

**Arzan Tarapore**  
www.arzantarapore.com / @arzandc

## **CURRENT POSITIONS**

---

Research Scholar, Center for International Security and Cooperation  
Stanford University, Palo Alto, Ca. (since 2023)

Senior non-resident fellow  
Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Canberra (since 2023)

## **EDUCATION**

---

PhD, War Studies Department, King's College London (2018)  
Dissertation: "Strategies of stalemate: explaining Indian military effectiveness, 1965-90"  
Committee: Rudra Chaudhuri, Walter Ladwig

MSc, International Relations, London School of Economics and Political Science (2004)  
Thesis: "Remaking India: National Norms and the Forging of a New Strategic Identity"

BA (Hons), Political Science and History, University of New South Wales (1999)  
First Class Honours, ranked 2<sup>nd</sup> in class  
Thesis: "Locking Up the World: System, Strategy, and the Keys to World Leadership"

### *Non-degree programs:*

Senior Executives in National and International Security, Harvard University (2012)  
International Exchange, Georgetown University (1997)

## **PREVIOUS PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

---

Stanford University, Palo Alto, Ca. (2020-23)  
South Asia research scholar, Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center.

Georgetown University, Washington DC (2019)  
Adjunct assistant professor, Security Studies Program, School of Foreign Service.

RAND Corporation, Washington DC (2016-18)  
Summer Associate and adjunct researcher.

East-West Center in Washington (2016)  
Asia Studies Visiting Fellow. Major project: "Beyond Shared Interests: US-India strategic relations."

Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi (2015-2016)  
Visiting Fellow. Major project: "The Indian Way of War."

Department of Defence, Canberra (2001-14)  
Various analytic, leadership, and liaison roles, supporting senior government policy-makers, operational planners, and deployed forces.

Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi (2004-05)  
Research intern. Major project: "Limited war in nuclear South Asia."

Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific, University of Sydney (2000)  
Research assistant.

## **TEACHING & RESEARCH INTERESTS**

---

Foreign and defense policy of India; Indo-Pacific security issues, including the Quad & AUKUS.  
Military strategy; International security; Intelligence policy and tradecraft.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

---

### ***Book manuscript***

*How India Fights: Military Strategy since 1965*. This book develops and applies a novel theoretical framework to understand the factors that have shaped Indian strategy in wartime. How India fights has implications for its ability to deter and fight wars, its capacity to shape the Indo-Pacific, and security cooperation with the United States and other partners.

### ***Peer-reviewed articles***

"Zone Balancing: India and the Quad's New Strategic Logic," *International Affairs* 99:1 (January 2023): 239-57. Selected as the editor's choice article for that issue.

"The View from Somewhere: Lessons from the Intelligence Failure in Iran," *Intelligence and National Security* (July 2022), DOI: 10.1080/02684527.2022.2102327.

"Defence Without Deterrence: Indian Strategy in the 1965 War," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/01402390.2019.1668274 (October 2019).

### ***Policy journal articles***

"Conditional Restraint: Why the Kargil war is not evidence of deterrence," *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, forthcoming November 2023.

"Minilaterals and Deterrence: A Critical New Nexus," (with Brendan Taylor), *Asia Policy* 17:4 (October 2022).

"Indian Ocean Strategic Futures: Re-examining Assumptions of Capability and Intent," (with David Brewster) and "Conclusion: Strategic Policy in the Indian Ocean Region," *Asia Policy* 16:3 (July 2021).

"Building Strategic Leverage in the Indian Ocean Region," *The Washington Quarterly* 43:4 (Winter 2021): 207-237.

"The Implications of BRI for U.S. Policy in South Asia," *Asia Policy* 14:2 (April 2019).

"India's Slow Emergence as a Regional Security Actor," *The Washington Quarterly*, 40:2 (Summer 2017): 163-78.

“Defence Intelligence Analysis in the Age of Big Data,” with Paul Symon, *Joint Force Quarterly*, No. 79 (September 2015).

### **Research reports and book chapters**

“Almost Parity: Understanding the India-Pakistan Conventional Military Balance,” in *Routledge Handbook on South Asian Foreign Policy*, ed. Aparna Pande, (London: Routledge, 2021).

“Mitigating the Risks of a China-India Conflict,” Strategic Insight, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 29 June 2021.

“The Crisis after the Crisis: How Ladakh will Shape India’s Competition with China,” Lowy Institute analysis, 6 May 2021.

“Exploring India’s Strategic Futures,” Special Report 88, National Bureau of Asian Research, 10 September 2020. Based on “Indian Strategic Futures,” paper authored under contract for U.S. Department of Defense, February 2019.

“The Army in Indian Military Strategy: Rethink Doctrine or Risk Irrelevance,” Carnegie India, 10 August 2020. Excerpted as “Indian Army’s orthodox doctrine distorts military strategy in Ladakh-type conflicts: Study,” *The Print*, 31 August 2020, and लद्दाख जैसे संघर्ष के मामलों में भारतीय सेना के पुराने सिद्धांत सैन्य रणनीति को प्रभावित करते हैं: स्टडी,” *The Print*, 1 September 2020.

“Asymmetric But Uneven: The China-India Conventional Military Balance,” with Oriana Skylar Mastro, in *Routledge Handbook of China-India Relations*, ed. by Kanti Bajpai, Selina Ho, and Manjari Chatterjee Miller (London: Routledge, 2020).

*Building Partner Air Forces: U.S. Aviation Focused Security Cooperation*, with Stacie L. Pettyjohn, Andrew Radin, Kathleen Reedy, Rich Girven, Rebecca Wasser, Rebecca Orrie, and Julia Thompson. (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, n.d.).

*Balancing Act: India’s Act East Policy and the U.S. Rebalance to Asia*, with Jonah Blank, Richard Girven, Julia Thompson, Arthur Chan, and Leslie Payne (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, n.d.).

“Managing Comprehensive Competition with China: Insights from Multi-Domain Battle,” in *Indian Defence Handbook 2018*, ed. Harsh V. Pant and Pushan Das, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi (April 2018).

*Vector Check: Prospects for US and Pakistan Air Power Engagement*, With Jonah Blank, Richard Girven, Julia Thompson, Rebecca Zimmerman, and Arthur Chan (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, March 2018).

“Indian Military Strategies,” in Sushant Singh and Pushan Das, eds., *Indian Defence Handbook 2016*, Observer Researcher Foundation, New Delhi (March 2016).

“Holocaust or Hollow Victory: Limited War in Nuclear South Asia,” Research Paper #6, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi (2005).

### **Commentary**

“India and the US gear up for strategic competition,” *The Strategist*, Australian Strategic Policy Institute (26 June 2023).

“America’s Best Bet in the Indo-Pacific,” *Foreign Affairs* online, 29 May 2023.

“What the Quad could learn from AUKUS,” *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute for International Policy (3 April 2023).

“Towards Meaningful Quad Cooperation on Intelligence,” *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute for International Policy (16 January 2023).

“A Risky New Status Quo,” *The Hindu*, 22 September 2022.

“AUKUS is Deeper than just Submarines,” *East Asia Forum*, 29 September 2021.

“Three Dilemmas Facing the Indo-Pacific’s Regional Order,” *Asia-Pacific Bulletin* 563, East-West Center (29 June 2021).

“India, China, and the Quad’s defining test,” *The Strategist*, Australian Strategic Policy Institute (29 June 2021).

“India-China Strategic Competition and the Costs of Ladakh Crisis,” South Asian Voices, Stimson Center (21 May 2021).

“Evaluate the Ladakh crisis, keep China at bay,” *The Hindu* (12 May 2021).

“India should prioritise a denial strategy in the Indian Ocean,” *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute for International Policy (9 February 2021).

“Our Terror,” *Inkstick* (3 December 2020).

“India and China are taking new risks along their border. It will be hard to restore peace,” *Washington Post* Monkey Cage blog (16 September 2020).

“Rethink the defence doctrine,” *The Hindu* (10 September 2020).

“India Does Not Need a Cold War Alliance,” *East Asia Forum* (27 July 2020).

“Breaking with Intelligence: Trump and the Case of Pandemic Blame,” *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute for International Policy (12 May 2020).

“Strength in numbers in the eastern Indian Ocean,” *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute for International Policy (12 December 2019).

“Rebalancing Counterterrorism: As Israel Shows, an Effective Strategy must be Comprehensive,” *The Hindu* (20 November 2019).

“A More Focused and Resilient U.S.-India Strategic Partnership,” Center for a New American Security (23 October 2019).

“Kashmir: A Casualty of India’s Rising Power Status?” with Sumit Ganguly, *The National Interest* (22 October 2019).

“New Security Challenges: Tests for the U.S.-Australia Alliance,” *NBR Brief* (17 June 2019).

“Balakot, Deterrence, and Risk: How This India-Pakistan Crisis will Shape the Next,” *War on the Rocks* (11 March 2019).

“The Geopolitics of the Quad,” *Commentary*, National Bureau of Asian Research (16 November 2018).

“How India’s Rise Can Complement U.S. Strategy,” *Lawfare*, Brookings Institution (7 October 2018).

“The Dangers of a Doctrine of Patriotism,” with Oriana Skylar Mastro, *The Hill* (29 September 2018).

“Using Uncertainty as Leverage: India’s Security Competition with China,” *War on the Rocks* (18 June 2018)

“Sop to China or Signal to Australia?” *The Indian Express* (11 May 2018).

“Australia is Not on the Fence Between America and China,” *War on the Rocks* (26 January 2018).

“Yes, North Korea could drive a wedge between the U.S. and South Korea,” with Oriana Skylar Mastro, *Washington Post* Monkey Cage blog, (12 January 2018).

“Redefining India’s Strategic Autonomy,” *Pragati* (20 December 2017), abridged and reprinted in *IAPS Dialogue* (1 February 2018).

“Countering Chinese Coercion: The Case of Doklam,” with Oriana Skylar Mastro, *War on the Rocks* (29 August 2017). Ranked 16<sup>th</sup>-most-read piece in 2017.

“Five Eyes at 70: Where to From Here?” with Cameron Colquhoun and Bradley Knopp, *Real Clear World* (20 April 2017).

“Three Ways to Improve Australia’s Intelligence Capability,” *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute for International Policy (3 April 2017).

“Along the Karakoram Highway: A Photo Essay,” *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute for International Policy (2-4 August 2016).

“Beyond Shared Interests: The US and the Evolution of Indian Military Strategy,” *Asia Pacific Bulletin* No. 343, East-West Center (19 May 2016).

“Intelligence Lessons from Pathankot,” *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute for International Policy (13 January 2016).

“India’s Use of Force: The Missing Indirect Approach,” *Issue Brief* #106, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi (17 September 2015).

“The New Army Doctrine in Limited War,” analysis, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, [www.ipcs.org](http://www.ipcs.org); reprinted in *Peace and Conflict*, New Delhi (2004).

## **SELECT CONFERENCES/PRESENTATIONS**

---

“Explaining Indian Military Strategy in the Kargil War,” International Studies Association annual convention (March 2023), the Center for Security and Economic Policy, New Delhi (August 2022), and the Center for Security And Cooperation, Stanford University (June 2022).

Indian thinking about, and preparations for, future war,” Australian Defence Services Staff College (October 2022).

“How Island State Challenges Correlate with Strategic Concerns,” Indian Ocean Island Forum, U.S. Near East and South Asia Center, Bangkok (June 2022) .

“Implications of China’s Rise for the Indo-Pacific and the India-China Border,” for Indian Army XXXIII Corps, Bagdogra (May 2022).

“Indirect Balancing: India and the Quad’s Strategic Logic,” paper presentation, International Studies Association annual meeting, virtually (March 2022).

“Shifting Strategic Centres of Gravity,” for Indian Army Training Command (March 2022).

“The Quad: What it is, what it isn’t, what it might become,” for National Security College, ANU (December 2021), and Quad Track 1.5 dialogue on critical and emerging technology (December 2021).

“Scenarios for Indian Ocean Futures,” National Security College, ANU (March 2021).

“Strategic Leverage in the Indian Ocean,” presented at ORF-Heritage *India on the Hill* conference (September 2019), Carnegie India, New Delhi (July 2019), the Office of National Intelligence (December 2019) and the Defence Intelligence Organisation (December 2019).

“Ground Forces in Indian Military Strategy,” Carnegie India, New Delhi (July 2019).

“The View from Somewhere,” presented to Office of National Assessments (December 2018) and the Defence Intelligence Organisation (December 2018).

“India as a Strategic Competitor to China,” NAPAG Speaker Series, U.S. Navy (June 2018).

“Not on the Fence: Australia’s new security challenges and responses,” Georgetown University School of Foreign Service (April 2018).

“Strategies of Stalemate: Explaining Indian Military Effectiveness,” paper presentation, International Security Studies Section / International Security and Arms Control annual conference, Washington, D.C. (October 2017), International Studies Association annual meeting, San Francisco (April 2018), United Services Institution of India, New Delhi (January 2016).

“Knowledge Gaps: Managing Uncertainty in Intelligence Assessments,” Intelligence Policy Center presentation, RAND Corporation (March 2017), and International Studies Association annual meeting, San Francisco (April 2018).

“Not on the Fence: Australia’s Evolving Security Challenges and Responses,” Security Studies Program seminar, Georgetown University (April 2018).

“Lessons from the Past: 1965, 1971, and the Future of India’s Military Planning,” seminar presentation, Brookings Institution India Center (April 2017).

“Beyond Shared Interests,” Asia Pacific foreign policy and defense seminar, East-West Center in Washington (May 2016).

“Patterns in Indian Warfighting,” distinguished speaker series, US Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence (May 2016).

“The Indirect Effects of Strategy,” paper presentation, International Studies Association annual meeting, Atlanta (March 2016).

“The Indian Way of War,” presented to Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi (January 2016), Office of National Assessments, Canberra (November 2015), and Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi (August 2015).

“Big Data in Military Intelligence,” Australian Army Intelligence Corps advanced course, Canberra (November 2015).