

Brigadier(R) Feroz Hassan Khan

Contact Work: 831.656.3043 Mobile: 831.869.6233 E-mail: <u>fsmhkhan@qmail.com</u>; fhkhan@nps.edu

Feroz Hassan Khan is is Lecturer in the Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey California. He is a former Brigadier in the Pakistan Army, with experience in combat action and command on active fronts on the Line of Control in Kashmir and Siachin Glacier. He last served as Director Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs, in the Strategic Plans Division, Joint Services Headquarters. Khan had been a key contributor in formulating Pakistan's security policies on nuclear and conventional arms control and strategic stability in South Asia and represented Pakistan in several multilateral and bilateral arms control negotiations. He has served on numerous assignments in the United States, Europe, and Asia.

Brigadier Khan holds an M.A. from the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), John Hopkins University, Washington DC. He has held a series of visiting fellowships at Stanford University, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; the Brookings Institution; Center for Non-Proliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies and at the Cooperative Monitoring Center, Sandia National Laboratory. He also taught courses as a visiting faculty at the Department of the Defense and Strategic Studies, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.

He has widely participated in international and national conferences on strategic issues, international security, terrorism, nuclear arms control and non-proliferation issues. Has published articles and book chapters in several reputed journals, newspapers and publishers. He is the author of recently published book *Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistani Bomb* (Stanford University Press, 2012)

Brigadier (retired) Feroz Hassan Khan

Department of National Security Affairs Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943 Office Phone (831) 656-3043 E-mail: <u>fhkhan@nps.edu</u> 4429 Cypress Ridge Court Seaside, California, 93955 Phone (831) 392- 0821 email: fsmhkhan@gmail.com

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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2003-present Senior Researcher and Lecturer, Center for Contemporary Conflict (CCC), Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California.

> Taught courses on "Politics and Security in South Asia" (NS3668); "Regional Security Planning" (NS4240), "The Proliferation and Nonproliferation of Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons" (NS4280), "Politics and Security in Southwest Asia" (NS4663), "Seminar on Politics and Security in South Asia" (NS4668);

Taught Course "Politics and Security in South Asia, University of San Diego in Spring 2013

Taught courses and workshops at Monterey Institute of International Studies, Monterey, California. Workshop on "Pakistan Nuclear Program" (Fall 2011, Fall 2012 and Fall 2013 schedule); Seminar on Politics of NPT Outlier States (winter semester 2012)

Delivered Lectures and Seminars on Leadership Development Education Support Program (LDESP) and Regional Security Education Program (RSEP) for preparing U.S troops deployments in Afghanistan and Indian Ocean (2003- to date)

Research for CCC projects on "Asymmetric Conflict in South Asia: The 1999 Kargil Conflict" (2003- 2007), "Strategic Stability in South Asia" (2004- present), "Dissuasion in U.S. Defense Policy" (2004), The 2001-2002 Military Standoff in South Asia (2005); U.S – Pakistan Strategic Dialogue with Pakistan National Defense University, Islamabad (2007 and 2009); Nuclear Learning in South Asia; Battlefield Nuclear Weapons and Deterrence Strategies; U.S. – Pakistan Strategic Relations Survey

"Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program and U.S. Policy" (2004-Present). Now published book *Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistani Bomb* (Stanford University Press, 2012). Research and Writing on new book in progress

India' Cold Start Doctrine and its implications (2008); U.S. – Pakistan Counter Terrorism Cooperation (2008); Decade of Nuclear Learning (2009); U.S – Pakistan Strategic Dialogue Track- II (2007- present); the Next Decade of Nuclear Learning (2012); Battlefield Nuclear Weapons and Deterrence Strategies (2012-2013); South Asian Crisis Simulation Exercise (Fall 2012)

- 2001-2003 Visiting Scholar, Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Stanford University, 2001; Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2001-2002; The Brookings Institution, 2002; and Cooperative Monitoring Center (CMC), Sandia National Laboratories, New Mexico, 2003.
- 1997-2001 Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs, Joint Services Headquarters, Rawalpindi, Pakistan. Supervised a staff of 100 military officers, soldiers, and civil servants to coordinate policy decisions on arms control and disarmament affairs between Armed Forces, Ministry of Defense, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs; participant in arms control negotiations in bilateral and multilateral forums (including considerable time negotiating at the United Nations Conference on Disarmament in Geneva) on landmines, chemical, nuclear (including the Comprehensive Test Ban and Fissile Material Cutoff), and conventional weapons, and confidencebuilding measures with India.
- 1995-1997 Deputy Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs, General Headquarters, Rawalpindi, Pakistan.
- 1993-1994 Grade Staff Officer-1, Combat Development Directorate, General Headquarters.
- 1991-1993 Commanding Officer, Infantry Unit, at the Line of Control in Kashmir and the Siachin Glacier.
- 1986-1989 Military Secretary's Branch, responsible for career postings, officer career management, etc.
- 1971-1986 Commissioning, miscellaneous staff and command duties, including Staff Courses and academic studies.

EDUCATION

1989-1991	School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC: M.A. in International Relations, Concentration in Strategic Studies.
1984-1987	Karachi University: B.S. (with Honors) in War Studies, Concentration in Naval Warfare and Maritime Studies.
1981	University of Baluchistan: B.S. (Honors) in War Studies, Concentrations in Land Warfare and International Relations.
1975-1976	University of Baluchistan: B.A. in International Affairs and Sociology.

HONORS AND AWARDS

Commendation Certificate for Academic Excellence, 1991

Commendation Certificate for Excellence in the Naval War Course, 1985

Sitar-e-Harb [Medal for War], 1971

FELLOWSHIPS

Cooperative Monitoring Center, Sandia National Laboratories, Albuquerque, New Mexico, January to August 2003.

Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute for International Studies, Washington, D.C., October to December 2002.

The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C., June to September 2002.

Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Washington, D.C., September 2001 to May 2002.

Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University, May to August 2001.

PUBLICATIONS

Book

Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistani Bomb (Stanford University Press) Fall 2012

Nuclear Learning in South Asia, edited Volume forthcoming in 2014

Book Chapters

- " Strategic Restraint 2.0: Stability in South Asia", in Michael Krepon ed. Deterrence Stability in South Asia (Henry L Stimson Center, 2013 forthcoming)
- "Pakistan's Triangular Tightrope Walk" in James Wirt zed. *Tri-lateral Relations in South Asia*, forthcoming Fall 2013

"The Durand Line: Tribal Politics and Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations" in Thomas Johnson and Barry Scott Zellen eds. *Culture, Conflict, and Counterinsurgency* (Stanford University Press, 2013, forthcoming)

"Pakistan's Political Transitions and Nuclear Management" in Henry L Soklolski ed. *Securing Nuclear Arsenals: What History Recommends* (Washington D.C: Non-proliferation Education Center) forthcoming Summer 2013 "Pakistan as a Nuclear Weapon State" in Maleeha Lodhi ed. *Pakistan: Beyond the Crisis State*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

"Pakistan's Nuclear Force Posture And The 2001-2002 Military Standoff" in Zachary Davis, ed. *India- Pakistan Military Standoff: Crisis Escalation in South Asia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

"Security Impediments to Regionalism in South Asia" in Rafiq Dossani, Daneil C. Sneider and Vikram Sood eds. *Does South Asia Exist? : Prospects on Regionalism in South Asia* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2010)

"Reducing the Risk of Nuclear War in South Asia" in Henry L Sokolski, *Pakistan Nuclear Future: Reigning in the Risks* (Carlisle Barracks: US Army War College, 2009)

"Pakistan's Motivations and Calculations in the Kargil Conflict" co-authored with Peter Lavoy and Christopher Clary in Peter Lavoy ed. *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia : The Causes and Consequences of the Kargil Conflict* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

"Pakistan's Evolving Strategic Doctrine" in Wilson John ed. *Pakistan: The Struggle Within* (New Delhi: Pearson Longman 2009)

"Pakistan: The Dilemma of Deterrence" co- auth with Peter R Lavoy in Muthiah Alagappa ed. *The Long Shadow: Nuclear Weapons and Security in 21st Century Asia* (Stanford University Press, 2008)

"Atoms for Peace: A Future after Fifty Years" in Joseph Pilat ed. (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center and Los Alamos National Laboratories, 2006).

"Nuclear Signaling in South Asia: Missiles and Escalation Control," in Michael Krepon and Ziad Haider, eds., *Escalation Control in South Asia* (Washington, DC: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2004).

"Pakistan's Nuclear Future," in Michael Chambers, ed., *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances* (Carlisle, Penn.: Strategic Studies Institute, 2002).

Journal Articles, Reports, and Occasional Papers

"Minimum Deterrence: Pakistan's Dilemma", *RUSI Journal October/ November 2011* Vol. 156, No. 5

Key Contributions on Nuclear Security Index, forthcoming second edition.

Key Contributions to Nuclear Future Project: Strategic Assessment February 2011 under the aegis of Johns Hopkins University, Applied Physics Laboratory (APL) February 2011

"Prospects for Indian and Pakistani Arms Control and Confidence Building Measures" in *Naval War College Review*, Summer, 2010, Vol. 63, No. 3

"Nuclear Security in Pakistan: Separating Myth from Reality" in Arms Control Today, July /August 2009

"Pakistan's Perspectives on Global Elimination of Nuclear Weapons" in Barry Blechman ed. "Unblocking the Road to Zero Elimination of Nuclear Weapons: Pakistan and Israel, Stimson Nuclear Security Series Volume III (Washington DC: Henry L Stimson Center, 2009)

Key contributor to IISS Strategic Dossier "Nuclear Black Markets: Pakistan, AQ Khan and the rise of proliferation networks – A net assessment (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, May 2007)

"Nuclear Proliferation Motivations: Lessons from Pakistan", *The Non-Proliferation Review*, 13, No.3, (Special edition November 2006)

"Comparative Strategic Culture: The Case of Pakistan," *Strategic Insights* (Naval Postgraduate School), October 2005, www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si.

"Talking Now: A broad view of Changing Pakistan's Security Perspectives" *Force Magazine*, 2, No 9 May 2005, New Delhi, www.forceindia.net

"Dissuasion and Regional Allies: The Case of Pakistan" (with Christopher Clary), *Strategic Insights* (Naval Postgraduate School), October 2004, www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si.

"Rogue or Responsible Nuclear Power: Making Sense of Pakistan's Nuclear Practices" (with Peter Lavoy), *Strategic Insights* (Naval Postgraduate School), February 2004, www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si.

A Missile Stability Regime for South Asia, Occasional Paper (Albuquerque, NM: Cooperative Monitoring Center, Sandia National Laboratories, 2004).

"The Dependence-Independence Paradox: Stability Challenges in South Asia", *Arms Control Today*, October 2003.

"Challenges to Nuclear Stability in South Asia," *Nonproliferation Review* 10, no. 1 (Spring 2003).

"Rough Neighbors: Afghanistan and Pakistan" *Strategic Insights* (Naval Postgraduate School), January 10, 2003, www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si.

"South Asian Security: View from Pakistan" *Miller Center Report* (University of Virginia) 18, no. 4 (Fall 2002).

"Pakistan's Challenges and the Need for a Balanced Solution," *Strategic Insights* (Naval Postgraduate School), August 10, 2002, www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si.

"Navigating the Crossroads," *The Monitor: International Perspectives on Nonproliferation* (Center for International Trade and Security, University of Georgia) vol. 7, no. 3 (Fall 2001).

"Small Arms Transfers: Next Agenda in Conventional Arms Control," *Pakistan Defense Review*, Summer 2000.

"Export Control Mechanism: An instrument of Non-Proliferation," *Pakistan Defense Review*, Summer 1999.

"Trust and Confidence Building Measure in South Asia," *Pakistan Defense Review*, Winter 1998.

"Chemical Weapons Convention: One Year After," Pakistan Defense Review, 1998.

"Pakistan and Asian Pacific Security," Pakistan Defense Review, Summer 1997.

"The Scourge of Landmines and the Protocol," Pakistan Defense Review, Summer 1996.

"International Law and Implications for Land Forces," *Pakistan Defense Review*, Winter 1994.

"The Power Curves and Wars in South Asia," *Strategic Studies* (Islamabad, Pakistan), Vol.2 (1993).

Op-eds

"Let's stop being MAD, move to CBMs", The Times of India, New Delhi, September 10, 2011

"Building Trust in Asia Through Cooperative retirement of Obsolete missiles", The Friday Times, Lahore, September 2- 8, 2011, Vol XXII, No. 29

"A Nuclear Policy that Backfired," *Financial Times*, March 8, 2004.

"Pakistan `s Twisted Trail of Nuclear knowledge," *San Jose Mercury News*, January 25, 2004. Co-author with Peter Lavoy,

ORGANIZED CONFERENCES, WORKSHOPS, SIMULATIONS EXERCISES

Organized as Principle Investigator workshop *Crisis Simulation Exercise: Stability in South Asia* involving former officials and academics from India and Pakistan with support from Defense Threat Reduction Agency in Colombo, March 19 -23, 2013

Organized bilateral U.S. Pakistan Dialogue as Principle Investigator "Battlefield Nuclear Weapons and Deterrence Strategies "with support from National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) in Bangkok, September 15 -16, 2012. Organizing Second Iteration in Bangkok May 15- 17, 2013

Organized conference as Principle Investigator "A New Decade of Learning in South Asia" conference with support from National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) in Bangkok, May 22 -23, 2012

Organized event in support for Dr. William Perry and Secretary George Shultz at Stanford University "U.S – Pakistan Relations : A Track- II Dialogue, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, January 23- 24, 2012, August 24- 25, 2012 and forthcoming U.S.-Pakistan Dialogue on Nuclear Issues in Vienna, Austria, May 6- 7, 2013

Organized conference as Principle Investigator "U.S- Pakistan Track-II Strategic Dialogue: Sixth Iteration with support from Defense Threat Reduction Agency, Phuket, Thailand September 22-23, 2011

Organized conference as Principle Investigator "U.S- Pakistan Track-II Strategic Dialogue: Fifth Iteration" with support of Defense Threat Reduction Agency, at Singapore, October 6-8, 2010

Organized conference as Co- Principle Investigator "A Decade of Nuclear Learning", Conference Organized in support of National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) in Hawaii, Feb 8- 10, 2009

Organized conference as Principle Investigator U.S.- Pakistan Track- II Strategic Dialogue: Fourth Iteration in support of Defense Threat Reduction Agency, Dubai December 8- 10, 2009

Organized conference as Principle Investigator U.S- Pakistan Track –II Strategic Dialogue: Third Iteration, in support of Defense Threat Reduction Agency, Dubai, December 10 -12, 2008

Organized conference as US.- Pakistan Track –II Strategic Dialogue at Track- II: Second Iteration, co-hosted with Spearhead Research,(Lahore, Pakistan) in Washington D.C., September 21, 2007

U.S.- Pakistan Track-II Strategic Dialogue: First iteration co- hosted with Pakistan National Defence College, in Islamabad, Feb 24- 27, 2007

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS AND CONFERENCE PAPERS

"Pakistan's Triangular Tightrope Walking", Conference organized by Naval Postgraduate School at Phuket, Thailand on "Trilateral Politics: China, India and Pakistan, September 15-1 6, 2011

"Decommissioning SRBMs: Small Steps for Arms Control in South Asia" paper presented for Track-II Conference on "Strategic Stability in South Asia", organized by University of Ottawa at Palo Alto, July 6-9, 2011

" Pakistan's Minimum Deterrence Dilemma", paper presented on seminar on "Nuclear Stability at Low Numbers" organized by Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) London, June 20- 21, 2011

"National Risk Reduction Centers: New Communication Mechanism for South Asia, paper presented for Center for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS), New Delhi, December, 2, 2010

" Prospects for SRBMs Retirements between India and Pakistan" paper presented to conference on "Eliminating Retired SRBMs" jointly organized by Regional Center for Strategic Studies, Colombo, SriLanka and Center for Global Security Research, Lawrence Livermore national Laboratory, on September 15-16, 2010 at Colombo, Sri Lanka

" Security Impediments to Regionalism" Stanford University, Stanford, August 19- 20, 2008

"Cooperative Non- proliferation and Stability in South Asia" International Workshop organized by Landau Work-Centro Volta, Como, Italy, 1-2 October 2007

"Conflict in Afghanistan" in workshop on "Theory of Conflict" hosted by Institute of Defense Analysis(IDA) for U.S. Joint Forces Command (US JFCOM), in Alexandria, Virginia, 8-9 May 2007

"Pakistan and Role in Global Non-proliferation" on Workshop organized by Partnership for Global Security, Washington DC April 30, 2007

"Power Centers in FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Area) in workshop on "Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) of Pakistan by SPARTA INC, Arlington Virginia, March 13- 15, 2007

"Non-proliferation as a Policy Tool " presentation made at Seminar on Pakistan and the Non-Proliferation Regime " at School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC, Feb 14, 2007

"The AQ Khan Network: Lessons from Pakistan" presentation made at Seminar on "Advance Counter Proliferation" for FBI WMD Directorate in Monterey January 09-11, 2007

"The Future of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation" Seminar in University of Florida, Tampa, November 2, 3, 2006

"The Durand Line: Tribal Politics and Pakistan- Afghanistan Relations" in "Tribal politics in the Tri-border Region: The Baluch and Pashtun Tribes of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan" Conference organized by Centra September 21-22 in Monterey, California

"Nuclear Weapons Proliferation: 2016", Paper presented in the Conference "The Next Proliferator: Lessons from Pakistan" 27- 29 July 2006

"Islam and Science" paper presented in Conference at Centra, April 11, 2006 (Ballston: Virginia)

"Command and control in New Nuclear Nations", Paper presented in International Studies Association conference, San Diego, California, March 22- 25, 2006 "Changing Missions and Internal dynamics", conference on "Balancing Stability and Change: Political Reform, Islamic Activism, and Development for Pakistan, by the Center for Contemporary Conflict, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School and the Centre d'Études et de Recherché Internationales (CERI-Sciences Po) November 17- 18, 2005

"Comparative Strategic Culture: The Case of Pakistan", Conference on "Comparative Strategic Culture" by Center for Contemporary Conflict, Naval Postgraduate School. September 21- 23, 2005

"The Nuclear Dimension: India and Pakistan Military Stand-off 2002", Monterey, California, July 25-28, 2005

"Terms of Agreement: Implementation and Deepening of Test Launch notification " and " Next Steps in a Missile Regime for South Asia", Presentations on Conference on " Missile Issues and Stability in South Asia" at Gorse Hill, Surrey, UK by Mountbatten Center, University of Southampton, March 17- 19, 2005

"Nuclear Command and Control During Peace, Crisis, and War," conference on Strategic Stability in South Asia, sponsored by the University of Bradford, United Kingdom, October 7-8, 2004

"Pakistan and Nonproliferation," presentation to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Sweden, September 29, 2004

"Pakistan and Confidence-Building Measures," presentation to the Center for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Stockholm, Sweden, September 28, 2004

"Dissuasion and Regional Allies: The Case of Pakistan," presentation to the conference on "Dissuasion and U.S. Defense Strategy," sponsored by the Center for Contemporary Conflict, Naval Postgraduate School, September 22, 2004

"Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan," workshop on Pakistan, National Defense University, Washington, DC, August 31, 2004

"Pakistan's Nuclear Future," presentation to the seminar on "Public Policy and the Nuclear Threat," sponsored by the Institute of Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of San Diego, July 23, 2004.

"Pakistan's Nuclear Force Posture," presentation to the conference on "Strategic Stability in South Asia," sponsored by the Center for Contemporary Conflict, Naval Postgraduate School, June 30 to July 2, 2004.

"Nuclear Stability in South Asia," presentation to conference on "Peace, Security, and Prosperity in South Asia," sponsored by the Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad Pakistan, June 7-9, 2004.

"Pakistan and the United States: Partners in Regional Stability?" lecture to World Affairs Council of Oregon, Portland May 20, 2004

"Nuclear Doctrine and Nuclear Dilemmas in South Asia," workshop sponsored by Henry L Stimson Center, Woodstock, England, April 15-16, 2004

"A New Communication Mechanism in South Asia," Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers in

South Asia, Conference by the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Woodstock, Surrey, United Kingdom, March 11-13, 2004.

"Nuclear Stability in South Asia," seminar sponsored by the World Affairs Council and the University of California, Berkley, April 21, 2004.

"Pakistan and the Global War on Terrorism," and "Pakistan and Afghanistan Relations," presentations to conference on "Confronting Terrorism," Los Alamos National Laboratories, Los Alamos New Mexico, January 17-22, 2004

"South Asia Crisis Behavior- End of Crisis", conference on "Understanding South Asia Crisis Behavior, Social Science and Research Council" Washington DC, January 16-18, 2004

"Atoms for Peace: A Future After Fifty Years," Conference sponsored by Los Alamos National Laboratories at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Washington, DC, December 8, 2003.

"Nuclear Signaling: Missile Signaling in South Asia," 2nd Escalation Control Workshop, sponsored by the Henry L. Stimson Center, Woodstock, England, 20-24 May 2003.

"Enhancing Strategic Stability in South Asia" at Fifth Roundtable Conference on Strategic Stability in a Turbulent world, Science Applications International Corporation, McLean, VA, April 27-28, 2003.

"Strategic Stability in South Asia" at International Security Conference, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 21-22, 2003

"Future of South Asian Security," presentation at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC, Nov, 21, 2003

"South Asian Security: A Perspective from Pakistan," Miller Center, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, August 2002.

"Nuclear Issues in South Asia," Symposium on South Asia, Muslim Public Affairs Council, Washington, DC, July 25, 2002.

"Teetering at the Brink Once Again: India and Pakistan," conference paper presented to the Brookings Institution, July 15, 2002.

"Is South Asia the Most Dangerous Place in the World?" Conference on Kashmir, sponsored by the University of California, Los Angeles, April 14, 2002.

"Pakistan's Nuclear Future," Center for Asia-Pacific Policy (CAPP), RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, April 12, 2002.

"Today's Pakistan Army," Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, January 24, 2002.

"Pakistan's Nuclear Future" South Asia in 2020: Strategic Balances and Alliances, conference sponsored by the Asia-Pacific Center of Stanford University, January 4, 2002.

"Nuclear Safety and Security in Pakistan," presentation to the Henry L. Stimson Center, November 30, 2001.

"Arms Control Regimes in South Asia: Challenges and Prospects," at the Center for

International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Stanford University conference on South Asia, Bangkok, Thailand, August 2, 2001.

"Can an Arms Control Regime Be Constructed in South Asia?" at Cooperative Monitoring Center, Sandia National Laboratories, Albuquerque, New Mexico, July 5, 2001.

"Prospects of an Arms Control Regime in South Asia," Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, Washington, DC, December 14, 2000

"Constructing an Arms Control Regime," Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Stanford University, December 11, 2000.