-West Conflict and the Consequences for Stability and National Security." Paper presented at the ARF Track Two Conference on Non-Proliferation organised by CSIS, Jakarta, the Peace Research Centre (PRC), Australian National University, Canberra, and the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Ebenhausen, held in Jakarta, December 6-7, 1996.

"India's Security and the Future of South Asia." Paper presented at "India's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Prospects," organised by the Rajendra Prasad Academy, New Delhi, October 14, 1996.

"Enhancing Understanding and Cooperation Between India and Southeast Asia and the Role of the United States." Paper presented at the dialogue on "Issues of Governance," organised by The Asia Society, the Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies, New Delhi, and the Institute for Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), New York, September 5-6, 1996.

"Capacity Building in South Asia for Peacemaking and Regional Cooperation." Paper presented at "India's Role in SAARC: Perceptions and Perspectives," a seminar organised by the Coalition for Action on South Asian Cooperation (CASAC), India International Center, New Delhi, August 1996.

"Managing Ethnic Relations in India." Paper presented at "Managing Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific." A conference held at the Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, July 25-27, 1996.

"The Concept of Region in International Relations." A talk to the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, March 12, 1996.

Presentation on the CTBT at a panel discussion organised by the U.N. Studies Group, India International Center, New Delhi, March 7, 1996.

Participant in the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation-RAND dialogue on "Strategic Issues," held at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, New Delhi, February 28-29, 1996.

Participant in the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation India-Pakistan Dialogue, February 4-5, 1996.

"Nuclear Arms, India's Security, and Development." Paper presented at "Arms, Security and Development in South Asia," a conference of the Centre for Science Policy, J.N.U. and the Economists Coalition Against the Arms Race (ECAAR), held at the School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 15-16 January 1996.

"India and the Security Problematic: `Realism Plus'?" Paper presented at "Asian Conceptions of Security," a conference of the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, August 21-25, 1995.

"Civil-Military Relations and the Consolidation of Democracy in Latin American: The Lessons Learned." A conference organised by The Democracy Project of the School of International Service, American University, Washington, D.C., May 4-6, 1995. Served as co-chair of a group discussion.

"Brasstacks and Beyond: Crisis and Crisis Management in South Asia." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Political Science Association of Nepal, February 24-25, 1995.

"India: Nuclear Deterrence and Affordable Defence." Paper presented at the Seminar on "Militarisation in South Asia" organized by the Asian-South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education and South Asian Initiative, Kathmandu, Nepal, January 24-25, 1995.

Methodological Workshop for the Project on "Sustainable Development, Environmental Security and Disarmament Interface in South Asia." A workshop organised by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Colombo, November 13-15, 1994.

(with P.R. Chari, Pervez Iqbal Cheema, Stephen P. Cohen, and Sumit Ganguly) "Beyond Brasstacks: Perception and Management of Crisis in South Asia." A report on the India-Pakistan "Brasstacks crisis" of 1986-1987. Presented at "Preventing Nuclear War in South Asia," a conference at the Rockefeller Conference and Study Center, Bellagio, Italy, September 19-23, 1994.

"Outside/Inside: Rethinking Region." Paper presented at "Rethinking South Asian Security Studies," a SSRC-MacArthur Foundation workshop, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, August 27-28, 1994.

"Discord and Collaboration: Domestic Politics and Indian Diplomacy in SAARC." Paper presented at "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics in South Asia," a seminar organised by the Regional Center for Security Studies (RCSS), Colombo, Sri Lanka, August 14-16, 1994.

"The Brasstacks Crisis: Lessons and Prescriptions," and "The Brasstacks Crisis: A Chronology." Papers prepared for the project on the India-Pakistan "Brasstacks" crisis of January 1987, Nathiagalli, Pakistan, May 10-18, 1994.

"Pathways to Peace in South Asia." Paper presented at "South Asia at the Crossroads: Conflict and Cooperation," a conference organised by the Bangladesh Institute for International and Strategic Studies (BIISS), Dhaka, February 6-8, 1994.

"Brother Enemies: How India Sees the India-Pakistan and India-China Conflicts." A paper presented at "Confidence Building Measures Between India and Pakistan and India and China," organised by Sumit Ganguly (Hunter College/CUNY) and Ted Greenwood, New Delhi and Islamabad, May 24-30, 1993.

(with Sumit Ganguly, Hunter College/CUNY) "India's Kashmir Crisis." A paper presented at the panel on "Subnational Movements in South Asia, II," Political Studies Association of the UK, Annual Conference, University of Leicester, April 20-22, 1993.

"CBMs in South Asia." A presentation at a panel on confidence-building measures at the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) Annual Meeting, Boston, February 14, 1993.

(with Sumit Ganguly) "The Transition to Democracy in Pakistan." Paper presented at "Establishing Democratic Rule," a conference organized by The Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy, Washington, D.C., October 23-25, 1992.

(with Stephen P. Cohen) "Cooperative Security and South Asian Insecurity." A paper presented at the Consortium on Cooperative Security's "Conference on Cooperative Security," Snowmass, Colorado, August 3-7, 1992.

(with Nancy Gallagher, Wesleyan University) "Building on Weak Foundations: Cooperation Under Anarchy and South Asian Nuclear Non-Proliferation." A paper presented at the International Studies Association annual conference, Atlanta, Georgia, April 2-4, 1992.

"Deterrence and Superpower Intervention in the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971." A paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 1984.

## Departmental, University, and Professional Responsibilities

### National University of Singapore

- Director, Centre on Asia and Globalisation, LKY School of Public Policy, July 2017-
- Programme Chair, Master in International Affairs (MIA), 2021-
- Vice Dean Research, LKY School of Public Policy, September 2012-June 2015
- Chair, IR Junior Hiring Committee, 2020-
- Member, Faculty Integration Committee, 2022-
- Member, Senior Hire Standing Committee, 2021-
- Member, Administrative Committee, 2021-
- Member, Strategy Task Force, 2021-
- Member, Faculty Promotion and Tenure Committee, 2018-2021
- Chair, Faculty Recruitment Committee, LKY School, 2013-2018
- Member, University MTAR Committee, 2016-2018
- Chairman, Research Excellence Committee (REC), LKY School of Public Policy, July 2011-July 2012
- Member, Faculty Board, LKY School of Public Policy, July 2011-
- Member, Research Excellence Committee, LKY School
- Member, PhD Committee, LKY School
- Member, MPM Review Committee, LKY School
- Faculty recruitment committee, Southeast Asian Studies Department, Faculty of Arts and Science (FASS), National University of Singapore, 2011
- MTAR University Committee (Social Sciences), 2016-2018
- Member, Senior Administrators Committee, LKY School of Public Policy, 2019-

### Oxford University

- Director of Graduate Studies, Contemporary India M.Sc., School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies (SIAS), August 1, 2009-July 2010.
- Member, Teaching Committee, Contemporary India M.Sc., SIAS, April 2009-July 2010.
- Member, Management Committee, Contemporary India M.Sc., SIAS, November 2009-July 2010.
- Member, International Relations Graduate Studies Committee (IRGSC), Department of Politics and International Relations, Oxford University, September 2009-July 2010.
- Member, Executive Committee, Global Economic Governance (GEG) programme, Oxford University, September 2009-July 2010.

### Jawaharlal Nehru University

- Chairperson, Centre for International Politics, Organization, and Disarmament (CIPOD), School of International Studies, 1997-1998, and December 2002-May 2003

- Member, Board of Studies, Committee for Advanced Studies and Research, and M.A. Committee in the School of International Studies, 1994-1998, and 2001-3
- Member, Special Committee, School of Physical Sciences, 2002-3
- Member, Grievance Committee, School of International Studies, 2002-3
- Member, Standing Committee of the University on collaboration with foreign universities, 2002-3
- Member, Committee on Contemporary History Archives, 2002-3
- Editorial Board of *International Studies*, the journal of the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, October 1994-May 1996 and January 1999-2003
- Warden, Periyar Men's Hostel, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, December 1994-2003

#### Other Responsibilities (International)

- Member, Programme Committee on Global Security and Cooperation, Social Science Research Council, New York (2001-03)
- Member, Steering Committee, Network on South Asian Politics and Political Economy (NETSAPPE), chaired by Professor Ashutosh Varshney, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (2001-03)
- In-country Director, “Project on Emerging Powers”, World Policy Institute, New York. (Project leaders: Armando Martinez and Mira Kamdar, World Policy Institute, New York)
- Member of the Geopolitical Risk Global Advisory Council (GAC) of the World Economic Forum (WEF), 2011-12
- Advisory Board, *Theoretical Perspectives* (Dhaka)
- International Advisory Board, *Australian Journal of International Affairs* (Canberra)
- Editorial Board, *International Studies Perspectives* (A journal of the International Studies Association, Hartford, Connecticut), 2000-2002
- Advisory Board, *The India Review*, 2001-
- Editorial Board, *Asian Security*, 2005-
- Advisory Board, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* (CFPJ), 2011-13.
- Local Advisory Board, *International Studies Review*, a journal of the International Studies Association, 2012-2014
- Academic Advisory Council, *European Review of International Studies* (ERIS), 2014-
- Editorial Board, *Indian Politics and Policy*, a journal of the Policy Studies Organization, Washington, D.C., which is affiliated to the International Studies Association, and the American, Midwest, and Southern Political Science Associations.

#### Other Responsibilities (India)

- Member, Advisory Council, American Studies Research Centre (ASRC), Programme in International Relations, Hyderabad, to promote the study of international relations in India, 1994-97
- Member, Indian Pugwash Society, New Delhi

- Member, Advisory Council, Centre for the Study of Geopolitics, Punjab University, Chandigarh, Punjab (headed by Dr. Sanjay Chaturvedi)
- Member, Consultative Committee, Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP), New Delhi (headed by Professor Meenakshi Gopinath, Principal, Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi University)
- General Series Editor of *Critical Issues in Indian Politics*, a new book series published by Oxford University Press, New Delhi (other editors are Professor Francine Frankel, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania and Professor Zoya Hasan, Jawaharlal Nehru University)
- Member, Task Force on National Security Training, organized by the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Government of India, Mussoorie (Chair: N.N. Vohra)
- Convener, International Relations Group, India International Centre, New Delhi, 2001-3
- Member, Advisory Council, India International Centre, New Delhi, 2001-3
- Member, Rhodes Scholarship Selection Committee, 2002
- Board Member, Centre for Development and Human Rights, New Delhi (Chairman: Arjun Sengupta), 2002 onwards.
- Governor's Nominee, Selection Committee, Jammu University, 2003-2005
- Academic Advisory Council, Indian Council of World Affairs, Sapru House, New Delhi, 2008-2009.
- Member, Indian Public Schools' Society (IPSS) which manages the Doon School, Dehra Dun
- Trustee, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (IGNCA), New Delhi, 2006-2011.
- Member, Mentoring Group, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, 2006-
- Advisory Board, *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations* (Sage), Kolkata, 2013-

### Teaching and Research

#### Graduate Teaching (Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy)

- International Security
- Asian International and Strategic Thought
- India's Foreign Policy and National Security
- International Politics and Diplomacy
- Gateway Course in Politics and International Relations
- Globalization and Public Policy
- Policy Challenges

#### Graduate Teaching (Oxford University)

- India as a Regional Power (for the M.Sc. in Contemporary India)
- International Relations from 1950 (for the M.Phil. in International Relations)
- M.Phil. Dissertation Research Seminar (for the M.Phil. in International Relations)

#### Graduate Teaching (JNU)

- Research Methodology, M.Phil.
- Globalization and the State, M.Phil.
- The International System, Foreign Policy, and Domestic Politics, M.Phil.

- Problems of International Relations, M.Phil.
- Arms Control and Disarmament, M.Phil.
- Theories of War and Peace, M.Phil.
- Theory of International Politics, M.A.

#### Research Interests

- International Relations Theory; Indian International Thought
- Security Studies/Human Security; Indian Strategic Culture
- South Asian Security; Government and Politics in South Asia; Terrorism
- Ethnicity; Political Theory of Secession/Humanitarian Intervention

#### Research Supervision

- At NUS: 2 Policy Analysis Exercises (PAEs) in 2011 and 2012; 2 PhD dissertations (defended in 2018) – Reuben Hintz; Jennifer Dodgson
- At Oxford University: I was a supervisor for 2 Ph.D. theses, one M.Phil. dissertation, and six M.Sc. dissertations.
- At JNU: I supervised 60 M.Phil. dissertations (approximately) and 8 Ph.D. theses, at the Centre for International Politics, Organization, and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (1994-2003).

#### Examiner for Doctoral Theses

- Two doctoral dissertations in International Relations for Australian National University, Canberra (2011-2012) – Kate Sullivan, Louise Merrington
- One doctoral dissertation in International Relations, University of New South Wales, Canberra (2015) – Nishank Motwani
- One doctoral dissertation in Philosophy for National University of Singapore (2011-12)
- Two doctoral dissertations in International Relations at Oxford University (2009-2010) – Priyanjali Malik, Daniel Twining
- Internal Examiner, Department of Political Science, National University of Singapore (Amit Pal Julka), 2019
- Internal Examiner, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy Ph.D. (Charles Phua), 2020
- Internal Examiner, Department of South Asian Studies Ph.D. (Kesava Chandra Varigonda), 2020
- External Examiner, Oxford University D.Phil. (Sharinee Jagtiani), 2021

#### Fellowships, Awards and Honours

- 2012 K. Subrahmanyam Award for Excellence in Research in Strategic and Security Studies, awarded by the President of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi, Rt. Hon. A.K. Anthony, Minister of Defence, Government of India.
- 2012 Resident Fellow, Bellagio Center, Rockefeller Foundation, Bellagio, Italy (June 2012)
- 2011 Delivered the Second Y.B. Chavan Memorial Lecture, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi, November 29, 2011. (Title: “India and China: Can the



- Giants of Asia Cooperate?"). Y.B. Chavan was a former Foreign Minister of India and Deputy Prime Minister.
- 2010 Distinguished Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi.
- 2009 Delivered the Annual Lecture 2009 of the British Association of South Asian Studies (BASAS), The British Academy, London, November 12, 2009. (Title: "The Study of South Asia's International Relations: Towards an Agenda")
- 2007 Qimpro Platinum Standard in Education. This is an annual award given by the Qimpro Foundation, Mumbai, India, for excellence in business, education, and healthcare. Other winners include Prof. Ashok Misra, Director, IIT-Mumbai (2006) and Professor Meenakshi Gopinath, Principal, Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi University (2008).
- 2002 Delivered the 17<sup>th</sup> P.C. Lal Memorial Lecture of the Air Force Association of India (Title: "Nuclear Policy, Grand Strategy, and Political Values in India")
- 1987 ACDIS-MacArthur Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship in International Security, University of Illinois
- 1986 University of Illinois Graduate College Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship

#### Public Outreach

- Lectures at the Indian Institute for Public Administration (IIPA), Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), the Foreign Service Institute of the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, the National Defence College (NDC), New Delhi, the Lal Bahadur Shastri Academy, Mussoorie, the National Defence Academy (NDA), Khadakwasla, and the Naval War College, Mumbai, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), Singapore, Home Team Academy, Singapore.
- Contributions to the major English-language press including *Times of India*, *The Hindustan Times*, *The Hindu*, *The Indian Express*, *The Telegraph*, *Deccan Herald*, *Deccan Chronicle*, *India Today*, *Outlook*, *South China Morning Post*, *Straits Times*, *The Wire*, *India Cable*, and *The Print*, on security and foreign policy issues.
- Columnist for the *Times of India* from 2009 to 2021. The column was called "Rebooting India".
- Appearances on Indian television shows produced by/aired on Doordarshan, New Delhi Television (NDTV), Star TV, Business India Television (BITV), CNBC India, ITV, SaB TV, and Zee TV, Channel News Asia, to comment on security and foreign policy issues.
- Appearances on television and radio channels outside India: CNN, C-SPAN, American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), Voice of America (VOA), BBC, Australian Broadcasting Company (ABC), Channel News Asia (CNA), CNBC (Singapore), CCTV/CGTN.

#### Education

- 1990 Ph.D. in Political Science, University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign)

*Ph.D. Thesis*: "The Origins of Association in South Asia: SAARC, 1979-1989." The thesis dealt with the first decade of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Supervisor: Stephen P. Cohen.

*Examination subfields:* International Relations, Comparative Politics, Civil-Military Relations, Military History.

1979 M.A. in Political Science, University of British Columbia, Vancouver

*Master's Thesis:* "An Inquiry into Colonial Disengagement: The Cabinet Mission to India, March to June 1946." Supervisor: John R. Wood.

1978 B.A. (Hons.) in Economics, University of British Columbia, Vancouver

*Honours Thesis:* "The Inverse Relationship Between Farm Size and Productivity in Indian Agriculture: A Case of Factor Market Imperfections." Supervisor: Geoffrey Hainsworth.