

FRANK O. MORA

Curriculum Vitae

Office:

Kimberly Green Latin American and Caribbean Center
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Languages:

English (Native)
Spanish (Native)
Portuguese (Proficient)

EDUCATION:

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI. Doctor of Philosophy in International Affairs, December 1993.
Dissertation: "The Political Economy of Peripheral States in the Post-Cold War Era: The Case of Paraguay." Dissertation funding provided by the Institute for the Study of World Politics. Advisor: Enrique A. Baloyra

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI. Master of Arts in Inter-American Studies, June 1989. Thesis: "Paraguayan Foreign Relations, 1811-1989."

CENTRAL AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES. Certificate in Central American Studies. Fulbright/OAS Summer Fellowship. San Jose, Costa Rica, Summer 1988.

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY. Bachelor of Arts in International Affairs, Washington, DC, December 1986.

UNIVERSIDAD CATOLICA DEL PERU, The George Washington University Overseas Program, Fall 1984.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

PROFESSOR. Department of Politics and International Affairs, Florida International University; Miami, FL June 2013 -

PROFESSOR. Department of National Security Strategy, National War College; National Defense University, Ft. McNair; Washington, DC July 2004 - April 2009.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR. Department of International Studies, Rhodes College; Memphis, TN May 2000 - June 2004.

VISITING LECTURER. Department of National Security and Civil-Military Affairs, Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation; Ft. Benning, GA July 2003.

VISITING ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR. Department of International Studies, University of Miami; Coral Gables, FL August 2002-June 2003.

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR. Department of International Studies, Rhodes College; Memphis, TN August 1994 - May 2000.

LECTURER. History Department, University of Miami; Miami , FL August 1991 - May 1994.

ADJUNCT INSTRUCTOR. Social Science/International Relations Department, Miami Dade Community College; Miami, FL January 1988 - May 1994.

TEACHING ASSISTANT. Seminar on Latin American Economic Development. Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami; Miami , FL January 1994 - May 1994.

TEACHING ASSISTANT. Seminar on Major Issues in the United States - Latin American Relations. Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami; Miami, FL September 1993 - December 1993.

INSTRUCTOR. Summer Institute on Hispanic Culture, Multicultural Education Infusion Program, Multicultural Education Department; Broward County, FL June 1993.

ADJUNCT INSTRUCTOR. Comparative Politics. Department of Political Science, Florida International University; Miami, FL August 1992 -December 1992.

TEACHER. U.S. and Latin American History. Belen Jesuit Prep. High School; Miami, FL September 1987 - June 1988.

ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATION:

DIRECTOR. Kimberly Green Latin American and Caribbean Center, School of International and Public Affairs; Florida International University, Miami, FL June 2013 -

CHAIR. Department of International Studies, Rhodes College, 2000 - 2002.

PRESIDENT. Latin American Studies Association Section on Scholarly Relations with Paraguay, 2000 - 2002.

FOUNDING CHAIR. Latin American Studies Program, Rhodes College, 1996-2000.

SECRETARY-TREASURER. Latin American Studies Association Section on Scholarly Relations with Paraguay, 1998 - 2000.

CO-FOUNDER. Institute for Latin American Culture (ILAC), Rhodes College/Memphis YMCA, 1997.

FACULTY ADVISOR. Sigma Iota Rho, International Studies Honors Society, 1996-2002.

PRESIDENT. GSIS Student Executive Committee, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami; Miami, FL September 1991 - April 1992.

PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT:

DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE – Western Hemisphere Affairs.
Office of the Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense; Washington, DC April 2009 – January 2013. Senior Executive Service.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE/POSITION:

VISITING RESEARCH FELLOW. Cuban Research Institute (CRI), Florida International University; Miami, FL 8-29 June 2005.

SENIOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATE. Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies (ICCAS), University of Miami; Coral Gables, FL July 2002-June 2003.

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR. Handbook of Latin American Studies (HLAS), The Library of Congress. Responsible for chapter on International Relations: Hispanic Caribbean; Washington, DC 2000 -

RESEARCH ASSOCIATE. Drug Trafficking Studies Project. North - South Center, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami; Miami, FL March 1992 - September 1994.

SENIOR ANALYST. INFO-SOUTH, North-South Center, University of Miami; Miami, FL August 1988 - September 1994.

RESEARCH ASSISTANT. Plans and Programs Department. Inter-American Development Bank; Washington, DC Summer 1987.

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS AND AWARDS:

Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Public Service; Department of Defense, January 2013.

Senior Latin American Studies Research Fellow, Department of International Studies, Rhodes College, 2001 – 2004.

Meritorious Award for Scholarly Work and Commitment to the Study of Paraguay, National University of Asuncion, Paraguay, June 2000.

J.S. Seidman Research Fellowship, Department of International Studies, Rhodes College, 1996 - 2001.

Institute of National Security Studies (INSS), 1997-1998. Research grant to study the impact of the lifting of the ban on sales of U.S. high performance weapons to Latin America on democratization and hemispheric security.

American Colleges of the South and BellSouth/MacArthur Foundation Grant, 1996. Funding for the introduction and expansion of technology in Latin American studies.

Dorothy Danforth Compton Fellowship for Minority Students of World Affairs, 1992-1993. Dissertation funding provided by the Institute for the Study of World Politics, Washington, DC.

Faculty of the Year Award, 1991-1992. Miami Dade Community College, Wolfson.

Distinguished Hispanic Scholar in International Studies, University of Miami, 1990.

Fulbright/Organization of American States Summer Scholar. Summer Fellowship Program at the Central American Institute for International Studies, San Jose, Costa Rica, 1988.

Pi Sigma Alpha, National Political Science Honor Society, 1986.

Sigma Delta Pi, National Spanish Honor Society, 1986.

Four-year athletic scholarship, The George Washington University, 1982-1986.

PUBLICATIONS:

Books and Special Issues:

Paraguay and the United States: Distant Allies (University of Georgia Press, 2007). Co-authored with Jerry Cooney.

Neighborly Adversaries: Readings U.S.-Latin American Relations, 2nd edition (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006). Co-edited with Michael LaRosa. *Third edition* (Spring 2015).

Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policy (Rowman and Littlefield, 2003). Co-edited with Jeanne A.K. Hey

Cuba: Between Retrenchment and Change, guest editor and contributor to special issue in Problems of Post-Communism, vol. 48, no. 6 (November/December 2001).

Neighborly Adversaries: Readings U.S.-Latin American Relations (Rowman and Littlefield, 1999). Co-edited with Michael LaRosa.

Politica exterior del Paraguay: 1811-1989 (Asuncion: Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociologicos, 1993).

Journal Articles:

"United States Policy in the Hemisphere: Influencing the State and Beyond," PRISM: A Journal of the Center for Complex Operations, National Defense University vol. 5 no. 4 (2015). Co-authored with Brian Fonseca.

"The Top Seven Myths of U.S. Defense Policy toward the Americas," Military Review, vol. 90, no. 5 (September-October 2010). Co-authored with Nicholas Zimmerman. Republished in Spanish and Portuguese editions of journal.

"Strategic Implications of China's Evolving Relationship with Latin America," Security and Defense Studies Review, vol. 9, no 1&2 (2009).

"Hemispheric Security: A New Approach," Current History vol. 108 (February 2009).

"Cuba's Ministry of Interior: The FAR's Fifth Army," Bulletin of Latin American Research vol. 26, no. 2 (April 2007).

"Generations in the FAR General Officer Corps: Backgrounds, Experiences and Interests," Cuban Affairs, vol. 1, no. 2 (April 2006).

"Military Business: Explaining Support for Policy Change in China, Cuba, and Vietnam," Problems of Post-Communism, vol. 51, no. 6 (November-December 2004).

"Economic Reform and the Military: China, Cuba and Syria in Comparative Perspective," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, vol. 44, no. 2 (2003). Co-authored with Quintan Wiktorowicz

"Explaining Latin American Economic Integration: The Case of Mercosur," Review of International Political Economy vol. 9, no. 1 (March 2002). Co-authored with Karl Kaltenthaler.

"A Comparative Study of Civil-Military Relations in Cuba and China: The Effects of *Bingshang* ," Armed Forces and Society, vol. 28, no. 2 (Winter 2002).

"Paraguayan Democratization from Abroad: External Determinants of Regime Survival and Democratic Deepening," South Eastern Latin Americanist (SELA), vol. 44, no 3 (Winter 2001).

"Sino-Latin American Relations: Sources and Consequences of Diplomatic and Economic Cooperation, 1977-1997," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, vol. 41, no. 2 (Summer 1999).

"US Arms Transfer Policy for Latin America: Lifting the Ban on Fighter Aircraft," Airpower Journal, vol. 13, no. 1 (Spring 1999). Co-authored with Lt. Col. Tony Pala. Republished in Spanish and Portuguese editions of Airpower Journal.

"From Fidelismo to Raulismo: Civilian Control of the Military in Cuba," Problems of Post-Communism, vol. 46, no. 2 (March-April 1999).

"Conceptual Debate in Post-Cold War US-Latin American Policy: Organizing Principle or 'Eclecticism'," International Affairs Review, vol. 8, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1999).

"Civil Society and Democratization in Comparative Perspective: Latin America and the Middle East," Third World Quarterly vol. 19, no. 5 (December 1998). Co-authored with Mehran Kamrava. Re-published in Civil Society and Democracy: A Reader. Edited by Carolyn Elliot. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003.

"The Forgotten Relationship: United States-Paraguay Relations, 1937-1989," Journal of Contemporary History, vol. 33, no. 3 (July 1998).

"From Dictatorship to Democracy: The US and Regime Change in Paraguay," Bulletin of Latin American Research, vol. 17, no. 1 (December 1997).

"The PRC and Latin America: From Indifference to Engagement," Asian Affairs, vol. 24, no. 1 (Spring 1997).

"Poder duro y poder blando: la influencia en las relaciones Estados Unidos-Paraguay," Foro Internacional (Mexico City), vol. 35, no. 2 (April-June 1996).

"Victims of the Balloon Effect: Drug Trafficking and U.S. Policy in Brazil and the Southern Cone," Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies, vol. 21, no. 2 (Summer 1996).

"El futuro de America Latina en la politica exterior estadounidense," Colombia Internacional (Bogota), vol. 5, no. 1 (January-February 1995). Co-authored with Andres Franco.

"Clinton y America Latina: negativista o positivista?" Propuestas Democraticas (Asuncion), vol. 1, no. 2 (April-June 1994). Co-authored with Andres Franco.

"Realismo e interdependencia en el cono sur: Perspectivas teoricas al estudio de las relaciones del Paraguay con sus vecinos," Perspectiva Internacional Paraguaya (Asuncion) vol. 3, no. 5 (January-June 1991).

"Relaciones EEUU-Paraguay: conflicto y cooperacion," Perspectiva Internacional Paraguaya (Asuncion), vol. 2, no. 3 (January-June 1990).

"Politica exterior del Paraguay: A la busqueda de la independencia y el desarrollo," Revista Paraguaya de Sociologia (Asuncion), vol. 25, no. 73 (Sept.-December 1988).

Book Chapters:

“Cuba: Revolution in the Balance?” In Latin American Politics and Development, edited by Howard Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline, 9th edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2017). Co-authored with Brian Fonseca.

“Congress and Civil-Military Relations in Latin America and the Caribbean: Human Rights as a Vehicle.” In Congress and Civil-Military Relations, edited by David Auerswald and Colton Campbell (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014).

“Politics and the State: Understanding the Paradox and Challenges of Addressing Crime in Latin America and the Caribbean. In Latin America’s Changing Economies, Societies and Politics: Opportunities and Challenges for the United States, edited by Shannon O’Neil (Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute 2014).

“Challenges of Collective Action in the Hemisphere.” In Latin American Security: Canadian and International Perspectives, edited by Monique Greenwood Santos and Stephen J. Randall (Calgary: Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, 2013).

“Cuba: Revolution in the Balance?” In Latin American Politics and Development, edited by Howard Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline, 8th edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2013).

“International Relations: General and Hispanic Caribbean,” Handbook of Latin American Studies vol. 65, edited by Hispanic Division-Library of Congress (Austin: University of Texas, 2010).

“International Relations: General and Hispanic Caribbean,” Handbook of Latin American Studies vol. 63, edited by Hispanic Division-Library of Congress (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008).

“General Caribbean and Hispanic Caribbean,” Handbook of Latin American Studies vol. 61, edited by Hispanic Division-Library of Congress (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006).

“Theoretical Challenge to Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policy Studies.” In Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policies, edited by Frank O. Mora and Jeanne A.K. Hey (Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

“Paraguayan Foreign Policy: The Legacy of Authoritarianism.” In Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policies, edited by Frank O. Mora and Jeanne A.K. Hey (Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

Paraguayan Foreign Policy: From the Stronato to the Democratic Transition.” In Small States in World Politics: Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior, edited by Jeanne A.K. Hey (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003).

“Paraguay y el Sistema Interamericano: De Autoritarismo y Paralisis a Democracia y la Aplicacion de Resolucion 1080.” In Sistema Interamericano y Democracia: Antecedentes y

Perspectivas Futuras, eds. Arlene Tickner and Ruben Perina (Bogota: CEI-Ediciones Universidad de los Andes-Organizacion de Estados Americanos, 2000).

“Contentious Friends in the Western Hemisphere.” In Neighborly Adversaries: U.S.-Latin American Relations, edited by Michael LaRosa and Frank O. Mora (Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999). Co-authored with Michael LaRosa.

“Neoliberalism in Latin America: ‘Triumph’ and Institutional Deficiencies” In Redefining the Third World, edited by Nana Poku and Lloyd Pettiford (London and New York: Macmillan/St. Martin’s, 1998). Co-authored with Karl Kaltenthaler.

“Brazil and the Southern Cone.” In Drug Trafficking Research in the Americas, edited by Bruce Bagley (Coral Gables: North-South Center Press, 1996).

“Paraguay and International Drug Trafficking.” In Drug Trafficking in the Americas, edited by Bruce Michael Bagley and William O. Walker III (Boulder: North-South Center Press, 1994).

“Politica exterior del Paraguay: a la búsqueda de la independencia y el desarrollo.” In Politica exterior y relaciones internacionales del Paraguay contemporaneo, edited by Jose Luis Simon (Asuncion: Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociologicos, 1990).

Periodicals:

“President-elect Trump’s U.S. Cuba Policy: Hoping I’m Wrong” Latin American Goes Global; 20 December 2016.

“The Intangibles of US-Latin American and Caribbean Policymaking,” Latin America Goes Global; 25 May 2016.

“Cuban Military Culture,” Latin American and Caribbean Military Culture Series, FIU-SOUTHCOM Academic Partnership; Miami, FL April 2016. Co-authored with Brian Fonseca and Brian Latell.

“The United States and Colombia: From Security Partners to Global Partners in Peace,” Issue Brief, Center for American Progress (February 2016). Co-authored with Dan Restrepo, Brian Fonseca and Jonathan Rosen.

“Crime X Terrorism,” Dialogo, Special Edition (2016), pp. 21-24. Co-authored with Brian Fonseca.

“What about Paraguay?” Latin America Goes Global; 11 September 2015.

“Experimenting with Marijuana Policy in Uruguay,” Latin America Goes Global; 25 June 2015. Co-authored with Jose Miguel Cruz.

“Determining and Gaining US Influence in Latin America,” Latin America Goes Global; 19 May 2015.

"Latin America's High-Tech Warriors," Americas Quarterly vol. 9, no 2 (Spring 2015). Co-authored with Brian Fonseca.

"Latin America: Is U.S. Influence Waning?" Miami Herald; May 1, 2013. Co-authored with Patrick Duddy.

"Politica de defensa para las Americas," DEF (Buenos Aires, Argentina), vol. 5, no. 57 (May 2010). Co-authored with Nicholas Zimmerman.

"Young Blood: Continuity and Change within the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba," Hemisphere, vol. 16 (Summer 2006).

"The FAR and Its Economic Role: From Civic to Technocrat-Soldier," Occasional Paper Series; Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, University of Miami (June 2004).

"International Relations Summit: Western Hemisphere: Hispanic-Americans' Backyard, Front Stoop and Wraparound Porch," 2002 Issues Conference Policy Recommendations, Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute; Washington, DC.

"Bush's Free Trade Stance Undermined by Farm and Steel Subsidies," Commercial Appeal (Memphis), May 17, 2002.

"Paraguay," Encyclopedia Britannica: Book of the Year 2002 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002).

"Paraguay," Encyclopedia Britannica: Book of the Year 2001 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2001).

"Politica Exterior y Politica de Defensa: Condicionamientos Reciprosos en Paises Pequenos," Working Paper no. 16, Centro Paraguayo para la Promocion de la Libertad Economica y de la Justicia Social (CEPRO); Asuncion, Paraguay, July 2001.

"Paraguay," Encyclopedia Britannica: Book of the Year 2000 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2000).

"Hispanics in the South: An Opportunity Not a Threat," Commercial Appeal (Memphis), January 30, 2000: B4.

"Fast Track is Vital to U.S." Commercial Appeal (Memphis), September 11, 1997.

"It's Latin America, Stupid!" Latin Review of Books, vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 1996).

"The United States and Latin America," Contemporary Review, vol. 268, no. 1560 (January 1996).

"The Study of Democratization in Latin America," Proceedings of the Third Annual Latin American Studies Symposium, Birmingham-Southern College (April 1995).

"Why Latin America Matters," Latino Forum, vol. 1, no. 2 (June 1995).

"Revisiting South America's Backwater," Hemisphere, vol. 7, no. 1 (May 1995).

"Unknown Peacekeepers: The Surge in Latin American Participation in Peacekeeping," Journal of Latin American Affairs, vol. 1, no. 2 (Spring 1994). Co-authored with Lt. Col. Antonio L. Pala.

"Economic Embargoes: Way Stations to Nowhere," Commercial Appeal (Memphis), September 4, 1994: B6.

"Central America: Growth through Reform and Liberalization," Latin Finance, no. 5 (December 1993). Co-authored with Andres Franco.

"The Dirty Politics of Corruption Haunt Latin America's Democracies," North-South Magazine of the Americas, vol. 2, no. 5 (February 1993). Co-authored with Jose Luis Simon.

"La paradoja triangular de Cuba," El Nuevo Herald (Miami), July 13, 1992.

"Un esfuerzo inutil y destructivo," Un Solo Pueblo, April-June 1992.

"Letting Go: Paraguay's Struggle to Bury Its Stronist Past," North-South Magazine of the Americas, vol. 1, no. 3 (October 1991). Co-authored with Jose Luis Simon.

"Does the USSR Plan to Dump Cuba?" The Times of the Americas, vol. 35, no. 1 (January 9, 1991). Co-authored with Roberto Lozano.

"Hope and Optimism in Paraguay," The Times of the Americas, vol. 34, no. 18 (September 19, 1990).

"Deprive Castro of His Best Friend (us)," The Times of the Americas, vol. 34, no. 13 (July 11, 1990). Co-authored with Roberto Lozano.

"Democracy in Cuba? The Real Struggle Won't Begin Until After Castro Is Gone," The Times of the Americas, vol. 34, no. 7 (April 4, 1990). Co-authored with Roberto Lozano. Reprinted in Spanish, "Otras voces cubanas: Democracia para Cuba?" Un Solo Pueblo, January-March 1990.

Book Reviews:

Warfare in Latin America, vols. 2 (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007); published in Bulletin of Latin American Research, vol. 27, no. 1 (January 2009).

Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); published in American Political Science Review, vol. 96, no. 4 (December 2002).

Drug Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century: An International History (London: Routledge, 1999); published in Journal of Southern History, vol. 66, no. 3 (August 2000).

The Transition to Democracy in Paraguay, eds. Peter Lambert and Andrew Nickson (New York/London: St. Martin's Press/Macmillan, 1997); published in Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, vol. 40, no. 2 (Summer 1998).

CONFERENCES AND LECTURES:

SPEAKER: "Latin America Inbox for Trump Administration," remarks at the Council on Foreign Relations; New York, NY: January 2017.

SPEAKER. Obama Administration Western Hemisphere Policy. Remarks: "Defense and Security Issues in the Western Hemisphere." Council of the Americas/Brookings Institution, Washington, DC: February 2010.

SPEAKER. Mobility and Security and the US-Mexico Border: Policy Changes and Institutional Responses. Migration Policy Institute. Remarks: "US Strategy: Mexican Democracy and the Drug Cartels;" Washington, DC: February 2009.

DISCUSSANT. The US and Cuba: Counter-narcotics Partners? Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, DC: February 2009.

SPEAKER. Cuban Armed Forces and Security Apparatus. Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC; February 2009.

PANELIST. China in Latin America Workshop. Sponsored by the Department of Defense Office of Net Assessment and Booz Allen Hamilton, Arlington, VA; December 2008.

SPEAKER. Cuba: Order of Battle. National Intelligence Council - Military and Security Issues. Remarks: "Undercurrents of Change within the Cuban Military;" Grumman Northrop, Reston, VA; October 2008.

PANELIST. Commemoration to Professor Luis Aguilar. Cuba XXI - Georgetown University. Remarks: "Conditions for Political Change in Cuba; September 2008.

PANELIST. Plenary Speaker at the 18th Conference of the Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy; Miami, FL August 2008.

PANELIST. Paraguay and the New Lugo Administration - Inter-American Dialogue; Washington, DC August 2008.

PANELIST. Session on Paraguay's incoming government - sponsored by the National Endowment for Democracy; Washington, DC May 2008.

PANELIST. Session on The New Old Guard: Making Sense of Post-Fidel Cuba – Cuba Forum sponsored by the Inter-American Dialogue and the Cuba Research Institute/ Florida International University; Washington, DC April 2008.

PANELIST. Conference on Cuba; Bureau of Intelligence and Research, State Department; Washington, DC; 25 January 2008.

PANELIST. Conference on “Cuba: What to Expect” sponsored by the Institute of Cuban and Cuban-American Studies- University of Miami; Miami, FL 1 December 2007; Remarks on change and retrenchment within Cuba’s political institutions

PANELIST. Panel discussion on Old and New Cuba; International Conference of the Latin American Studies Association; Montreal, Canada 7 September 2007; Remarks on the Cuban military and political change in Cuba.

DISCUSSANT. Panel on the Status of the “Interim” Government in Cuba, Inter-American Dialogue; May 2007.

LECTURE. Seminar on Cuban Transition/Succession, US Southern Command, Miami, FL; September 2006. Remarks on “The FAR and Political Change in Cuba.”

LECTURE. Cuban Research Institute, Florida International University, Miami, FL; September 2006. Remarks on “Democratic Transition in Cuba: Where is Change to Come From?”

PANELIST. Panel discussion on Political and Economic Developments in Cuba sponsored by Incillium Investments, Miami FL; October 2006.

PANELIST. Cuba Forum: Cuba-China Relations; Inter-American Dialogue-Florida International University, Washington, DC 12 April 2006; Remarks on “Security and Defense Relations between Cuba and the PRC”

PANELIST. Roundtable discussion on Theater Security Cooperation. Southern Cone Chiefs of Mission Conference, US Southern Command. Miami, FL; 22-23 March 2006.

DISCUSSANT. Colleagues for the Americas Speaker Seminar; Institute for National Security Studies, National Defense University. Washington, DC December 2006: “Cuban Foreign and Security Policy.”

PANELIST. International Studies Association Conference-Southern Region. Miami, FL 4 November 2005. Paper presented: “US Policy Issues for Post-Castro Cuba.”

SPEAKER. Inter-American Defense College Seminar on Threats to Western Hemisphere Security. Ft. McNair, Washington, DC; 25 October 2005. Title of remarks, “Threats and Challenges to Security: External Forces and Governance.”

PANELIST. "Commander's Conference on Cuba." U.S. Southern Command; Miami, FL 17 August 2005. Title of remarks, "Short-Term Post-Castro Cuba."

PLENARY SPEAKER. "Cuba's Military and Transition in Comparative Perspective." Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy; Miami, FL 4-6 August 2005.

ORGANIZER/PRESENTER. "The Cuban Military: A Workshop." Co-Sponsored by the National War College and the Cuban Research Institute, Florida International University, 15 April 2005; National War College, National Defense University, Washington, DC.

LECTURE. "Will the Cuban Military Support Democracy?" The Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy and the Cuban Research Institute at Florida International University; 10 March 2005; Brookings Institution, Washington, DC.

PANELIST. "Is Cuba Like China?" Cuban Research Institute/Institute for Asian Studies, Florida International University; 24 February 2005; Miami, FL.

LECTURE. "Falklands/Malvinas War: Argentina's Strategic Context and the Absence of Jointness," Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Operational Level of War course. Marine Corps Combat Development Command; Quantico, Virginia; 29 November 2004.

PANELIST. Technology, Politics and Governance. Northeast Political Science Association/International Studies Association Northeast (NPSA/ISANE) Conference; 11-13 November 2004, Boston, MA. Paper presented: "Secretariats as Symbols: Explaining the Politics of Secretariat Location." Co-authored with Lawrence Hamlet.

PANELIST. The Nation Transnational: the 5th Cuban Research Institute Conference on Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, October 29-November 1 2003; Florida International University, Miami, FL. Paper presented: Civil-Military Typologies and Explanatory Variables in Military Support for Policy/Regime Change: Cuba in Comparative Perspective.

PANELIST. The Cuban Armed Forces and Transition. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Seminar; Washington, DC 20 March 2003.

PANELIST. The Changing Role of the Armed Forces. XXIV International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association; Dallas, TX 27-29 March 2003. Paper presented: "Economic Liberalization and the Role of the Military: A Comparative Study of Cuba, China and Syria."

PANELIST. Roundtable Seminar on "How to Accelerate Change in Cuba." Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, University of Miami; 15 January 2003.

PANELIST. Western Hemisphere Institute for Security and Cooperation, Ft. Benning, GA. Second Conference on Latin America and the Caribbean; 18-20 September 2002. Paper presented: "Cuba and Future Security Threats in the Caribbean."

MODERATOR/SUMMIT CONTRIBUTOR. Annual Meeting of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, Washinton, DC. International Relations Summit/Task Force; 16-17 September 2002.
PANELIST. Cuba: Integration Into the International System: A Multinational Perspective. Conference organized by the Pell Center for International Relations and Public Policy, Salve Regina University; Newport, Rhode Island, 21-24 March 2002. Paper presented: "The FAR and Cuba in Transition."

PANELIST. Western Hemisphere Institute for Security and Cooperation, Ft. Benning, GA. First Conference on Latin American and the Caribbean; 29-30 November 2001. Paper presented: "Cuba and Future Security Threats in the Caribbean."

PANELIST. Baseline Study of DOD Strategy for the Americas for the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Inter-American Affairs. *Adapting U.S. Defense Relations: Facing Strategic Realities in the Western Hemisphere*; INSS, National Defense University; Washington, DC: 28-29 June 2001. Paper presented (**final draft**): "International Involvement in the Americas: Latin American and Caribbean Engagement with Extra-Hemispheric Actors."

PANELIST. The Cuban Military and Transition. Seminar organized by the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (Radio Marti); 21-22 May 2001. Paper presented: "Raulismo y el militar-tecnocrata en la transicion cubana."

PANELIST. Baseline Study of DOD Strategy for the Americas for the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Inter-American Affairs. *Rethinking US Defense Relations in the Western Hemisphere*; INSS, National Defense University; Washington, DC: 15-17 February 2001. Paper presented (**second draft**): "International Involvement in the Americas: Latin American and Caribbean Engagement with Extra-Hemispheric Actors."

PANELIST. The Foreign Policy of Small States in a Shrinking World II. 42nd International Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA); Chicago, IL 22-24 February 2001. Paper presented: "Paraguayan Foreign Policy: Immobilism and Improvisation."

PANELIST. The Politics of Military Extrication in Comparative Perspective: Lessons for Cuba. Conference sponsored by Georgetown University and the Arrabida Foundation; Lisbon, Portugal: 21-22 September 2000. Paper presented: "Raulismo and the Technocrat-Soldier: The Economic Role of the FAR and Its Implications for Transition in Cuba."

PANELIST. Baseline Study of DOD Strategy for the Americas for the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Inter-American Affairs. *Rethinking US Defense Relations in the Western Hemisphere*; INSS, National Defense University; Washington, DC: 7-9 September 2000. Paper presented: "International Involvement in the Americas: Latin American and Caribbean Engagement with Extra-Hemispheric Actors."

LECTURE. "Raulismo: Transition in Cuban Civil-Military Relations." US Army School of the Americas, Ft. Benning, GA. Tenth Conference Latin American Conference; 29 August 2000.

LECTURE. "Small State Foreign Policy and Globalization: The Case of Paraguay." National University of Asuncion, Paraguay; 17 June 2000.

LECTURE. "US-Paraguay Relations: The Use of Soft Power Leverage." National War College, Asuncion, Paraguay; 20 June 2000.

PANELIST. Small State Foreign Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean. XXII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA); Miami, FL 16-18 March 2000. Paper presented: "*Continuismo* in Paraguayan Foreign Policy."

PANELIST. International Symposium for Regional Economic Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere, Institute of Latin America, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China: 14-19 November 1999. Paper presented: "Explaining Latin American Economic Integration: The Case of Mercosur." Paper co-authored with Karl Kaltenthaler.

PANELIST. First Annual Conference of Paraguayan Studies; Paraguay: Facing the Challenges of the New Century, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS; 8-9 October 1999. Paper presented: "Paraguayan Democratization from Abroad: External Determinants of Democratic Deepening and Regime Survival."

PANELIST. Ninth Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy (ASCE), Miami, FL; 12-14 August 1999. Paper presented: "*Cuba's Bingshang*: Problems and Prospects of the FAR's Involvement in the Economy -- Lessons from China's PLA."

PANELIST. Organization of American States (OAS) Seminar on the Inter-American System and Democracy, Universidad de los Andes, Bogota, Colombia; 15-16 April 1999. Paper presented: "The Inter-American System and Democracy in Paraguay: The Application of Resolution 1080."

PANELIST. Second Cuban Research Institute Conference on Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, Florida International University, Miami, FL; 18-20 March 1999. Paper presented: "Problems and Prospects of the Cuban Military's Involvement in the Economy: Lessons from China's PLA and Central American Armed Forces."

PANELIST. International Studies Association-South Conference (ISA-South), Charlotte, North Carolina; 30 October - November 1, 1998. Paper presented: "Conceptual Debate in Post-Cold War U.S.-Latin American Policy: Organizing Principle or Eclecticism?"

PANELIST. Regional Security--Arms Transfers. VI Annual US Air Force Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) Conference. US Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, Colorado; 19-20 November 1998. Paper presented: "US Weapons Transfers to Latin America: An Argument for Hemispheric Peace and Democratic Stability." Co-authored with Lt. Colonel Antonio Pala.

LECTURE. "Political Parties and Their Relations with Elected Public Officials in a Modern Democracy" Paper presented at a conference on Democratization in Paraguay at the Superior Electoral Tribunal of Paraguay, Asuncion, Paraguay; 16 September 1998.

SPEAKER. "Hispanics in the U.S. and Memphis: Bridging the Americas." Memphis City Rotary Club; April 28, 1998.

LECTURE/CONSULTANT. "Cuban Politics and Military in Transition." School of Advanced Airpower Studies; Air War College, Maxwell AFB; March 1998. Wargame simulation on low intensity conflict exercise.

PANELIST. Japan, China and Latin America. II Joint Conference of the International Studies Association and Asociacion Mexicana de Estudios Internacionales, Manzanillo, Mexico; December 11-13, 1997. Paper presented: "Sino-Latin American Relations: Diplomatic and Economic Cooperation, 1978-1995."

LECTURE. "Trends in Cuban Military Forces Roles and Missions." US Army School of the Americas, Ft. Benning, GA. Conference on "Future Roles and Structures for the Military and Police Forces of Latin America," November 18-21, 1997.

LECTURE. "U.S. Latin American Policy: Still in Search of a Paradigm." US Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, CO; October 30, 1997.

LECTURE. "Cuban Politics and Military in Transition." School of Advanced Airpower Studies; Air War College, Maxwell AFB, March 7, 1997.

PANELIST. Conference on the Emergence of Civil Society: A Precondition or a Problem for Democracy?; Center for Studies in Democratization, University of Warwick, February 16-17, 1996; United Kingdom. Paper presented: "Civil Society and Political Democratization in Comparative Perspective: Lessons from Latin America and the Middle East." Co-authored with Mehran Kamrava.

LECTURE. Seminar on Drug Trafficking and Democratization in Brazil and the Southern Cone. Paraguayan National War College, Asuncion, Paraguay; June 1996.

LECTURE. "Post-Cold War U.S. National Security Threats in Latin America." School of Advanced Airpower Studies; Air War College, Maxwell AFB, March 5, 1996.

CONSULTANT. Wargame simulation on low intensity conflict exercise. Maxwell Air Force Base, USAF School of Advanced Airpower Studies, March 5-9, 1996.

PANELIST. Inter-American Relations Viewed from Latin America: Changes and Currents in the 80s and 90s. XIX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), September 28-30, 1995; Washington, DC. Paper presented: "From Dictatorship to Democracy: The Role of the U.S. in Paraguay's Political Process, 1954-1994."

PANELIST. Evaluation of Paraguay's Democratization Process. XIX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), September 28-30, 1995; Washington, DC. Paper presented: "The Interdependence of Foreign Policy and Democratization."

SPEAKER. "US Trade Opportunities in Latin America." National Association of State Development Agencies; Biloxi, Mississippi; September 20-22, 1995.

CONSULTANT. Wargame simulation on low intensity conflict exercise. Maxwell Air Force Base, USAF School of Advanced Airpower Studies, April 26-28, 1995.

PANELIST. Roundtable Discussion on U.S.-Cuban Relations and the Refugee Crisis, Miami, FL November 1, 1994. Paper presented: "U.S. Policy and the Cuban- American Lobby."

PANELIST. International Studies Association -- Southern Conference, Charleston, SC, October 15, 1994. Paper presented: "Economic Embargoes: An Effective Foreign Policy Tool?"

PANELIST. International Drug Control Policies in the Americas: Current Trends and Future Directions, Miami, FL, July 20-21, 1994. Paper presented: "Drug- Trafficking and U.S. Policy in Brazil and the Southern Cone."

LECTURE. "Castro's Staying Power: False Analogies with Socialist Transitions in Eastern Europe." Third Annual Latin American Lecture Series; Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas, December 3, 1993.

PANELIST. Drug Trafficking Workshop, North-South Center Drug Trafficking Project, Bogota, Colombia, March 14-16, 1993. Sponsored by the North-South Center, University of Miami; Coral Gables, FL. Paper presented: "Annotated Bibliography on Drug Trafficking in Brazil and the Southern Cone."

CHAIR AND ORGANIZER. Paraguayan Foreign Policy During the Democratic Transition. XVII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), September 24-27, 1992; Los Angeles, California.

PANELIST. State-of-the-Art Conference on Drug Trafficking Research, North-South Center, University of Miami, March 11-14, 1992. Paper presented: "Paraguay and International Drug-Trafficking: An Analysis of Its Role Through a Review and Discussion of the Literature and Its Methodological Precepts."

INTERNATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVER DELEGATIONS, CONSULTING ASSIGNMENTS AND RELATED EXPERIENCES

Member of OAS Study Group on Paraguay, 2007-2008.

Invited to participate as speaker at a State Department Conference on Cuba; Arlington, VA, January 2008.

Invited to participate on panel organized by National Intelligence Council -- Session on Cuba; Washington, DC; February 2007.

Invited to participate on Roundtable discussion sponsored by Office of the Secretary of Defense-Western Hemisphere Affairs and organized by the Institute for National Security Studies-NDU to analyze issues for the Defense Ministerial meeting in Managua, Nicaragua; June 2006.

Invited to participate in Roundtable discussion about Cuba organized by the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the request of the Director, Strategic Plans and Policy, J5 Department of Defense. The topic of the roundtable, "Political-Military Planning for Transition in Cuba"; June 2006.

Unpublished manuscripts contracted by the Central Intelligence Agency 2004.

First manuscript: "Relations between the Ministry of Interior and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba (FAR)" *Second manuscript: "Generations in the General Officer Corps of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba: Backgrounds, Perceptions and Common Purpose."* Briefings on findings presented on 28 September 2004; CIA HQ, Langley, VA.

Presented preliminary results of study on Cuban political values and expectations, "Value Orientations and Attitudes of Recently Arrived Cubans in Miami." Sponsored by the Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies (ICCAS), University of Miami; 29 January 2004.

Presented remarks at a one-day workshop, "Cuba: Succession and/or Transition." Co-sponsored by the National Intelligence Council and Florida International University; Biltmore Hotel, Miami, FL: 4 December 2003.

Presented remarks on the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) of Cuba for the Cuba Working Group, Central Intelligence Agency; 18 March 2003, Langley, VA.

Presented remarks on the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) of Cuba for the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research Cuba Seminar for Chief of Mission in Havana, Cuba James Cason; 1 July 2002, Washington, DC.

Participated and lectured in civil-military relations project for the Office of Defense Cooperation – Paraguay, Department of Defense/USAID. Lectured at the *Instituto de Altos Estudios Estrategicos* of Paraguay; 22-30 July 2001, Asuncion, Paraguay.

Interviewed on Cuba and US-Latin America relations and security issues for articles published in national and international newspapers/outlets, Los Angeles Times, ABC News, Reuters, Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, Financial Times, Miami Herald, Veja (Brazil), Houston Chronicle, El Tiempo (Colombia), El Nuevo Herald (Miami),

National Public Radio, Washington Times, CNN en Espanol, CNN, Associated Press, Radio/TV Marti, El Nuevo Herald (Miami), National Public Radio, Fox News, Canadian Television, La Tercera (Chile), Ft. Lauderdale Sun Sentinel, San Diego Tribune, Voice of America, USA Today and St. Petersburg Times, 2004-2010.

Regular contributor/commentary for Radio Marti Programs (Voice of America) and Univision Radio 1999-2008.

Outside Reviewer/Evaluator of International Studies Curriculum and Program, Southwestern University; 27-28 September 1999, Georgetown, TX.

Participant in Baseline Study of Department of Defense Strategy for the Americas (*Western Hemisphere Relations at a Crossroads: Insights for US Defense Strategy*), Institute for National Security Studies, National Defense University; July 2000 - July 2001.

Participant in workshop on "Strategic Outlook for Inter-American Security." Office of the Secretary of Defense, Division of Inter-American Affairs, Department of Defense (National Defense University); 16-17 September 1999, Washington, DC.

Expert Witness for INS Asylum Cases (Colombia, El Salvador, and Guatemala), Memphis, TN and Washington, DC 1999-2007.

Consultant for National Democratic Institute, Democratization Programs in Paraguay, 1997-1998.

Head of Mission, National Democratic Institute (NDI) for International Affairs Delegation to Observe and Study Colorado Party primary elections in Paraguay: September 4-9, 1997.

Co-coordinator. Buckman Laboratories Cross-Cultural Seminar on International Business Practices; Memphis, TN, 1996.

Coordinator and Lecturer. Kellogg Cross-Cultural Seminar on Latin America, Meeman Center for Special Studies; Rhodes College, 1994-1995.

International Observer Delegation, Paraguayan National Elections: May 5-12, 1993. Organized and Sponsored by the Latin American Studies Association (LASA).

Intern. Research and Educational Department. Organization of American States; Washington DC May 1986 - September 1986.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Latin American Studies Association (LASA)
Southeastern Conference on Latin American Studies (SECOLAS)
International Studies Association (ISA)
Inter-American Dialogue

Courses Taught at

National War College
Seminar on Fundamentals of Strategic Logic

Seminar on Latin American Politics and U.S. Policy
Seminar on Global Security Arena
Seminar on Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policy
Seminar on National Security and the Interagency Process
Director for Core Course 6500: The Global Context

Rhodes College

Introduction to Comparative Politics
Latin American Politics and Society
Issues in Contemporary Inter-American Relations
Introduction to International Relations
Mexican Politics and Society in the 20th Century
Topics in International Studies: Cuban Revolution
Topics in International Studies: Drug Trafficking in the Americas
Topics in International Studies: Civil-Military Relations in Latin America

University of Miami

Seminar on Cuban Revolution
Seminar on Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policies
History of Cuba
Issues in U.S.-Latin American Relations
Western Civilization: Antiquity to Renaissance

Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation

Seminar on Theory and Logic of Democracy

Florida International University

Introduction to Comparative Politics
Seminar on Security Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean
Seminar in Strategic Studies

Miami Dade Community College

Introduction to Social Science
The Cold War as History
Introduction to International Relations

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