

## HAROLD A. TRINKUNAS

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, Stanford, California.

Senior Research Scholar and Deputy Director, 2017-  
Center for International Security and Cooperation, Freeman Spogli Institute.

Senior Research Scholar and Associate Director for Research, 2016-2017  
Center for International Security and Cooperation, Freeman Spogli Institute.

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION, Washington, District of Columbia.

Non-resident Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Program. 2016-

Senior Fellow and Director, Latin America Initiative, Foreign Policy Program. 2013-2016

THE NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL, Monterey, California.

Department Chair, National Security Affairs Department. 2008-2011 &  
2012-2013

Associate Professor (with tenure), National Security Affairs Department. 2006-2014

Assistant Professor, National Security Affairs Department. 2000-2006

### EDUCATION

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, Stanford, California.

Department of Political Science

Ph.D., January 1999.

Master of Arts, April 1993.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

College of Arts and Sciences

Bachelor of Arts Cum Laude with honors in Political Science, May 1991.

The Wharton School of Business

Bachelor of Science Cum Laude in Economics, May 1991.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Books and Edited Volumes

*Militants, Criminals and Warlords: The Challenge of Local Governance in an Age of Disorder* (with Vanda Felbab-Brown and Shadi Hamid). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2017.

*Aspirational Power: Brazil's Long Road to Global Influence* (with David Mares). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2016.

*American Crossings: Border Politics in the Western Hemisphere* (edited with Maiah Jaskoski and Arturo Sotomayor). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015.

*Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Governance in an Era of Softened Sovereignty* (edited with Anne Clunan). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.

*Global Politics of Defense Reform* (edited with Thomas Bruneau). New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.

*Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective* (edited with Jeanne K. Giraldo). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.

*Crafting Civilian Control of the Military in Venezuela: A Comparative Perspective*. Charlotte, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

### Journal Articles and Book Chapters

“Financing Terrorism.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*, edited by Erica Chenoweth, Richard English, Andreas Gofas, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2019.

“Transnational Crime.” In *Comparative Security Studies*, edited by Allan Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

“Conditions for Military Contestation in Populist Latin America” (with David Kuehn). *Democratization* 24.5 (2017): 859-880.

“Venezuela: Between Tradition and Ideology.” In *Culture and National Security in the Americas*, edited by Brian Fonseca and Eduardo A. Gamarra, 15-32. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017.

“UNGASS 2016 in Comparative Perspective: Improving the Prospects for Success” (with Vanda Felbab-Brown). *Journal for Drug Policy Analysis* (March 2016), doi: 10.1515/jdpa-2015-0014.

“Better Than You Think: Reframing Inter-American Relations” (with Richard Feinberg and Emily Miller). *Pensamiento Propio* 42 (July-December 2015): 263-296.

“Alternative Governance in Latin America” (with Anne Clunan). In *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*, edited by David R. Mares and Arie M. Kacowicz, 99-110. New York: Routledge, 2015.

- “Re-examining Rivalry, Trade, and Conflict in Latin America: The Colombia-Venezuela Case.” In *American Crossings: Border Politics in the Western Hemisphere*, edited by Maiah Jaskoski, Arturo Sotomayor, and Harold Trinkunas, 109-129. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015.
- “Introduction: Latin American Borders and Borderlands—Conflicts and Harmonies” (with Maiah Jaskoski and Arturo Sotomayor). In *American Crossings: Border Politics in the Western Hemisphere*, edited by Maiah Jaskoski, Arturo Sotomayor, and Harold Trinkunas, 1-15. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015.
- “Conclusions” (with Maiah Jaskoski and Arturo Sotomayor). In *American Crossings: Border Politics in the Western Hemisphere*, edited by Maiah Jaskoski, Arturo Sotomayor, and Harold Trinkunas, 205-225. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015.
- “Reordering Regional Security in Latin America.” *Journal of International Affairs* 66 no. 2 (2013).
- “The Transformation of the Bolivarian Armed Force: Venezuela.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Civil-Military Relations*, edited by Thomas C. Bruneau and Florina Cristina Matei, 123-134. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- “Latin America’s Growing Security Gap” (with David Pion-Berlin). *Journal of Democracy* 22 no. 1 (2011): 39-53.
- “The Logic of Venezuelan Foreign Policy during the Chávez Period.” In *Venezuela’s Petro Diplomacy: Hugo Chávez’s Foreign Policy*, edited by Ralph Clem and Anthony Maingot, 16-31. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011.
- “Civilian Praetorianism and Military Shirking during Constitutional Crises in Latin America” (with David Pion-Berlin). *Comparative Politics* 42 no. 4 (July 2010): 395-411.
- “Conceptualizing Ungoverned Spaces: Territorial Statehood, Contested Authority, and Softened Sovereignty,” (with Anne Clunan). In *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Governance in an Era of Softened Sovereignty*, edited by Anne Clunan and Harold Trinkunas, 17-33. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- “Alternative Governance and Security” (with Anne Clunan). In *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Governance in an Era of Softened Sovereignty*, edited by Anne Clunan and Harold Trinkunas, 275-293. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- “Las Fuerzas Armadas Bolivarianas en los Tiempos de Chávez: ¿desde el papel protagónico a la subordinación revolucionaria?” In *Influencias y resistencias: militares y poder en América Latina*, edited by Felipe Agüero and Claudio Fuentes, 81-106. Santiago, Chile: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO)-Editorial Catalonia, 2009.
- “Energy Security: the Case of Venezuela.” In *Energy Security and Global Politics: the Militarization of Resource Management*, edited by Daniel Moran and James A. Russell, 175-187. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.

- “Global Trends and their Impact on Civil-Military Relations” (with Thomas Bruneau). In *Global Politics of Defense Reform*, edited by Thomas Bruneau and Harold Trinkunas, 3-19. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.
- “International Democracy Promotion and its Impact on Defense Reform” (with Thomas Bruneau). In *Global Politics of Defense Reform*, edited by Thomas Bruneau and Harold Trinkunas, 49-67. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.
- “Attention Deficits: Why Politicians and Scholars Ignore Defense Policy in Latin America” (with David Pion-Berlin). *Latin American Research Review* 42 no. 3 (Fall 2007): 76-100.
- “The Political Economy of Terrorism Financing” (with Jeanne K. Giraldo). In *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*, 7-20. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- “Terrorist Financing: Explaining Government Responses” (with Jeanne K. Giraldo). In *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*, 282-296. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- “Transnational Crime” (with Jeanne K. Giraldo). In *Comparative Security Studies*, edited by Allan Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Revised version printed in 2<sup>nd</sup> edition in 2010, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition in 2013 and 4<sup>th</sup> edition in 2016.
- “Democratization as a Global Phenomenon and its Impact on Civil-Military Relations” (with Thomas Bruneau). *Democratization* 13 no. 5 (December 2006): 776-790.
- “Assessing Potential Proliferation Networks in Latin America: 2006-2016.” *Nonproliferation Review* 13 no. 3 (November 2006): 617-625.
- “Democratization, Social Crisis, and the Impact of Military Domestic Roles in Latin America” (with David Pion-Berlin). *Journal of Military and Political Sociology* 33 no. 1 (2005): 5-24.
- “Defining Venezuela’s Bolivarian Revolution,” *Military Review*, LXXXV no. 4 (July/August 2005): 39-44.
- “The Military: From Marginalization to Center Stage.” In *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*, edited by Jennifer McCoy and David Myers, 50-70. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- “Remilitarization of Venezuelan Politics.” In *Armed Actors: Organised Violence and State Actors in Latin America*, edited by Kees Koonings and Dirk Kruijt, 106-126. Zed Books, 2004.
- “Regime Type and Regional Security in Latin America: Towards a Balance of Identity Theory” (with Michael Barletta). In *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, edited by T.V. Paul, James W. Wirtz, and Michel Fortmann, 334-356. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2004.
- “The Re-emergence of the Venezuelan Armed Forces as a Political Actor,” *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 8 no. 2 (Summer 2002): 165-172.
- “The Crisis in Venezuelan Civil-Military Relations: From ‘Punto Fijo’ to the Fifth Republic.” *Latin American Research Review* 37 no. 1 (Spring 2002): 41-76.

- “Crafting Democratic Civilian Control of the Armed Forces.” In *Civil-Military Relations in Latin America: New Analytical Perspectives*, edited by David Pion-Berlin, 161-193. Charlotte: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- “Crafting Civilian Control in Emerging Democracies: Argentina and Venezuela.” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 43 no. 3 (Fall 2000): 77-109.
- “Venezuela’s Peaceful Revolution” (with Jennifer McCoy). *Current History* 98, no. 626 (March 1999).

#### Policy Briefs, Technical Reports, and Other Publications

- “The Venezuelan Opposition’s High-Stakes Assault on Maduro,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 25, 2019.
- “Venezuela: A path out of misery” (with Dany Bahar and Ted Piccone), Policy Brief, Brookings Institution, Washington D.C., October 2018.
- “When Terrorists and Criminals Govern Better than Governments” (co-authored with Vanda Felbab-Brown and Shadi Hamid), *The Atlantic*, April 2018.
- “The Tragedy of the Venezuelan Opposition,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 5, 2018.
- “The Venezuela Crisis: The Malicious Influence of State and Criminal Actors,” testimony to U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, September 13, 2017.
- “Renminbi Diplomacy? The Limits of China’s Influence on Latin America’s Domestic Politics,” Geoeconomics and Global Issues paper #3. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, November 2016.
- Converging on the Future of Internet Governance: The United States and Brazil* (with Ian Wallace), Latin America Initiative Report. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, July 2015.
- “UNGASS 2016 in Comparative Perspective: Improving the Prospects for Success” (with Vanda Felbab-Brown), Foreign Policy Program Brief. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, April 2015.
- “Better Than You Think: Reframing Inter-American Relations” (with Richard Feinberg and Emily Miller), Latin America Initiative Policy Brief. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, March 2015.
- “Do Brazil’s Capabilities Match its Global Ambitions?” *Americas Quarterly*, Winter 2015.
- “The Cuba-Venezuela Alliance: The Beginning of the End?” (with Ted Piccone), Latin America Initiative Policy Brief. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, June 2014.
- Brazil’s Rise: Seeking Influence on Global Governance*, Latin America Initiative Report. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, May 2014.

- “Changing Energy Dynamics in the Western Hemisphere: Impacts on Central America and the Caribbean,” Latin America Initiative Policy Brief. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, April 2014.
- “Venezuela Breaks Down in Violence,” in *Big Bets & Black Swans: A Presidential Briefing Book*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, 2014.
- “Venezuela.” In *Encyclopedia of Military Science*, edited by G. Piehler, 1564-1568. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2013.
- “Building Democratic Militaries” (book review), *Journal of Democracy* 24, no. 1 (2013): 172-175.
- “Latin America: Nuclear Capabilities, Intentions, and Threat Perceptions.” Miami, FL: Western Hemisphere Security Analysis Center, Florida International University, June 2011.
- “International Bolivarianism and its Influence.” Miami, FL: Western Hemisphere Security Analysis Center, Florida International University, May 2011.
- “The Transformation of Venezuela.” *Latin American Research Review* 45 no. 3 (December 2010): 239-247.
- “Venezuelan Strategic Culture,” Findings Report 1. Miami, FL: Applied Research Center, Florida International University, 2009.
- “What’s Really New About Venezuela’s Bolivarian Foreign Policy?” *Strategic Insights* 5 no. 2 (February 2006).
- “Leigh Payne, Uncivil Movements and Democracy in Latin America, (book review). *Political Science Quarterly* 116 no.1 (Spring 2001).
- “Ensuring Democratic and Civilian Control of the Armed forces in Asia,” East-West Center Occasional Papers: Politics and Security Series, no. 1. Honolulu, HI: East-West Center, October 1999.
- “Observation of the 1998 Venezuelan Elections” (with Jennifer McCoy), Special Report Series. Atlanta, GA: The Carter Center, February 1999.

### Conference Papers

- “Renminbi Diplomacy? The Limits of China’s Influence on Latin America’s Domestic Politics.” Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, New York, New York, May 2016.
- “Re-evaluating the Impact of Populism on Democratic Civil-Military Relations,” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, 3-6 September, 2015.
- “Re-Examining Rivalry, Trade, and Conflict in Latin America: The Colombia-Venezuela Case.” Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington DC, May 2013.

- “Limits to the Diffusion of Democratic Civil-Military Relations in Latin America.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, April 2-6, 2013.
- “Economic Interdependence and Conflict along the Colombia-Venezuela Border.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, California, April 2-6, 2013.
- “Political Economy of Security on the Colombian-Venezuelan Border.” Paper presented at the ‘Borders and Borderlands in the Americas’ workshop, Palo Alto, CA, June 18-19, 2012.
- “Measuring the Diffusion of Democratic Civil-Military Relations in Latin America.” Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, May 2012.
- “‘Ungoverned Spaces’ or Alternative Governance? Challenges to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty” (with Anne Clunan). Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, March 15-19, 2011
- “The Transformation of the Venezuelan Bolivarian Armed Force: From Protagonism to Revolutionary Subordination.” Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, October 6-9, 2010.
- “The Military’s Role in the Deterioration of Democracy in Chávez’s Venezuela.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 21-25, 2010.
- “Civilian Praetorianism, Regime Crises and Military Responses in Comparative Perspective” (with David Pion-Berlin). Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Political Science Association, Santiago, Chile, June 2009.
- “Civilian Praetorianism and Military Quartering during Presidential Crises in Latin America” (with David Pion-Berlin). Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, June 11-14, 2009.
- “The Logic of Venezuelan Foreign Policy during the Chávez Era.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, New York, NY, February 15-18, 2009.
- “Military Responses to Civilian Praetorianism in Latin America” (with David Pion-Berlin). Paper presented at Research Committee 24 meeting of International Political Science Association, Santiago, Chile, June 2009.
- “Venezuelan Foreign Policy in the Chavez Era.” Paper presented at the ‘Ten Years of Venezuelan Foreign Policy (1998-2008)’ conference, Florida International University, Miami, FL, May 2008.
- “Making Democracy Assistance and Security Cooperation for Post-Conflict States Work” (with Richard Hoffman). Paper presented at the ‘Reorganizing U.S. Government Democracy Promotion Efforts’ workshop, Center for Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, Stanford, CA, May 8, 2008.
- “Militarization of Energy Security: The Case of Venezuela.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, March 25-29, 2008.

- “Ungoverned Spaces? Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty” (with Anne Clunan). Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, March 25-29, 2008.
- “From Center Stage to Revolutionary Subordination?: The Fuerza Armada Bolivariana in the Times of Chávez.” Paper presented at Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO)-Chile workshop on civil-military relations in Latin America, October 2007.
- “Conceptualizing ‘Ungoverned Spaces’: Territorial Statehood, Contested Authority and Softened Sovereignty” (with Anne Clunan). Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 30- September 2, 2007.
- “Latin America.” Paper presented at the conference ‘Nuclear Proliferation 2016,’ organized by the Center for Contemporary Conflict, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School for the National Intelligence Council and the National Counter Proliferation Center, 28-29 July 2006.
- “Democratization, Social Crisis and the Impact of Military Domestic Roles in Latin America” (with David Pion-Berlin). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 2006.
- “Attention Deficits: Why Latin American Politicians and Scholars Ignore Defense Policy” (with David Pion-Berlin). Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 15-18, 2006,.
- “Democratization as a Global Phenomenon and its Implications for Civil-Military Relations” (with Thomas Bruneau). Paper presented at the ‘Comparative Defense Reform’ conference, Naval Postgraduate School, September 2005.
- “The Political Economy of Terrorism Finance and State Responses” (with Jeanne K. Giraldo). Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2005.
- “What is Really New about Venezuela’s Bolivarian Foreign Policy?” Paper presented at the ‘Spread of the Bolivarian Revolution’ conference, Florida International University, Miami, FL, April 19, 2005.
- “Understanding the Political Dynamics of Defense Reform.” Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Las Vegas, NV, October 7-9, 2004.
- “Militarizing the State: Implications for Democracy in Venezuela.” Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Dallas, TX, 27-29 March 2003.
- “Regime Type and Regional Security in Latin America: Towards a Balance of Identity Theory” (with Michael Barletta). Paper presented at the ‘Balance of Power Revisited: Theory and Practice’ in the 21st Century conference, McGill University, Montreal, Canada May 2002.
- “A Crisis in Civil-Military Relations in the Andes?” Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, DC, September 6-8, 2001.



- “The Impact of Election Quality on Democracy in Venezuela.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30 - September 2, 2001.
- “Dismantling Civilian Control: Civil-Military Institutions from Punto Fijo to the Fifth Republic.” Paper presented at U.S. State Department conference on Venezuela, Washington DC, September 2000.
- “From Depoliticization to Interventionism?: Changing Patterns of Civil-Military Relations over the Course of Punto Fijo Democracy.” Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Miami, FL, May 2000.
- “Crafting Civilian Control in Argentina and Venezuela.” Paper presented at ‘Soldiers & Democracy in Latin America’ conference, University of California, Riverside, CA, February 19, 1999.
- “Crafting Civilian Control in Emerging Democracies: The Cases of Argentina and Venezuela.” Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Chicago, IL, September 25, 1998.
- “Getting to Civilian Control of the Military in Latin America.” Paper presented annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Los Angeles, CA, March 20, 1998.
- “What is Civilian Control and How Do Governments Achieve It?” Paper presented at the Seminar on Democratization, Institute for International Studies. Stanford University, CA, December 11, 1997.
- “Civilian Control of the Armed Forces in Emerging Democracies.” Paper presented at ‘A Crisis in Civilian Control? Contending Theories of Civil-Military Relations’ conference, The Olin Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, June 1996.
- “Crafting Civilian Control of the Armed Forces in Venezuela.” Paper presented at the ‘MacArthur Consortium Conference on Domestic Security,’ Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, March 1996.

### Commentary

- [\*Venezuelans must lead in building an off-ramp for Maduro\*](#) (with Dany Bahar and Ted Piccone), The Hill (op-ed), January 27, 2019.
- [\*Brazil's new president: strongman at home, weak man abroad?\*](#), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, October 31, 2018.
- [\*How will global geopolitics affect Latin America's next electoral cycle?\*](#), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, November 27, 2017.
- [\*Reckless hostility towards Cuba damages America's interests\*](#) (with Richard Feinberg), The Hill (op-ed), October 5th, 2017.
- [\*10 things you should know about the current crisis in Venezuela\*](#) (with Dany Bahar), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, April 24, 2017.

[\*In Venezuela, real dialogue remains unlikely. What can be done to change this?\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, October 28, 2016.

[\*Rhetoric of this year's presidential campaign is no substitute for thoughtful policy\*](#), Las Vegas Sun, September 5, 2016.

[\*Dilma impeached: picking up the pieces in Brazil\*](#) (with Caitlyn Davis), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, August 31, 2016.

[\*Has Colombia achieved peace? Five things you should know\*](#) (with Caitlyn Davis), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, August 25, 2016.

[\*The 2016 Rio Olympics: will Brazil's emergence get a second wind?\*](#) (with David Mares), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, August 5, 2016.

[\*Brazil and the international order: getting back on track\*](#) (with David Mares), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, June 29, 2016.

[\*Dim prospects for dialogue in Venezuela\*](#) (with Dany Bahar), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, June 22, 2016.

[\*Can Brazil right itself?\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, April 21, 2016.

[\*Colombian peace process deadline passes with no accord, what's next?\*](#) (with Caitlyn Davis), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, March 24, 2016

[\*Breaking bad in the Middle East and North Africa: drugs, militants and human rights\*](#) (with Vanda Felbab-Brown and Sultan Barakat), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, March 22, 2016.

[\*Obama's other Latin America trip\*](#), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, March 15, 2016.

[\*What Brazil contributes to the international order\*](#), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, February 18, 2016.

[\*Three things to know about the impact of low oil prices on Latin America\*](#), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, February 17, 2016.

[\*Why Latin America's 2016 Elections Might Produce Big Changes\*](#) (with Caitlyn Davies), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, January 6, 2016.

[\*Three Things to know about the Venezuelan election results\*](#), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, December 8, 2015.

[\*The network effect: Trafficking in illicit drugs, money and people in Latin America\*](#), The Cypher Brief, December 1, 2015.

[\*Venezuela's Elections: Can Chavismo Lose?\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, December 2, 2015.

[\*Fear itself: Why closed borders are bad for America and the world.\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, November 20, 2015.

[\*What China can learn from Latin American drug policy.\*](#) (with Vanda Felbab-Brown), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, October 29, 2015.

[\*Why is Honduras so violent?\*](#) (with Ashley Miller), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, October 1, 2015.

[\*Moving beyond dispensable: Strengthening U.S.-Brazil relations.\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, June 26, 2015.

[\*Other perceptions of China: Views from Africa, Latin America, and Europe\*](#) (with Amadou Sy, Philippe Le Corre, and Yun Sun), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, May 27, 2015.

[\*The emerging global 'dissensus' on drug policy: Seizing the opportunity\*](#) (with Vanda Felbab-Brown), April 29, Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, 2015.

[\*Drawing lessons from the Summit of the Americas.\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, April 8, 2015.

[\*Brazil's prescription: Collaborative diplomacy for a more stable global order.\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, February 23, 2015.

[\*Prospects for Latin America's middle class after the commodity boom\*](#) (with Michael Penfold), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, February 10, 2015.

[\*Running Out of Time: Dimming Prospects for Reform in Venezuela.\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, January 28, 2015.

[\*Making the Caribbean Energy Security Initiative a Success.\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, January 23, 2015.

[\*New U.S.-Cuba Policy Will Revitalize Hemispheric Relations.\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, December 18, 2014.

[\*Transparent Governance in Latin America's Age of Abundance\*](#) (with Carlos Santiso), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, November 4, 2014.

[\*Brazil's Presidential Election Surprise?\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, October 8, 2014.

[\*Beyond Venezuela's Default Debate.\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, September 16, 2014.

[\*Seeking Common Ground in the U.S.-Brazil Relationship.\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, April 29, 2014.

[\*Four Steps Brazil Can Take to Influence Global Governance More Effectively.\*](#) Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, April 28, 2014.

[UNASUR and the Prospects for Dialogue in Venezuela](#), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, March 24, 2014.

[Toward a Peaceful Solution for Venezuela's Crisis](#), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, February 20, 2014.

[The Consequences of Venezuela's December 8<sup>th</sup> Municipal Elections](#), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, December 8<sup>th</sup>, 2013.

[The Upcoming Electoral Cycle in Latin America in the Midst of Social Unrest: What Lies Ahead?](#) (with Ernesto Talvi), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, October 23, 2013.

[U.S.-Brazil Relations and NSA Electronic Surveillance](#), Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution, September 18, 2013.

## **CONFERENCES AND EVENTS ORGANIZED**

“Effects of the Global Information Ecosystem on the Risk of Nuclear Conflict,” workshop organized by the Center for International Security and Cooperation, the Hoover Institution and the Stanley Foundation, Stanford University, September 7, 2018.

“UNGASS 2016 and beyond: Seizing the opportunity to improve drug policy,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Center for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Security and Intelligence, The Brookings Institution, April 7, 2016.

“A conversation with U.S. Ambassador to Colombia Kevin Whitaker,” hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, March 16, 2016.

“A complex reality: Security, trade and the U.S.-Mexico border,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative at Brookings and the Americas Society/Council of the Americas, March 16, 2016.

“Can Venezuela's Elections Be Clean and Fair?,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, the Inter-American Dialogue, Woodrow Wilson Latin America Center, International IDEA, and the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, The Dialogue, November 19, 2015.

“COP21 and Climate Change Dialogue in Latin America,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Inter-American Dialogue, The Dialogue, November 12, 2015.

“Venezuela's high-stakes legislative elections: The December 6 vote and what comes next,” hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, November 6, 2015.

“UNGASS 2016 and the Prospects for Improving Global Drug Policy,” at 2015 Symposium on International Drug Policy, Zhejiang Police College and East China University, October 2015.

“A Conversation with President Juan Orlando Hernández of Honduras,” hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, September 28, 2015.

- “An assessment of Colombia’s anti-drug policies amid the peace talks with the FARC,” hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, September 21, 2015.
- “A Conversation with Foreign Minister Hugo Martínez of El Salvador,” hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, July 10, 2015
- “Converging on the Future of Global Internet Governance: The United States and Brazil,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence, The Brookings Institution, July 9, 2015.
- “Aid Effectiveness, Metrics, and the \$1 Billion Central America Aid Package Request,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and Florida International University, The Brookings Institution, May 21, 2015.
- “Improving Global Drug Policy: UNGASS 2016 and Beyond,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence, The Brookings Institution, April 30, 2015.
- “Intertwined Economic and Political Fortunes in the Southern Cone: The Future of Brazil and Argentina,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Global-CERES Economic and Social Policy in Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, April 20, 2015.
- “The Summit of the Americas and Prospects for Inter-American Relations,” featuring Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs Roberta Jacobson, hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, April 3, 2015.
- “Reflections on the Summit of the Americas with Congressman Joaquin Castro,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Project on International Order and Strategy, The Brookings Institution, April 14, 2015.
- “Brazil and the Shaping of a Cooperative Multipolar Order,” featuring Brazil’s UN Ambassador Antonio Patriota, co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Project on International Order and Strategy, The Brookings Institution, February 9, 2015.
- Seminar for the Global Competitiveness Leadership program at Georgetown University, with Harold Trinkunas, Ted Piccone, Vanda Felbab-Brown, and Guillermo Vuletin, The Brookings Institution, February 6, 2015.
- “A Conversation with Admiral Paul Zukunft, Commandant of the U.S. Coast Guard,” co-hosted by the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence and the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, January 22, 2015.
- “Mexico’s Security Policies under President Peña Nieto Public,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence, The Brookings Institution, November 17, 2014.

- “Latin America’s Emerging Middle Classes in a Changing Global Economy: Institutional and Policy Responses,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and CAF-Banco de Desarrollo de América Latina, The Brookings Institution, November 12, 2014.
- “A Conversation with General Charles Jacoby (USNORTHCOM),” co-hosted by the co-hosted by the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence and the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, November 6, 2015.
- “Transparent Governance in an Age of Abundance: Experiences from the Extractive Industries in Latin America and the Caribbean,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Inter-American Development Bank, The Brookings Institution, November 4, 2014.
- “Improving Global Drug Policy: Comparative Perspectives on Counternarcotics Regimes and UNGASS 2016,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence, The Brookings Institution, October 16, 2014.
- “The 2015 Election Cycle in Latin America,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Global-CERES Economic and Social Policy in Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, October 14, 2014.
- “Shifting Strategies on Drug Policy: A Comparative Approach,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, the London School of Economics and Open Society Foundations, The Brookings Institution, September 22, 2014.
- “Strengthening Democracy and Stability, Chile’s Effort to Reform,” a Batkin International Leaders Forum with President of Chile Michelle Bachelet, hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, June 30, 2014.
- “Prospects for Dialogue in Venezuela,” hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, April 8, 2014.
- Seminar for the Global Competitiveness Leadership program at Georgetown University, with Vanda Felbab-Brown, Beth Ferris, Harold Trinkunas, and Ian Wallace, The Brookings Institution, March 28, 2014.
- “Global Trade Negotiations at a Crossroads: How Does Latin America Fit In?” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Global-CERES Economic and Social Policy in Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, March 25, 2014.
- “Central Americans Displaced by Criminal Violence: A Roundtable Discussion,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, The Brookings Institution, February 18, 2014.
- “Elections in Latin America,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative, International IDEA, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, January 30, 2014.
- “The Future of Energy Reform in Mexico,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and Energy Security and Climate Initiative, The Brookings Institution, January 16, 2014.

“Colombia at a Crossroads: A Conversation with Colombia’s Minister of National Defense,” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence, The Brookings Institution, December 2, 2013.

“The Upcoming Electoral Cycle in Latin America in the Midst of Social Unrest: What Lies Ahead?” co-hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative and the Global-CERES Economic and Social Policy in Latin America Initiative, The Brookings Institution, October 18, 2013.

“Dangerous Liaisons: Political Finance and Organized Crime in Latin America and Beyond,” hosted by the Foreign Policy Latin America Initiative The Brookings Institution, October 15, 2013.

“US-Brazil Seminar on International and Regional Security,” Brasilia, Brazil, August 2012.

“Borders and Borderlands in the Americas” (with Maiah Jaskoski and Arturo Sotomayor), Naval Postgraduate School and Stanford University, June 2012.

“Ungoverned Spaces” (with Anne Clunan), Naval Postgraduate School, August 2007.

“Comparative Defense Reform” (with Thomas Bruneau), Naval Postgraduate School, September 2005.

“Terrorism Financing” (with Jeanne Giraldo), Naval Postgraduate School, November 2004.

## **GRANTS AND FUNDED RESEARCH**

“A Nested Mixed-Method Approach to Armed Non-State Actor Governance and the Rule of Law” (with Desmond Arias, Vanda Felbab-Brown, and Javier Osorio), Minerva Research Initiative, U.S. Department of Defense, 2017-2020.

“What the Middle East Can Learn from Latin America About Drug Policy Reform,” Rubinstein Special Initiative Fund, The Brookings Institution, 2016-2017.

“Improving Global Drug Policy,” co-PI with Vanda Felbab-Brown. Open Society Foundations, 2015-2016.

“The Effect of China’s Overseas Trade and Investment: Examining the Prospects for an Alternative International Order and its Implications for U.S. Geostrategic Interests,” co-PI with David Dollar and Ted Piccone, Director Special Initiative Fund, The Brookings Institution, 2015-2016.

“Reconstituting Local Orders,” co-PI with Vanda Felbab-Brown and Shadi Hamid. Director Special Initiative Fund, The Brookings Institution, 2015-2016.

“Reforming the Global Counternarcotics Regime,” co-PI with Vanda Felbab-Brown. Director Special Initiative Fund, The Brookings Institution, 2014-2015.

“Geopolitics of Global Internet Governance,” co-PI with Ian Wallace and Peter Singer. Director Special Initiative Fund, The Brookings Institution, 2014-2015.

“US-Brazil Strategic Dialogue II” Program on Advanced Systems and Concepts to Combat WMD, Defense Threat Reduction Agency, 2013-2014.

“The Military-Industrial-Scientific Complex and the Rise of New Powers: Conceptual, Theoretical and Methodological Contributions and the Brazilian Case.” Consortium project with University of California San Diego (co-PI David Mares). Sponsored by Minerva Research Initiative, Department of Defense, 2012-15.

“Public Perspectives on Security and Defense in Latin America.” Sponsored by USSOUTHCOM, 2011-2012.

“US-Brazil Strategic Dialogue.” Sponsored by Program on Advanced Systems and Concepts to Combat WMD, Defense Threat Reduction Agency, 2011-2012.

“Controlling Border Space in the Americas.” Co-PI with Maiah Jaskoski (NPS) and Arturo Sotomayor (NPS). Sponsored by Advanced Systems and Concepts Office, Defense Threat Reduction Agency. 2011-2012.

“Defense Institutional Reform Initiative.” Sponsored by Defense Security Cooperation Agency. 2009-2010.

“Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority,” co-PI with Anne Clunan (NPS). Sponsored by Defense Security Cooperation Agency and Defense Threat Reduction Agency, 2007-2008.

“Global Politics of Defense Reform,” co-PI with Thomas Bruneau (NPS). Sponsored by Center for Civil-Military Relations at the Naval Postgraduate School. 2006.

“Terrorism Financing in Comparative Perspective,” Sponsored by Department of Homeland Security, 2004-2005.

MacArthur Fellowship for International Peace and Security, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, 1995-96.

Ayacucho Field Research Grant, Center for Latin American Studies, Stanford University, 1994-95.

Dissertation Research Grant, Institute for the Study of World Politics, Washington, D.C., 1994-95.

Ayacucho Pre-dissertation Research Grant, Center for Latin American Studies, Stanford University, 1992.

## **HONORS AND AWARDS**

Charles R. Robinson Chair in Foreign Policy, The Brookings Institution. 2013-2016

Visiting Associate Professor, Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University. 2012-2013

LCDR David L. Williams Outstanding Professor, Naval Postgraduate School. 2004



Outstanding Instructional Performance, Naval Postgraduate School. 2000

Visiting Scholar, Center for Latin American Studies, Stanford University. 1998-99

### **ACADEMIC SERVICE**

Brookings Institution Scholars Advisory Committee 2015-16

Chair, Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School 2008-11 & 2012-13

Co-Chair, Defense, Public Security and Democracy Section. 2011-12  
Latin American Studies Association.

Deputy Director for Academic Affairs. 2006-08  
Center for Civil-Military Relations, Naval Postgraduate School.

Associate Chair for Instruction. 2006-08  
Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School.

Academic Associate, Regional Security Studies. 2003-05  
Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School.

External reviewer for Penn State University Press, University of North Carolina Press, University of Texas Press, Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, Brookings Institution Press, Democratization, Comparative Politics, Latin American Research Review, Security Studies, International Security, Political Science Quarterly, Latin American Politics and Society, American Political Science Review.