

THEODORE J. PICCONE

Over 30 years of public service experience in foreign policy and law. Areas of specialty include global democracy and human rights, Latin America, national security, international organizations, advocacy campaigns, strategic planning, and policy coordination.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy, Brookings Institution Washington (2008–present)

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

Deputy Director, Foreign Policy Program (2008–2013)

- Led management of Brookings' largest research program covering full range of international affairs research and activities. Oversaw budget of \$25 million+ and 120 employees in Washington and three overseas centers (Beijing, New Delhi, Doha).
- Carried out robust research agenda covering the UN human rights system, rising powers, the politics of democracy and human rights promotion, U.S. policy toward Latin America with a special focus on Cuba.
- Wrote and co-edited multiple books, edited volumes, journal articles, op-eds and blogs.
- Frequent expert commentator in national and international media

Adjunct Faculty, “United Nations Human Rights System (LAW-662S-001)” with Gerald Staberock and Jens Modvig, American University Washington College of Law, Program of Advanced Studies in Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, 2015, 2016, 2017.

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; campaign for reforms to UN, Community of Democracies; promote multilateral strategies to protect and consolidate democracy and human rights.
- Enlisted prominent leaders and experts from the United States and around the world to support campaigns, conduct outreach through meetings with senior policymakers, media interviews, presentations at conferences and seminars; secure funding from U.S. and foreign donors; recruit and supervise U.S. and international staff in DC and Brussels offices; manage cumulative budget of over \$3 million; opened three overseas offices.
- 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 Bertelsmann Stiftung, Freedom House, Ghana Center for Democratic Development.

- Directed research and helped coordinate NGO campaigns for a UN Democracy Caucus, an effective Human Rights Council and new U.S. leadership at the UN.

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

- Provided strategic policy advice and Washington expertise to global association of over 65 former heads of state and government engaged in support democratic transitions.
- 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 (1996–2001)

- 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 in June 2000 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.

Advisory Board Member, The Cuba Consortium

Member, International Forum for Democratic Studies Research Council

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.

Proficient in Spanish; basic French.

SELECTED WRITINGS, LECTURES 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*, 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 available 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

“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.

“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, Rousseff, 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?” *SAIIA*, 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, *The Brookings Institution*, 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*, (The Brookings Institution, January 2014).

“How Democratic Development Drives Five Rising Countries,” with Ashley Miller, *Görüş*, 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*, (The 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 Estevadeordal, 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,” *The Brookings Institution*, January 19, 2012.

“Rising Democracies and the Arab Awakening: Implications for Global Democracy and Human Rights,” with Emily Alinikoff *The 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?” *The Brookings Institution*, January 24, 2011.

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

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

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

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

“Democracy the Indonesian Way,” *The 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?” *The 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, *The 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).

“La Comunidad Democratica de Naciones,” Lecture presented at the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Relations, September 27, 2002 (published by Transparencia Peru in 2003).

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.