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EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Ph.D., History, University of Pennsylvania, 1967
A.M., Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, 1954
B.S. in Economics, University of Pennsylvania, 1951

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Academic

Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania
Chairman, Department of Political Science, 1991-1994
Professor of Politics and History, 1982-1970, Emeritus, 1970-
Visiting Professor of Political Science and Diplomat-in-
Residence, 1981-82
Mount Vernon College, Washington, D.C.
Lecturer in South Asian Studies, 1981
United States Military Academy, West Point, New York
Foreign Service Visiting Associate Professor in Social Sciences, 1971-74
Northern Virginia Center, University of Virginia, Falls
Church, Virginia (now George Mason University)
Adjunct Lecturer in International Relations and History, 1969-71
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Teaching Assistant in European History, 1955-56

Foreign Service

Officer-in-Charge, International Scientific Relations for the Near East, South Asia and Africa,
1978-80
Political Counselor, Dhaka, Bangladesh, 1976-78
Political Counselor, Accra, Ghana, 1974-76
Visiting Associate Professor in Social Sciences, United States Military Academy, 1971-74
Senior Political Officer for Pakistan and Afghanistan, 1969-71
Analyst for India, 1968-69
Deputy Principal Officer and Political Officer, Lahore, Pakistan, 1965-68
Student in South Asian Studies, University of Pennsylvania, 1964-65
Political Officer, New Delhi, India, 1961-64
Student in Hindi and Urdu, Foreign Service Institute, 1960-61

Vice Consul, Bombay, India, 1958-60

Program Officer, International Educational Exchange Service, Department of State, 1956-58

Military

United States Army, 1952-54

Other

Consultant: National Foreign Estimate Center; Department of State; United States Information Agency; Development Committee, American Institute of Indian Studies; Asia Foundation; Asia Society; Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies; Middle East Institute; National Defense University; Frost and Sullivan; National Bureau for Asian Research, Unocal Corporation among others.

Expert Witness: House Committee of Foreign Affairs, Subcommittees on Asia and the Pacific and on Human Rights and International Organizations.

American Institute of Bangladesh Studies: Chairman of Founding Committee, 1983-84; President, 1984-2000.

American Institute of Pakistan Studies: Trustee, 1988-2002, Member, Executive Committee, 1991-93; President, 1993-1999.

Middle Atlantic Region, Association of Asian Studies: Member, Advisory Council, 1986-1988, 1995-97; Member, Executive Committee, 1988-89, 1994-95 ; Treasurer, 1989-92; Vice President, 1992-93; President, 1993-1994.

Co-chairman, South Asia Panel, National Council on Foreign Languages and International Studies, 1980-81.

Director, Juniata Summer Seminar in India (under Fulbright-Hays grant), 1986.

Grantee, American Institute of Pakistan Studies, 1987.

Grantee (with Syedur Rahman), United States Institute of Peace, 1988-1990.

Member, Editorial Board, *International Journal of Punjab Studies*.

Lecturer at a number of universities and institutions including the Foreign Service Institute, Radcliffe College, Harvard University, Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania, University of Cincinnati, Pennsylvania State University, Wilkes University, National Defense University, Army War College, Dhaka University, Jehangirnagar University, College of William and Mary, Towson University, Juniata College, and the United States Military Academy.

Lectures at a number of professional clubs such as Rotary Clubs in Huntingdon; Mountain Top PA; Karachi, Islamabad, and Dhaka.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Foreign Service Association, 1957-

Association for Asian Studies, 1965-2006

Bengal Studies Conference, 1982-

Middle East Institute, 1982-1999

National Seminar on Pakistan and Bangladesh, Columbia University, 1969-74 (seminar, funded by the Ford Foundation, was discontinued in 1974).

Pakistan Studies Development Committee, 1969-75
Research Committee on the Punjab, 1965-1995; Member, Executive Committee, 1986-1990.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- The Jana Sangh, a Biography of an Indian Political Party* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969, and Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1971).
- District Voting Trends in India: a Research Tool* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).
- Bangladesh: a New Nation in an Old Setting* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1984).
- From Martial Law to Martial Law: Politics in the Punjab, 1919-1958* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1985, and Lahore: Vanguard Press, 1985). An edited and annotated translation of *Martial Law-se Martial Law-tak* (Urdu) by Syed Nur Ahmad.
- Zia's Pakistan: Politics and Stability in a Frontline State* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1985, and Lahore: Vanguard Press, 1986). Editor and contributor.
- Government and Politics in South Asia* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1987, and Lahore: Vanguard Press, 1988). With Yogendra K. Malik, Charles H. Kennedy, and Robert C. Oberst. Second edition: (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1990). Third edition: (Boulder CO: Westview Press, and Lahore: Pak Book Corporation, 1993). Fourth edition: (Boulder CO, 1998). Fifth edition: Boulder CO, 2002).
- Historical Dictionary of Bangladesh* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1989). Second edition: (Metuchen NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1996). Third edition: (Lanham MD: Scarecrow Press, and New Delhi: Vision Books, 2004) With Syedur Rahman.
- Pakistan: Authoritarianism in the 1980s* (Lahore: Vanguard Press, 1992). Editor with Syed Razi Wasti and contributor.
- Pakistan Under the Military: Eleven Years of Zia ul-Haq* (Boulder CO: Westview Press and Karachi: Pak Book Corporation, 1990). With Shahid Javed Burki.
- Pakistan 1997* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1997). Editor with Charles H. Kennedy.
- Pakistan 2000* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, and Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000). Editor with Charles H. Kennedy.
- Pakistan on the Brink* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, and Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004). Editor.
- Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, 1966-1972* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007). Edited and annotated by Craig Baxter.

Articles and Chapters in Collected Works

- "Germany's Christian Democratic Party," *Social Science*, XXX:1 (January, 1955).
- "The Jana Sangh: a Brief History," in Donald E. Smith, editor, *South Asian Politics and Religion* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966).
- "Pakistan Votes - 1970," *Asian Survey*, XI:3 (March, 1971).
- "Pakistan: the Failure of Political Negotiations," *Asian Survey*, XII:5 (May, 1972). Pseudonym: David Dunbar.
- "Pakistan and Bangladesh," in Richard F. Staar, editor, *1973 Yearbook of International Communist Affairs* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1973).

- "The People's Party vs. the Punjab 'Feudalists'," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, VII:3-4 (July-October, 1973). Also in J. Henry Korson, editor, *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan* (Leiden: Brill, 1974).
- "Pakistan," in Richard F. Staar, editor, *1974 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1974).
- "Bhutto - Two Years On," *The World Today*, XXX:1 (January, 1974). Pseudonym: David Dunbar.
- "India and Pakistan," in Gregory Henderson, Richard Ned Lebow, and John G. Stoessinger, editors, *Divided Nations in a Divided World* (New York: David McKay, 1974).
- "Constitution-Making: the Development of Federalism in Pakistan," *Asian Survey*, XIV:12 (December, 1974).
- "The Rise and Fall of the Bharatiya Kranti Dal in Uttar Pradesh," in Myron Weiner and John Osgood Field, editors, *Electoral Politics in the Indian States, Volume IV: Party Systems and Cleavages* (Delhi: Manohar, 1975).
- "Resources for the Study of Pakistan," in Maureen L.P. Patterson and Martin Yanuck, editors, *South Asia Library Resources: Papers from the Boston Conference* (Zug: Inter Documentation [Bibliotheca Asiatica II], 1975).
- "Socio-Economic Indicators of the People's Party Vote in the Punjab: a Study at the Tehsil Level," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXXIV:4 (August, 1975). With Shahid Javed Burki. Also in W. Howard Wriggins, editor, *Pakistan in Transition* (Islamabad: University of Islamabad Press, 1975).
- "Studies in the Development of Muslim Separatism," in W. Eric Gustafson, editor, *Pakistan and Bangladesh: Bibliographic Essays in the Social Sciences* (Islamabad: University of Islamabad Press, 1976).
- "The 1937 Election and the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact," by Sir Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana, edited by Craig Baxter, *Panjab Past and Present*, X:2 (October, 1976).
- "Union or Partition: Some Aspects of Politics in the Punjab, 1936-45," in Lawrence Ziring, Ralph Braibanti, and W. Howard Wriggins, editors, *Pakistan: the Long View* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1977).
- "Bangladesh Votes - 1978 and 1979," *Asian Survey*, XXI:4 (April, 1981). With M. Rashiduzzaman.
- "National Target for South Asian Specialists," published by South Asia Regional Studies, University of Pennsylvania, for National Council on Foreign Languages and International Studies. With Richard D. Lambert.
- "Bangladesh at Ten: and Appraisal of a Decade of Political Development," *The World Today*, 38:2 (February, 1982).
- "Bangladesh," *The Washington Quarterly*, V:2 (Spring, 1982).
- "Background Paper on Pakistan," New York, The Asia Society, December, 1982. Prepared for the visit of President Muhammad Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan.
- "Pakistan and Bangladesh," in Frederick L. Shiels, editor, *Ethnic Separatism and World Politics* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984).
- "Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia," *Journal of International Affairs*, 38/2 (Winter, 1985).
- Articles in *The Encyclopedia of Asian History* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1987). Edited by Ainslie T. Embree.
- "Pakistan and the Gulf," in Thomas Naff, editor, *Gulf Security in the Iran-Iraq War* (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1985).

- "India's Relations with Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran," in Hafeez Malik, editor, *Soviet-American Relations with Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran* (London: Macmillan, 1986, and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986).
- "Continuing Problems in Bangladesh," *Current History*, 85:290 (March, 1986).
- "Pakistan under Zia ul-Haq," in David H. Partington, editor, *The Middle East Annual: Issues and Events*, Volume 5, (1985), (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1986).
- "People's Republic of Bangladesh," in George E. Delury, editor, *World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties* (New York: Facts on File, 1987).
- "India and Pakistan: Continued Conflict or Emerging Cooperation?" *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, XI:1 and 2 (Fall/Winter, 1987).
- "Bangladesh," in Robert H. Taylor, editor, *Handbook on Asia and the Pacific* (New York: Facts on File, 1990).
- "Bangladesh Military: Political Institutionalization and Economic Development," in Charles H. Kennedy and David Louscher, editors, *Asian and African Military Regimes* (Leiden: Brill, 1991). With Syedur Rahman. Also in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XXVI: 1-2 (1991).
- "A New Pakistan Under a New and Changed Bhuttoism?" *Middle East Insight*, VI:4 (Winter, 1989).
- "The Struggle for Development in Bangladesh," *Current History*, December, 1989.
- "Zia ul-Haq and the Afghan Connection," in Adam Garfinkle, *Friendly Tyrants* (New York: St. Martin's Press, and London: Macmillan, 1991).
- "Domestic Politics" and "The International Environment," in Shahid Javed Burki and Craig Baxter, eds., *Pakistan Under Military Rule: A Decade of Zia ul-Haq* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991, and Lahore: Pak Publications, 1991).
- "Pakistan," in *Academic American Encyclopedia* (Hawleyville, CT: Grolier, 1991).
- "Bangladesh in 1990: Another New Beginning?" *Asian Survey* XXXI:2 (February 1991)
- "Bangladesh Votes-1991: *Asian Survey* XXXI:8 (August 1991). With Syedur Rahman.
- "Bangladesh in 1991," *Collier's Encyclopedia Yearbook*, 1992.
- "Bangladesh in 1991," *Funk and Wagnall's Encyclopedia Yearbook*, 1992.
- "Bangladesh in 1991: a Parliamentary System," *Asian Survey* XXXII:2 (February 1992).
- "Bangladesh: A Parliamentary Democracy if You Can Keep It," *Current History*, March, 1992.
- "How Will Pakistan Fare with Bill Clinton," *The Friday Times* (Lahore), December 17-23, 1992.
- "Bangladesh in 1992," *Collier's Encyclopedia Yearbook*, 1993.
- "Bangladesh in 1992," *Funk and Wagnall's Encyclopedia Yearbook*, 1993.
- "History," in *Pakistan, a Country Study* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1994).
- "History," in *Afghanistan, a Country Study* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1997, available only online).
- "Bangladesh in 1993," *Collier's Encyclopedia Yearbook*, 1994.
- "Bangladesh in 1993," *Funk and Wagnall's Encyclopedia Yearbook*, 1994.
- "Bangladesh," in *Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Political Parties* (New York: Facts on File, third edition, 1995).
- "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman," *New Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- "Bangladesh in 1994," *Collier's Encyclopedia Yearbook*, 1995.
- "Bangladesh in 1994," *Funk and Wagnall's Encyclopedia Yearbook*, 1995.
- "The American Institute of Pakistan Studies," *The News* (Islamabad), April 4, 1995.

"Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia Revisited," *Asian Studies* (Jahangirnagar University, Bangladesh), 1995.

"Bangladesh: Can Democracy Survive?" *Current History*, 95:600 (April 1996).

"A Second Two Nation Theory," *Holiday* (Dhaka), August 30, 1996.

"Has the System Failed?" *Dawn* (Karachi), August 14, 1997.

"Bangladesh War of Independence," *The Encyclopedia of Political Revolutions* (Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1998).

"Pakistan," *Collier's Encyclopedia*, 1999.

"Bangladesh," *Collier's Encyclopedia*, 1999.

"Political Development in Pakistan," in Hafeez Malik, editor, *Pakistan: Founders' Aspirations and Today's Realities* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Articles on Bangladesh in *Encarta Encyclopedia*, 2002.

Articles on Bangladesh and Pakistan, *Encyclopedia of Modern Asia*, 2002.

"Governance," in Donald Johnson, editor, *Teacher's Guide to India* (New York: Asia Society, 2004).

"Bangladesh," in *Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity* (Farmington Hills MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004).

"Bangladesh's Foreign Relations," in Devin T. Hagerty, editor, *South Asia in World Politics* (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004).

"Tajuddin Ahmed," *New Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005
(in the on-line additions).

"Bangladesh," and "Pakistan," in James V. DeFronzo, editor, *Revolutionary Movements in World History from 1750 to the Present* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006).

Conference Papers at meetings of the Asia Society, Association for Asia Studies, Middle Atlantic Region of the Association for Asian Studies, Middle East Institute, University of Wisconsin South Asia Conferences, and University of Pennsylvania South Asia Regional Studies among others.

Op-ed Pieces

Los Angeles Times, August 19, 1988.
Los Angeles Times, November 23, 1988.

Television Interviews

WTAJ, Altoona PA
WPSX, State College PA

Book Reviews

In *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Pacific Affairs*, *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, *South Asia in Review*, *Foreign Service Journal*, *Middle East Journal*, *Journal of Asian History*, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, *Pakistan Studies Newsletter*.

NON-ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Trustee, J.C. Blair Memorial Hospital Foundation, 2003-

Member, Huntingdon Rotary Club, 1982- ; president , 1995-1996.

Member, Blair Country chapter, Sons of the American Revolution

Member, Society of Mayflower Descendants

Member, Huntingdon Presbyterian Church, 1984-, Member of the Session