

## **C. CHRISTINE FAIR**

---

Professor  
Georgetown University  
Security Studies Program  
Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service  
[www.christinefair.net](http://www.christinefair.net)  
ccf33@georgetown.edu

### **POSITIONS**

---

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON DC  
SECURITY STUDIES PROGRAM, EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE  
Professor August 1, 2020-Present  
Associate Professor, August 1, 2015-August 1, 2020  
Provost's Distinguished Associate Professor (Awarded Winter 2017)  
Assistant Professor, August 1, 2009-July 31, 2015

INDEPENDENT CONSULTANT  
SUBJECT MATTER EXPERT ON ASYLUM CASES  
August 2009-present

I support legal firms assisting asylum seekers under a variety of circumstances from South Asia and beyond.

RAND, ARLINGTON, VA  
Senior Political Scientist, November 2007-July 2009

UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION TO AFGHANISTAN, KABUL, AFGHANISTAN  
Political Affairs Officer, P-4, June 2007-October 2007

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE, WASHINGTON DC  
Senior Research Associate-South Asia and Terrorism, April 2004-June 2007

RAND, SANTA MONICA, CA  
Associate Political Scientist, October 1997-March 2004

### **EDUCATION**

---

PhD (2004), MA (1997): UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH ASIAN  
LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

- American Institute for Iranian Studies grant to conduct research and language studies in Iran, 2001
- USIA/NMERTA scholarship to learn Urdu in Lahore, Pakistan, 1995-1996
- Title VI scholarship to study Punjabi in Lahore, Pakistan, 1996 and at the University of California, Berkeley, 1995
- Title VI graduate scholarships to study Hindi and Urdu, 1993 – 1997

MA (1997), UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, HARRIS SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY

- Title VI funding for the study of Urdu

BS (1991), UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, THE COLLEGE

- Graduated with general and departmental honors.

## PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

- Member of the International Studies Association
- Women in International Security (WIIS)
- American Institute of Pakistan Studies
- American Institute of Bangladesh Studies
- American Institute of Afghanistan Studies
- Association for Asian Studies
- Resigned my memberships in CFR and IISS over their perduring lack of gender, age, and racial diversity

## LANGUAGES

I read, write and speak Urdu, Punjabi and Hindi, elementary Farsi/Dari.

## PUBLICATIONS

### ACADEMIC BOOKS

*The Literature of Lashkar-e-Tayyaba: Deadly Lines of Control*. C. Christine Fair and Safina Ustad (Oxford University Press, 2023).

*In Their Own Words: Understanding Lashkar-e-Tayyaba*. C. Christine Fair (New York: OUP, 2019).  
Reviewed in: *Asian Affairs*, *CHOICE Reviews*; *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*; *International Affairs*; *Financial Times*; *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *RUSI Journal*, *South Asia Research*, *The Hindu*.

*Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War*. C. Christine Fair (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Reviewed in: *American Diplomacy*, *Political Studies Review*, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, *The Economist*, *Journal of Strategic Security*, *Mint*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *RUSI Journal*, *The New Republic*, *War in History*, *Foreign Policy*, *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, *International Affairs*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Strategic Analysis*, *Perspectives in Politics*, and *The Journal of Strategic Studies*.

Translated into Hindi: *Pakistani Sena: Target India*. C. Christine Fair (New Delhi: Kautilya Books, 2015).

Translated into Dari/Farsi: *Nabard ta Akhreen Nafs: Shiva Jang Artesh Pakistan (Battle to the Last Breath: Pakistan's Army Way of Warfare)*. C. Christine Fair (Kabul: Afghanistan Institute of International Studies, 2017).

### ACADEMIC BOOKS IN PROGRESS

*The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Taliban: Past and Future?* C. Christine Fair (Hurst).

*Manning the Terrorist Mission: Militant Markets in Pakistan*. C. Christine Fair (New York: Columbia University Press, under contract)

*Pakistan's Defense Policy*. C. Christine Fair (New York: Oxford University Press, under contract).

## NON-ACADEMIC BOOKS

6. *Cuisines of the Axis of Evil and Other Irritating States: A Dinner Party Approach to International Relations*, Chris Fair (New York: Grove Pequot, 2008).

5. *The Madrassah Challenge: Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan*. C. Christine Fair. (Washington D.C.: USIP, 2008): 180 pgs.

Reviewed in: *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Millennium*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *International Journal on World Peace*, *Survival*, *The Middle East Journal*, *Pakistan Development Review*

4. *Fortifying Pakistan: The Role of U.S. Internal Security Assistance*. C. Christine Fair and Peter Chalk. (Washington D.C.: USIP, 2006): 165 pgs.

3. *The Counterterror Coalitions: Cooperation with Pakistan and India*. C. Christine Fair (Santa Monica: RAND, 2004): 152 pgs.

2. *Urban Battle Fields of South Asia: Lessons Learned from Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan*. C. Christine Fair. (Santa Monica: RAND, 2004): 172 pgs.

1. *Limited Conflicts Under the Nuclear Umbrella—Indian and Pakistani Lessons from the Kargil Crisis*. Ashley J. Tellis, C. Christine Fair, Jamison Jo Medby. (Santa Monica: RAND, 2001): 108 pgs.

## EDITED VOLUMES

5. *Pakistan's Enduring Challenges*. C. Christine Fair and Sarah Watson Eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

Reviewed in: *South Asia Research*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Political Studies Review*, *Journal of Military History*.

4. *Policing Insurgencies: Cops as Counterinsurgents*. C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly Eds. (New York, New Delhi: OUP, 2014).

Reviewed in: *Law & Society Review* and *Journal of Defence Studies*.

3. *Pakistan in National and Regional Change: State and Society in Flux*. C. Christine Fair and Shaun Gregory Eds. (London: Routledge, 2013).

Reviewed in: *Journal of South Asian Development*

2. *Political Islam and Governance in Bangladesh*. Ali Riaz and C. Christine Fair Eds. (London: Routledge, 2010).

Reviewed in: *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*.

1. *Treading on Hallowed Ground: Counter Insurgency Operations in Sacred Space*. C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly (New York: OUP, 2008).

Reviewed in: *Journal of Military History and Foreign Affairs*.

## PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES

65. "Looking for Individual-Level Evidence for the Ethnic Security Dilemma Revisited: A Study of Balochistan," C. Christine Fair, Parina Patel and Gunjan Maheshwari, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, published online March 2024 (34 pgs).
64. "The Problems of Panoptic Invigilation Programs' Evidence of Cheating," C. Christine Fair, *The Journal of College and Character*, Vol. 24 No.4 (2023): 342-356.
63. "Parmanu: the story of Pokhran (2018)- the saffronization of India's quest for a nuclear weapon," C. Christine Fair. *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 35, No.3 (2024): 478-506.
62. "China and the Taliban: Past as Prologue?" Luke Encarnation and C. Christine Fair, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, pp. 1-24. Appeared online on February 27, 2023.
61. "Support for Domestic Islamist Terrorism in Bangladesh: Insights from a Novel Survey" C. Christine Fair & Parina Patel. *Politics and Religion*, Vol.15, No. 4 (2022): 673-699.
60. "Did India's demonetization policy curb stone-pelting in Indian-administered Kashmir?" C. Christine Fair, Digvijay Ghotane & Parina Patel (2021): *Small Wars & Insurgencies*. Vol. 32, No. 8 (2021): 1418-1453.
59. "The Psychological Roots of Public Opinion toward a Militant Group: The Case of Pakistani Lashkar-e-Tayyaba," Karl Kaltenthaler and C. Christine Fair. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 136, No. 4 (2021): 689-714.
58. "Barriers to Covenantal Pluralism in Bangladeshi Public Opinion," C. Christine and Parina Patel, *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, Vol. 19, No.2 (2021) 40-55.
57. "'Ground Hog da Din' for the Sikh insurgency?" Fair, C. Christine, Kerry Ashkenaze, and Scott Batchelder. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol. 32, No.2 (2021): 344-373.
56. "Rational Islamists: Islamism and regime preferences in Bangladesh," C. Christine Fair and Parina Patel, *Journal of Democratization*, Vol.27, No. 4 (2020): 547-569.
55. "Bangladesh in 2019: Hasina Consolidates One-Woman Rule," C. Christine Fair, *Asian Survey*, 60 (1) (March 2020): 189-195. **\*Not peer-reviewed.**
54. "The pious or the doctrinaire? who supports suicide terrorism in Indonesia?" C. Christine Fair, Julie Chernov Hwang and Moiz Abdul Majid, *Asian Security*, Vol. 16, No. 16 (2020): 281-303. Published online in September 2019.
53. "Explaining Some Muslims' Support for Islamist Political Violence: State- and Individual—Level Factors," C. Christine Fair and Parina Patel, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 134, No. 2 (July 2019): 245-276.

52. "Research Note: Understanding Muslims' Support for Suicide Bombing in West Africa: A Replication Study," C. Christine Fair and Samta Savla, *Perspectives in Terrorism*, Vol. 13, No.1 (2019): 106-123.
51. "Bangladesh in 2018: Bounding Towards 'One-Woman Rule'," C. Christine Fair. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (2019):124-132. \*Invited essay. Not peer-reviewed.
50. "Women and Support for Terrorism in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair and Ali Hamza, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 30, No. 6 (2018): 962-983.
49. "Conceptions of Shari'a and Support for Militancy and Democratic Values: Evidence from Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, Rebecca Littman, Elizabeth R. Nugent, *Political Science and Research Methods*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (July 2018): 429-448.
48. "Relative Poverty, Perceived Violence, and Support for Militant Politics: Evidence from Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, Rebecca Littman, Neil Malhotra and Jacob N. Shapiro, *Political Science Research and Methods*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2018): pp. 57-81.
47. "Afghanistan in 2017: Another Year of Running in Place," C. Christine Fair. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (2018): pp. 110-119. \*Invited essay. Not peer-reviewed.
46. "Pakistan's Army Has a New General: Policy Implications," C. Christine Fair, *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2017): 82-99.
45. "Research Note: Can Knowledge of Islam Explain Lack of Support for Terrorism? Evidence from Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, Jacob S. Goldstein, Ali Hamza, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2017): 339-355.
44. "Who Supports Suicide Terrorism in Bangladesh? What the Data Say," C. Christine Fair, Ali Hamza and Rebecca Heller, *Politics and Religion*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2017):662-661.
43. "Natural Disasters and Political Engagement: Evidence from the 2010-11 Pakistani Floods," C. Christine Fair, Patrick M. Kuhn, Neil Malhotra, Jacob N. Shapiro, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 12: No. 1 (2017): 99-141.
42. "Rethinking Baloch Secularism: What the Data Say," C. Christine Fair and Ali Hamza. *Peace and Conflict Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (2017): 36 pgs.
41. "From Elite Consumption to Popular Opinion: Framing of the US Drone Program in Pakistani Newspapers." C. Christine Fair and Hamza Ali, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 27, No. 5 (2016): 578-607.
40. "Ethnicity, Islam, and Pakistani Public Opinion toward the Pakistani Taliban," Karl Kaltenthaler, William J. Miller and C. Christine Fair, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 38, No. 11 (2015): 938-957.

39. "Pakistani Political Communication and Public Opinion on U.S. Drone Attacks," C. Christine Fair, Karl Kaltenthaler, William Miller. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 6 (September 2015): 852-872.
38. "Explaining Support for Sectarian Terrorism in Pakistan: Piety, Maslak and Sharia," C. Christine Fair. *Religions*, Vol. 6 (2015): 1137–1167.
37. "Measuring political violence in Pakistan: Insights from the BFRS Dataset," Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, C. Christine Fair, Jenna Jordan, Rasul Bakhsh Rais, Jacob N. Shapiro. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Vol. 32, No. 5 (2015): pp. 536-558.
36. "Democratic Values and Support for Militancy: Evidence from a National Survey of Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, Jacob N. Shapiro. *Journal Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 58, No. 5 (August 2014): 743-770.
35. "Using Manpower Policies to Transform the Force and Society: The Case of the Pakistan Army," C. Christine Fair. *Security Studies*, Vol. 23, No.1 (February 2014): 74-112.
34. "The Drone War: Pakistani Public Opposition to American Drone Strikes in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, Karl Kaltenthaler and William Miller. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 129, No. 1 (Spring 2014): 1-33.
33. "Insights from a Database of Lashkar-e-Taiba and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen Militants," C. Christine Fair. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (April 2014): 259-290.
32. "Busting Out: Iranian Public Opinion toward the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," C. Christine Fair, Karl Kaltenthaler and William Miller. *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (March 2013): 123-126.
31. "The Structural Origins of Authoritarianism in Pakistan," Sumit Ganguly and C. Christine Fair. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (February 2013): 1–21.
30. "Poverty and Support for Militant Politics: Evidence from Pakistan," Graeme Blair, C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, Jacob N. Shapiro. *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (January 2013): 30-49.
29. "India's Stalled Internal Security Reforms," Sarah J. Watson and C. Christine Fair. *India Review*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (2013): 280-299. (N.B. This is an expansion and update of "Prospects for Effective Internal Security Reforms in India" noted above.)
28. "Faith or Doctrine? Religion and Support for Political Violence in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, Jacob N. Shapiro. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (2012): 688-720.
27. "Increasing Social Conservatism in the Pakistan Army: What the Data Say," C. Christine Fair. *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (July 2012): 438-462.
26. "US-Pakistan Relations after a Decade of the War on Terror," C. Christine Fair. *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (June 2012): 243-253.

25. "Prospects for Effective Internal Security Reforms in India," C. Christine Fair. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (April 2012): 145-170.
24. "Pakistan in 2011: Ten Years of the War on Terror," C. Christine Fair. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (February 2012): 100-113. \*Invited essay. Not peer-reviewed.
23. "Why the Pakistan Army is Here to Stay: Prospects for Civilian Governance?" C. Christine Fair. *International Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (May 2011): 571-588.
22. Pakistan in 2010: Flooding, Governmental Inefficiency, and Continued Insurgency," C. Christine Fair. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (February 2011): 97-110. \*Invited essay. Not peer-reviewed.
21. "The Changing Pakistan Army Officer Corps," C. Christine Fair and Shuja Nawaz. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (February 2011): 63-94.
20. "The Militant Challenge in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair. *Asia Policy*, Vol. 11 (January 2011):105-37.
19. "Islam, Militancy, and Politics in *Pakistan*: Insights from a National Sample," C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, Jacob N. Shapiro. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 22, No. 4(2010): 495-521.
18. "Clear, Build, Hold, Transfer": Can Obama's Afghan Strategy Work," C. Christine Fair. *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (2010): 113-131.
17. "Students Islamic Movement of India and the Indian Mujahideen: An Assessment," C. Christine Fair. *Asia Policy*, Vol. 9 (January 2010): 101-119.
16. " Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan," Jacob N. Shapiro, C. Christine Fair. *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Winter/2009/2010): 79-118.
15. "Determinants of Popular Support for Iran's Nuclear Program: Insights from a Nationally Representative Study," C. Christine Fair and Stephen Shellman. *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (December 2008): 538-558.
14. "Consenting to a Child's Jihad in Pakistan: Insights from Survey Data in Pakistan," Victor Asal, C. Christine Fair, Stephen Shellman. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 31, No. 11 (November 2008): 973-994.
13. "Pakistan's Relations with Central Asia: Is Past Prologue?" C. Christine Fair. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (April 2008): 201-227.
12. "The Cohesion and Stability of Pakistan," Shaun Gregory and C. Christine Fair. *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (March 2008): 3-9.
11. "The Educated Militants of Pakistan: Implications for Pakistan's Domestic Security," C. Christine Fair. *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (March 2008): 93-106.

10. "Who are Pakistan's Militants and Their Families?" C. Christine Fair. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (January 2008): 49-65.
9. "Militant Recruitment in Pakistan: A New Look at the Militancy-Madrasah Connection," C. Christine Fair. *Asia Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Summer 2007): 107-134.
8. "American and Iranian Public Opinion: The Quest for Common Grounds," Clifford Grammich and C. Christine Fair. *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. XXX, No. 3 (Spring 2007): 1-21.
7. "United States Internal Security Assistance to Pakistan," C. Christine Fair and Peter Chalk. *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (September 2006): 333-335.
6. "Research Note: Who Supports Terrorism? Insights from Fourteen Muslim Countries," C. Christine Fair and Bryan Shepherd. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (January/February 2006): 51-74.
5. "Diaspora Involvement in Insurgencies: Insights from the Khalistan and Tamil Eelam Movements," C. Christine Fair. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 2005): 125-156.
4. "US-Indian Army-to-Army Relations: Prospects for Future Coalition Operations?" C. Christine Fair. *Asian Security*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (April 2005): 157-173.
3. "Learning to Think the Unthinkable: Lessons from India's Nuclear Test," C. Christine Fair. *India Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (January 2005): 23-58.
2. "Militant Recruitment in Pakistan: Implications for Al-Qa'ida and Other Organizations," C. Christine Fair. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 27, No. 6 (November/December 2004): 489-504.
1. "Military Operations on Urban Areas: The Indian Experience" C. Christine Fair. *India Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (January 2003): 49-76.

#### **ARTICLES IN NON-PEER-REVIEWED JOURNALS**

22. "'Why We Are Waging Jihad': A Critical Translation of Lashkar-e-Tayyaba's Foundational Document," C. Christine Fair, *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, Vol. 33. Appeared online on Sep 7, 2023.  
<https://www.hudson.org/why-we-are-waging-jihad-critical-translation-lashkar-e-tayyabas-foundational-document>. Pp. 1-25.

21. "The Taliban's Amir on the "Victory" in Afghanistan," Sara Hakimi and C. Christine Fair, *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, Vol. 31 (October 2022): pp. 52-62.
20. "Lashkar-e-Tayyaba: China's Handmaid in Balochistan," C. Christine Fair, *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, Vol. 31, pp. 5-18. Appeared online on 22 August 2022.  
<https://www.hudson.org/research/18107-lashkar-e-tayyaba-china-s-handmaid-in-balochistan>.
19. "Selling out the Afghans," C. Christine Fair, *Current History*, Vol. 119, No. 816 (April 2020):152-155.
18. "The Making of the Rohingya Genocide and Myanmar's Impunity," C. Christine Fair, *Current History*, Vol. 118, No. 807 (April 2019):149-153.
17. "Rohingya: Victims of a Great Game East," C. Christine Fair, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Fall 2018): 63-85.
16. "The Milli Muslim League: The Domestic Politics of Pakistan's Lashkar-e-Taiba," C. Christine Fair. *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, Vol. 23 (July 2018): pp. 33-44.
15. "Jamaat-ud-Dawa: Converting Kuffar at Home, Killing Them Abroad," C. Christine Fair. *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, vol. 22, (November 2017): pp. 58-79.
14. "Pakistan's Deadly Grip on Afghanistan," C. Christine Fair. *Current History*, Vol. 116, No. 799 (April 2017): pp. 136-141.
13. "Five Dangerous Myths about Pakistan," C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly. *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (December 2015): 73-97.
12. "An Unworthy Ally," C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 5 (September/October 2015):160-170.
11. "The Other Drawdown in Afghanistan," C. Christine Fair. *Current History*, Vol. 114, No. 771 (April 2015): 137-143.
10. "Lives on the Line," C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly. *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Summer 2013): 173-184.
9. "Pakistan on the Brink of a Democratic Transition?" C. Christine Fair. *Current History*, Vol. 112, No. 753 (April 2013): 130-136.
8. "The Enduring Madrassah Myth of Pakistan," C. Christine Fair. *Current History*, Vol. 111. No. 744 (April 2012): 135-140.
7. "Lashkar-e-Tayiba and the Pakistani State," C. Christine Fair, *Survival*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (August 2011): 1-23.

6. "Security Sector Governance in Pakistan?" C. Christine Fair. *Current History*, Vol. 11, No. 735 (April 2011): 136-142.
5. "Under the Shrinking US Security Umbrella: India's End Game in Afghanistan?" C. Christine Fair. *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Spring 2011): 179-192.
4. "Pakistan's War Within," C. Christine Fair and Seth G. Jones, *Survival*. Vol. 51, No. 6 (December 2009-January 2010): 161-188.
3. "Pakistan's Own War on Terror: What the Pakistani Public Thinks," C. Christine Fair. *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (Fall/Winter 2009): 39-55.
2. "Time for Sober Relations: US-Pakistan Relations," C. Christine Fair. *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (April 2009): 149-172.
1. "India and Iran: New Delhi's Balancing Act," C. Christine Fair. *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Summer 2007): 145-159.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDITED VOLUMES

- 24 "Religious Intolerance in Bangladesh," C. Christine Fair and Parina Patel in Farahnaz Ispahani Ed. *The Politics of Hate: Regional Majoritarianism in South Asia* (Gurugram: Harper Collins India, 2023): 209-240.
23. "Waiting for Lord Curzon: India's Grand Strategy in the Long Shadow of Nehru," C. Christine Fair in Thierry Balzacq, Peter Dombrowski, and Simon Reich Eds. *Comparative Grand Strategy: A Framework and Cases* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019): 171-191
22. "Pakistan's Nuclear Program: Laying the Groundwork for Impunity," C. Christine Fair in Joseph Liow, Andrew Scobell and Sumit Ganguly Eds. *Routledge Handbook of Asian Security Studies (2nd Edition)* (Abington: Routledge, 2017): 126-139.
21. "Studying Drones: The Low-Quality Information Environment of Pakistan's Tribal Areas," in Kerstin Fisk and Jennifer Ramos Eds. *Preventive Force: Drones, Targeted Killings, and the Transformation of Contemporary Warfare* (New York: New York University Press, 2016): 199-225.
- 20 "Introduction: Pakistan's Enduring Challenges," C. Christine Fair and Sarah J. Watson in C. Christine Fair and Sarah Watson Eds. *Pakistan's Enduring Challenges*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015): pp. 1-26.
19. "The Future of the U.S. Drone Program in Pakistan," Sarah J. Watson and C. Christine Fair in C. Christine Fair and Sarah Watson Eds. *Pakistan's Enduring Challenges*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015): pp. 72-97.
18. "Democracy on a Leash in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair in C. Christine Fair and Sarah Watson Eds. *Pakistan's Enduring Challenges*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015): pp. 131-154.

19. "Leader-Led Jihad in Pakistan: The Case of Lashkar-e-Taiba," C. Christine Fair, in Bruce Hoffman and Fernando Reinares Eds. *The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat: From 9/11 to Osama bin Laden's Death* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014):571-599.
16. "U.S. Pakistan Relations: Ten Years After 9/11," C. Christine Fair, in Joachim Krause and Charles King Mallory, IV Eds. *Afghanistan, Pakistan and Strategic Change: Adjusting Western regional policy* (London: Routledge, 2013): 221-234.
15. "Pakistan," C. Christine Fair in Ron E. Hassner Ed. *Religion in the Military Worldwide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 91-113.
14. "Pakistan: Perfidious Ally in the War on Terror," C. Christine Fair in Mohammed Ayoob and Etga Ugur, Eds. *Assessing the War on Terror*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013): 71-92.
13. "Popular Muslim Attitudes Towards Violent Islamist Groups: The Case of Pakistan," C. Christine Fair and Clark Lombardi in James Wellman and Clark Lombardi Eds. *Religion and Human Security: A Global Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012): 67-93.
12. "Addressing Fundamental Challenges," C. Christine Fair in Stephen P. Cohen Ed. *The Future of Pakistan* (Washington D.C.: Brookings, 2011): 91-106.
11. "The Novels of Bhai Vir Singh and the Imagination of Sikh Identity, Community, and Nation," C. Christine Fair in Doris Jakobsh Ed. *Women in Sikhism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010): 111-129.
10. "Indo-Iranian Relations-What Prospects for Transformation?" C. Christine Fair in Sumit Ganguly, Eds. *India's Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009): 132-154.
9. "Insurgency, Instability, and the Security of Afghanistan," C. Christine Fair in Sumit Ganguly, Andrew Scobell and Joseph Chinyong Liow Eds. *Handbook of Asian Security Studies* (London: Routledge, 2009): 185-202.
8. "Lessons Learned from India's Experience in the Punjab, 1978-1993," C. Christine Fair in Sumit Ganguly and David P. Fidler Eds. *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned* (London: Routledge, 2009): 107-126.
7. "Militants in the Kargil Conflict: Myths, Realities, and Impacts," C. Christine Fair in Peter Lavoy Ed. *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: The Causes and Consequences of Kargil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 231-257.
6. "The Golden Temple: A Tale of Two Sieges," in C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly Eds. *Treading on Hallowed Ground: Counter Insurgency Operations in Sacred Space* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008): 37-65.
5. "India and the US: Embracing a New Paradigm," C. Christine Fair in Harsh Pant Ed. *Indian Foreign Policy in a Unipolar World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008):131-162.

4. "The Practice of Islam in Pakistan and Islam's Influence on Pakistani Politics," C. Christine Fair and Karthik Vaidyanathan, in Rafiq Dossani and Henry Rowen Eds. *Prospects for Peace in South Asia* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2005): 75-108.
3. "Islam and Politics in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair in Angel Rabasa Ed. *Muslim World and the United States After 9/11 and the Iraq War* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2004): 247-296.
2. "Iran: What Future for the Islamic State?" in Angel Rabasa Ed. *The Muslim World and the United States After 9/11 and the Iraq War* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2004): 207-246.
1. "The Partition of the Punjab: Its Impact Upon Sikh Sacred and Cultural Space," Gurdit Singh and Carol C. Fair in Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh Eds. *Region and Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of the Subcontinent* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999): 253-268.

## MONOGRAPHS AND REPORTS

21. *Pakistan's Destabilization Playbook: Khalistan Separatist Activism Within the US*, Aparna Pande, Husain Haqqani, C. Christine Fair, Michael Rubin, Seth Oldmixon & Sam Westrop. Hudson Institute. September 2021.
20. "Islamist Militancy in Bangladesh Public Awareness and Attitudes," C. Christine Fair and Wahid Abdallah, RESOLVE Network Research Brief No. 4, Bangladesh Research Series September 2017.
19. "Doctrinal and Technological Innovations in the Indian Armed Forces: Countering Future Terrorism and Asymmetric Threats," C. Christine Fair in Sushant Singh and Pushan Das Eds. *Defence Primer: Today's Capabilities, Tomorrow's Conflicts- 2017*(ORF: New Delhi, January 2017): pp. 52-59.
18. "Pakistan's Strategic Culture: Implications for how Pakistan Perceives Threats and Counters Them," C. Christine Fair. *NBR's Special Report #61* (Seattle: National Bureau of Research, December 2016): 19 pgs.
17. "Pakistan's Internal Security Environment," C. Christine Fair in Mumtaz Ahmad, Dipankar Banerjee, Aryaman Bhatnagar, C. Christine Fair, Vanda Felbab-Brown, Husain Haqqani, Mahin Karim, Tariq A. Karim, Vivek Katju, C. Raja Mohan, Matthew J. Nelson and Jayadeva Ranade *Mapping Pakistan's Internal Dynamics: Implications for State Stability and Regional Security* (Seattle: National Bureau of Research, April 2016): pp. 33-58.
16. "The Fighters of Lashkar-e-Taiba: Recruitment, Training, Deployment and Death," Don Rassler, C. Christine Fair, Anirban Ghosh, Arif Jamal, Nadia Shoeb. (West Point: Combating Terrorism Center Occasional Paper, April 2013): 56 pgs.
25. "Political Violence in Pakistan 1988-2010: Patterns and Trends," Jacob N. Shapiro, C. Christine Fair, Rasul Bakhsh Rais. (London: International Growth Center, February 2012): 35 pgs.
14. "Security Governance in Pakistan: Progress, But Many Challenges Persist," C. Christine Fair (Waterloo, CA: Center for International Governance Innovation, 2012): 28 pgs.

13. "India in Afghanistan and Beyond: Opportunities and Constraints," C. Christine Fair, (New York: The Century Foundation September 28, 2010): 26 pgs.
12. "Obama's New Af-Pak Strategy: Can "Clear, Hold, Build, Transfer" Work?" C. Christine Fair. (Waterloo, CA: Center for International Governance Innovation, 2010): 23 pgs.
11. *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan*. Seth G. Jones and C. Christine Fair. (Santa Monica: RAND, 2010): 208 pgs.
10. *Pakistan: Helping to Secure and Insecure State*. C. Christine Fair, Keith Crane, Samir Puri, Christopher Chivas, Michael Spirtas. (Santa Monica: RAND, 2010): 260 pgs.
9. "Islamist Militancy in Pakistan: A View from the Provinces. Companion to Pakistani Public Opinion on the Swat Conflict, Afghanistan and the U.S." C. Christine Fair. (Washington D.C.: WorldPublicOpinion.org, July 10, 2009).
8. "Securing Afghanistan-Getting back on Track," C. Christine Fair and Seth G. Jones. (Washington D.C.: USIP, 2009): 39 pgs.
7. "The Lessons of Mumbai," Angel Rabasa Robert D. Blackwill, Peter Chalk, Kim Cragin, C. Christine Fair, Brian A. Jackson, Brian Michael Jenkins, Seth G. Jones, Nathaniel Shestak, Ashley J. Tellis. (Santa Monica: RAND, 2009): 37 pgs.
6. "Pakistani Public Opinion on Democracy, Islamist Militancy, and Relations with the U.S.," C. Christine Fair, Clay Ramsay, Steve Kull. (Washington D.C.: USIP/PIPA, January 7, 2008): 44 pgs.
5. *Suicide Attacks in Afghanistan (2001-2007)*. C. Christine Fair Ed. (Kabul: UNAMA, 2007): 140 pgs.
4. "Bangladesh at the Crossroads." A. Tariq Karim and C. Christine Fair. (Washington D.C.: USIP, January 2007): 12 pgs.
3. *Securing Tyrants or Fostering Reform? Evaluating U.S. Internal Security Assistance to Selected Repressive and Transitioning Regimes*. Seth G. Jones, Olga Oliker, Peter Chalk, C. Christine Fair, Rollie Lal, and James Dobbins. (Washington D.C.: OSI/RAND, 2006): 232 pgs.
2. "India and Pakistan Engagement: Prospect for Breakthrough or Breakdown." C. Christine Fair. (Washington D.C.: USIP, January 2005): 16 pgs.
1. "Indo-Iranian Relations: Prospects for Bilateral Cooperation Post 9-11," C. Christine Fair in *The "Strategic Partnership" Between India and Iran*. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Asia Program Special Report, No. 120 (Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, May 2004): 6-16.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND REVIEW ESSAYS

21. Review of Vinayak Chaturvedi, *Hindutva and Violence: V.D. Savarkar and Politics of History* (Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 2022) 479 pages, Hardcover \$95.00, *International Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 5 (September 2023), pp.39-40.
20. Review of Pakistan's Pathway to the Bomb: Ambitions, Politics, and Rivalries by Mansoor Ahmed, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2022. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 138, No.2 (Summer 2023) pp. 215-317.
19. Review of Sikh Nationalism: From a Dominant Minority to an Ethno-Religious Diaspora. Gurharpal Singh and Giorgio Shani. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. xiv, 262 pp. ISBN: 9781316501887 (hardback). *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 82, No. 2. pp. 493-495.
18. Review of Christopher Clary, *The Difficult Politics of Peace: Rivalry In Modern South Asia*, Oxford University Press, 2022. 336 pp. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780197638415. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Volume 46, Issue 5, (2023): pp. 1 107-09. Published online on 23 February 2023.
17. Modi's India: Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy by Christophe Jaffrelot. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2021. 656 pp. ISBN: 9780691206806 (cloth), C. Christine Fair, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 81, No. 3 (August 2022): 612-614.
16. “Dying to Serve: Militarism, Affect, and the Politics of Sacrifice in the Pakistan Army by Maria Rashid, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020. xiii, 267 pp. (Tables, B&W photos) US\$28.00, paper. ISBN 9781503611986.” C. Christine Fair, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 95, No. 2(2022): 380-383.
15. “Book Review of Colonial Institutions and Civil War: Indirect Rule and Maoist Insurgency In India, by Shivaji Mukherjee,” *Small Wars and Insurgency*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (2022): 550-552.
14. “The forgotten front: Patron-client relationships in counterinsurgency,” C. Christine Fair, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, published online 10 October 2019. DOI: 10.1080/01402390.2019.1675933
13. “Book Review: Avinesh Paliwal. (2017). *My Enemy's Enemy: India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 400 pp. \$45.00 (hardback),” *Journal of Military History*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2019): 630-31.
12. “Book Review: McKenzie, M. (2015). *Beyond the band of brothers: The U.S. military and the myth that women can't fight*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. 218 pp. \$98.00 (hardback),” *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (April 2017): 387–390.
11. “Book Review: Not War, Not Peace? Motivating Pakistan to Prevent Cross-Border Terrorism. By George Perkovich and Toby Dalton. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016,” C. Christine Fair, *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 79, No. 2 (April 2017): pp. e43–e44.
10. ““The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan. By AQIL SHAH. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014. 416 pp. ISBN: 9780674728936 (cloth),’ ‘Army and Nation: The military and Indian democracy since independence. By Steven I. Wilkinson. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. 304pp. \$39.95 (cloth).” C. Christine Fair, *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (February 2017): 249-252.

9. "The China-Pakistan Axis. By Andrew Small. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. 319 pp. ISBN: 978-0190210755," C. Christine Fair, *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 75, No. 3 (August) 2016.
8. "Pakistan's Army: Running and Ruining a Country," a review essay of T.V. Paul's *The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World* and Aqil Shah's *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan*. C. Christine Fair. *Asia Policy*, No. 19 (January 2015): 163-167.
7. "Drones, Spies, Terrorists and Second-Class Citizenship in Pakistan," a review essay of five recent volumes on the U.S. use of armed drones in Pakistan. C. Christine Fair. *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2014): 205-235.
6. "Review of FEROUZ HASSAN KHAN, *Eating Grass*. C. Christine Fair, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (2013): 624–634.
5. "Review of FREDERIC VOLPI, *Political Islam Observed*. C. Christine Fair, *Politics and Religion*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2012): 187 – 189.
4. "Review of ALI RIAZ, *Faithful Education: Madrassahs in South Asia.*," C. Christine Fair, *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (2011): 1199-1200.
3. "Pakistan's Democracy: The Army's Quarry?" C. Christine Fair, *Asian Security*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (February 2009): 73-85.
2. "Review of ALI RIAZ, *Islamist Militancy in Bangladesh: A Complex Web*," C. Christine Fair, *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (February 2009): 322-23.
1. "Review of QUINTAN WIKTOROWICZ, *Radical Islam Rising: Muslim Extremism in the West*," C. Christine Fair, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (February 2007): 137-38.

## **LITERARY TRANSLATIONS FROM HINDI, URDU AND PUNJABI**

10. *Lines of Control and Militant Piety: The literature of the Lashkar-e-Tayyaba*. C. Christine Fair and Safina Ustad (in production, Oxford University Press, 2023). [This is comprised of English translations of a curated collection of Lashkar-e-Tayyaba's various writings.]
9. "Quarantine," a translation of Rajinder Singh Bedi's "Kuarantine," *Bangalore Review*, September 2022. "<https://bangalorereview.com/2022/09/quarantine-by-rajinder-singh-bedi/>."
8. "A Frigid Winter's Night," translation of Munshi Premchand's "Pus ki Raat" (Hindi) by C. Christine Fair, *Borderless*, August 2022. [https://borderlessjournal.com/2022/08/14/pus-ki-raat-or-a-frigid-winters-night-by-munshi-premchand/?fbclid=IwAR0X\\_j6uiqf7vC0z2sJGDD4iESaFWpmsMFS342LQ\\_qziOnwNGnMqoRu7Gmo](https://borderlessjournal.com/2022/08/14/pus-ki-raat-or-a-frigid-winters-night-by-munshi-premchand/?fbclid=IwAR0X_j6uiqf7vC0z2sJGDD4iESaFWpmsMFS342LQ_qziOnwNGnMqoRu7Gmo).

Also published in Mitali Chakravarty Eds. *Monalisa No Longer Smiles: An Anthology of Writings from across the World* (New Delhi: Om Books International, 2022).

7. "The Bus Conductor," translation of Dalip Kaur Diwana's "Bus Kandactar" (Punjabi) by C. Christine Fair, *Borderless*, July 21, 2022. <https://borderlessjournal.com/2022/07/21/the-bus-conductor-by-dalip-kaur-tiwana/>.
6. "Rat Vs. Me," translation of Harishankar Parsai's "Chua or Main" (Hindi), by C. Christine Fair, *Kitaab*, Editor's pick. July 2, 2022. <https://kitaab.org/2022/07/02/short-story-the-rat-vs-me-by-harishankar-parsai-translated-from-hindi-chua-aur-main-by-christine-fair/>.  
A version was also published along with my illustration in *Setu*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (June 2022). <https://www.setumag.com/2022/06/Lit-Art-Culture.html>
5. "Open it," translation of Sadaat Hasan Manto's "Khol Do" (Urdu) by C. Christine Fair. *The Punch Magazine*, April 2, 2022. <https://thepunchmagazine.com/the-byword/fiction/amp-lsquo-open-it-amp-rsquo-a-translation-of-saadat-hasan-manto-amp-rsquo-s-short-story-amp-lsquo-khol-do-amp-rsquo>.
4. "Black Mango," translation of Balwant Gargi's "Kala Amb" (Punjabi) by C. Christine Fair. *Muse India*, Issue 99 (Sep-Oct 2021). <https://museindia.com/Home/ViewContentData?arttype=fiction&issid=99&menuid=9717>.
3. "Cold Flesh," translation of Sadaat Hasan Manto's "Thanda Gosht" (Urdu) by C. Christine Fair. *The Punch Magazine*, October 24, 2021. <https://thepunchmagazine.com/the-byword/fiction/cold-flesh-a-translation-of-saadat-hasan-manto-amp-rsquo-s-thanda-ghosht-by-c-christine-fair>.
2. "Yellow Ladoos," translation of Balwant Gargi's "Pile Laddoo" (Punjabi) by C. Christine Fair. *The Bombay Literary Magazine*, May 25, 2021. <http://bombayliterarymagazine.com/?p=1190>.
1. "Raw Deal," translation of Balwant Gargi's "Kaani Vand" (Punjabi) by C. Christine Fair. *The Bombay Review*, Issue 36 (Nov 2020). <https://thebombayreview.com/2020/11/25/raw-deal-by-c-christine-fair-translation-of-balwant-gargis-kaani-vand-issue-36-nov-2020/>.

## RECENT SOUTH ASIA AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFS AND COMMENTARY

171. "The Terror of Writing on Terror," C. Christine Fair, *The Open*, April 26, 2024. <https://openthemagazine.com/essay/the-terror-of-writing-on-terror/>.
170. "India's Spat With Canada Is a Win-Win Situation for Modi," C. Christine Fair, *Foreign Policy*, October 20, 2023. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/10/20/india-modi-canada-trudeau-nijjar-khalistan-sikh-separatism/>.
169. "The Deep Roots of the India-Canada Diplomatic Rift," C. Christine Fair, *Lawfare*, October 1, 2023. <https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/the-deep-roots-of-the-india-canada-diplomatic-rift>.
168. "Conspiracy Theories Swirl Around Sikh Separatist Amritpal Singh Sandhu," C. Christine Fair, *Foreign Policy*, May 1, 2023. <https://tinyurl.com/5atakhad>.
167. "What's the Punjabi Word for 'Crap'?", C. Christine Fair, *The Wire*, 14 August 2022. <https://thewire.in/culture/whats-the-punjabi-word-for-crap>.
166. "Fifty Shades of Khaki," C. Christine Fair, *Open: The Magazine*, June 17, 2022. <https://tinyurl.com/3f9u893s>.

165. “How Imran Khan has become the Donald Trump of Pakistan,” C Christine Fair, *FirstPost*, June 01, 2022. <https://www.firstpost.com/world/how-imran-khan-has-become-the-donald-trump-of-pakistan-10743471.html>.
164. “Colonising Pakistan to engorge Chinese: CPEC’s most pernicious component,” C. Christine Fair, *First Post*, 20 April 2022. <https://www.firstpost.com/world/colonising-pakistan-to-engorge-chinese-cpecs-most-pernicious-component-10575521.html>.
163. “A New Sharif in Islamabad,” C Christine Fair, *Open: The Magazine*, 15 Apr, 2022. <https://openthemagazine.com/essay/a-new-sharif-in-islamabad/>.
162. “Caste apartheid: India’s other export to the United States,” C. Christine Fair, *The Print*, February 9, 2022. <https://www.firstpost.com/india/caste-apartheid-indias-other-export-to-the-united-states-10362061.html>.
161. “We asked why Pakistanis support Lashkar-e-Taiba. Results will surprise you,” C. Christine Fair, *The Print*, January 24, 2022. <https://theprint.in/opinion/we-asked-why-pakistanis-support-lashkar-e-taiba-results-will-surprise-you/809550/>.
160. C. Christine Fair, “Why Pakistan is happy to pay a heavy price this time for strategic depth in Afghanistan,” *First Post*, January 24, 2022. <https://www.firstpost.com/world/why-pakistan-is-happy-to-pay-a-heavy-price-this-time-for-strategic-depth-in-afghanistan-10314371.html>.
159. “Bangladesh at 50: Hard democratic realities, unfulfilled secular promises,” C. Christine Fair, *First Post*, December 23, 2021. <https://www.firstpost.com/world/bangladesh-at-50-hard-democratic-realities-unfulfilled-secular-promises-10232211.html>.
158. “Pakistan lost the 1971 war, but its project of Islamist violence won the larger conflict,” C. Christine Fair, *The Print*, December 14, 2021. <https://theprint.in/opinion/pakistan-lost-the-1971-war-but-its-project-of-islamist-violence-won-the-larger-conflict/781070/>.
157. “Pakistan aur Saudi Arab ke biic bigRe rishte” (In Hindi, The strained Saudi-Pakistan Relationship), C. Christine Fair, *Indian Star*, November 28, 2021. <https://www.indianstarhindi.com/special-article-relations-between-pakistan-and-saudi-arabia-deteriorated/>.
156. “How Pakistan’s announcement of new envoy to the United States exposes Islamabad’s deep terror links,” Christine Fair, *First Post*, November 22, 2021. <https://www.firstpost.com/world/how-pakistans-announcement-of-new-envoy-to-the-united-states-exposes-islamabads-deep-terror-links-10154551.html>.
155. “Why Saudi Arabia decided to bail out bankrupt Pakistan despite its Iranian tilt,” C. Christine Fair, *First Post*, November 05, 2021. <https://www.firstpost.com/world/why-saudi-arabia-decided-to-bail-out-bankrupt-pakistan-despite-its-iranian-tilt-10111951.html>
154. “America Destroyed America,” C. Christine Fair, *The Indian Express*, September 11, 2021. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-biggest-american-fuck-ups-that-screwed-afghanistan>.

153. “Pakistan kis tarah khaalistani samuuhon ko panaah de rahaa hai,” *Dainik Bhaskr*, September 10, 2001. <https://tinyurl.com/nwe2nu8c>. (In Hindi.)
152. “Pakistan Is an Arsonist That Wants You to Think It’s a Firefighter,” C. Christine Fair, *Foreign Policy*, September 10, 2021, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/09/10/pakistan-us-relations-taliban-afghanistan-arsonist/>.
151. “On Afghanistan & Taliban,” C. Christine Fair, *The Quint*, September 7, 2021. <https://www.thequint.com/voices/opinion/on-afghanistan-taliban-look-beyond-world-medias-web-of-lies>.
150. “Pakistan’s ISI is working to revive the Khalistan cause,” C Christine Fair, Scroll.in, Aug 27, 2021. <https://scroll.in/article/1002780/pakistans-isi-is-working-to-revive-the-khalistan-cause-india-must-be-vigilant>.
149. “The Biggest American Fuck Ups That Screwed Afghanistan,” C. Christine Fair, *The Daily Beast*, August 17, 2021. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-biggest-american-fuck-ups-that-screwed-afghanistan>.
148. “Pakistan and the United States Have Betrayed the Afghan People,” C. Christine Fair, *Foreign Policy*, August 16, 2021. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/08/16/pakistan-united-states-afghanistan-taliban/>.
147. “Writing on the Wall: How Afghanistan was lost on an Installment Plan,” C. Christine Fair, *South Asia*, August 2021. <http://www.southasia.com.pk/2021/08/02/writing-on-the-wall/>.
146. “Modi Ka Dava Tha Notbandi Se Tshadud Kam Hoga-Magar Kashmiir Main mzaahmt Zari hai” (Modi Claimed that Demonitization Would Reduce Violence. But Resistance Continues in Kashmir), *Naya Daur*, 31 July 2021. (In Urdu)
145. “Linking demonetisation and stone-pelting,” C. Christine Fair, Digvijay Ghotane and Parina Patel, *The Gateway House*, 15, June 2021. <https://www.gatewayhouse.in/linking-demonetisation-and-stone-pelting/>.
144. “Foggy Future,” C. Christine Fair, *South Asia*, April 2021.
143. “Revenge of Farkhunda,” C. Christine Fair, *Vox Populi*, December 19, 2020. <https://voxpopulisphere.com/2020/12/19/christine-fair-the-revenge-of-farkhunda/>.
142. “India’s Move in Kashmir: Unpacking the Domestic and International Motivations and Implications,” C. Christine Fair, *Lawfare.com*, August 12, 2019.
141. “What Imran Khan’s Trump meet shows – being a nuclear-armed state with terrorists pays,” C. Christine Fair, *The Print*, July 30, 2019.
140. “The Myanmar Problem,” C. Christine Fair, *Open-The Magazine*, July 5, 2019.
139. “Washington to London: An inside account of how Pakistan’s deep state grooms ISI mouthpieces,” C. Christine Fair, *The Print*, June 5, 2019.

138. “Seen as US’ successor in Afghanistan, China can take any stand it wants on Masood Azhar,” C. Christine Fair, *The Print*, March 15, 2019.
137. “India’s and Pakistan’s Lies Thwarted a War—For Now,” C. Christine Fair, *The Atlantic*, March 8, 2019.
136. “Hard Lessons from Pulwama to Balakot and Beyond,” C. Christine Fair, *Open*, March 8, 2019.
135. “Nothing Naya about Pakistan but India will never be the same,” C. Christine Fair, *First Post*, 1 March 2019.
134. “Indian millennials, fed on a post-Kargil diet, don’t want strategic restraint with Pakistan,” C. Christine Fair, *The Print*, February 27, 2019.
133. “Pakistan’s Pulwama game plan: It is obsessed with changing maps in Kashmir and retarding India’s global rise,” C. Christine Fair, *The Times of India*, February 26, 2019.
132. “Pakistan Is Ensuring Modi’s Victory by Using JeM, Its ‘Sword Arm.’” C. Christine Fair, *The Quint*, February 16, 2019.
131. “Here are Pakistan’s new strategies behind the Pulwama terror attack,” C. Christine Fair, *The Print*, February 15, 2019.
130. “The All-New Great Game.” C Christine Fair, *First Post*, February 01, 2019.
129. “America’s pursuit of a peace accord that won’t offer peace,” C. Christine Fair, *First Post*, February 01, 2019.
128. “Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army: Not the Jihadis You Might Expect,” C. Christine Fair, *Lawfare*, December 9, 2018.
127. “Iran, India, and a New Way Forward for Afghanistan,” C. Christine Fair, *The Diplomat*, November 30, 2018.
126. “Mike Pompeo’s Trip to Pakistan: Old Whines in a New Bottle,” C. Christine Fair, *Quint.com*, September 7, 2018.
125. “Imran Khan: Another Act in Pakistan’s Circus,” C. Christine Fair, *The Diplomat*, July 27, 2018.
124. “Pakistan’s Sham Election,” C. Christine Fair, *Foreign Affairs*, July 27, 2018.
123. “Pakistan Elections: Doesn’t Matter Who Becomes PM, Army Will Reign.” C. Christine Fair, *Quint.com*, July 24, 2018.
122. “Political Islam and Islamist Terrorism in Bangladesh: What You Need to Know,” C. Christine Fair, *Lawfare.com*, January 28, 2018.

121. "Pakistan Will Try to Make Trump Pay," C. Christine Fair, *The Atlantic*, January 8, 2018.
120. "Pakistan and the Myth of "Too Dangerous to Fail," C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly, *Foreign Affairs*, January 8, 2018.
119. "Test of Bills or a Test of Wills: Opportunity and Perils in Suspending Security Assistance to Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, *Huffington Post*, January 6, 2018.
118. "Pakistan Has All the Leverage Over Trump," C. Christine Fair, *Foreign Policy*, January 3, 2018.
117. "The Only Enemy Pakistan's Army Can Beat Is Its Own Democracy," C. Christine Fair, *Foreign Policy* (online), August 9, 2017.
116. "Pakistan Can't Afford China's Friendship," C. Christine Fair, *Foreign Policy* (online), July 3, 2017.
115. "The Trump-Modi Summit: Big Meeting, Low Expectations," C. Christine Fair and Bharath Gopalaswamy, *Foreign Affairs* (online), June 26, 2017.
114. "Pakistan's Anxieties are Incurable, So Stop Trying," C. Christine Fair, *War on the Rock*, June 21, 2017.
113. "US Foreign Policy Is For Sale: Our Indian Friends Should Be Buying," C. Christine Fair, *The Quint*, June 17, 2017.
112. "Pakistan is No Friend of America," C. Christine Fair, *The National Interest*, March 30, 2017.
111. "What Durrani Denied About 26/11 is More Crucial Than His Admission," C. Christine Fair, *The Quint*, March 8, 2017.
110. "Pakistan's Unending War on Civil Society", C. Christine Fair, *War on the Rocks*, January 24, 2017.
109. "Getting South Asia on Track: Ideas for The Next President," C. Christine Fair, *War on the Rocks*, December 2, 2016.
108. "How the US can push Pakistan to abandon its terror proxies," C. Christine Fair, *LiveMint*, November 8, 2016.
107. "India's Strategic Win: The Upsides of the Lockheed Martin Deal to Produce F-16s In India," C. Christine Fair and Dan Shalmon, *Foreign Affairs* (Online), November 1, 2016.
106. "America Must Stand by India and Pressure Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, *The National Interest* (Online), September 2, 2016.

105. "India's plan to diplomatically isolate Pakistan is not enough," C. Christine Fair, *DailyO*, September 12, 2016.
104. "Denying Pakistan the Dividends of Terror," C. Christine Fair, *Open*, September 23, 2016.
103. "A campaign of terror: The Pakistanis may never have Kashmir, but their violence has transformed it," C. Christine Fair, *Times of India Blog*, September 20, 2016.
102. "The Quetta Hospital Attack and Terrorism Trends in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, *Wall Street Journal-Blog*, August 11, 2016.
101. "Fighting the Taliban: The US and Pakistan's Failed Strategies," C. Christine Fair, *The Herald*, June 2016.
100. "Can Being Smarter About Islam Help Muslims Reject Terrorist Appeals? Maybe," C. Christine Fair, Jacob S Goldstein, Ali Hamza, *Lawfare*, April 17, 2016.
99. "A New Way of Engaging Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, *Lawfare*, April 11, 2016.
98. "Pakistan's War on Scholars," C. Christine Fair, *Huffington Post*, February 24, 2016.
97. "Bringing back the Dead: Why Pakistan Used the Jaish-e-Mohammad to Attack an Indian Airbase," C. Christine Fair, *Huffington Post*, January 12, 2016.
96. *Pakistan's Terror Game*, "C. Christine Fair and Seth Oldmixon, Hudson Institute, January 7, 2016.
- This was reprinted as "Let's be clear, the Pathankot attack is not an attempt to derail the Indo-Pak peace process," C. Christine Fair and Seth Oldmixon, *Scroll.in*, January 8, 2016.
95. "Pakistan's army is building an arsenal of 'tiny' nuclear weapons—and it's going to Backfire," C. Christine Fair, *Quartz*, December 21, 2015.
94. "The 'Drone Papers' Do Not Reflect All Drone Programs, Especially in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, *The World Post*, October 28, 2015.
94. "The Drone Papers: Intercepting the Nonsense," C. Christine Fair, *Lawfare*, October 27, 2015.
93. "Pakistan and the Taliban: Is Past Prologue," C. Christine Fair, *The Diplomat*, Issue 11, October 2015.
92. "The Lashkar's Empire of Jihad," C. Christine Fair. *India Today*, September 11, 2015. In print.
91. "When It Comes to Afghanistan, America Should Ditch Pakistan for Iran," C. Christine Fair, *The National Interest*, September 7, 2015.

90. "Pakistan's 'Strategic Shift' Is Pure Fiction," C. Christine Fair, *War on The Rocks*, August 13, 2015.
89. "Think Again: Islamism and Militancy in Bangladesh," C. Christine Fair and Seth Oldmixon, *The National Interest* (online), August 12, 2015.
88. "Pakistan Tests Modi's Mettle with Gurdaspur Terror Attack," C. Christine Fair, *HuffingtonPost.com*, August 4, 2015.
87. "Gurdaspur attack: India can't afford a tepid response," C. Christine Fair, *Economic Times*, August 2, 2015.
86. "I played make-believe with the Pakistani military," C. Christine Fair, *Quartz.com*, July 2, 2015.
85. "The New Realities: What Pakistanis Must Realise Whilst Dealing With India," C. Christine Fair, *The Herald* (July 2015): 44-45.
84. "How Pakistan Beguiles the Americans: A Guide for Foreign Officials," C. Christine Fair. *War on the Rocks*, June 24, 2015.
83. "False Equivalency in the 'Indo-Pakistan' Dispute," C. Christine Fair. *War on the Rocks*, June 16, 2015.
82. "Why Did Osama Bin Laden have a copy of my book?" C. Christine Fair, *Quartz*, May 26, 2015.
81. "Honor Our Fallen by Getting Real on Pakistan," C. Christine Fair. *War on the Rocks*, May 26, 2015.
80. "America's Pakistan Policy Is Sheer Madness," C. Christine Fair, *The National Interest*, May 15, 2015.
79. "Blame the Terrorists, Not the Drones." C. Christine Fair. *US News and World Report Debate Club*, April 29, 2015.
78. "The Foreign Policy Essay: Whether or Not Pakistan Will Join the War in Yemen May Depend on a Group You've Probably Never Heard Of," C. Christine Fair and Ali Hamza, *Lawfare*, April 12, 2015.
77. "Groundhog Day in U.S.-Pakistan Relations," C. Christine Fair, *War on the Rocks*, April 9, 2015.
76. "After Peshawar, Expect Business as Usual in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair, *War on the Rocks*, December 22, 2014.
75. "Pakistan Must End Its Dangerous Dance With the Taliban," C. Christine Fair, *New York Times Room for Debate*, December 18, 2014.
74. "Is Pakistan in ISIS' Crosshairs?" C. Christine Fair, *Boston Review Online*, October 16, 2014.

73. "Ethical and methodological issues in assessing drones' civilian impacts in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair. *The Monkey Cage-Washington Post*, October 6, 2014.
72. "Judging Modi: The Historical Context," C. Christine Fair. *Warontherocks.com*, September 26, 2014.
71. "Al Qaeda's Re-launch in South Asia," C. Christine Fair. *Lawfareblog.com*, September 21, 2014.
70. "Still Standing in Pakistan: The Protests, the Military, and What Comes Next," C. Christine Fair. *Foreign Affairs (online)*, September 3, 2014.
69. "Collective Insecurity," C. Christine Fair. *The Herald* (July 2014): 22-33.
68. "Pakistan: Did the Right Enemy Know Where Bin Laden Was?" C. Christine Fair. *WarOnTheRocks.com*, July 22, 2014.
67. "What Pakistanis Think About U.S. Drone Strikes and Why," C. Christine Fair, Karl Kaltenthaler and William J. Miller. *Lawfareblog.com*, June 1, 2014.
66. "Who's Killing Pakistan's Sh'a and Why," C. Christine Fair. *WarOnTheRocks.com*, May 20, 2014.
65. "Ten Fictions that Pakistani Defense Officials Love to Peddle," C. Christine Fair. *WarOnTheRocks.com*, January 31, 2014.
64. "Securing Indian Interests in Afghanistan Beyond 2014," C. Christine Fair. *Asia Policy*, No. 17 (January 2014):pp. 27-32.
63. "Lashkar-e-Taiba: Pakistan's Domesticated Terrorists," C. Christine Fair. *Lawfareblog.com*, December 29, 2013.
62. "Can this Alliance be Saved? Salvaging the U.S.-Pakistan Relationship," C. Christine Fair. *Time.com*, April 30, 2013.
61. "The Pakistani Military's New Coup Playbook-Democracy Is Still on a Leash in Islamabad," C. Christine Fair. *Foreign Affairs Online*, March 14, 2013.
60. "The Coin of the Realm Is a Wooden Nickel," C. Christine Fair. *Time.com*, March 13, 2013.
59. "In a World of Our Own," C. Christine Fair. *The Herald* (February 2013), pp. 70-80.
58. "Pakistan May Pose the Most Difficult Choices," C. Christine Fair. *The New York Times, Room For Debate*, January 29, 2013.
57. "You Say Pakistanis All Hate the Drone War? Prove It," C. Christine Fair, Karl C. Kaltenthaler & William J. Miller. *The Atlantic online*. January 23, 2013.

56. "A New Approach for Kashmir," C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly, *The National Interest online*, November 20, 2012.
55. "Pakistani Power Play," C. Christine Fair. *ForeignPolicy.com*, November 6, 2012.
54. "For Now, Drones Are the Best Option," C. Christine Fair. *New York Times Room for Debate*, September 26, 2012.
53. "A Bitter Bargain after US Apologizes, Pakistan Reopens Supply Route," C. Christine Fair. *Huffington Post*, July 5, 2012.
51. "What to do about Pakistan," C. Christine Fair. *ForeignPolicy.com*, June 21, 2012.
51. "Beyond Hearing Range," C. Christine Fair. *The Herald* (March 2012): 28-29.
50. "Rohrabacher's 'Blood Borders' in Balochistan," C. Christine Fair. *Huffington Post*, February 22, 2012.
49. "The American-Pakistani Cold War?," C. Christine Fair. *The National Interest*, January 10, 2012.
48. "Pakistan's Slow Moving Coup," C. Christine Fair. *ForeignPolicy.com*, January 5, 2012.
47. "Obama Should Apologize," C. Christine Fair. *ForeignPolicy.com*, December 22, 2011.
46. "Addressing Pakistan's Sovereignty Deficit," C. Christine Fair, German Marshall Fund Policy Brief, June 27, 2011.
45. "Doubling Down on Civilian Engagement in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair. *ForeignAffairs.com*, October 12, 2011.
44. "Mapping U.S.-Pakistan Relations: Past, Present, and Future," C. Christine Fair. *ForeignPolicy.com*, October 6, 2011.
43. "Is Pakistan's Army as Islamist as We Think?," C. Christine Fair. *ForeignPolicy.com*, September 15, 2011.
42. "After the Breakup: What Next for U.S.-Pakistan Relations," C. Christine Fair. *Huffington Post*, August 25, 2011.
41. "The Problems with Studying Civilian Casualties from Drone Usage in Pakistan: What We Can't Know," C. Christine Fair. *The Monkey Cage*, August 17, 2011.
40. "The Schmidle Muddle of the Osama Bin Laden Take Down," C. Christine Fair. *Registan.net*, August 4, 2011.
39. "Pakistan's Middle Class Extremists: Why Development Aid Won't Solve Radicalism," by Graeme Blair, C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, Jacob N. Shapiro. *Foreign Affairs*, July 11, 2011.

38. "The Road From Abbottabad Leads to Lame Analysis," C. Christine Fair. *The Huffington Post*, June 21, 2011.
37. "Try to see it my way," C. Christine Fair. *Af-Pak Channel, ForeignPolicy.com*, May 24, 2011.
36. "Spies, Lies and Pakistan," C. Christine Fair. *NationalInterest.org*, May 11, 2011.
35. "The bin Laden aftermath: The U.S. shouldn't hold Pakistan's military against Pakistan's civilians," C. Christine Fair. *Af-Pak Channel, ForeignPolicy.com*, May 4, 2011.
34. "ISI Boxes CIA into a Corner," C. Christine Fair. *The National Interest*, April 15, 2011, *NationalInterest.org*.
33. "Explaining the inexplicable: murder at Mazar," C. Christine Fair. *Af-Pak Channel, ForeignPolicy.com*, April 4, 2011.
32. "Spy for a spy: the CIA-ISI showdown over Raymond Davis," C. Christine Fair. *Af-Pak Channel, ForeignPolicy.com*, March 10, 2011.
31. "Diplomatic Duplicity," *Af-Pak Channel, ForeignPolicy.com*, February 18, 2011.
30. "Choosing Sovereignty Over Servitude," *The Daily Times*, February 9, 2011.
29. "The U.S.-Pakistan F-16 fiasco," C. Christine Fair. *Af-Pak Channel, ForeignPolicy.com*, February 3, 2011.
28. "What Pakistan Did Right," C. Christine Fair. *Af-Pak Channel, ForeignPolicy.com*, January 18, 2011.
27. "False Choices in Afghanistan," C. Christine Fair. *Af-Pak Channel, ForeignPolicy.com*, January 11, 2011.
26. "Averting Our Eyes: The Shameful International Response to Pakistanis' Suffering," C. Christine Fair. *The Huffington Post*, November 16, 2010.
25. "Aid Kills," C. Christine Fair. November 8, 2010, *NationalInterest.org*.
24. "India in Afghanistan, part II: Indo-U.S. relations in the lengthening AfPak shadow," C. Christine Fair. *Af-Pak Channel, ForeignPolicy.com*, October 27, 2010,.
23. "India in Afghanistan, part I: strategic interests, regional concerns," C. Christine Fair. *Af-Pak Channel, ForeignPolicy.com*, October 26, 2010.
22. "The real question about Pakistan's border closure," C. Christine Fair. *ForeignPolicy.com*, October 8, 2010.
21. "Not at the Forefront of Flood Relief," C. Christine Fair. *ForeignPolicy.com*, September 20, 2010.

20. "Is Pakistan a Failed State? No," C. Christine Fair. *ForeignPolicy.com*, June 24, 2010.
19. "Drones over Pakistan-Menace or Best Viable Option," C. Christine Fair. *Huffington Post*, August 2, 2010.
18. "Drone Wars," C. Christine Fair. *ForeignPolicy.com*, May 28, 2010
17. "Should Pakistan Get a Nuke Deal? Only if it finally abandons its support for terrorism," *Foreign Policy*, March 23, 2010.
16. "Pakistan Needs Its Own Nuclear Deal." C. Christine Fair. *Wall Street Journal Asia*, February 11, 2010.
15. "The Mumbai attacks and Indo-U.S. relations," C. Christine Fair, *The Hindu*, November 24, 2009.
14. "Speaking of Pakistan: The U.S. and India must take steps to deepen their cooperation against South Asian terrorism." C. Christine Fair. *Wall Street Journal Asia*, November 23, 2009.
13. "Pakistan's Partial War on Terror," C. Christine Fair. *The Wall Street Journal Asia*, October 14, 2009.
12. "Policing Pakistan: The army isn't well equipped to fight the insurgency," C. Christine Fair. *Wall Street Journal Asia*, June 30, 2009.
11. "A Better Bargain for Aid to Pakistan," C. Christine Fair. *The Washington Post*, May 30, 2009.
10. "To Support Democracy in Pakistan," C. Christine Fair. *The Washington Times*, February 24, 2008.
9. "Long-term instability?" [On Pakistan's post-Bhutto political crisis.] C. Christine Fair. *The Washington Times*, December 31, 2007.
8. "Bangladesh on the Brink," C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly, *The Wall Street Journal*, February 5, 2007.
7. "Think Again: Sources of Islamist Terrorism," C. Christine Fair and Husain Haqqani, *Foreign Policy Online*, January 30, 2006.
6. "The Re-Oriented of Kashmiri Extremism: A Threat to Regional and International Security," Peter Chalk and C. Christine Fair. *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 3, No. 22 (November 2005).
5. "Pakistan Tackles Impact of Afghan Opium Trade." Peter Chalk and C. Christine Fair. *Jane's Intelligence Review*, (February 17, 2005).
4. "The Indus Water Fight," C. Christine Fair. *Atlantic Monthly* (July/August 2003).
3. "The Tehran-New Delhi Axis," C. Christine Fair. *Atlantic Monthly* (July/August 2003).

2. “Pakistan Faces Up to Need for Reform,” Peter Chalk and C. Christine Fair. *Jane’s Intelligence Review* (September 2003).

1. “Lashkar-e-Taiba: At the Vanguard of the Kashmiri Insurgency,” Peter Chalk and C. Christine Fair. *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 14, No. 11 (November 2002).

## GRANTS

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AFGHAN STUDIES, AUGUST 2018 (\$3,000)

John F. Richards Fellowship

*Research fellowship for conducting research in Afghanistan on the importance of the Chabahar-Zaranj-Delaram GLOC for Afghanistan’s Economic Survival.*

EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, 2018 SUMMER RESEARCH GRANT (\$3,000)

*Award to fund the work of Mustafa Samdani on my ongoing project on combat motivation of the Lashkar-e-Tayyaba.*

## RESOLVE

*Serving as a co-Principal Investigator, along with Ali Riaz, to oversee a large, national survey of Bangladeshis to elicit their views about politics, violence and governance.*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, SENIOR FACULTY RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP, FALL 2017

*On leave for the Spring 2017 semester to complete my work on my book on the Lashkar-e-Taiba, to be published by Hurst and Oxford University Press.*

EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, 2015 FALL RESEARCH GRANT (\$3,000)

*Award to fund the work of my research assistant Ali Hamza on the political behavior of Pakistan’s ethnic group, the Baloch.*

EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, 2015 SUMMER RESEARCH GRANT (\$7,076)

*Award to study the strategies and three Muslim political parties in three Indian states while hosted by the Gateway House, a non-profit policy think tank in Mumbai.*

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION, NOVEMBER 2014-NOVEMBER 2016 (\$979,229)

*I was part of a successful team, led by Carolyn Warner at Arizona State University titled “Religious Infusion and Asymmetric Group Conflict.” I am serving as a consultant to investigate the case of the Baloch who reside in Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. While the total grant is large, I am executing my case study with a budget of \$20,000 inclusive of travel to multiple countries over the next two years.*

NATIONAL BUREAU OF RESEARCH, MARCH –MARCH 2014 (\$10,500)

*Pakistan’s Security Dynamics. I was part of a several-person team exploring different aspects of Pakistan’s security. I conducted the research for that part of the project pertaining to Pakistan’s internal security.*

U.S. EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION, ISLAMABAD- J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIP BOARD, SUMMER 2013

*Fulbright Specialist Grant in Peace and Conflict Resolution at Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad and LUMS, Lahore in Pakistan. Declined due to security and visa issues.*

EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, 2017 FALL RESEARCH GRANT

(\$2,000) *Award to continue working with an outside translator (Mustafa Samdani) who is producing publication-worthy translations of my Lashkar-e-Taiba books and pamphlets for a book project under contract with Oxford University Press*

EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, 2016 FALL RESEARCH GRANT

(\$3,000) *Award to continue working with an outside translator (Ali Hamza) who is producing publication-worthy translations of my Lashkar-e-Taiba books and pamphlets for a book project under contract with Oxford University Press*

EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, 2015 SUMMER RESEARCH GRANT

(\$4,00) *Award study Indian political parties, based in Mumbai at the Gateway House.*

EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, 2015 SPRING RESEARCH GRANT

(\$2,00) *Award to supervise Ali Hamza's analysis of survey data I collected in Pakistan in 2013.*

EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, 2014 SUMMER RESEARCH GRANT  
(\$7,250)

*Award to continue working with an outside translator (Mustafa Samdani) who is producing publication-worthy translations of my Lashkar-e-Taiba books and pamphlets for a book project under review with the University of Pennsylvania Press.*

EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, 2014 SPRING RESEARCH GRANT  
(\$3000)

*Award to hire an outside translator (Mustafa Samdani) who is producing publication-worthy translations of my Lashkar-e-Taiba books and pamphlets for a book project under review with the University of Pennsylvania Press.*

U.S. EMBASSY-ISLAMABAD, OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIR, FALL 2012-2014 (\$328,936)

*Grant to conduct a 6,000-person survey of Pakistanis to understand the connection between media consumption and views towards Islamist militancy in Pakistan. This grant will be housed under the University of Akron and will be executed with Karl Kaltenthaler (University of Akron).*

U.S. EMBASSY-ISLAMABAD, OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, Fall 2011-December 2014  
(\$330,000)

*Grant to conduct a 16,000-person survey of Pakistanis including a 3,000-person survey in the tribal areas and an over-sample of flood-affected areas. This will be executed with Neil Malhotra (University of Pennsylvania) and Jacob Shapiro (Princeton).*

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PAKISTAN STUDIES, WINTER 2012 (\$5,500)

*Research fellowship to conduct research for two months in Pakistan on Pakistani military publications.*

CREATE SUBAWARD FROM PRINCETON, SUMMER 2010 (\$20,000)

*Sub award from Princeton (Jacob Shapiro) to conduct research on political violence in Pakistan.*

COMPETITIVE GRANT-IN-AID FROM THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, FALL 2010 (\$2,000)

*Award to defray research costs in Pakistan for my current project, "Representing Pakistan's Security Threat: A View from Pakistan's Professional Military Publications."*

INTERNATIONAL GROWTH CENTER, SUMMER 2010-SUMMER 2011 (\$34,000)

*Sub-award from Princeton (with Jacob N. Shapiro) to study sub-national patterns of violence in Pakistan.*

NATIONAL ASIA RESEARCH PROGRAM- Academic Year 2010

*Research Fellow, 2010. Program jointly run by the National Bureau of Research and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AFGHAN STUDIES, AUGUST 2010 (\$6,000)

John F. Richards Fellowship

*Research fellowship for conducting research in Afghanistan on U.S. COIN operations in Helmand.*

## **FELLOWSHIPS, INTERNSHIPS, AND AWARDS**

KENYON REVIEW TRANSLATION WORKSHOP

*Summer 2023*

FULBRIGHT SPECIALIST AWARD TO BANGLADESH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHITTAGONG

*September-October 2023.*

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR INDIAN STUDIES-ADVANCED PUNJABI

*Summer 2020, Summer 2021, Summer 2022, Summer 2023*

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA, INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY CENTER FOR ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE'S WORKSHOP ON INTELLIGENCE TEACHING

*May 2021*

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION IN MYANMAR

*Summer 2019*

THE INSTITUTE FOR QUALITATIVE AND MULTI-METHOD RESEARCH (IQMR)

*Summer 2018*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Provost's Distinguished Associate Professor, *Winter 2017-August 2020.*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

*2016-18, Faculty Success Fellowship (FSF).*

THE PHILIP MERRILL CENTER TEACHERS' WORKSHOP

*June 5-9, 2017.*

THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

*May 3–August 23, 2017, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellowship.*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, SENIOR FACULTY RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

*Fall 2016, On leave to complete my book titled “Lashkar-e-Taiba: In Its Own Words.”*

INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE STUDIES AND ANALYSIS, NEW DELHI

*August 1-September 14, 2016, Senior Resident Fellow.*

SWAMOS 2016: SUMMER WORKSHOP ON ANALYSIS OF MILITARY OPERATIONS AND STRATEGY AT CORNELL

*July 5-19, 2016.*

GATEWAY HOUSE, MUMBAI INDIA

*Visiting Fellow, June 1-August 1, 2015*

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, HOOVER INSTITUTION

*Visiting Fellow, March 2015.*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, JUNIOR FACULTY RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

*Fall 2012, Fellowship to complete my work on my book on the Pakistan army, published with Oxford University Press.*

WEST POINT, COMBATING TERRORISM CENTER

*Senior Fellow, September 2009 -2013.*

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

*2008-2009, Luce Visiting Fellow in Religion and International Policy Studies.*

**DATA SETS**

BANGLADESH COMMUNITY RESEARCH COLLABORATIVE (BCRC)

*October 1, 2017-October 1, 2018. Working with Ali Riaz and USIP-RESOLVE, I oversaw the development of a survey instrument and sampling plan with which to survey 8,000 Bangladeshis about their attitudes towards political Islam, violence, political and civic affairs among other issues. In addition, I am mentoring a research fellow, selected by USIP-RESOLVE, to produce an analytical product based upon preliminary analyses of these data.*

NATIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE SURVEY OF PAKISTANIS' MEDIA CONSUMPTION AND BELIEFS ABOUT GOVERNANCE, POLITICS, TERRORISM: 2012

*January 1, 2012, through January 1, 2015. Working with Karl Kaltenthaler and Will Miller, I secured funding from the U.S. State Department to field a survey among 7,600 Pakistanis. In addition to consulting with the client to help ensure that we received this \$325,000 grant, my role in this effort involves developing hypotheses to test, instrument design and verification, quality assurance on the Urdu translations, training of the enumerators in Urdu, evaluating and comparing completed forms in Urdu to the soft-copy of the data to look for irregularities or signs of malfeasance, contributing to*

*analysis of the data to address the team's hypotheses and drafting client-oriented as well as scholarly papers.*

#### **NATIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE SURVEY OF PAKISTANIS: 2011-2012**

*January 1, 2011, through January 1, 2012. Working with Shapiro and Malhotra, I secured funding from the U.S. State Department to field a survey among 16,000 Pakistanis (inclusive of the tribal areas and the four main provinces as well as an over sample of the flood basin). Our team will again use our information cue endorsement experiment to cast light upon why some Pakistanis support some militant groups and their actions. We focused upon specific issues relevant to the tribal areas and the areas most deeply affected by the 2010 monsoon-related flood. Apart from handling the business aspects of the contract and human subjects' procedures, I was involved in survey design and translation, enumerator training and final instrument quality control as well as data analysis, interpretation and exposition of our findings.*

#### **BFRS POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN PAKISTAN DATASET**

*Working with co-principal investigators Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, Rasul Bakhsh Rais, and Jacob N. Shapiro, developed a codebook and coding procedures for extracting data on Pakistani political violence between January 1988 and December 2010, based upon Pakistani press reporting in The Dawn. This main effort was based at the Lahore University of Management Sciences in Pakistan. Working with Jenna Jordan, I helped establish and train a team at the University of Chicago to code a reliability sample using the same newspaper. In addition, I identified several Urdu language coders who coded a reliability sample from the Urdu press under the supervision of Jenna Jordan. This enabled us to discern the differences in English and Urdu-media coding. Research was supported by: the International Growth Centre, the Office of Naval Research, and the National Center for Risk and Economic Analysis of Terrorism Events (CREATE), at the University of Southern California, sponsored by United States Department of Homeland Security.*

#### **NATIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE SURVEY OF PAKISTANIS: 2009**

*December 2009- May 2009. In collaboration with Jacob N. Shapiro (Princeton) and Neil Malhotra (then Stanford, now the University of Pennsylvania), I helped field a survey among 6,000 Pakistanis from a nationally representative sample using a novel endorsement experiment designed by Malhotra. I oversaw survey instrument design (with technical collaboration from Shapiro and Malhotra) and translation. Shapiro and I also trained the enumerators in Pakistan and performed overall quality control on the final instrument prior to fielding. I also contributed to the data analysis, interpretation, and exposition. This survey aimed to test a series of hypotheses about why some Pakistanis support specific militant groups and/or their actions.*

#### **NATIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE SURVEY OF URBAN PAKISTANIS: 2007**

*May through October 2007. While at USIP I oversaw and funded the fielding of a survey of some 900 Pakistanis, including questionnaire design and translation and data analysis and exposition. This work was done in collaboration with the Program on International Policy Attitudes and AC Nielson Pakistan. This survey aimed to collect information about who supports militancy and why, views towards several of the state's domestic and foreign policies, attitudes towards democracy and governance, among other issues.*

#### **NATIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE SURVEY OF IRANIANS: 2006**

*July through December 2006. While at USIP, I oversaw and funded the fielding of a first-ever, nationally representative survey of 1,000 Iranians using face to face interviews covering popular views*

*towards Iran's nuclear program as well as a suite of other domestic and foreign policies. To do this, I contracted working partnerships with the Program on International Policy Attitudes and Search for Common Ground as well as an Iranian firm which has requested to remain anonymous.*

#### CONVENIENCE SAMPLE OF PAKISTANI MILITANT FAMILIES: 2004

*May-December 2004. While at USIP, I designed and oversaw a survey of families of slain militants across Pakistan using militant organizations' self-reports of their slain fighters. This effort culminated in a data set of 120 households. This was a plausibility probe to demonstrate that such surveys can be conducted safely. Our analysis focused upon finding variation within militant households.*

#### MISCELLANEOUS SURVEYS: BANGLADESH (2010); PAKISTAN (2009); KASHMIR (2008)

In addition, I have collaborated with the Program on Policy Attitudes on a variety of other surveys fielded in Bangladesh, Pakistan as well as in both Indian and Pakistani-administered Kashmirs. My roles in those surveys varied from consultation on instrument development, question phraseology, subject matter expertise, data analysis and interpretation, as well as drafting and presenting public analysis of the same.

### ACADEMIC SERVICE

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION, SOUTH ASIAN IN WORLD POLITICS,  
SECTION CO-CHAIR (2023-present)

SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, GLOBAL ANTI-RACISM COMMITTEE (AY 2023-present)

GEORGETOWN SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, FACULTY ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO  
THE ACADEMIC RESOURCES CENTER (AY 2023-present)

GEORGETOWN SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, MAIN CAMPUS EXECUTIVE FACULTY  
(2022- Present)

GEORGETOWN SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, MAIN CAMPUS EXECUTIVE FACULTY  
CONSTITUTED REVIEW OF THE HONOR COUNCIL (2022- Present)

GEORGETOWN SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, SCHOOL COUNCIL (2021- Present).

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY HONOR COUNCIL

*Fall 2010- Present*

GRADUATE RESEARCH STEERING COMMITTEE

*Fall 2019-Present*

GEORGETOWN SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE INTERNATIONAL POLITICS FIELDCHAIR  
*Fall 2017-June 2022*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY HONOR COUNCIL, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL  
*Fall 2014-Spring 2015, Fall 2018, Spring 2021, Fall 2021, Spring 2022, Fall 2022*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY HINDI/URDU LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY EXAMINER

*Fall 2014, Spring 2015, Spring 2020, Fall 2020, Spring 2021, Spring 2022, Fall 2022.*

GEORGETOWN SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE MERIT REVIEW EVALUTION  
COMMITTEE

*Spring 2019-Summer 2020*

GEORGETOWN SECURITY STUDIES REVIEW (GSSR) ADVISORY BOARD

*Fall 2018- Present*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, NTL SEARCH COMMITTEE  
FOR THE DIRECTOR OF SCIENCE EDUCATION.

*Winter 2018*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY BOREN SCHOLARSHIP REVIEW COMMITTEE

*Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Fall 2016, Fall 2017, Fall 2018, Fall 2019.*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, TENURE COMMITTEE

*Spring 2017-Winter 2018*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY SEARCH COMMITTEES

Visiting Professor in Security Studies Search Committee, *Fall 2014*

Security Studies Program Search Committee for Director of External Education, *Fall 2013*

India Studies Chair Search Committee, *Spring 2011-Spring 2013*

Turkish Studies Chair Search Committee, *Fall 2010-Spring 2011*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY STANDING COMMITTEE ON ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

*Fall 2010-Spring 2015*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, MERIT REVIEW  
COMMITTEE

*Spring 2013, Spring 2014*

RAPPORTEUR FOR THE SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE FACULTY COUNCIL MEETINGS

*Fall 2011-Spring 2012*

COORDINATOR, PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES PROGRAM COMPREHENSIVE EXAMS

*Spring 2011-Spring 2012*

**EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERSHIP**

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY PRESS SOUTH ASIA IN WORLD AFFAIRS SERIES

*Editorial Advisory Board, 2010-Present*

SMALL WARS AND INSURGENCIES

*Editorial board, December 2011-Present*

CURRENT HISTORY

*Contributing Editor, June 2011-Present*

## STUDIES IN CONFLICT AND TERRORISM

*Editorial Board Member, May 2008-Present*

## ASIA POLICY-NATIONAL BUREAU OF RESEARCH

*Co-editor, 2011-2020*

## INDIA REVIEW

*Associate Editor, November 2009 –October 2013*

*Managing Editor, January 2007 to November 2009*

## CONTEMPORARY SOUTH ASIA

*Guest co-editor (with Shaun Gregory, Bradford) for a special issue on Pakistan in 2011 and in 2007*

## REVIEWER:

*American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review; Armed Forces and Society; Asian Journal of Political Science; Asian Security; Asian Survey; Cambridge University Press; Cambridge Review of International Affairs; Commonwealth & Comparative Politics; Comparative Political Studies; Conflict Resolution Quarterly; Contemporary Islam; Contemporary South Asia; Critical Asian Studies; Defence & Peace Economics; Democratization; Empirical Economics; European Journal of International Relations; European Journal of International Security; Families, Relationships and Societies; India Review; International Interactions; International Journal of Public Opinion Research; International Relations; International Organization, International Security; International Studies Quarterly; International Studies Perspectives; Journal of Church and State; Journal of Civil Society; Journal of Comparative Politics; Journal of Conflict Resolution; Journal of Democracy and Security; Journal of Development Studies; Journal of Global Security Studies; Journal of Peace Research; Journal of Politics; Media, War & Conflict; Modern Asian Studies; Nations; Nations and Nationalism; Nationalism and Ethnic Politics; Nonproliferation Review; Oxford University Press; Peace and Conflict Studies; Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy; Perspectives on Politics; Political Research Quarterly; Political Science Research and Methods; Politics; Politics, Religion and Ideology; Political Research Quarterly; Polity Journal; Public Choice; Public Opinion Quarterly; Review of International Studies; Routledge Books; Security Studies; Small Wars and Insurgencies; Science; Security Studies; Social Forces; International Journal Stability of Security and Development; Studies in Conflict and Terrorism; Studies in Comparative International Development; Small Wars and Insurgencies; Terrorism and Political Violence; World Politics.*

## CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:

I regularly present scholarly papers at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting and the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Other conferences at which I have presented papers less frequently include the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, The Annual Conference on South Asia at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and the American Asian Studies Association Annual meeting. In addition, I am a regular participant in policy and government-related conferences pertaining to security issues in South Asia. Details are available upon request.

## ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSIONS

Pakistan 2008 Elections: Democracy International (deployed in Peshawar, Islamabad)

Bangladesh 2008: National Democratic Institute (deployed in Dhaka, Comilla)  
Afghanistan 2009: Long Term Election Observer with National Democratic Institute (deployed in Kabul, Jalalabad, Kunduz, Herat).  
Pakistan 2013: National Democratic Institute (deployed in Islamabad)  
Afghanistan 2014: National Democratic Institute (deployed in Kabul)

## **TEACHING:**

“Introduction to Contemporary Hindi,” Spring 2021, Fall 2021-Spring 2022; Fall 2022- Spring 2023

“Intermediate Hindi,” Fall 2018, Fall 2021-Spring 2022, Fall 2022- Spring 2023.

“Introduction to Urdu,” Fall 2022-Spring 2023

“Topics in Intermediate Contemporary Hindi,” Spring 2021.

“Limited Conflicts in Film,” M.A. course in the Security Studies Department, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. Spring 2020, Fall 2020, Fall 2021, Spring 2022.

“Issues in South Asian Security,” M.A. course in the Security Studies Department, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. Spring 2010, Spring 2011, Fall 2011, Spring 2012, Spring 2013, Spring 2014, Fall 2014, Spring 2015; Fall 2015, Spring 2016, Fall 2017, Spring 2018, Fall 2019, Spring 2020, Fall 2020, Spring 2021, Summer 2021, Fall 2021.

“Pakistan: Masjid, Military and Militants,” B.A. course in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. Fall 2013.

“Research Seminar in International Security,” M.A. course in the Security Studies Department, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. Fall 2011, Spring 2012, Spring 2013, Fall 2013 Spring 2014, Fall 2014, Spring 2015, Fall 2015, Spring 2016, Fall 2017, Spring 2018, Fall 2020.

“M.S. Thesis Seminar,” M.A. course in the Security Studies Department, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. Fall 2009, Spring 2010, Fall 2010, Spring 2011.

“Security Studies Internship Tutorial,” Independent, one-on-one, pass/fail course in the Security Studies Department, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. Fall 2010, Spring 2013.

“Issues in South Asian Security,” Upper-level undergraduate lecture course in the Humanities and Social Sciences Department, Lahore University of Management Sciences. Summer 2010.

“Research Methods,” M.A. course in the Security Studies Department, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. Fall 2010.