# **Christopher Clary**

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#### **ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

University at Albany, State University of New York, 2016-Present Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science

## **EDUCATION**

Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Ph.D. in Political Science, 2009-2015
Dissertation: "The Politics of Peace: The End of Interstate Rivalries"
(Committee: Richard Samuels, Chair; M. Taylor Fravel; Vipin Narang)
Lucian Pye Award for Best Doctoral Dissertation in the Department of Political Science

U.S. Naval Postgraduate School: M.A. in National Security Affairs, 2003-2005 Thesis: "The A. Q. Khan Network: Causes and Implications"

Wichita State University: B.A. in International Studies and History, 1998-2001 Minors: Political Science, Economics, Spanish

#### **PUBLICATIONS**

### Refereed Book

The Difficult Politics of Peace: Rivalry in Modern South Asia (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).

## **Refereed Journal Articles**

"Russia-Pakistan Relations and the Constraints of Geoeconomics," Asian Survey, forthcoming.

"Public Opinion and Crisis Behavior in a Nuclearized South Asia," *International Studies Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (December 2021): 1064-1076 (with Niloufer Siddiqui and Sameer Lalwani).

"Voters and Foreign Policy: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Pakistan," Foreign Policy Analysis 17, no. 2 (April 2021) (with Niloufer Siddiqui).

"Tilting at Windmills: The Flawed U.S. Policy Toward the 1971 Indo-Pakistani War," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42, no. 5 (2019): 677-700.

"India's Counterforce Temptations: Strategic Dilemmas, Doctrine, and Capabilities," *International Security* 43, no. 3 (winter 2018-2019): 110-150 (with Vipin Narang).

"Personality, Organizations, and Doctrine in the Indian Military," *India Review* 17, no. 1 (2018): 100-121.

# **Unrefereed Journal Articles**

"Safer at Sea? Pakistan's Sea-Based Deterrent and Nuclear Weapons Security," *The Washington Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (Fall 2017) (with Ankit Panda).

"A Multipolar Nuclear Asia in the Trump Era," Asan Forum 5, no. 1 (January-February 2017).

"Correspondence: Battling over Pakistan's Battlefield Nuclear Weapons," *International Security* 40, no. 4 (Spring 2016).

# Unrefereed Journal Articles (continued)

- "The Pak-Saudi Nuke, and How to Stop It," *The American Interest* 7, no. 6 (2012): 24-31 (with Mara Karlin).
- "Saudi Arabia's Reform Gamble," Survival 53, no. 5 (2011): 15-20 (with Mara Karlin).
- "A.Q. Khan and the Limits of the Nonproliferation Regime," Disarmament Forum, no. 4 (2004).
- "Dr. Khan's Nuclear WalMart," Disarmament Diplomacy, no. 76 (2004).

# **Refereed Book Chapters**

- "Survivability in the New Era of Counterforce," in *The Fragile Balance of Terror: Deterrence in the New Nuclear Age*, eds. Vipin Narang and Scott Sagan (in production, Cornell University Press).
- "Parties and Foreign Policy in Pakistan," in *Pakistan's Political Parties: Surviving Between Dictatorship and Democracy*, eds. Mariam Mufti, Sahar Shafqat, and Niloufer Siddiqui (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2020).
- "The Safety and Security of the Pakistani Nuclear Arsenal," in *Pakistan's Enduring Challenges*, eds. C. Christine Fair and Sarah J. Watson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).
- "Pakistan's Motivations and Calculations for the Kargil Conflict," in *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: The 1999 Kargil Conflict between India and Pakistan*, ed. Peter R. Lavoy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) (with Peter Lavoy and Feroz Hassan Khan).

## **Unrefereed Book Chapters**

- "Obama and the U.S.-Pakistan Marriage of Convenience," in *The World Views of the Obama Era: From Hope to Disillusionment*, ed. Matthias Maass (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017) (with Niloufer Siddiqui).
- "Pakistan: The Nuclear Consensus," in *The Nuclear Debate in Asia: Risks and Rewards*, eds. Deepa Ollapally and Mike Mochizuki (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).
- "Deterrence Stability and the Conventional Balance of Forces in South Asia," in *Deterrence Stability and Escalation Control in South Asia*, eds. Michael Krepon and Julia Thompson (Washington, DC: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2013).
- "Doctrine, Capabilities, and (In)stability in South Asia," in *Deterrence Stability and Escalation Control in South Asia*, eds. Michael Krepon and Julia Thompson (Washington, DC: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2013) (with Vipin Narang).
- "The Future of Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program," in *Strategic Asia, 2013-2014*, eds. Ashley Tellis, Abraham Denmark, and Travis Tanner (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2013).
- "A. Q. Khan, Proliferation Networks, and the Nuclear Slippery Slope," in *Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East*, ed. James Russell (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).

## Monographs and Occasional Papers

Confidence and Nationalism in Modi's India (Washington, DC: Stimson Center, 2022) (with Sameer Lalwani, Niloufer Siddiqui, and Neelanjan Sircar).

Toward a Mature Defense Partnership: Insights from a U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue (Washington, DC: Stimson Center, 2021) (with Sameer Lalwani, Elizabeth Threlkeld, and Zoe Jordan).

# Monographs and Occasional Papers (continued)

Drivers of Long-Term Insecurity and Instability in Pakistan: Urbanization (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, 2014) (with Jonah Blank and Brian Nichiporuk).

Rapporteur, *The United States and India: A Shared Strategic Future* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations and the Aspen Institute India, September 2011).

Thinking about Pakistan's Nuclear Security in Peacetime, Crisis, and War (New Delhi: Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, 2010).

Space Assurance or Space Dominance? The Case against Weaponizing Space (Washington, D.C.: The Henry L. Stimson Center, March 2003) (with Michael Krepon).

Following the Money: The Bush Administration FY03 Budget Request and Current Funding for Selected Defense, State, and Energy Department Programs (Washington, D.C.: The Henry L. Stimson Center, April 24, 2002) (with Elizabeth Turpen, Victoria K. Holt, and Moira K. Shanahan).

## **Op-Eds/Other Short-Form Publications**

"Beyond The Rhetoric: Pakistan's Engagement with Russia Will Remain Limited," *The Friday Times* [Pakistan], September 19, 2022.

"How Confident are Indians in Modi's India," *Hindustan Times*, August 26, 2022 (with Sameer Lalwani, Niloufer Siddiqui, and Neelanjan Sircar).

"The Simla Accord: An Imperfect Peace," Hindustan Times, July 2, 2022.

"The Curious Case of the Accidental Indian Missile Launch," War on the Rocks, March 17, 2022.

"The U.S. and India face these 5 challenges. Can they depend on each other?" Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog, August 2, 2021.

"India's Pangong Pickle: New Delhi's Options after its Clash with China," War on the Rocks, July 2, 2020 (with Vipin Narang).

"China and India were both looking to back down from a border crisis. Then soldiers died," *The Washington Post*, Monkey Cage Blog, June 16, 2020.

"The U.S.-Iran crisis has calmed down—but things won't ever go back to how they were before," *The Washington Post*, Monkey Cage Blog, January 12, 2020.

Essay in H-Diplo/ISSF Policy Forum on the 2019 Kashmir Crisis, edited by Stacie Goddard and Diane Labrosse, September 3, 2019.

"Why India Wants to Break Its Decades-Old Nuclear Pledge," BBC News, August 22, 2019 (with Vipin Narang).

"No First Use' Nuke Policy Isn't Dead, But Losing Sanctity," Hindustan Times, August 18, 2019.

"Trump picked a fight with India. Here's what's going on," *The Washington Post*, Monkey Cage Blog, July 2, 2019.

"India and Pakistan resort to the diplomacy of violence—and flirt with catastrophe," *The Washington Post*, February 26, 2019.

"After terrorist attack in Kashmir, will India seek vengeance or de-escalation?" *The Washington Post*, Monkey Cage Blog, February 25, 2019.

"Trump singled out India to do more in Afghanistan. That could easily backfire," *The Washington Post*, Monkey Cage Blog, August 24, 2017.

# Op-Eds/Other Short-Form Publications (continued)

- "Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Limits of U.S. Influence," War on the Rocks, August 23, 2017.
- "Today is India's 70th birthday. How it answers these 3 questions will define its future and the world's," *The Washington Post*, Monkey Cage Blog, August 15, 2017.
- "Confusion is Risky," Indian Express, November 18, 2016 (with Vipin Narang).
- "Modernization and Austerity," Indian Express, September 16, 2013 (with Vipin Narang).
- "How the Pakistan Military Learned to Love the Bomb," Policy Brief (George Washington University, Sigur Center for Asian Studies, September 2013).
- "Guarding the Nuclear Guardians," University of Pennsylvania, Center for the Advanced Study of India, July 15, 2013; reprinted as "Lift the Lid of Nuclear Secrecy," *Hindu Business Line*, July 15, 2013 and "India's Secret Nuclear Capacity," *Patrika* (Jodphur) [in Hindi], September 26, 2013.
- "Will India Ever Be America's Partner?" ForeignPolicy.com, June 6, 2012.
- "Capability without Strategy," Indian Express, May 22, 2012 (with Vipin Narang).
- "Indian Assistance Can Reduce Pak Nuke Risk," Mail Today (India), August 8, 2009.
- "A Fine Balance: India's Middle East Policy," Indian Express, May 9, 2009 (with Mara Karlin).
- "Strive for Space Assurance," Space News, April 28, 2003 (with Michael Krepon).

#### **Book Reviews**

- "Book Review of *Pakistan's Pathway to the Bomb* by Mansoor Ahmed," *Nonproliferation Review*, forthcoming.
- "Book Review of *India's Rise as an Asian Power* by Sandy Gordon," *Political Science Quarterly* 131, no. 3 (2016).
- "Book Review of India's Nuclear Policy by Bharat Karnad," Strategic Analysis [India] 33, no. 2 (2009).

#### **WORK IN PROGRESS**

- "Foreign Policy in Hard Times: The Political Economy of Interstate Rivalry" (under review).
- "Same as the Old Boss? Leaders and Nuclear Abandonment."

# FELLOWSHIPS, HONORS, AND AWARDS

Professor Martin Edelman Faculty Award for Excellence in Teaching, Department of Political Science, University at Albany, 2021 (\$1,000 award)

Non-resident Fellow, South Asia Program, The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2019-Present

National Asia Research Program Fellowship, National Bureau of Asian Research/National Defense University, 2019 (\$10,000 stipendiary award)

Postdoctoral Fellow, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, 2015-2016

U.S. Foreign Policy and International Security Postdoctoral Fellow, Dickey Center for International Understanding, Dartmouth College, 2015-2016 (declined)

# FELLOWSHIPS, HONORS, AND AWARDS (continued)

Shorenstein Fellow in Contemporary Asia, Shorenstein Center for Asia-Pacific Research, Stanford University, 2015-2016 (declined)

Predoctoral Research Fellow, Project on Managing the Atom and International Security Program, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, 2014-2015

Stanton Nuclear Security Predoctoral Fellow, RAND Corporation, 2013-2014

National Security Graduate Fellowship, Tobin Project, Cambridge, Mass., 2012-2013

Ithiel de Sola Poole Award for Outstanding First-Year Ph.D. Student, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2009-2010

Kenan Sahin Presidential Graduate Fellow, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2009-2010 International Affairs Fellow in India, Council on Foreign Relations, 2009

## **GRANTS**

Stanton Foundation, Nuclear Security Grant Program, "The Second Face of Deterrence: Domestic Political Instability and Nuclear Weapons," 2021-2023 (\$150,000).

University at Albany, Faculty Research Award Program (FRAP-B), "Competence and Audience Costs in Pakistani Crisis Behavior," Spring 2017 (\$4,000).

Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives (IDEAS) Pakistan, PhD Field Research Grant, "What Matters to Pakistan Voters? A Conjoint Survey Experiment," November 2014 (\$5,000) (Co-Principal Investigator with Niloufer Siddiqui).

Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Summer Study Grant, 2013 (\$3,000).

American Institute for Pakistan Studies, Conference Travel Grant, 2015 (\$600).

### **SELECTED CONFERENCES**

International Studies Association Annual Conference 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2020 [cancelled], 2022, 2023 [planned]

American Political Science Association Annual Conference 2015, 2018

## SELECTED INVITED PRESENTATIONS

"When and Why Do India and Pakistan Fight?" *Grand Tamasha* podcast, a co-production of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the *Hindustan Times*, September 13, 2022, <a href="https://grand-tamasha.simplecast.com/episodes/when-and-why-do-india-and-pakistan-fight">https://grand-tamasha.simplecast.com/episodes/when-and-why-do-india-and-pakistan-fight</a>.

"Confidence and Nationalism in Modi's India," research note launch event, Stimson Center, August 24, 2022.

"Navigating Legacies of Partition: Peacebuilding Opportunities and the Future of South Asian Stability," panel discussion, Stimson Center, August 10, 2022.

"India-US Strategic Partnership and its Impact on Strategic Stability in South Asia," presentation to the Center for International Strategic Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan, July 13, 2022.

# **SELECTED INVITED PRESENTATIONS (continued)**

- "Pakistan's Military and Nuclear Policy," guest lecture, U.S. Foreign Service Institute, Washington, DC, June 28, 2022 and July 19, 2022.
- "Political-Military and Security Challenges in South Asia," guest lecture, U.S. Foreign Service Institute, Washington, DC, June 24, 2022.
- "Nuclear Realities in India and Pakistan," guest lecture, U.S. Foreign Service Institute, Washington, DC, June 7, 2022.
- "Understanding the Crisis in Afghanistan," panel discussion, Brown University, October 13, 2021.
- "The Difficult Politics of Peace: Rivalry in Modern South Asia," Carnegie Endowment of International Peace, October 1, 2021.
- "The Taliban Takeover of Afghanistan: Regional Dynamics and Implications for India," panel discussion, Delhi Policy Group, September 10, 2021.
- "20 Years after 9/11," panel discussion, Rockefeller College, University at Albany, September 10, 2021.
- "What Voters Want: The Role of Foreign Policy in Indian and Pakistani Elections," interview with Mosharraf Zaidi, Tabadlab Live, March 1, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yryh1B34Ea4&t=1s.
- "Himalayan Situation Escalation Scenario and Implications," panel discussion, virtual conference organized by U.S. National Academy of Sciences and India's National Institute for Advanced Studies, November 19, 2020.
- "China's Foreign Policy: Sovereignty, Confrontation, and Prospects for Arms Control," virtual briefing to Congressional staff organized by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, July 23, 2020.
- "The China-India Border Crisis," virtual panel discussion, Stimson Center, June 30, 2020.
- "Survivability in the New Era of Counterforce," presentation to conference organized by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Stanford University, November 17-18, 2019.
- "South Asian Nuclear Crisis," guest lecture at the School of Politics and International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, October 11, 2019.
- "South Asia and International Security," presentation to NAVAIR Leadership Development Program, U.S. Naval War College, multiple sessions: August 23, 2016; April 26, 2017; July 18, 2017; April 10, 2018; July 17, 2018; August 7, 2018; July 17, 2019; August 7, 2019.
- "Competition on the Periphery," panel discussion, Asia Policy Assembly, organized by the National Bureau of Asian Research and National Defense University, June 18, 2019.
- "India, China, Pakistan, and the Future of South Asia," panel discussion at King's College London, October 10, 2018.
- "Sino-Indian Relations After Doklam" presentation at King's College London, October 10, 2018.
- "Changing Nuclear Dynamics," panel discussion at the Center for International Strategic Studies, Islamabad, June 13, 2018.
- "U.S.-India Military-to-Military Relations," presentation at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, March 2, 2018
- "The Politics of Peace: The End of Interstate Rivalries," presentation to the Department of Political Science, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, November 2, 2017.

# **SELECTED INVITED PRESENTATIONS (continued)**

"Political Instability, Nuclear Weapons, and the Threat of Nuclear Collapse," presentation (with Joshua Shifrinson) to the Tobin Project Meeting, Cambridge, Mass., October 20, 2017.

"Countervalue to Counterforce: Change in India's Nuclear Doctrine," panel discussion at the Center for International Strategic Studies, Islamabad, August 4, 2017.

"Personalities, Organizations, and Doctrine in the Indian Military," presentation to the Center for the Advanced Study of India at the University at Pennsylvania, April 7, 2017.

"Indian and Pakistan Tactical Nuclear Weapons and First Use Doctrine," panel discussion organized by the Nonproliferation Education Center, Washington, DC, March 4, 2017.

## **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

University at Albany

International Conflict and Resolution (Undergraduate and Graduate): Spring 2020

Weapons of Mass Destruction and International Security (Undergraduate and Graduate): Spring 2019, Fall 2021

Global Security (Master's): Spring 2017, Spring 2018, Spring 2019, Spring 2020, Spring 2021, Spring 2022

Global Security (PhD): Fall 2017

American Foreign Policy (Undergraduate): Fall 2017

American Foreign Policy: Formulation and Implementation (Undergraduate and Graduate):

Fall 2016, Fall 2017, Fall 2018, Spring 2021, Spring 2022

Asian Security: Theory and Practice (Undergraduate): Fall 2016, Fall 2018, Fall 2021

Brown University

Asian Security: Theory and Practice (Undergraduate): Spring 2016

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

American Foreign Policy (Teaching Assistant): Fall 2011 and Fall 2012

#### **DISCIPLINARY SERVICE**

Treasurer, South Asia and World Politics Section, International Studies Association (2022-Present)

Co-Chair, Stephen P. Cohen Paper Award Committee, South Asia and World Politics Section, International Studies Association (2022-Present)

Mentor for Summer Research Fellowship Program, Berkeley/Stanford Existential Risk Initiative (BERI/SERI) (2021)

Reviewer for Oxford University Press, Georgetown University Press, Routledge, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, International Security, Security Studies, Journal of Global Security Studies, Journal of Strategic Studies, British Journal of Political Science, International Studies Quarterly, International Relations, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Asian Affairs, Asian Security, Asian Survey, Journal of Asian and African Studies, Contemporary Security Policy, Armed Forces & Society, Asia Policy, Nonproliferation Review, India Review, International History Review and Diplomacy & Statecraft.

# **DEPARTMENT/COLLEGE SERVICE**

Concentration Coordinator, Global and Homeland Security Concentration, Master's of International Affairs Program, Rockefeller College of Public Affairs (2016-Present)

Member, Admissions Committee, Master's of International Affairs Program, Rockefeller College of Public Affairs (2016-Present)

Member, Teaching Observation Committee, Department of Political Science (2016-2019, 2021-Present)

Co-organizer, Experiments in Politics and Policy Group, Rockefeller College (2021-Present)

Member, "4-to-3" Committee on Course Credit Hour Changes, Department of Political Science (2018-2019)

Member, Speaker Series Committee, Department of Political Science (2016-2018)

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Adjunct Staff Member, RAND Corporation (2010-2017). Principal Investigator for projects on "The Future of the U.S.-India Air Force Relationship" and "The Future of South Asia."

Country Director for South Asia, Office of the Secretary of Defense (2006-2009). Responsible for U.S. defense relationships with India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives.

Research Associate, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. (2003-2005).

Research Assistant, The Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington, D.C. (2001-2003).

## **SKILLS**

Languages: Intermediate Spanish, Beginner Hindi/Urdu Software: Stata, R