

THEODORE J. PICCONE

Over 30 years of public policy experience in U.S. national security, international relations and law, and democracy and human rights. Areas of specialty include policy research and analysis, strategic planning and partnerships, nonprofit management, advocacy campaigns, civil society coalition-building, policy coordination, international human rights law and practice, international organizations, Latin America.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

*Senior Fellow and Charles W. Robinson Chair, Foreign Policy, **Brookings Institution**, Washington (2008–present)*

*Inaugural Brookings-Bosch Transatlantic Initiative Fellow, **Robert Bosch Academy**, Berlin (2017-2018)*

Acting Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Program (2013–2014)

Deputy Director, Foreign Policy Program (2008–2013)

- Led management of Brookings' largest program covering full range of international affairs research, outreach and activities. Oversaw annual budget and fundraising of \$25 million+ and 120 employees in Washington and three overseas centers (Beijing, New Delhi, Doha).
- Carried out robust policy research agenda covering the UN human rights system, rising powers, the politics and substance of democracy and human rights promotion, and U.S. policy toward Latin America with a special focus on Cuba and Brazil.
- Organized annual international law lecture series on such topics as digital technology, autonomous weapons, chemical weapons, and international criminal justice.
- Currently conducting research on digital technology's impact on democracy and human rights, transitional justice in Colombia, UN human rights fact-finding mechanisms.
- Wrote and co-edited multiple books, edited volumes, journal articles, op-eds and blogs.
- Frequent expert commentator in national and international media and conferences; testified to House and Senate committees on United Nations and human rights issues.

*Adjunct Faculty, "United Nations Human Rights System" with Gerald Staberock, **American University Washington College of Law**, Program of Advanced Studies in Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, 2015- present.*

*Executive Director, **Democracy Coalition Project**, Washington (2001–2008)*

- Launched new Open Society Institute initiative to promote multilateral cooperation and civil society campaigns for democratic and human rights reforms globally.
- Conducted research and advocacy on democracy and human rights policies of U.S. and foreign governments and international organizations; promoted multilateral strategies to protect and consolidate democracy and human rights.
- Enlisted prominent leaders from around the world to support campaigns, conducted outreach with senior policymakers, media interviews, presentations at conferences and seminars; secured funding from U.S. and foreign donors; supervised U.S. and international staff in Washington, San Jose, Brussels offices; managed cumulative budget of over \$3 million.

- Conceived, directed and produced 550-page report for international blue ribbon panel on democracy and human rights performance of over 40 governments for senior diplomats from 16 countries; coordinated secretariat team of researchers from Germany, Ghana and U.S.

*Washington Office Director (2003-2008) and Senior Advisor, **Club of Madrid** (2008–present)*

- Provide strategic policy advice and Washington expertise to global association of over 100 former heads of state and government engaged in supporting democratic leaders.
- Directed the Club’s U.S. political strategy for global summit on democracy and terrorism; won passage of Senate and House resolutions; coordinated five expert working groups for U.S. national conference on terrorism; organized policy briefings.
- Managed the Club’s political strategy for influencing democracy-related policies of the International Monetary Fund.
- Advised the Club’s work on energy and democracy, including joint Club of Madrid-UN Foundation high-level task force on climate change.

*Associate Director, Policy Planning, **Office of the Secretary of State** (1998–2001)*

- Advised senior policymakers on U.S. strategies regarding Western Hemisphere affairs, global democracy and human rights.
- Promoted to senior position managing 15-20 professional and administrative staff.
- Handled diplomatic negotiations and planning for first-ever Community of Democracies Ministerial meeting and follow-on activities; drafted and negotiated final Warsaw Declaration endorsed by over 100 governments.
- Guided historic declassification of U.S. documents relating to Pinochet era in Chile.
- Shaped U.S. visa policy and legislation relating to prosecution of human rights abuses.
- Conducted policy planning briefings for senior officials from Canada, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Vietnam, France, Germany and the United Kingdom.

*Director for Inter-American Affairs, **National Security Council**, **The White House** (1996–1998)*

- Advised President and National Security Advisor on complex security, political, economic and trade policy matters regarding Latin America, with focus on Mexico, Andes, Panama and Southern Cone.
- Prepared President and First Lady for multiple visits to region, including 1998 Summit of the Americas; negotiated policy agenda and coordinated interagency implementation of bilateral and multilateral agreements on defense cooperation, law enforcement, trade.
- Managed cabinet-level decision-making processes on such issues as Colombia, regional arms sales policy, U.S. military presence in Panama, and Peru-Ecuador border dispute.

*Special Assistant, **Office of the Secretary of Defense** (1993–1996)*

- Served as defense policy advisor on inter-American regional security issues, civil-military relations, and human rights; country specialist for Mexico, Peru and Central America.

- Led policy preparations for first-ever hemispheric meeting of 34 Defense Ministers.
- Conducted top secret interagency investigation of sensitive intelligence relationships.
- Engineered establishment of the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies at National Defense University to train civilians on issues of national security and management.
- Coordinated Pentagon's review and public release of documents on war in El Salvador.
- Developed policy agenda for first-ever visit by a U.S. Defense Secretary to Mexico.
- Received Secretary of Defense Award for Outstanding Achievement.

Counsel, United Nations Truth Commission for El Salvador (1992–1993)

- Chief U.S.-based counsel for UN commission mandated by Salvadoran Peace Accords.
- Handled all aspects of investigation of major human rights cases.
- Served as lead liaison to U.S. Government agencies, Congress, NGOs, media; negotiated access to sensitive documents; drafted testimony to Congress.

Associate, Schnader, Harrison, Segal & Lewis, Philadelphia and Washington (1991–1993)

- Litigated complex international securities cases for Norwegian clients pursuing claims in U.S. and England.
- Handled criminal appellate work involving extradition treaties and export law violations.
- Pursued freedom of information claims on behalf of college newspaper.
- Defended licensing and copyright agreements in major sports business arbitration case.
- Won bench trial defending small business in employment contract dispute.

Law Clerk, U.S. District Court Judge Stanley S. Brotman, New Jersey and U.S. Virgin Islands (1990–1991)

- Drafted judicial decisions, bench memoranda and appellate opinions for wide variety of civil and criminal cases.

Summer Associate, Dewey Ballentine, Washington (1990); Patton Boggs, Washington (1989); Cahill, Gordon & Reindel, New York (1989)

- Handled matters involving international trade, commercial litigation and lobbying.

Staff Assistant, Council on Foreign Relations, New York (1987)

- Managed membership selection process; served as official rapporteur for Council study projects on science and technology, China, Chile.

Press Secretary, U.S. Representative Bob Edgar, Washington (1985–1987)

- Handled all aspects of media relations for Washington congressional office during U.S. Senate campaign in Pennsylvania.

Editor and Staff Director, Youth Policy Institute, Washington (1984–1985)

- Chief editor for national policy magazine covering federal and state programs for youth and families, with focus on budget analysis, national service and education.

Other Affiliations

Advisor, Club de Madrid and Member of the Board, Club de Madrid Foundation, Inc.

Member, International Forum for Democratic Studies Research Council, NED

Advisory Board Member, UN Association – USA, National Capital Area

EDUCATION

Columbia University School of Law, J.D., 1990

Harlan Fiske Stone Scholar

Parker School Certificate in International and Comparative Law

Editor-in-Chief, *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* and *Jailhouse Lawyers' Manual*

Awarded International Human Rights Fellowship, Santiago, Chile (1988).

Appointed International Fellow (1990).

University of Pennsylvania, B.A. magna cum laude, History with honors, 1984

Awarded best thesis in American History: “Wilsonianism and FDR in Latin America.”

Founded and ran Penn Political Participation Center.

Professional proficiency in Spanish; basic French.

SELECTED GUEST LECTURE AND PRESENTATION EXPERIENCE

Prepared and delivered dozens of lectures and presentations to government, university, media and general public audiences around the world, including at:

- Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service, George Washington University’s Elliot School, American University’s School of International Service, University of Chicago, Syracuse University’s Maxwell School, Pitzer College, New York University, University of Nevada Las Vegas, and Tufts University;
- World Affairs Councils in Dallas, Houston, Baltimore, Tulsa and Santa Fe;
- conferences and seminars around the world including at the Brookings Institution (Washington, New Delhi, Doha and Beijing) and Brookings-Washington University Executive Education; Universite de Paris Sorbonne; Bosch Academy in Berlin; Konrad Adeneur Stiftung offices in Berlin, Mexico and Italy; Warsaw Security Forum; South African Institute of International Affairs; Fundacao Getulio Vargas in Sao Paolo; Latin American Studies Association; Instituto de Estudios Relaciones Internacionales in Havana; American Society of International Law; and
- government meetings sponsored by the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the foreign ministries of the United States, India, Indonesia, Brazil, South Africa, Turkey, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Finland, France, Germany, Peru, and the United Kingdom.

SELECTED WRITINGS AND PUBLICATIONS

Books

Ted Piccone, *Five Rising Democracies and the Fate of the International Liberal Order*, Brookings Institution Press, 2016.

Ted Piccone, *Catalysts for Change: How the UN's Independent Experts Promote Human Rights*, Brookings Institution Press, 2012.

Shifting the Balance: Obama and the Americas, eds. Abraham F. Lowenthal, Ted Piccone and Laurence Whitehead, Brookings Institution Press, 2010 (also published in Spanish and Portuguese).

The Obama Administration and the Americas: Agenda for Change, (eds. Abraham F. Lowenthal, Ted Piccone and Laurence Whitehead, Brookings Institution Press, 2009).

Strategies for Democratic Change: Assessing the Global Response, eds. Ted Piccone and Richard Youngs, Democracy Coalition Project and Fundacion para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Dialogo Exterior, Washington and Madrid, 2006.

Regime Change by the Book: Constitutional Tools to Protect Democracy, ed. Ted Piccone with Alexander Kirshner, Democracy Coalition Project, 2004.

Defending Democracy: A Global Survey of Foreign Policy Trends 1992-2002, eds. Robert Herman and Ted Piccone, Democracy Coalition Project, October 2002.

Selected Articles in Edited Volumes, Journals, Reports, Blogs and Op-eds

“Venezuela: A Path out of Misery,” with Dany Bahar and Harold Trinkunas, *Brookings Foreign Policy Report*, October 2018

“China’s Long Game on Human Rights at the UN,” *Brookings Foreign Policy Report*, September 2018

“Cuba’s Stalled Revolution,” with Richard Feinberg, *Foreign Affairs*, September 20, 2018

“Democracy and Digital Technology,” *SUR International Journal on Human Rights*, Conectas Direitos Humanos, Sao Paolo, Vol. 27, July 2018

“U.S. Withdrawal from UN Human Rights Council is ‘America Alone,’” *Brookings Order from Chaos* blog, June 20, 2018

“What the World Needs to Do after Venezuela’s Vote,” *NPR.org*, May 22, 2018

“Breaking the Human Rights Gridlock by Embracing the Sustainable Development Goals,”
OpenGlobalRights.org, April 17, 2018

“How Can International Law Regulate Autonomous Weapons,” *Brookings Order from Chaos* blog,
April 10, 2018

“UN Commissions of Inquiry: The Quest for Accountability,” *Brookings Foreign Policy Report*,
December 2017

“How Do UN Special Procedures Work as a System?” in *Système de protection des droits de
l’Homme des Nations Unies: présent et avenir*, ed. Olivier de Frouville, U. Paris Sorbonne,
December 2017

“U.S.-Cuba Normalization: U.S. Constituencies for Change,” *IdeAs: Idées d’Amérique*,
10 | Automne 2017 / Hiver 2018, mis en ligne le 19 décembre 2017, consulté le 11 février 2018.
URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/ideas/2107> ; DOI : 10.4000/ideas.2107

“Next Wave of Elections in Latin America Will Test Democratic Resilience,” *Brookings Order from
Chaos* blog, October, 2017

“Liberal Democracy and the Path to Peace and Security,” with Madeleine Albright, Mehdi Jomaa and
Cheryl Frank, Report of the Brookings Institution and Institute for Security Studies (Africa) to the
Community of Democracies, September, 2017

Democracy and Security Policy Briefs and Working Papers covering relationship between democracy
and civil wars, terrorism, violent crime, human security, gender equality and cybersecurity,
Brookings Institution, September 2017

“The Geneva Shuffle: Shifting U.S. Engagement at the UN Human Rights Council,” with Jesse
Kornbluh, *Huffington Post*, September 7, 2017

“Cuba, the U.S., and the concept of sovereignty: Toward a common vocabulary?” with Ashley Miller,
in *Cuba-US Relations: Normalization and Its Challenges*, Columbia University Cuba Program, 2017.

“Assessing the UN Human Rights Council,” Testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations
Subcommittee on Multilateral International Development, Multilateral Institutions, and International
Economic, Energy, and Environmental Policy, May 25, 2017

“Tillerson Says Goodbye to Human Rights Diplomacy,” *Brookings Order from Chaos* blog, May 5,
2017

“Want to Improve Border Security? Seek Better Relations with Cuba,” *The National Interest*, April
26, 2017

“Why International Law Serves U.S. National Interests,” *Brookings Report* on the Justice Breyer
Lecture Series on International Law, April 2017

“Nikki Haley: Don’t Forget LGBTI Rights at the UN Security Council,” with Ryan Kaminski,
PassBlue, April 17, 2017

“Democracies’ discontents: Where do we go from here?” *Rising Powers Quarterly*, Vol. 1, Issue 2, December 2016

“Here’s a blueprint for a Trump-Castro deal on Cuba,” with Richard Feinberg, *Americas Quarterly*, December 8, 2016

“The geopolitics of China’s rise in Latin America,” *Brookings Geoeconomics and Global Issues Paper 2*, November 2016

“Country-specific scrutiny at the United Nations Human Rights Council: More than meets the eye,” with Naomi McMillen, *Brookings Working Paper*, May 17, 2016

“Shifting gears? How Cuba-U.S. rapprochement is playing out at the Human Rights Council,” with Ashley Miller, *Brookings Order from Chaos*, January 27, 2016

“5 myths about the U.N. Human Rights Council,” *Huffington Post*, December 8, 2015

“Cultural obstacles to U.S.-Cuba relations,” *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, October 26, 2015

“What does the Pope’s visit mean for Cuba?” *Brookings Order from Chaos*, September 18, 2015

“Obama, Rouseff, and the crucible of human rights,” *Latin America Goes Global*, June 26, 2015

“No security without justice,” with Ashley Miller, *Brookings Order from Chaos*, June 18, 2015

“Modi’s foreign policy strikes a spiritual chord when it comes to democracy,” *Brookings India*, May 28, 2015

“United States-Cuba Normalizations: Strategic Implications for U.S. Security,” Latin America and Caribbean Center, Florida International University, April 2015

“A new Americas: Taking Cuba off the U.S. terrorism list,” *Brookings Order from Chaos*, April 15, 2015

“U.S. Takes a Positive ‘Negative’ Approach to Trade With Cuban Entrepreneurs,” with Ashley Miller, *Huffington Post*, February 19, 2015

“On Cuba, Expect Steady But Slow Progress on Both Sides,” *The Brookings Institution*, January 20, 2015

“On Cuba, Obama Goes Long and Castro Holds On,” *The Brookings Institution*, December 22, 2014

“Historic Moves to Normalize Relations with Cuba,” *The Brookings Institution*, December 17, 2014

“Cuba’s Economic Change in Comparative Perspective,” (eds. Richard E. Feinberg and Ted Piccone), *The Brookings Institution*, November 2014

“Ebola Could Bring U.S. and Cuba Together,” *The Mark*, October 31, 2014

“Will Rising Democracies Adopt Pro-Human Rights Foreign Policies?” *South Africa Institute for International Affairs Journal*, September 2014

“Three Tips for the High Commissioner for Human Rights,” *openDemocracy*, July 9, 2014

“The Politics and Geopolitics of the Global Democracy and Human Rights Order,” in *Human Rights, Human Security and State Security* (Ed. Saul Takahasi, Praeger 2014)

“The Cuba-Venezuela Alliance: The Beginning of the End?” with Harold Trinkunas, *Brookings Institution Report*, June 2014

“Cuban Revelations: Behind the Scenes in Havana by Marc Frank,” *Americas Quarterly*, Spring 2014

“U.N. Human Rights Experts: Determinants of Influence,” *The Brookings Institution and Universal Rights Group*, March 2014

“Indonesian Foreign Policy: ‘A Million Friends and Zero Enemies,’” with Bimo Yusman, *The Diplomat*, February 14, 2014

“How President Obama Should Advance U.S.-Cuba Relations,” *Atlantic Council*, February 10, 2014

“Reach out to Havana,” in *Big Bets & Black Swans – A Presidential Briefing Book*, Brookings Institution, January 2014

“How Democratic Development Drives Five Rising Countries,” with Ashley Miller, *Görüş*, Istanbul, December 2013

“The Future of the United Nations Special Procedures,” in *Routledge Handbook of International Human Rights* (Eds. Scott Sheeran and Sir Nigel Rodley, Routledge Press 2013)

“Cuba Trip Report: A Stroll Toward Change and a View from the Streets,” *The Brookings Institution*, October 3, 2013

“Rios Montt Trial an Example of National, International Courts Working Together,” with Ashley Miller, *Open Society Justice Initiative*, June 4, 2013

“Democracy, Human Rights and the Emerging Global Order,” *The Brookings Institution*, April 2013

“Time to Bet on Cuba,” *The Hill*, March 18, 2013

“Chavez is Dead. Chavismo Lives on,” *The Brookings Institution*, March 6, 2013

“Opening to Havana,” in *Big Bets & Black Swans – A Presidential Briefing Book*, Brookings Institution, January 2013

“Senate GOP Failed on Disability Rights,” *CNN*, December 8, 2012

“Global Swing States and the Human Rights and Democracy Order,” *German Marshall Fund of the United States*, November 27, 2012

“The Middle Classes and Foreign Policy in Latin America,” *Americas Quarterly*, November 5, 2012

“Syria, Human Rights and the United Nations,” *The Huffington Post*, September 9, 2012

“Introduction,” in *The Road to Hemispheric Cooperation: Beyond the Cartagena Summit of the Americas*, (eds. Ted Piccone, Inés Bustillo, Antoni Esteveordal, Jeffrey M. Puryear, Tamara Ortega Goodspeed, Thomas A. O’Keefe, Kevin Casas-Zamora, Lucía Dammert, Rubén Perina, Jaime Aparicio-Otero), *The Brookings Institution*, July 2012

“Getting Real on Human Rights at the UN,” *The Huffington Post*, July 6, 2012

“U.S. and Brazil: Together and Apart,” *The National Interest*, April 9, 2012

“Rising Democracies Take on Russia and China,” *The National Interest*, February 17, 2012

“Cuba is Changing, Slowly but Surely,” *Brookings Institution*, January 19, 2012

“Rising Democracies and the Arab Awakening: Implications for Global Democracy and Human Rights,” with Emily Alinikoff, *Brookings Institution*, January 9, 2012

“Do New Democracies Support Democracy? The Multilateral Dimension,” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 22, number 4 (October 2011)

“Why Are Special Human Rights Procedures so Special?” in *A Global Agenda: Issues before the United Nations 2011-2012* (United Nations Association of the USA et al., 2011)

“The Contribution of the UN's Special Procedures to National Level Implementation of Human Rights Norms,” *The International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 15, number 2 (February 2011)

“To Effect Change in Havana, Support the Cuban People”, *South Florida Sun Sentinel*, January 31, 2011

“UN Forum on Human Rights: Stay and Fight or Walk Away?” *Brookings Institution*, January 24, 2011

“The U.N. and Human Rights: More than Politics,” *Brookings Institution*, December 8, 2010

“On Human Rights, Send in the Experts,” *The Huffington Post*, October 27, 2010

“Catalysts for Rights: The Unique Contribution of the U.N.’s Independent Experts on Human Rights,” *Brookings Institution*, October 2010

“United States Gives Itself High Marks on Human Rights, but What Comes Next,” *Brookings Institution*, August 27, 2010

“Bridging Cuba’s Communication Divide: How U.S. Policy Can Help,” *Brookings Institution*, July 2010

“U.S. Leadership on the UN Human Rights Council: Beyond Iran,” *Global Post*, May 12, 2010

“Democracy the Indonesian Way,” *Brookings Institution*, April 22, 2010

“Perilous Times for Latin America,” *Current History*, vol. 109, issue 724 (February 2010)

“The Obama Administration Clarifies Approach to Human Rights,” *Global Post*, December 19, 2009

“Obama Promise Unfulfilled on Cuba,” *The Daily Beast*, October 27, 2009

“The Political Dimensions of the World Economic Crisis: A Latin American Perspective,” *Club of Madrid*, July 13, 2009

“Crossroads on Cuba: Will Democracy or Sovereignty Prevail?” *Brookings Institution*, June 2, 2009

“Will Obama Retreat on Democracy in Latin America?” *The Huffington Post*, April 14, 2009

“Enhance Democracy in the Americas through Multilateral Action,” The Fifth Summit of the Americas: Recommendations for Action, *Brookings Institution*, April 13, 2009

“Democracies: In a League of their Own? Lessons Learned from the Community of Democracies,” Foreign Policy Paper Series # 8, *Brookings Institution*, October 2008

“A League of Democracies: Doomed to Fail?” with Morton H. Halperin, *International Herald Tribune*, June 5, 2008

“Bolivar’s Ghosts,” Book Review of *Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America’s Soul* by Michael Reid, in *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, March 2008

“Talking Sense: Guidelines for International Democracy Promotion,” in *Democratic Responses to Terrorism* (ed. Leonard Weinberg, Routledge Press 2008)

“Building Institutional Capacity for Democratization,” *Development Outreach*, vol. 9. no. 3, World Bank Institute, November 2007

Editor, “Human Rights Council Report Card: Government Positions on Key Issues 2006-07,” Democracy Coalition Project, October 2007

“Wanted: Genuine Democracies,” with Thomas O. Melia, *The National Post*, July 20, 2007

Editor, “International Advisory Committee Report on Community of Democracies Invitations Process,” delivered to the Community of Democracies Convening Group, 2007

“Improve Coordination with Allies to Promote Democracy,” in *Restoring American Leadership: 13 Cooperative Steps to Advance Global Progress*, Open Society Institute and Security and Peace Institute, 2005

“International Mechanisms for Protecting Democracy,” in *Protecting Democracy: International Responses* (eds. Morton H. Halperin and Mirna Galic, Lexington Books, 2005)

Book Review of *Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Foreign Regimes*, by Neil J. Kritz, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (Jul., 1996), pp. 540-543