ARVIND PANAGARIYA

I. Personal Information

1. Title: Jagdish Bhagwati Professor of

Indian Political Economy & Professor of Economics

2. Address School of International & Public Affairs

Columbia University

420 West 118th Street, 829 IAB

MC 3323

New York NY 10027

U.S.A.

3. Office Phone (212) 854-5354

4. Office Fax (212) 854-5765

5. Email: <u>AP2231@Columbia.Edu</u>

6. Web page: http://www.Columbia/~ap2231/

7. Date of Birth: 30th September 1952

8. Marital Status: Married, 2 children

II. Exceptional Honor

Padma Bhushan: Third highest civilian honor bestowed by the President of India on behalf of the Government of India in any field (on March 22, 2012).

Vice Chairman, NITI Aayog, Government of India: The position carries the rank of a Cabinet Minister with the Prime Minister serving as the Chairman of the institution (January 13, 2015 to August 31, 2017). As the first Vice Chairman, I played a key role in shaping the institution.

III. Education

- 1. Ph.D. in Economics Princeton University, 1978 (Fields: International Economics and Development Economics)
- 2. M.A. in Economics, Rajasthan University, India, 1973; and B.A., Rajasthan University, India, 1971

IV. Public Policy Activities (Principally Focused on India)

- 1. <u>Vice Chairman, NITI Aayog, Government of India</u> (January 2015-August 2017): Initiated and implemented numerous economic reforms in India.
- 2. <u>Chief Economist</u>, Asian Development Bank (April-November, 2001). Appointed to a three-year term but resigned early for family reasons.
- 3. Adviser to the Board, US-India Strategic Policy Forum: (November 2017 to-date) The Forum works towards creating strategic partnership between the United States and India at the highest levels of the governments and businesses in the two countries. The Board consists of CEOs of the top corporations from the United States and India.
- 4. <u>Non-resident Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, Washington DC</u>: (September 15, 2007 to January 31, 2014)
- 5. <u>Member, International Advisory Board, Securities and Exchange Board of India</u> (November 2011 to November 2014)
- 6. Editor, India Policy Forum, (2004 to 2014) Founding editor of the journal jointly launched in 2004 by the Brookings Institution and the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER) and patterned after the Brooking Papers on Economic Activity.
- 7. Member, Independent Taskforce on South Asia and India (jointly sponsored by CFR and Asia Society). Report: *New Priorities in South Asia: U.S. Policy Towards India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan*, 2003, Council for Foreign Relations, New York.
- 8. <u>V.K.R.V. Rao Endowment Professor</u>, 2002-2003, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, India.
- 9. Overseas Member, Board of Governors, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), March 15, 2005-July 15, 2008).
- 10. Member, Committee to Review the Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research (IGIDR), Mumbai appointed by the Governor, Reserve Bank of India (January-May 2008).
- 11. Member, Committee on the Center on Advanced Financial Research and Learning (CAFRL) Committee appointed by the Governor, reserve bank of India (May-October 2009).

- 12. <u>Television Appearances</u>: International: Charlie Rose Show, BBC World News, ABC (World View), CNN (International), CNN (Asia), CNBC (Asia), Reuters TV (Asia), Report on Business (ROB) TV and Jim Lehrer Newshour on PBS; India: NDTV, Times Now, India Today TV, CNN-IBN, CNBC TV18, CNBC-Awaz, India TV and Bloomberg TV.
- 13. Monthly Newspaper Column: *Times of India* (June 2012 to December 2014 and December 2017 to-date) and *Economic Times* (June 1999 to August 2013).
- 14. <u>Guest Columns in Magazines and Newspapers</u>: Guest columns in *Financial Times*, Wall Street Journal, Forbes.Com, India Today, Hindustan Times, Indian Express, Hindu and Business Standard.
- 15. Interviews in Print: Multiple times in all leading Indian newspapers.

V. Employment History:

- 1. Professor of Economics & Jagdish Bhagwati Professor of Indian Political Economy (January 2004-to-date); and and Director, Deepak and Neera Raj Center on Indian Economic Policies (September 2017 to-date), School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University in New York City.
- 2. Vice Chairman, NITI Aayog, Government of India (January 2015-August 2017; on leave from Columbia University)
- 3. Professor of Economics (August 1989-January 2004); Associate Professor of Economics (August 1983-August 1989); Assistant Professor of Economics (August 1978-August 1983); and Co-director, Center for International Economics (August 1993-January 2004), Department of Economics, University of Maryland, College Park, MD.
- 4. Chief Economist, Asian Development Bank, Manila, Philippines (April–November 2001; appointed to a three-year term but resigned early due to family reasons).
- 5. V.K.R.V. Rao Endowment Professor, 2002-2003, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, India.
- 6. Principal Economist (March 1989-August 1993) and Senior Economist (June 1989-March 1993), World Bank. (On leave from the University of Maryland)
- 7. Lecturer in Economics (July 1973-August 1974), Department of Economics, Rajasthan University, Jaipur, India
- 8. Visiting Scholar at the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and UNCTAD and director of a major research project for the Asian Development Bank.

VI. Editorial Responsibilities

- 1. Editor, *India Policy Forum* (2004 to 2014).
- 2. Editor, *Journal of Policy Reform*, Harwood Academic Press (1996-2001) (currently with Routledge, Abingdon, U.K.): Founding Editor (with Dani Rodrik)
- 3. Associate Editor, *Economics and Politics*, Basil Blackwell (1999-present).
- 4. Board of Editors, *Journal of International Trade and Economic Development* (2002-to-date),
- 5. Board of Editors, *Journal of Policy Reform*, Routledge, Abingdon, U.K. (2001-to-date)
- 6. Board of Editors, *Trade and Development Review*, Jadavpur University and UNCTAD (2008 to-date).
- 7. Board of Editors, International Journal of Development and Conflict, World Scientific.
- 8. Margin, the Journal of Applied Economics, national Council on Applied Economic Research.

VII. Research Grants and/or Contracts

- 1. Templeton Foundation Grant: \$2 million for the Program on Indian Economic Polices at Columbia University (October 1, 2010 to September 30, 2012).
- 2. The World Bank Research Committee, July 1991- April 1993, "Commodity Exports and Real Income in Africa," \$131,500 (with Maurice Schiff).
- 3. The World Bank Research Committee, January 1992 June 1992, "New Dimensions in Regional Integration," \$54,000 (with Jaime de Melo).
- 4. The National Council for Soviet and East European Research, June 15, 1988 June 14, 1989. \$50,000.
- 5. Faculty Research Award of the General Research Board, University of Maryland (1981).
- 6. Faculty Research Award of the General Research Board, University of Maryland (1979).

VIII. Publications

VIII.A Collected Essays

1. Regionalism in Trade Policy: Essays on Preferential Trading, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., November 1999.

VIII.B Other Books

- 2. *New Dimensions in Regional Integration*, ed. (with Jaime de Melo), Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- 3. *The New Regionalism in Trade Policy*, (with Jaime de Melo), World Bank, 1992, short booklet.
- 4. *The Economics of Preferential Trade Agreements*, ed. (with J. Bhagwati), Washington, D.C.: AEI Press, November 1996.
- 5. *The Global Trading System and Developing Asia* (with M.G. Quibria and Narhari Rao), ed., Hong Kong: Oxford University Press for the Asian Development Bank, December 1997.
- 6. *Lectures on International Trade* (with J. Bhagwati and T.N. Srinivasan), Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, September 1998.
- 7. Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements (edited with J. Bhagwati and Pravin Krishna), Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, February 1999.
- 8. Environmental and Public Economics. Essays in Honor of Wallace E. Oates (edited with Paul Portney and Robert Schwab), Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing Co., 1999.
- 9. *The Political Economy of Foreign Trade, Aid and Investment Policies* (edited with Devashish Mitra), Elsevier, Amsterdam, 2004.
- 10. *Trade, Globalization and Poverty* (editor with Elias Dinopoulos, Pravin Krishna and Kar-yiu Wong), Oxon, U.K: Routledge, December 2007.
- 11. *India: The Emerging Giant*, New York: Oxford University Press, March 2008, 544 pages. [Listed as a "Top Pick of 2008" by the *Economist* magazine and described as "the definitive book on the Indian economy" by Fareed Zakaria of the CNN and Newsweek International.] Paperback edition has come out in April 2010.
- 12. *India's Reforms: How they Produced Inclusive Growth* (edited with Jagdish Bhagwati), Oxford University Press, New York, (April 26, 2012), 312 pages: First in

- the series Studies in Indian Economic Policies under the general editorship of Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya.
- 13. *Reforms and Economic Transformation in India* (edited with Jagdish Bhagwati), Oxford University Press, New York, (November 2, 2012; 312 pages). Second in the series Studies in Indian Economic Policies under the general editorship of Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya.
- 14. India's Tryst with Destiny: Debunking Myths that Undermine Progress and Addressing New Challenges (with Jagdish Bhagwati), Harper Collins, New Delhi, 304 pages.
- 15. Why Growth Matters: How Economic Growth in India reduced Poverty and the Lessons for Other Developing Countries" (with Jagdish Bhagwati). April 9 2013, Public Affairs, USA. (This is an expanded version of India's Tryst with Destiny with a long preface published outside South Asia).
- 16. State Level Reforms, Growth and Development in Indian States (with Pinaki Chakraborty and M. Govinda Rao), Oxford University Press, New York, (May 2014). Third in the series Studies in Indian Economic Policies under the general editorship of Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya.
- 17. Making of Miracles in Indian States: Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Gujarat, (edited with M. Govinda Rao), Oxford university Press, New York (May 2015). Fourth in the series Studies in Indian Economic Policies under the general editorship of Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya
- 18. *The World Trade System: Trends and Challenges* (edited with Jagdish Bhagwati and Pravin Krishna), 2016, MIT Press.
- 19. Trade and Prosperity: How Trade Openness Helped the Developing Countries Grow Richer and Combat Poverty, Oxford University Press, New York (forthcoming)

VIII.C Technical Papers

- 1. "Variable Returns to Scale in Production and Patterns of Specialization," *American Economic Review*, March 1981, 221-230.
- 2. "Gains from Trade under Variable Returns to Scale, Commodity Taxation, Tariffs and Factor Market Distortions" (with J. Eaton), *Journal of International Economics*, November 1979, 481-501.
- 3. "Import Targets and the Equivalence of Optimal Tariff and Quota Structures," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, November 1980, 711-715.

- 4. "Quantitative Restrictions in International Trade under Monopoly," *Journal of International Economics*, February 1981, 15-31.
- 5. "Variable Returns to Scale in General Equilibrium Theory Once Again," *Journal of International Economics*, November 1980, 499-526.
- 6. "Tariff Policy under Monopoly in General Equilibrium," *International Economic Review*, February 1982, 143-156.
- 7. "Growth and Welfare in a Small, Open Economy" (with J. Eaton), *Economica*, November 1982, 409-419.
- 8. "Import Objective, Distortions, and Optimal Tax Structure: A Generalization," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August 1983, 515-524.
- 9. "Variable Returns to Scale and the Heckscher-Ohlin and Factor Price Equalization Theorems," *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, 1983, Vol. 119, 259-280.
- 10. "Trade and Factor Prices in a Model of Capital Utilization" (with R. Betancourt and C. Clague), *Southern Economic Journal*, 1984, Vol 50, 734-742.
- 11. "Smuggling, Trade and Price Disparity: A Crime Theoretic Approach" (with L. Martin), *Journal of International Economics*, November 1984, 201-217. (Lead Article)
- 12. "Capital Utilization and Factor Specificity" (with R. Betancourt and C. Clague), *Review of Economic Studies*, 1985, Vol. 52 311-329.
- 13. "The Harris-Todaro Model and Economies of Scale" (with Patricia Succar), *Southern Economic Journal*, April 1986, 984-998.
- 14. "Increasing Returns, Dynamic Stability, and International Trade," *Journal of International Economics*, 20, 1986, 43-63.
- 15. "Increasing Returns and the Specific-Factors Model," *Southern Economic Journal*, July 1986, 1-17. (Lead Article)
- 16. "Capital Utilization in the Heckscher-Ohlin Model" (with R. Betancourt and C. Clague), *International Trade Journal*, September 1987, 1-22. (Lead Article)
- 17. "A Theoretical Explanation of Some Stylized Facts of Economic Growth," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August 1988, 509-526.
- 18. "Excise-Tax Evasion: A Welfare cum Crime Theoretic Analysis" (with A.V.L. Narayana), *Public Finance*, 1988 Vol. 43, pp. 248-260.

- 19. "The Parallel Market in Centrally Planned Economies", *Economics and Politics*, July 1989, Vol. 1, 161-179.
- 20. "Excise Tax Evasion: Reply to Tower," (with A.V.L. Narayana), *Public Finance* 44, No. 3, 1989, 510-512.
- 21. "Temporary Trade Taxes, Welfare and the Current Account," (with Ramon Lopez), 1990, *Economics Letters* 33, 347-351.
- 22. "The Parallel Market in Centrally Planned Economies: A Dynamic Analysis," September 1990, *Journal of Comparative Economics* 14, 353-371.
- 23. "Indicative Planning in India: Discussion," December 1990, *Journal of Comparative Economics* 14, 736-742.
- 24. "Input Tariffs, Duty Drawbacks and Tariff Reforms," *Journal of International Economics*, February 1992, 132-147.
- 25. "Temporary Import and Export Quotas and the Current Account," (with Ramon Lopez), *Journal of International Economics*, November 1991, 371-381.
- 26. "Factor Mobility, Trade and Welfare: A North-South Analysis with Economies of Scale," *Journal of Development Economics* 39, 1992, 229-245.
- 27. "On the Theory of Piecemeal Tariff Reform: The Case of Pure Imported Intermediate Inputs," (with Ramon Lopez), *American Economic Review*, June, 1992, 615-625.
- 28. "Political Economy Arguments for a Uniform Tariff," *International Economic Review*, August 1993, 685-703.
- 29. "Can Revenue Maximizing Export Taxes Yield Higher Welfare than Welfare Maximizing Export Taxes?" (with Maurice Schiff), *Economics Letters*, 1994, Vol. 45, 79-84.
- 30. "A Political Economy Analysis of Free Trade Areas and Customs Unions," (with Ronald Findlay), in Robert Feenstra, Gene Grossman, and Douglas Irwin, eds., *The Political Economy of Trade Reform*, essays in honor of Jagdish Bhagwati, MIT Press, 1996. Reproduced as Chapter 17 in Bhagwati, J., P. Krishna and Arvind Panagariya, eds., *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, February 1999.
- 31. "Why and Why-Not of Uniform Tariffs," *Economic Studies Quarterly*, September 1994, 303-321.

- 32. "Explaining the Pattern of Factor Flows between the North and the South." *Osaka Economic Papers* 40, March 1991, 199-209.
- 33. "The Theory of Preferential Trade Agreements: Historical Evolution and Current Trends," (with Jagdish Bhagwati), *American Economic Review*, May 1996.
- 34. "The Meade Model of Preferential Trading: History, Analytics and Policy Implications," in Cohen, B.J., *International Trade and Finance: New Frontiers for Research*, Essays in Honor of Peter B. Kenen, Cambridge University Press, October 1997, 57-88. Reproduced as chapter 2 in Bhagwati, J., P. Krishna and Arvind Panagariya, eds., *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, February 1999.
- 35. "Preferential Trading and Capital Mobility," (with S. Suthiwart-Narueput) *Eastern Economic Journal* 22, No. 4, Fall 1996.
- 36. "Regional Integration and the Environment," (with S. Suthiwart-Narueput), *Environmental and Development Economics*, 1997.
- 37. "Preferential Trading and Real Wages," (with S. Suthiwart-Narueput) *Review of International Economics* 6, No. 3, August 1998.
- 38. "Preferential Trading and the Myth of Natural Trading Partners," *Japan and the World Economy* 9, 471-489, 1997.
- 39. "Trading Preferentially: Theory and Policy," (with Jagdish Bhagwati and David Greenaway), *Economic Journal*, July 1998, 1128-1148.
- 40. "Do Transport Costs Justify *Regional* Preferential Trading Arrangements? No." *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* 134(2), 1998, 280-301.
- 41. "Anti-dumping Duty versus Price Competition," (with Poonam Gupta) World Economy 21(8), 1998, 1003-1019.
- 42. "The 'Gains' from Preferential Trade Liberalization in the CGEs: Where Do They Come From?" (with Rupa Duttagupta), in Sajal Lahiri, ed., *Regionalism and Globalization: Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge, 2001, 39-60.
- 43. "Evaluating the Factor-Content Approach to Measuring the Effect of Trade on Wage Inequality," *Journal of International Economics* 50(1), 2000 (Special Millennium and 50th Anniversary issue)
- 44. "Preferential Trade Liberalization: The Traditional Theory and New Developments," *Journal of Economic Literature* 38, June 2000, 287-331.

- 45. "Defense and Welfare under Rivalry," (with Hirofumi Shibata) *International Economic Review* 41(4), November 2000, 951-69.
- 46. "A Unification of the Second Best Results in International Trade," (with Pravin Krishna) *Journal of International Economics* 52(2), 235-257, December 2000.
- 47. "Demand Elasticities in International Trade: Are They Really Low?" (with Shekhar Shah and Deepak Mishra), *Journal of Development Economics* 64, 2001, 313-342.
- 48. "On Welfare Enhancing FTAs," (with Pravin Krishna), *Journal of International Economics* 57(2), August 2002, 353-367.
- 49. "Politics of Free Trade Area: Tariffs versus Quotas," (with Rupa Duttagupta) *Journal of International Economics* 58(2), 413-427, December 2002.
- 50. "Cost of Protection: Where do We Stand?" *American Economic Review. Papers and Proceedings*, May 2002, 175-179.
- 51. "Anti-trade Bias in Trade Policy and General Equilibrium," (with Nuno Limao) *Contributions to Economic Analysis and Policy*, 2004, Vol. 3: No. 1, Article 14.
- 52. "India's Trade Reform" *India Policy Forum*, 2004, Volume 1, 1-57.
- 53. "The Muddles over Outsourcing," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Volume 18, Number 4 (November 2004), pp. 93-114.
- 54. "Injury Investigations in Antidumping and the Super-Additivity Effect: A Theoretical Explanation (with Poonam Gupta), *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* 142(1), 2006, 151-164.
- 55. "Bhagwati and Ramaswami: Why it <u>is</u> a Classic," *World Economy* 29(11), November 2006, 1553-1570.
- 56. "International Trade," in Clark, David, ed., *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*, 2006, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 295-8.
- 57. "Migration: Who Gains, Who Loses," in Susan M. Collins and Carol Graham, editors, *Brookings Trade Forum 2006: Global Labor Markets?* 2006, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 229-244.
- 58. "International Trade." In David Clark, ed., *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*, 2006, 295-298.
- 59. "Preferential Trading and General Equilibrium: The Small-Union Case Revisited," in Dinopoulos, Elias, Pravin Krishna, Arvind Panagariya and Kar-yiu Wong, eds., *Trade, Globalization and Poverty*, Oxon, U.K.: Routledge, December 2007.

- 60. "Inequality and Endogenous Trade Policy Outcomes," *Journal of International Economics* (with Nuno Limao) 72(2), pages 292-309, July 2007.
- 61. "Free Trade Areas and Rules of Origin: Economics and Politics" (with Rupa Duttagupta), *Economics and Politics* 19(2), 169-190, July 2007
- 62. "Bhagwati, Jagdish," International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, October 2007.
- 63. "Tariffs versus Quotas," New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics, May 2008.
- 64. "Heckscher-Ohlin Model," *The Princeton Encyclopedia of the World Economy*, 2009.
- 65. "Indian Economic Development," *New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics Online*, September 2009.
- 66. "The 4-quadrant diagram depicting the Heckscher-Ohlin model." In Mark Blaug and Peter Lloyd, eds. 2010, *Famous Figures and Diagrams in Economics*, Edward Elgar.
- 67. "Economic Reforms and Electoral Outcomes," (with Poonam Gupta) in Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, eds., *India's Reforms: How they Produced Inclusive New York: Oxford University Press, March 2012*, pp. 51-87.
- 68. "Growth, Openness and the Socially Disadvantaged" (with Megha Mukim) in Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, eds., *India's Reforms: How they Produced Inclusive New York: Oxford University Press, March 2012*, pp. 186-246.
- 69. "Some Surprising Facts About the Concentration of Trade Across Commodities and Trading Partners (with Nitika Bagaria), *The World Economy* 6 MAR 2013, DOI: 10.1111/twec.12060, pp. 1-22.
- 70. "Does India Really Suffer from Worse Child Malnutrition than Sub-Saharan Africa?" *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 2013.
- 71. "Services Growth in India: A Look Inside the Black Box" (with Rajeev Dehejia). In Bhagwati, Jagdish and Arvind Panagariya, ed., 2012, *Reforms and Economic Transformation in India*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 86-118.
- 72. "Entrepreneurship in Services and the Socially Disadvantaged in India" (with Rajeev Dehejia). In Bhagwati, Jagdish and Arvind Panagariya, ed., 2012, *Reforms and Economic Transformation in India*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 86-118.

- 73. "Indian Economy: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow." In Steven N. Durlauf and Lawrence E. Blume, ed., *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, Online Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012
- 74. "A Comprehensive Analysis of Poverty in India," (with Megha Mukim), *Asian Development Review*, Asian Development Review, March 2014, MIT Press, vol. 31(1), 1-52.
- 75. "Growth and election Outcomes in a Developing Country," *Economics and Politics*, forthcoming (with Poonam Gupta), Volume 26, Issue 2, July 2014, Pages: 332–354.
- 76. "Poverty by Social, Religious and Economic Groups in India and its Largest States: 1993-94 to 2011-12," (with Vishal More), *Indian Growth and Development Review*, forthcoming (with Vishal More), Volume 7, issue 2, 2014, 202-230.

VIII.D Policy Papers: India/South Asia (Also see press writings in Section VIII.F)

- 1. "The Caste System and Economic Development," *Rajasthan Economic Journal*, July 1981, 1-15.
- 2. "India: A New Tiger on the Block?" *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 48, No. 1, Summer 1994, pp. 193-221
- 3. "What Can We Learn from China's Export Strategy?" *Finance and Development*, June 1995.
- 4. "Trade Policy in South Asia: Recent Liberalization and Future Agenda," World Economy 22(3), May 1999, 353-378.
- 5. "WTO Trade Policy Review of India, 1998," World Economy, August 1999, 799-824.
- 6. "The Millennium Budget: Behind Its Time?," *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 4-10, 2000, 755-758.
- 7. "India's Economic Reforms: What has been accomplished? What remains to be done?" EDRC Policy Brief 2, November 2001, Asian Development Bank, Manila, Philippines
- 8. "Trade Liberalization in Asia," in Jagdish Bhagwati, ed., *Going Alone: The case for Relaxed Reciprocity in Freeing Trade*, Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 2002, 219-301.
- 9. "India at Doha: Retrospect and Prospect," *Economic and Political Weekly* 37(4), January 26, 2002, 279-284.
- 10. "South Asia: Does Preferential Trade Liberalization Make Sense?" *World Economy*, 2003, Volume 26, no. 9 (special issue on Global Trade Policy), pp. 1279-1291.

- 11. "India in the 1980s and 1990s: A Triumph of Reforms", IMF Working Paper WP/04/43. Forthcoming in Tseng, W. and D. Cowen, eds., *India's and China's Recent Experience with Reform and Growth*, Palgrave-Macmillan, London, forthcoming.
- 12. "Is a Crisis Around the Corner?" (Comment on "A Balance Sheet Crisis in India," by Nouriel Roubini and Richard Hemming) in Peter S. Heller and Govinda Rao, *A Sustainable Fiscal Policy for India: An International Perspective*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006.
- 13. "India: Are the Skeptics Right?" IMF Survey 32, number 21, December 1, 2003.
- 14. "Growth and reforms during 1980s and 1990s," *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 19, 2004, 2581-94
- 15. "Vote Against Reforms?" Economic and Political Weekly, May 22, 2004.
- 16. Bringing Competition to the Top Civil Service," *Yojana* (published in 13 Indian languages simultaneously), August 2005.
- 17. "Why India lags behind China and how it can Bridge the Gap," *World Economy* 30 (2), 229–248, February 2007.
- 18. "India and the WTO," in Kaushik Basu, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Economics in India*, 562-5, 2007.
- 19. 'India and China: Trade and Foreign Investment', paper presented at the conference 'Challenges of Economic Policy Reform in Asia', Stanford Center for International Development, June 1-3, 2006. To be published in a volume edited by T. N. Srinivasan.
- 20. 'Transforming India', in Jagdish Bhagwati and Charles Calomiris, eds., *Sustaining India's Growth Miracle*, New York: Columbia University Press, April 2008., pp. 9-45.
- 21. 'The Political Economy of Trade and Foreign Investment Policies in India: 1950-2006,' paper presented at the conference 'Applied Economic Research in Independent India: The Way Forward', National Council on Applied Economic Research, December 17, 2006. To be published in a volume edited by Suman Bery, Surjit Bhalla and Rakesh Mohan.
- 22. 'External Liberalization by India and China: Recent Experience and Future Challenges,' presented at Macroeconomy Research Conference of the Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies, December 6-7, 2006.

- 23. "The Indian Growth Miracle: What are the Lessons?" *ASCI Journal of Management* 38(1), 70-85.
- 24. "Reorienting India's Public Sector." In Bibek Debroy, ed., *The Crossover: Public Sector in Globalized India*, 2008.
- 25. "Building a Modern India," in *India 2010*, New Delhi: Business Standard, 2010, pp. 3-14.
- 26. "India on the growth Turnpike: No State Left behind," Chapter 1 in Kochhar, Sameer, ed., *India on the Growth Turnpike*, March 2010.
- 27. "The Global Professional: Demographic Change and the Rise of India," 2011, *Harvard International Review* Winter, Vol. XXXII, No. 4, pp. 40-45.
- 28. "India: A Global Economic Power?" 2011, *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring-Summer, Vol. 64, No. 2, pp. 197-212.
- 29. "Understanding the crisis and its aftermath," *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 26, 2011, pp. 33-35.
- 30. "India's unfinished Business," Foreign Policy, November 4, 2010.
- 31. "Avoiding Lopsided Spatial Transformation," in Ejaz Ghani, ed., *Reshaping Tomorrow: Is South Asia ready for the Big Leap?* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 143-167.
- 32. "Introduction: Trade, Poverty, Inequality and Democracy," (with Jagdish Bhagwati) in Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, eds., *India's Reforms: How they Produced Inclusive New York: Oxford University Press, March* 2012, pp. 3-17.
- 33. "India and China: Trade and Foreign Investment." In N. Hope, A. Kochar, R. Noll and T. N. Srinivasan, ed., 2013, *Economic Reform in India*, Cambridge university Press, pp. 96-138.
- 34. "External liberalization by India and China: recent experience and future challenges" (with Asha Sundaram), *India Growth and Development Review* 6(1).
- 35. "Introduction" (with Jagdish Bhagwati,) in Bhagwati, Jagdish and Arvind Panagariya, ed., *India's Reforms: How they Produced Inclusive Growth*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 3-17.
- 36. "Introduction" (with Jagdish Bhagwati), in Bhagwati, Jagdish and Arvind Panagariya, ed., *Reforms and Economic Transformation in India*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 1-12.

- 37. "Indian Economy: Retrospect and Prospect," Richard Snape Memorial Lecture 2013, 6 November 2013, Productivity Commission, Australian Government, Melbourne.
- 38. "A Reform Agenda for India's New Government," C. D. Deshmukh Memorial Lecture 2014, 11 February 2014, National Council on Applied Economic Research, New Delhi.
- 39. "The Promise of Modinomics: How the New Prime Minister can Bring Back Growth," *Foreign Affairs* http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141556/arvind-panagariya/the-promise-of-modinomics, accessed 18 March 2015.
- 40. "Fixing the economy: What all PM Modi needs to do to fix the economy," *India Today*, 26 June 2014 (Cover Story).
- 41. "Time to change course: No magic bullet that can cure the ills of Indian education system," *India Today*, 1 August 2014
- 42. "Launching India into a Double-digit Growth Orbit," *Seminar* (Annual), January 2015, #665, 45-50.
- 43. "India: Three and a Half Years of Modinomics," Working Paper 2018-1, Deepak and Neera Raj Center on Indian Economic Policies, Columbia University.

VIII.E Trade and Development

- 1. "Commodity Exports and Real Income in Africa: A Preliminary Analysis," (with Maurice Schiff) in Chhibber, A. and Fischer, S., eds., *Economic Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa*, The World Bank, 1991, Published in Spanish under the title "Politica Comercial Exportaciones de Productos Basicos y Bienestar: Teoria y Aplicacion al Cocoa" in *Cuadernos de Economia* 28, 249-269, August 1991.
- 2. "Taxes versus Quotas: The Case of Cocoa Exports," (with Maurice Schiff), in Goldin, I. and Winters, A., *Open Economies: Structural Adjustment and Agriculture*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- 3. "Unraveling the Mysteries of China's Foreign Trade Regime," *World Economy*, January 1993, 51-68.
- 4. "Introduction," in "A Symposium on the Economics of Uniform Tariffs," *Economic Studies Quarterly*, September 1994.
- 5. "Optimum and Revenue Maximizing Trade Taxes in a Multicountry Framework: Theory and Application to Cocoa," (with Maurice Schiff), *Revista de Analisis Economico*, June 1995.

- 6. "The Theory and Practice of Trade Reform: A Public Economics Perspective," (with Shanta Devarajan) in Guillermo Perry, John Whalley and Gary McMohan, eds., *Fiscal Reform and Structural Change in Developing Countries*, Volume 2, New York: St. Martin's Press and International Development Research Center, 2000.
- 7. "Introduction," (with M.G. Quibria and N. Rao) in Arvind Panagariya, Muhamed Quibria and Narhari Rao), eds., *The Global Trading System and Developing Asia*, December, 1997, 3-44.
- 8. "TRIPs and the WTO: An Uneasy Marriage," in Bhagwati, J., ed., *The Next Negotiating Round: Examining the Agenda for Seattle*, Proceedings of the Conference Held at Columbia University, July 23-24, 1999, 91-102, chapter 11. Also in Keith Maskus, *The WTO*, *Intellectual Property Rights and the Knowledge Economy*, 2004, London: Edward Elgar.
- 9. "Free Trade at the Border," in Bhagwati, J., ed., *The Next Negotiating Round: Examining the Agenda for Seattle*, Proceedings of the Conference Held at Columbia University, July 23-24, 1999, 209-223, chapter 20.
- 10. "E-Commerce, WTO and Developing Countries," *World Economy* 23, No. 8, August 2000, 959-978. Also in Kariyawasam, Rohan, ed., *The TO, Communications, E-commerce and the Internet*, 2009, London: Edward Elgar.
- 11. "Trade-Labor Link: A Post-Seattle Analysis," in Drabek, Zdenek, *Globalization under Threat*, Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar, 2001,101-123.
- 12. "Developing Countries at Doha: A Political Economy Analysis," *World Economy: Global Trade Policy: 2002* (special issue, by invitation only) 25, No. 9, 1205-33.
- 13. "Evaluating the Case for Export Subsidies," in David Greenaway, Reanto Flôres and Germán Calfat, ed., Essays in Honor of Mathew Tharakan, forthcoming [available as Policy Research Working Paper 2276, World Bank, January 2000].
- 14. "Labor Standards and Trade Sanctions: Right End Wrong Means," in Devashish Mitra and Rana Hasan, eds., *The Impact of Trade on Labor: Issues, Perspectives, and Experiences from Developing Asia*, 2003, North Holland, 141-157.
- 15. "Wanted: Jubilee 2010. Dismantling Protection" (with Jagdish Bhagwati), OECD Observer, No. 231/232, May 2002, 27-29.
- 16. "Trade Liberalization and Food Security: Conceptual Links." in *Trade Reforms and Food Security*, 2003, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome Chapter 3, 25-42.

- 17. "Equality versus Poverty," *Tech Central Station* (an interview by Radley Balko), August 4, 2003.
- 18. "Think Again: International Trade," *Foreign Policy*, November-December 2003, 20-28.
- 19. "Aid through Trade: An Effective Option?" forthcoming in an edited volume by the Center for Global Development.
- 20. "The Millennium Round and developing Countries: Negotiating Strategies and Areas of Benefits," September 1999, UNCTAD and Center for International Development, G-24 Discussion Papers Series, No. 1, March 2000.
- 21. "Miracles and Debacles: In Defense of Trade Openness," *World Economy* 27, No 8, (special issue on Global Trade Policy), August 2004, 1149-71.
- 22. "Agricultural Liberalization and the Least Developed Countries: Six Fallacies," *World Economy* 28, No. 9, (Special issue on Global Trade Policy) September 2005, 1277-1299.
- 23. "A Passage to Prosperity," Far Eastern Economic Review, July/August, 2005.
- 24. "The Protection Racket," Foreign Policy September/October 2005, 94-95.
- 25. "Liberalizing Agriculture." *Foreign Affairs*, December 2005, 56-66.
- 26. "Trade and Labor: A Trade Economist's View," *Integration and Trade Journal*, July-December, 2006, No. 25, 261-279.
- 27. "Outsourcing: Is the Third Industrial Revolution Really Around the Corner?" Paper presented at Macro research Foundation Conference 2007, Tokyo Club Foundation for Research Studies, Tokyo, November 13-14, 2007.
- 28. "Trade Openness and Growth Miracles: A Fresh Look at Taiwan," chapter 17 in Ken Heydon and Steve Woolcock, ed., *Ashgate Research Companion to International Trade Policy*, U.K.: Ashgate, July 2012.
- 29. Challenges to the Multilateral trading System and Possible Responses. *Economics: The Open-Access, Open-Assessment E-Journal*, Vol. 7, 2013-10, pp. 1-25.

VIII.F Policy Papers: Regionalism (Also see the relevant items under VIII.B and VIII.C)

1. "Preferential Trading Areas and Multilateralism: Strangers, Friends or Foes?" (with J. Bhagwati), in Bhagwati, J. and Panagariya, A., *The Economics of Preferential Trading*, Washington, D.C.: AEI Press, 1996, 1-78. Reproduced as chapter 2 in Bhagwati, J., P. Krishna and Arvind Panagariya, eds., *Trading Blocs: Alternative*

- Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, February 1999.
- 2. "The Free Trade Area of the Americas: Good for Latin America?," *World Economy* 19(5), September 1996, 485-515. Reproduced in Milner, Chris, *Developing and Newly Industrializing Countries*, Volume I, Chelentham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, ch. 17, 375-405.
- 3. "East Asia and the New Regionalism in World Trade," *World Economy*, November 1994, 817-839. Reproduced in Milner, Chris, *Developing and Newly Industrializing Countries*, Volume I, Chelentham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, ch. 15, 341-363.
- 4. "East Asia: A New Trading Bloc?" Finance and Development, March 1994, 16-19.
- 5. "Should East Asia Go Regional?" in Lee, Hiro and Roland-Holst, David, *Economic Development and Cooperation in the Pacific Basin*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, ch. 4, 119-154.
- 6. "Is East Asia Less Open than North America and the European Community? No." (with Sumana Dhar) in Woodland, Alan and John Piggott, eds. *International Trade Policy and the Pacific Rim*, U.K.: Macmillan Press, 1998, ch. 5, 105-123.
- 7. "Rethinking the New Regionalism," in John Nash and Wendy Takacs, eds., *Trade Policy Reform. Lessons and Implications*, Washington, D.C.:World Bank, 1998, 87-145.
- 8. "The New Regionalism," (with Jaime de Melo) *Finance and Development*, December 1992, 37-40.
- 9. "The New Regionalism: A Country Perspective," (with Jaime de Melo and Dani Rodrik) in Jaime de Melo and Arvind Panagariya, ed., *New Dimensions in Regional Integration*, pp. 159-193, 1993. Also CEPR Discussion Paper #517 and World Bank working paper WPS #1094.
- 10. "Introduction," (with Jaime de Melo) in *New Dimensions in Regional Integration*, pp. 159-193, 1993.
- 11. "L'integration Regionale Hier et Aujourd'hui," (with Jaime de Melo and Claudio Montenegro) *Revue Economique du Developpement*, February 1993, pp. 7-49. In English, "Regional Integration, Old and New," WPS #985, World Bank.
- 12. "APEC and the United States," in Woodland, Alan and John Piggott, eds. *International Trade Policy and the Pacific Rim*, U.K.: Macmillan Press, 1998, ch. 14, 302-318.

- 13. "The New Regionalism: A Benign or Malign Growth," (with T.N. Srinivasan) in Bhagwati, J. and Hirsch, M., eds., *The Uruguay Round and Beyond. Essays in Honor of Arthur Dunkel*, Springer-Verlag, May 1998, 221-240.
- 14. "Preferential Trading and Developing Asia," in Teunissen, J.J., *Regional Integration and Multilateral Cooperation in the Global Economy*, May 1998, The Hague: FONDAD, 77-92.
- 15. "An Empirical Estimate of Static Welfare Losses to Mexico from NAFTA," in Panagariya, Arvind, ed., *Regionalism in Trade Policy: Essays in Preferential Trading*, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co, September 1999, 215-224.
- 16. "The Regionalism Debate: An Overview," World Economy, June 1999, 477-511.
- 17. "Discussion of 'Regulatory Protectionism, Developing Nations and a Two-tier World Trading System' by Richard Baldwin," in Collins, Susan and Dani Rodrik, eds., Brookings Forum 2000, Bookings Institution, 2001, 285-289.
- 18. "Discussion of 'Is APEC a Building Block or Stumbling Block Towards Trade Liberalization' by Masahiro Endoh" in Robert M. Stern, ed., *Issues and Options for U.S.-Japan Trade Policies*, University of Michigan Press, 2002, 303-305.
- 19. "EU Preferential Trade Arrangements and Developing Countries," *World Economy* 25, No. 10, November 2002, 1415-32.

VIII.G Press Writings and interviews (Opinion Pieces)

Interviews

- 1. "Lunch with Business Standard: Arvind Panagariya," (This is a prestigious interview in the newspaper Business Standard along the lines of Lunch with FT), July 31, 2013.
- 2. "Failure to Meet WHO Standards is Attributed to Malnutrition," *Tehelka* magazine, Volume 9, Number 48.
- 3. "Gujarat promises continued, accelerated and all-around progress: Jagdish Bhagwati & Arvind Panagariya," *Economic Times*, January 2, 2013.
- 4. "RBI has Overreacted, It Needs to Let Go," BusinessWorld, January 16, 2013.
- 5. "I was taken aback by professor Amartya Sen's Comments on Food Bill: Arvind Panagariya," *Economic Times*, 17 May 29013.

- 6. "Now I am a little worried. Now there is 10-20 percent chance that we might see 1991 again," *Indian Express*, 30 July 2013 (transcript of Walk the Talk show).
- 7. "If Modi doesn't carry out reforms, I will be among the most vocal critics," *Hindustan Times*, December 7, 2013.
- 8. "Ease land rules, turn NREGA into cash transfer: Panagariya," *Hindustan Times*, 13 February 2014.
- 9. "Narendra Modi will have to create avenues for investment in large-scale manufacturing," *Financial Express* 12 December 2014.
- 10. "What does the AAP challenge amount to nationally? Not a whole lot: Arvind Panagariya," *Business Standard*, 21 December 2013.
- 11. "Anatomy of Growth," *India Today*, 24 March 2014 (an account of the face-off with Montek Singh Ahluwalia at India Today Conclave 2014).

Financial Times/Wall Street Journal/Foreign Policy/Forbes

- 1. "A Trojan Horse for Africa" (with Jagdish Bhagwati), *Financial Times*, June 29, 2000.
- 2. "The Truth about Protectionism" (with Jagdish Bhagwati), *Financial Times*, March 29, 2001.
- 3. Bilateral trade treaties are a sham, *Financial Times* (with Jagdish Bhagwati), July 13, 2003.
- 4. "Rich Man, Poor Man," The Wall Street Journal, p. 16, September 16, 2003.
- 5. "Great Expectations," Wall Street Journal, May 24, 2004 (with Jagdish Bhagwati).
- 6. "Can Dr. Singh Cure his Economy?" Wall Street Journal, September 21, 2004.
- 7. "The tide of free trade will not float all boats," *Financial Times*, August 3, 2004.
- 8. "The Bra in Your Wardrobe," Wall Street Journal, December 27, 2004.
- 9. "A Passage to Prosperity," Wall Street Journal, July 14, 2005.
- 10. "The Fuzzy Trade Math," Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2005.
- 11. "The pursuit of equity threatens poverty alleviation," *Financial Times*, May 31, 2006.

- 12. "Why the trade talks collapsed," (with Jagdish Bhagwati) *Wall Street Journal*, July 7, 2007.
- 13. "India's Financial Secret Weapon," Foreign Policy (Online edition), January 2009
- 14. "Paul Krugman, Nobel," Forbes (Online edition), October 13, 2008.
- 15. "The Economic Cost of Mumbai Tragedy," *Forbes* (Online edition), November 29, 2008.
- 16. "Restore Credit and Resist Protectionism," Forbes (Online edition), March 14, 2009.
- 17. "Legal Trade barriers must be kept in Check," (with Jagdish Bhagwati) *Financial Times*, June 12, 2009
- 18. "Climate Change and India," Forbes, August 9, 2009.
- 19. "Where are the economic reforms in India's election campaign?" FT.Com, 24 March 2014.

Times of India

- 1. "India as a Scapegoat: U.S. Action under Super 301," Times of India, June 23, 1989.
- 2. "Liberalize Consumer Goods Imports," *Times of India*, July 23, 1994.
- 3. "The Enron Deal: Cost of Mixing Business with Politics," *Times of India*, July 1995.
- 4. "Patent Rights. Tripping on Facts and Falsehoods," *Times of India*, January 16, 1996.
- 5. "Curbing Child Labor. Rugmark Label on the Mat," *Times of India*, November 14, 1996.
- 6. "More bang for the Buck," *Times of India*, September 19, 2009.
- 7. "Some Questions are Best Buried," Times of India, October 31, 2009.
- 8. "Another Tryst with Destiny," *Times of India*, December 26, 2009.
- 9. "A tale of Two Trajectories," *Times of India*, February 6, 2010.
- 10. Protectionism's Other Name," (with Jagdish Bhagwati), *Times of India*, February 23, 2010.

- 11. "Pursuing excellence and equity," *Times of India*, April 10, 2010.
- 12. "Don't give it currency," *Times of India*, May 3, 2010 (with Jagdish Bhagwati).
- 13. "Development is a Tiger," *Times of India*, December 11, 2010.
- 14. "Private enterprise can save the public sector," Times of India, January 30, 2011 (with Nandini Gupta).
- 15. "Lok Sabha: rich, educated and criminal?" *Times of India*, April 5, 2011 (with Poonam Gupta).
- 16. "Unsteady at the top," Times of India, August 24, 2011.
- 17. "Reforms to the rescue," *Times of India*, September 8, 2011.
- 18. "The child malnutrition myth," *Times of India*, October 1, 2011.
- 19. "Cracking the Kerala myth," *Times of India*, January 2, 2012.
- 20. "Myths about poverty lines," *Times of India*, March 30, 2012.
- 21. "A Forgotten Revolutionary," June 28, 2012.
- 22. "End of an Era: The Bell Tolls for India's Congress Party" (with J. Bhagwati), July 13, 2012
- 23. "Understanding the Bihar Miracle," July 28, 2012.
- 24. "Empowering the Poor: Abandon the broken Model," August 25, 2012.
- 25. "The Gujarat Miracle," September 22, 2012.
- 26. "Starved of ideas: Expanding the leaky public distribution system won't deliver food security," October 19, 2012.
- 27. "Time for BJP to Rethink," November 17, 2012.
- 28. "A Leader of Substance," December 25, 2012.
- 29. "A Tale of Two Tragedies," January 12, 2013.
- 30. "Leave Tendulkar Poverty Line Alone," February 9, 2013.

- 31. "The Tyranny of Balance of payments," March 9, 2013
- 32. "What Right to Education?" April 6, 2013.
- 33. "Child malnutrition in India," 2 May 2013.
- 34. "Why the food security Bill will not boost food grain consumption for the poor," 1 June 2013.
- 35. "Why Gujarat miracle matters," 29 June 2013.
- 36. "What Amartya Sen doesn't see," 27 July 2013.
- 37. "India's political class must celebrate, not bicker over, the unprecedented decline in poverty," 24 August 2013.
- 38. "Noble intentions ignoble outcomes," 21 September 2013.
- 39. "Rajan panel report: A quickie and it shows," 19 October 2013.
- 40. "An open letter to Rahul Gandhi," 18 November 2013.
- 41. "New government could make quick gains in growth by fixing paralysis in decision-making," 14 December 2013.
- 42. "A tale of two prime ministers," 11 January 2014.
- 43. "Why the 2014 voter is different," 8 February 2014
- 44. "UPA hurts India as it exits," 11 March 2014.
- 45. "A game-changing reform strategy," 5 April 2014.

- 46. "How to fiscally empower states," 3 May 2014.
- 47. "Towards economic freedom," 17 May 2014,
- 48. "Masters of their destiny: How states can engineer far-reaching reforms without central legislative action," 31 May 2014.
- 49. "PM Modi: Time for bold reforms," 13 June 2014.
- 50. "India's best hope is that the Budget due February 2015 chooses growth and jobs," 26 July 2014.
- 51. "Unfairly vilified at WTO," 23 August 2014.
- 52. "How to be an Asian tiger," 25 September 2014
- 53. "Modi era takes shape," 18 October 2014.
- 54. "How Swachh Bharat can succeed," 15 November 2014.
- 55. "The best of goods and services," 13 December 2014.
- 56. The revolution begins," 25 February 2015.
- 57. "Takeoff from the coast," 19 February 2016.
- 58. "Floor hasn't fallen through: Don't go by feel, economic data call for measured rather than precipitate action," 25 September 2017.
- 59. "GDP Slowdown: Despite all the gloom, in macroeconomic terms, the economy is remarkably stable," 8 October 2017.
- 60. "How to revive bank credit: Government should, to begin with, offer PSB bonds in return for equivalent equity," 23 October 2017
- 61. "Wrong way to Make in India: Why we must resist the temptation to return to import substitution mirage," 13 December 2017.

- 62. "Threshold of Renaissance: Medical education is in desperate need of transformation, NMC Bill can bring it about," 10 January 2018
- 63. "Liberating India's best colleges: HRD minister Javadekar has just announced the most far reaching reforms in higher education," 15 February 2018 (with B. Venkatesh Kumar)
- 64. "It is all in the design: Ayushman Bharat can be transformational if governance of public healthcare is altered," 7 March 2018.
- 65. "Why we don't need PSBs: Bank privatization must be on the reform agenda of the next government," 4 April 2018.

Economic Times

- 1. "SAARC: Follow APEC, not NAFTA," *Economic Times*, July 29, 1998.
- 2. "Is India Returning to Protectionism," *Economic Times*, 19 September 1998.
- 3. "Full Convertibility: Must We have It?," *Economic Times*, 28 October 1998.
- 4. "WTO and Developing Country Interests," *Economic Times*, December 14, 1998.
- 5. "Dealing with Investment in WTO," *Economic Times*, December 28, 1998.
- 6. "Anti-dumping: Don't Shoot Ourselves in the Foot," *Economic Times*, June 30, 1999.
- 7. "Inside the World of E-commerce," *Economic Times*, July 28, 1999.
- 8. "WTO Benefits: 'Extravagant' Predictions," *Economic Times*, August 25, 1999.
- 9. "Narrowing Down the Seattle Round Agenda," *Economic Times*, September 22, 1999.
- 10. "WTO Negotiations: Invest in Research," *Economic Times*, October 20, 1999.
- 11. "The Return of Labor Standards into the WTO?," *Economic Times*, November 17, 1999.
- 12. "Seattle: Failure without Losers," Economic Times, December 13, 1999.
- 13. "Millennium Wish: Double-Digit Growth," Economic Times, January 12, 2000.
- 14. "Yes to IPRs, but not under the WTO," Economic Times, January 26, 2000.

- 15. "Time to Return to Trade Reform," *Economic Times*, February 23, 2000.
- 16. "Consensus Building and Nehru," Economic Times March 29, 2000.
- 17. "The World Bank under Fire," Economic Times, April 26, 2000.
- 18. "The Anti-reform Lobby has Got it Wrong," *Economic Times*, May 24, 2000.
- 19. "Separating Milk and Water," Economic Times, June 21, 2000.
- 20. "And Now to Enter the Exit Policy," Economic Times, July 19, 2000.
- 21. "A Golden Opportunity for India," Economic Times, August 30, 2000.
- 22. "Bringing Competition to Bureaucracy," *Economic Times*, September 27, 2000.
- 23. "Microeconomics Gurus," *Economic Times*, October 16, 2000.
- 24. "The New Tyranny of the Auto Industry," Economic Times, October 25, 2000.
- 25. "Defending Free Trade," Economic Times, November 22, 2000.
- 26. "Shoe is on the Other Foot," *Economic Times*, December 20, 2000
- 27. "Unshackling the Old Economy," *Economic Times*, January 31, 2001.
- 28. "Fertilizer Subsidy," Economic Times, February 28, 2001.
- 29. "Abolish this Monopoly," *Economic Times*, March 28, 2001
- 30. "Korean Growth Experience," *Economic Times*, April 25, 2001.
- 31. "The Indian Diaspora in the United States," *Economic Times*, May 23, 2001.
- 32. "Why did Singapore and Hong Kong Escape Protection?," *Economic Times*, June 20, 2001.
- 33. "Savoring a Decade of Reforms," *Economic Times*, July 18, 2001.
- 34. "Launching the Qatar Round," *Economic Times*, August 25, 2001.
- 35. "Rigid Labor Laws: a Minor Barrier to Growth?," *Economic Times*, September 26, 2001.
- 36. "The Market for Lemons," Economic Times, October 16, 2001.

- 37. "Heed the Words of Wisdom," Economic Times, October 24, 2001.
- 38. "India Arrives at the WTO," *Economic Times*, November 21, 2001.
- 39. "Doha Produced no Winners," *Economic Times*, November 27, 2001.
- 40. "Trading Freely in Ideas," Economic Times, December 19, 2001.
- 41. "Redeem Lat Year's Promises," Economic Times, January 30, 2002.
- 42. "Be Bold on Labor," Economic Times, February 26, 2002.
- 43. "The Right Recipe," Economic Times, March 27, 2002.
- 44. "Stamping in Nutrition," Economic Times, April 24, 2002.
- 45. "Dump the Anti-dumping," Economic Times, May 7, 2002.
- 46. "Why India Lags behind China," Economic Times, May 22, 2002.
- 47. "Is this Free Meal Worth having?" Economic Times, June 19, 2002.
- 48. "Potentially Disabling Aid," Economic Times, July 31, 2002.
- 49. "Resolving the RBI Dilemma," *Economic Times*, August 28, 2002.
- 50. "A Case for Import Substitution," *Economic Times*, September 25, 2002.
- 51. "Experimenting in Economics," *Economic Times*, October 14, 2002.
- 52. "Tackling the Crisis in Higher Education," *Economic Times*, October 23, 2002.
- 53. "A Tax System for the 21st Century," *Economic Times*, November 20, 2002.
- 54. "Welcome Aboard, Mr. Stern," Economic Times, December 18, 2002.
- 55. "Diwan-e-Khaas to Diwan-e-Aam," *Economic Times*, January 29, 2003.
- 56. "Your Move, Mr. Jaitley," Economic Times, February 26, 2003.
- 57. "How to Break the TRIPS Impasse," Economic Times, April 3, 2003.
- 58. "Open up Trade, get Rich," Economic Times, April 23, 2003.

- 59. "Free Trade Skeptics: Skeptics After All?" (Poorly titled as "There is More to Growth than Free Trade" by the paper.) *Economic Times*, May 21, 2003.
- 60. "A Single Tariff Rate is the Best," *Economic Times*, June 18, 2003.
- 61. "The Macroeconomy and Policy Change," *Economic Times*, July 30, 2003.
- 62. "Positive Fallouts of l'affaire Cola," Economic Times, August 26, 2003.
- 63. "Defensive Play Simply Won't Work," (with Jagdish Bhagwati). Special full-page coverage on Cancun with the Indian Commerce Minister responding side-by-side. *Economic Times*, August 29, 2003.
- 64. "If this is Success, What will be Failure?" *Economic Times*, September 23, 2003.
- 65. "A Godsend for Developing Countries," *Economic Times*, October 23, 2003.
- 66. "Is the Indian Miracle Inevitable?" *Economic Times*, November 19, 2003.
- 67. "Have the reforms Failed India?" Economic Times, December 31, 2003.
- 68. "What Price Free-trade Agreements?" Economic Times, January 28, 2004.
- 69. Escaping the Low-investment Trap," February 25, 2004.
- 70. "Outsourcing: The Culprit for Jobless Recovery?" (Poorly titled as "The U.S. Blame Game" by the paper.) March 24, 2004.
- 71. "Flirting with Nationalization," April 21, 2004.
- 72. "Reforms do have a human face," May 19, 2004.
- 73. "Goodbye to Double-Digit Growth Rate," June 30, 2004
- 74. "It's the human face, not scar face," July 29, 2004.
- 75. "Moving Trade Policy Forward," August 26, 2004
- 76. "Kelkar's Balancing Act," September 23, 2004.
- 77. "The bipartisan predicament," October 22, 2004.
- 78. "Are we spinning the right yarn?" November 17, 2004.
- 79. "Get set to weave history," December 29, 2004.

- 80. "Muddles on Forex for Infrastructure," January 12, 2005.
- 81. "Reform the Top Civil Service," Jan 26, 2005.
- 82. "Surrender to multinationals," February 22, 2005.
- 83. "Farm liberalisation will hurt LDCs," March 23, 2005.
- 84. "An India-China Free Trade Area?" April 20, 2005.
- 85. "Why fiscal deficits spell crises," May 18, 2005.
- 86. "Alas, there is no free lunch," June 28, 2005.
- 87. "Indophobia: facts versus fiction," July 27, 2005.
- 88. "Tax hike or expenditure cut?" August 24, 2005.
- 89. "The challenge before Pascal Lamey," September 21, 2005.
- 90. "World Bank's Discovery of Equity," October 19, 2005.
- 91. "Salvaging the Doha Agricultural Talks," *Economic Times*, November 30, 2005.
- 92. "Hailing Hong Kong, completing Doha," *Economic Times*, December 28, 2005.
- 93. "Free-trade skeptics: Wrong again," *Economic Times*, January 25, 2006.
- 94. "Focus on equity can Hamper Growth," Economic Times, February 22, 2006.
- 95. "Venturing into Freakonomics," *Economic Times*, March 22, 2006.
- 96. "Graft or not to Graft Growth," Economic Times, April 20, 2006.
- 97. "Exports by India and China: Not in the Same League," *Economic Times*, May 31, 2006.
- 98. "Pro-market Reforms and Growth," *Economic Times*, June 28, 2006.
- 99. "A Historic Opportunity for India," (with Jagdish Bhagwati), *Economic Times*, July 1, 2006.
- 100. "Don't Rush into Full Convertibility," *Economic Times* July 26, 2006.
- 101. "Inequality or Interest-group Politics?" *Economic Times*, August 23, 2006.

- 102. "Is India Flying?" Economic Times, September 21, 2006.
- 103. "Rough road ahead for free trade," Viewpoint, *Economic Times*, June 4, 2007.
- 104. "A letter to chief minister Mayawati," *Economic Times*, June 28, 2007.
- 105. "Agriculture, the final frontier?" Economic Times, July 30, 2007.
- 106. "Mumbai: Self-inflicted wounds," Economic Times, August 27, 2007.
- 107. "Political economy of reform in India," Economic Times, September 27, 2007.
- 108. "Inequality and reforms," *Economic Times*, October 29, 2007.
- 109. "Rise of billionaires: Threat to growth?" *Economic Times*, November 29, 2007.
- 110. "Telecommunications: A triumph of reforms," *Economic Times*, December 27, 2007.
- 111. "The crisis in rural health care," *Economic Times*, January 24, 2008.
- 112. "Reforms possible in a populist budget," *Economic Times*, February 28, 2008.
- 113. "The Loan Waiver: A Primer," Economic Times, March 27, 2008.
- 114. "Global Economic Governance," *Economic Times*, April 24, 2008.
- 115. "Rethinking Inflation," *Economic Times*, May 29, 2008.
- 116. "Ease of Doing Business at World Bank," *Economic Times*, June 26, 2008.
- 117. "A Quiet Revolution in Service Delivery?" Economic Times, July 31 2008.
- 118. "Closing the Doha Round," *Economic Times*, August 12, 2008.
- 119. "El Nano: A Perfect Storm," *Economic Times*, September 25, 2008.
- 120. "Bollywood in the Post-reform Era," *Economic Times*, October 30, 2008.
- 121. "What Global Crisis Means for India," Economic Times, November 27, 2008.
- 122. "Transnational Terror: India's Options," Economic Times, December 25, 2008.
- 123. "A Different Kind of Scandal," *Economic Times*, January 22, 2009.
- 124. "Returning India to a High Growth Path," *Economic Times*, February 26, 2009.

- 125. "The Fall of the Holy Trinity," Economic Times, March 26, 2009.
- 126. "Mulayam the Ned Ludd," Economic Times, April 23, 2009.
- 127. "Is anti-incumbency really Passé?" *Economic Times*, May 28, 2009.
- 128. "Reform Challenge of Mr. Mukherjee," Economic Times, June 25, 2009.
- 129. "Say 'No' at Copenhagen," Economic Times, July 23, 2009.
- 130. "India and Climate Change Talks," *Economic Times*, August 27, 2009.
- 131. "Anatomy of the Financial Crisis," *Economic Times*, September 24, 2009.
- 132. "A Reform Agenda for Mr. Sibal," *Economic Times*, October 22, 2009.
- 133. "Climate Change: getting it Right," *Economic Times*, November 24, 2009.
- 134. "Prime Minister's Copenhagen Gamble," Economic Times, December 30, 2009.
- 135. "Competition Commission of India: A Game Changer," *Economic Times*, January 26, 2010.
- 136. "Indian Growth Miracle Faces Threat," *Economic Times*, February 25, 2010.
- 137. "What the Green Revolution Teaches Us," *Economic Times*, March 31, 2010.
- 138. "A mystical state comes of age," *Economic Times*, April 28, 2010.
- 139. "Don't join Chinese checkers," *Economic Times*, May 26, 2010.
- 140. "True driver of India-U.S. partnership," *Economic Times*, June 23, 2010.
- 141. "Political expediency is everything," *Economic Times*, July 21, 2010.
- 142. "Thinking clearly about inflation," *Economic Times*, August 18, 2010.
- 143. "On strengthening India-U.S. ties," *Economic Times*, September 29, 2010.
- 144. "Raising investment in higher education," *Economic Times*, October 27, 2010.
- 145. "Getting it right on microfinance," *Economic Times*, November 24, 2010.
- 146. "MFIs: confusion still reigns," *Economic Times*, December 29, 2010.

- 147. "Thinking clearly about governance," Economic Times, January 26, 2011.
- 148. "I beg to differ, Professor Amartya Sen," *Economic Times*, February 23, 2011.
- 149. "Amartya Sen versus sense on health policy," *Economic Times*, March 23, 2011.
- 150. "Consumer needs more protection," *Economic Times*, April 20, 2011.
- 151. "Are we living in a gilded age?" *Economic Times*, May 18, 2011.
- 152. "With the passing away of Suresh Tendulkar, India lost a leading light," *Economic Times*, June 29, 2011.
- 153. "Debate on the role of growth and redistribution in poverty alleviation in India turns on some fallacies," *Economic Times*, July 27, 2011.
- 154. "March to socialism under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi offers an interesting parallel," *Economic Times*, August 24, 2011.
- 155. "Crime tainted MPs have little to do with high-level corruption," *Economic Times*, September 21, 2011.
- 156. "Redistribution is not inclusive growth," *Economic Times*, October 19, 2011.
- 157. "Sad debate on poverty lines," *Economic Times*, November 30, 2011.
- 158. "Food security bill," *Economic Times*, December 28, 2011.
- 159. "Ensure basic policy reforms to reduce inflation and achieve healthy GDP growth," *Economic Times*, January 25, 2012.
- 160. "Assorted conditions on policy often defeat intended objective," *Economic Times*, February 22, 2012.
- 161. "UP election shows that reforms, not the Gandhi name, will win future polls," *Economic Times*, March 21, 2012.
- 162. "Instead of celebrating the fall in poverty numbers, critics within & outside UPA keep carping," April 18, 2012.
- 163. "In praise of an unsung hero," May 30, 2012.
- 164. "The India growth story is not over," June 27, 2012.
- 165. "Wit and charm were traits of Dr. Abid Hussain, one of India's first practitioners of economic reforms," July 25, 2012.

- 166. "Reforms, competition in distribution and end to coal monopoly only antidotes to power failures," August 22, 2012.
- 167. "Slew of reforms: Manmohan Singh scores a decisive victory, stakes claim to his legacy," September 19, 2012.
- 168. "Some economic policy proposals need to be refined and even reversed," October 31, 2012
- 169. "RBI focus on inflation will not yield results," November 28, 2012.
- 170. "Critics of the cash transfers project are all barking up the wrong tree," December 26, 2012.
- 171. "Import substitution masked under security concerns still won't work," January 23, 2013.
- 172. "Congress gain is nation's loss," February 20, 2013.
- 173. "India skeptics are wrong, growth can return soon," April 11, 2013.
- 174. "No use blaming multinational retailers for industrial tragedies in Bangladesh," 27 May 2013.
- 175. "Stiff wage laws hold India from tackling high unemployment and low manufacturing base," 24 June 2013.
- 176. "Confronting Amartya Sen's view: Why WHO's methodology on malnutrition is hopelessly flawed for India," 29 July 2013.
- 177. "Amartya Sen versus Bhagwati debate: Former's prescriptions are limited," 26 August 2013.

- 178. "Growth in Gujarat hasn't been confined to 1% of population," 18 December 2017.
- 179. "Apparel industry model holds the key to India's job creation requirements," 15 January 2018.
- 180. "Why some vested interests have created fog around National Medical Commission Bill," 5 February 2018.
- 181. "Budget 2018 has ensured the return to protectionism," 11 February 2018.

Guest Columns

- 1. "FTAA: Who Needs It?" (in Spanish and Portuguese), *America Economia*, 9 April 1998.
- 2. "Failure in Seattle Dampens Free Trade," *Labor Watch*, Washington DC: Capital Research center, January 2000.
- 3. "A Misguided Idea," *Hindu*, July 10, 2000.
- 4. "A Vision for 2010," *India Today*, February 19, 2001, 62-63.
- 5. "It is the Reforms, Stupid," *Outlook*, December 17, 2001.
- 6. "At the Half-way Mark," *Outlook* July 12, 2004 (Guest Column).
- 7. "It's a Big World Out There," *Outlook*, 10th Anniversary Issue, April 4, 2005.
- 8. "Agreement on Agriculture and NAMA within Reach," *Financial Express*, December 28, 2005.
- 9. "Walking on Two Legs," Hindustan Times January 29, 2006.
- 10. "India's Unfortunate Conversion to Preferential Trade Liberalization," (with T. N. Srinivasan), *Indian. Express*, July 9, 2006.
- 11. "Will India Overtake the Chinese Dragon?" *India Today* Special 30th Anniversary Issue, December 18, 2006.
- 12. "Making poverty history," *Indian Express*, August 15, 2007.
- 13. "India on the World Stage: 20 Years from Now," *Mint*, January 1, 2008.

- 14. "Song of the crossroads," *Hindustan Times*, February 18, 2008.
- 15. "Myths from Mumbai," *Indian Express*, December 16, 2008.
- 16. "Telecom Transformation: The Future is Calling," *India Today*, invited article in end of the decade issue entitled "2000-2009: The Decade that Changed the World," December 3, 2009.
- 17. "Focus on Wealth Creation, Not Just Its Distribution," *Business Today*, invited article in end-of-the-decade issue entitled "2000-2009: India's Best Decade," December 27, 2009.
- 18. "Narendra Modi's real report card," Business Standard, 28 October 2013.
- 19. "Some myths about education," Business Standard, 28 November 2013.
- 20. "Abenomics for the Next Indian Prime Minister," *India Today*, 3 February 2014.
- 21. "India must call the US' bluff on patents," Business Standard, 4 March 2014.
- 22. "The choice on offer," Business Standard, 8 April 2014.
- 23. "Cut subsidies for non-poor," *India Today*, 17 May 2014.
- 24. "How to manufacture reforms: Corporate sector should discharge the greatest social responsibility by creating jobs," *India Today*, 3 July 2014.
- 25. "Don't just make for India: Why Raghuram Rajan's pessimism about Make in India's focus on exports is misplaces," *India Today*, 29 December 2014.
- 26. "A flexible deficit target," *Business Standard*, 24 June 2014.
- 27. "A different kind of CM," Business Standard, 5 August 2014.
- 28. "MSMEs: separating wheat from chaff," Business Standard, 23 October 2014.
- 29. "The revival of optimism," Business Standard, 30 December 2014
- 30. "Win-win on land," Business Standard, 9 March 2015.
- 31. "A Much Needed Turnaround," *India Today*, September 22, 2015.
- 32. "Its time to replace the UGC Act," *The Hindu*, 17 April 2018 (with B. Venkatesh Kumar)

VIII.H Letters to the Editor

- 1. "NAFTA has Harmed Cause of Free Trade," Financial Times, 10 May 1995.
- 2. "Folly of Thinking All Trade is Good," Financial Times, 19 February 1996.
- 3. "Free Trade Target Date Essential to Remove 'Spaghetti Bowl' of Barriers," *Financial Times*, 25 June 1996 (with Jagdish Bhagwati).
- 4. "Building Blocks," Economist, 11 January 1997.
- 5. Opposition to Proliferation of Preferential Trade is Welcome," *Financial Times*, 8 May 1997 (with Jagdish Bhagwati)
- 6. "Trading Views," Economist, 26 July 1997.
- 7. "Integration Can Help Reduce Poverty and Act as Force to End Child Labor," *Financial Times* September 1, 1999.
- 8. "WTO: US Demands Threaten Seattle Meeting," *Financial Times* November 10, 1999.
- 9. "Poverty reduction Starts with Growth," Financial Times, June 24, 2000.
- 10. "World Bank and IMF show welcome revisions to stance on developing countries and trade," (with Jagdish Bhagwati), *Financial Times*, December 24, 2003.
- 11. "Countries that react to growth opportunities by opening up will enjoy sustained success," *Financial Times*, May 10, 2004.
- 12. "Higher food prices will indeed hit poor," Financial Times, August 12, 2004.
- 13. "Trading Opinions about free Trade," Letter (with Jagdish Bhagwati and others) in the *Business Week*, December 27, 2004.
- 14. "SAFTA can Distract from Global Concerns," *Financial Times* (Asian edition), November 18, 2005.

VIII.I Book Reviews

- 1. International Trade and Finance: Theory and Policy by Holley Ulbrich, *Journal of Finance*, June 1984.
- 2. Regionalism and Rivalry: Japan and the United States in Pacific Asia edited by Jeffrey A. Frankel and Miles Kahler, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, *Finance and Development* (with Sethaput Suthiwart-Narueput), June 1994.

- 3. "Plenty's Scarcity," review of Eight Lectures on India's Economic Reforms by T.N. Srinivasan, Oxford University Press, New Delhi: India, 2000, *India Today*, June 12 2000.
- 4. "Why Did the Chicken Cross the Globe," review of On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism edited by Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens, London: Jonathan Cape, *Times Higher Education Supplement* September 29 2000, p. 30.
- 5. "A Current Account of Activity," review of The World Bank: Structure and Policies edited by Christopher Gilbert and David Vines, London: Cambridge University Press, *Times Higher Education Supplement*, February 16, 2001, p. 33.
- 6. "Bertil Ohlin: A Centennial Celebration (1899–1999). Edited by Ronald Findlay, Lars Jonung, and Mats Lundahl. Cambridge, MA: MIT press, 2002. Pp. xvi, 546, *The Journal of Economic History*, Volume 63, Issue 02. June 2003. pp. 620-621.
- 7. "Imagine There's No Country," by Surjit S. Bhalla, *Journal of Economic Literature*, December 2003.
- 8. "The Miracles of Globalization," *Foreign Affairs* 83, No 5, September-October, 2004 (review article on *Why Globalization Works*. Martin Wolf. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

IX. Unpublished Papers:

- 1. "Within and Across Product Specialization," (with Purba Mukerji)
- 2. "The Uniform Tariff Issue: Academic versus Policy Economists," Department of Economics, University of Maryland, Center for International Economics Working paper #30, March 1997.
- 3. "Administrative Costs, Optimal Taxation, and the Tax Base." Working Paper No. 88-45, Dept. of Econ., Univ. of Maryland.
- 4. "Export Demand and Supply Elasticities for Selected Industrial Countries, 1970-1983," (with A.V.L. Narayana).
- 5. "Smuggling and Enforcement in an Economy with Endogenous Illegal Trade" (with L. Martin), February 1986.
- 6. "Monopoly and Devaluation: A General Equilibrium Analysis" (with R. Owen), undated.
- 7. "Trade Reform in China: Lessons for India," October 1993.

- 8. "In Memoriam: A Eulogy to the Payments Union for Former Soviet Republics." 1993.
- 9. "Technology and Wage Inequality in North and South," Department of Economics, University of Maryland, Center for International Economics, mimeo.
- 10. "Trade Openness: Consequences for the Elasticity of Demand for Labor and Wage Outcomes," Department of Economics, Center for International Economics, mimeo, January 1999.

Outside Professional Activities

Keynote address at PwC Tax Symposium, Grand Hyatt, Goa, 16th February 2018

Details of the Event: PwC Tax Symposium is a marquee event held globally across regions since past few years. In the past decade, India has caught the attention of the world with its tremendous potential, which is driven by its all-encompassing growth. Tax and Regulatory reforms have been at the centre of the Government's strategy to make India a strong and developed economy. Recognising the need to address these challenges, PwC organises this marquee forum to deliberate over the macro - economic landcsape of India and the dynamic tax regimes in India and abroad in the presence of eminent dignitaries, leaders from Indian Incorporation and PwC network of leaders.