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## ROBERT A. PASTOR

**Office Address:**

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Professor of International Relations  
School of International Service  
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**Home Address:**

4667 Kenmore Drive N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20007-1914

**Personal Data:**

Married, two children

### Professional Experience

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| <b>American University, Washington, D.C.</b>   | <b>2002 – Present</b> |
| <b>Professor of International Relations, School of International Service</b>   |                       |
| <b>Co-Director, Center for North American Studies</b>  |                       |
| <b>Co-Director, Center for Democracy and Election Management</b>   |                       |
| <b>Executive Director and Member, Commission on Federal Election Reform<br/>(Co-Chaired by Hon. Jimmy Carter and Hon. James A. Baker, III)</b>   |                       |
| <b>Vice President of International Affairs and Member of the Cabinet</b>   | <b>2002-2007</b>      |
| <b>The Elders, a group of 12 world leaders, chaired by Desmond Tutu and including<br/>Nelson Mandela, Kofi Annan, Mary Robinson, and Jimmy Carter</b>  | <b>2007-2008</b>      |
| <b>Senior Advisor and Interim Co-Director, responsible for conflict-resolution</b>   |                       |
| <b>Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on the Future of North America</b>  | <b>2004-2005</b>      |
| <b>Vice Chair</b>  |                       |
| <b>Goodrich C. White Professor of International Relations</b>  | <b>1985–2002</b>      |
| <b>Department of Political Science, Emory University</b>   |                       |
| <b>Courses taught included: U.S. Foreign Policy toward Latin America; Foreign Policies of the Major Powers; Theories of Comparative Foreign Policy-Making; International Relations; Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) and World Politics; North America; Current Issues in Inter-American Relations; Democracy's Challenges and Prospects in the US and the World</b> |                       |
| <b>Common Cause, a non-governmental organization dedicated to improve the<br/>quality of democracy in the United States and the integrity of its officials</b>   | <b>1998-2006</b>      |
| <b>President, Common Cause/Georgia (2001-2002); Vice President (1999-2001)</b>   |                       |
| <b>National Governing Board, Common Cause (1998-2006)</b>  |                       |
| <b>Board of Directors, Common Cause Education Fund (2000-2006)</b>   |                       |
| <b>Chair, Common Cause Task Force on Election Reform (2001-2002)</b>   |                       |
| <b>Carter Center</b>   | <b>1985 –present</b>  |
| <b>Fellow and Founding Director, Latin American and Caribbean Program.</b>   | <b>1985-1998</b>      |
| <b>Directed and raised about \$10 million over 13 years for a research and public policy program on</b>  |                       |

Latin America and the Caribbean and U.S. policy. Major conferences on The Debt Crisis, Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas, Election Observing, Collective Security, NAFTA, and The Western Hemispheric Agenda. Established and directed the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, chaired by Jimmy Carter and composed of 32 leaders, which monitored and mediated elections in 30 countries, including the first democratic transitions in Nicaragua, Haiti, and Paraguay.

**Chair, Democracy Group:** Initiated Carter Center election-monitoring program and organized missions to 30 countries in Latin America, Middle East, Africa, and Asia.

**Founding Director, China Elections Project:** Negotiated and signed an agreement with the Chinese government to provide advice on elections at the village-level. Led six delegations to observe elections in seven provinces in China

**Consultant and Advisor** **1998-present**  
 Advised and accompanied Jimmy Carter on trip to Cuba (2002); organized the Center's monitoring of Mexico's elections in July 2000 and advised on election in July 2006; Senior Advisor on the China Elections Project (1998-2001); Member, International Negotiating Network (1991-2001); Member of "Friends of the Inter-American Democratic Charter" (2005-present); Senior Advisor on Conflict Resolution in the Middle East (2008-present)

**Carter-Ford National Commission on Federal Election Reform** **2001**  
**Senior Advisor**

**Advisor to Democratic Presidential Candidates** **1976-2008**  
 Member, Task Force on Latin America, Barack Obama Campaign; Chair, Task Force on North America and Member of the Western Hemisphere Affairs Task Force to the John F. Kerry Campaign; Co-Chair, Advisory Group on the Americas to the Gore-Lieberman Campaign and Vice Chair, Gore-Lieberman Campaign, Georgia; Vice Chair, Clinton-Gore Campaign for Georgia; Surrogate speaker for President Clinton; Elected delegate from the 5th District to the Democratic Convention 1995-1996; Advisor on Latin American and Foreign Policy issues, Bill Clinton (1992); Michael Dukakis (1988); Walter Mondale (1984); Jimmy Carter (1976, 1980)

**Institute of International Economics** **1999– 2005**  
**Senior Fellow**  
 Research on the European Union and the North American Free Trade Agreement

**John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University** **1998-1999**  
**Ralph Straus Visiting Professor**  
 Taught course on "NGOs and World Politics"

**Center for International Affairs, Harvard University** **1998– 1999**  
**Visiting Scholar**  
 Co-led seminar on "Foreign Policies of the Major Powers"

**Director, Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Emory University** **1987– 1991**  
 Directed an interdisciplinary major and minor in Latin American and Caribbean Studies and a Faculty Advisory Committee of 21 from nine departments

**Senior Advisor to the Carter-Nunn-Powell Mission on Haiti** **Sept. 1994**

- Nominee, U.S. Ambassador to Panama** **Dec. 1993 – Feb. 1995**  
 Approved by Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 16-3; nomination withdrawn after the new Chairman, Senator Jesse Helms, indicated he would prevent a vote by the Senate
- Senior Advisor** **1993**  
 Bipartisan Commission on "NAFTA and Beyond" - Chaired by five former U.S. Presidents to educate nation on the implications of the North American Free Trade Agreement for U.S.
- Fulbright Professor, El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico** **1985-1986**  
 Taught courses on U.S. foreign policy
- Faculty Research Associate** **June 1982 – Sept. 1985**  
**School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland**  
 Taught courses on U.S. foreign policy. Coordinator of Humphrey Fellowship Program. Directed research project on "Migration and Development in the Caribbean," supported by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, the World Bank, and A.I.D.
- Guest Scholar** **April 1981 – June 1982**  
**Brookings Institution**  
 Research on issues related to U.S. foreign policy
- Director, Office of Latin American and Caribbean Affairs** **Jan. 1977 – Jan. 1981**  
**National Security Council, White House**  
 Coordinated policy of Executive Branch on Latin American and Caribbean issues and on North-South issues, including on the Panama Canal Treaties, human rights, democracy, non-proliferation, arms control, Cuba, and the Caribbean. Staffed the President and the National Security Adviser. Created the Humphrey Fellowship Program and Caribbean/Central American Action.
- Executive Director** **Feb. 1975 – Jan. 1977**  
**Linowitz Commission on U.S./Latin American Relations**  
 Chaired by Sol M. Linowitz, the Commission was a private group of 20 distinguished citizens, which issued two reports. Nearly all the recommendations for U.S. policy in the Commission's second report were implemented between 1977 and 1979.
- Teaching Fellow** **1974 – 1976**  
**Department of Government, Harvard University**  
 Taught courses on International Relations, Congress
- Researcher** **April 1974 – March 1975**  
**Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy (Murphy Commission)**  
 Researched and wrote studies on the U.S. policy making process to Latin America and how it could be improved. (The Commission was a joint Presidential/Congressional initiative.)
- Lecturer** **1974**  
**Institute of Politics, Harvard University**  
 Taught a course on U.S. Multinational Corporations and Africa with a Vice President of Bankers Trust Company
- Analyst** **1973**  
**Urban Systems Research, Inc. (Cambridge, Mass.)**

Consulted on issues of international development

**Peace Corps Volunteer**

**Feb. 1970 – May 1972**

Advisor to the Malaysian Department of Agriculture  
Helped establish an agricultural training center for rural youth. Devised and implemented a development plan for a remote area of Sarawak, Malaysia. Wrote a booklet on coffee growing and processing in three languages.

**Researcher**

**May 1969 – Sept. 1969**

Foreign Affairs Division, Congressional Research Service. Library of Congress  
Responsible for preparing briefing papers for Congressmen and Senators on U.S. policy to Latin America and on International Organizations

**Professional Consultant**

**1981 – Present**

To U.S. Government: National Security Council (1985-98); Department of State (1994-95); Department of Defense (1995); CIA Historical Review Panel (1995-2005) [Top Secret Clearance]

To Foundations: U.S. Institute for Peace (1997-2004); Ford Foundation on Mexico (1985-86); Rockefeller Brothers Fund, on U.S. policy toward Latin America (1982); Rockefeller Foundation on U.S. immigration and refugee policies (1981-82); Brookings Institution on North American Integration (2001) and U.S. trade policies (1981-82)

To International Organizations: North American Development Bank (2004-05); U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean on NAFTA (1991-3) and on U.S. foreign economic policy (1985-86); Inter-American Development Bank on U.S. foreign investment (1983-84)

To U.S. Corporations: On trade and investment conditions and opportunities in Latin America; International Advisory Committee, Trust Company Bank (1990-92)

Other Consultancies: Fels Institute of Government, University of Pennsylvania on election reform (2001-04); CARE (1999); Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), (1999-2004); MacArthur Foundation (1997-2001); Cambridge Energy Research Associates (1983-90); National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (1983-85); Institute for Defense Analysis (Top Secret Security Clearance, 1982-85); WGBH Public Television, award-winning television series on Central America (1983-85)

## EDUCATION

Ph.D. Harvard University, Department of Government, 1977  
Major Areas: Legislative-Executive Relations; U.S. Foreign Policy; International Political Economy.  
Thesis: "Legislative-Executive Relations and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy". Won Toppan Prize from Harvard University for best dissertation in Political Science.

M.P.A. John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1974  
Major Areas: Public Administration and Public Policy, International Economics

B.A. Lafayette College, Department of History, 1969  
Honors Thesis: "The Guatemalan Revolution, 1944-54: Victim of the Big Stick or the Cold War?"

University of Birmingham, England, 1967-68

## AWARDS, FELLOWSHIPS

Book on **A Century's Journey: How the Great Powers Shape the World**, received "Outstanding Academic Book" by *Choice Magazine* in 2002

Book on **The Controversial Pivot: The US Congress and North America** received "Outstanding Academic Book" by *Choice Magazine* in 2002

Goodrich C. White Chair and Professor of International Relations, Emory, 1996-2002

Sargent Shriver Humanitarian Service Award, highest award for a Returned Peace Corps Volunteer, 1995

George W. Kidd Distinguished Alumnus Award, Lafayette College, 1993

Book on **Limits to Friendship: The U.S. and Mexico** received the Hubert Herring Award for the best book in Latin American Studies for 1989

Book on **Migration and Development** was designated one of "Outstanding Academic Books" in 1986-87 by *Choice* magazine

Toppan Prize, Harvard University (for best dissertation in Political Science), 1976-77

Administration Fellowship, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1972-74

Phi Beta Kappa, Lafayette College, 1969

Phi Alpha Theta Honorary History Society, Lafayette College, 1969

## BOARDS, COMMITTEES

Co-Editor, *Norteamérica*, an inter-disciplinary journal

Board of Advisors, North American Center for Transborder Studies, Arizona State University, 2007-present

Vice Chair, N.Y. Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on the Future of North America, 2004-05

Board of Trustees, American University of Nigeria, Yola, Nigeria, 2004-2008

Board of Advisors, Americas Division of Human Rights Watch, 2003-present

Board of Directors, NAFSA (Association of International Educators), 2002-present

Chairman, Board of Directors, North American Forum on Integration (NAFI), Montreal, Canada, 1999-2004; Board of Directors, 1999-present

Board of Directors, Council for a Community of Democracies, 2002-present

Member, North American Committee, National Policy Association, 2001-2003

Board of Directors, Common Cause Education Fund, 2000-2005

National Governing Board of Common Cause, 1998-2005 (elected to 3-year terms)

President, Common Cause/Georgia, 2001-02 (elected)

Charter Member, Pacific Council on International Policy, 1998-present

Foreign Policy Advisory Committee, National Council of La Raza

Member, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 1997-present

Nomination Committee, MacArthur Fellows Program, 1997-1999

Board Member, National Peace Monument, 1995-2001

Historical Review Panel on De-Classification, Central Intelligence Agency, 1995-2005

Committee on Foreign Policy Studies, Social Science Research Council, 1991-2000

Committee on International Security Studies, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1992-present

Advisory Council, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, 1986-99

Board of Editors, PS (Political Science), Democratization, International Politics, Hemisphere, Norteamérica

## PUBLICATIONS

### Books

#### Author or Co-Author

**Not Condemned to Repetition: The United States and Nicaragua** (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2002). Revised edition of *Condemned to Repetition*.

**Toward a North American Community: Lessons from the Old World for the New** (Institute for International Economics, 2001). Translated and published in Chinese.

**Exiting the Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean** (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001). Revised edition of *Whirlpool*. Published in Japanese (2008)

**Integration with Mexico: Options for U.S. Policy** (Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1993)

**Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean** (Princeton University Press, 1992). Paper, 1993. Published in Spanish as *Remolino: Política Exterior de Estados Unidos Hacia América Latina* by Siglo Veintiuno (Mexico), 1996.

**Limits to Friendship: The United States and Mexico** (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988). With Jorge Castañeda. Paperback edition by Vintage Books in 1989. Published in Spanish as **Limites en la Amistad: Mexico y Estados Unidos** (Mexico, D.F.: Joaquín Mortiz/Planeta, 1989).

**Condemned to Repetition: The United States and Nicaragua** (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). Paperback edition with new epilogue, 1988.

**Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy** (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980). Paperback edition published in 1982.

#### Editor and Author

**Democracy and Elections in North America: What Can We Learn From Our Neighbors?** *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (2004). Symposium. Edited and wrote three chapters. Translated and published in Spanish in July 2006.

**A Century's Journey: How The Great Powers Shape the World** (N.Y.: Basic Books, 1999). Translated and published in Chinese by Linking Publishing Company, Taiwan (2000) and by Shanghai People's Publishing House, People's Republic of China (2001) with a new preface. Edited and wrote three chapters.

**The Controversial Pivot: The U.S. Congress and North America** (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1998). Co-editor with Rafael Fernández de Castro and author of three chapters. Published in Spanish.

**Collective Responses to Regional Problems: The Case of Latin America and the Caribbean** (Cambridge: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1994). Co-editor with Carl Kaysen and Laura Reed and wrote one chapter.

**Democracy in the Caribbean: Political, Economic, and Social Perspectives** (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). Co-editor with Jorge Dominguez and Delisle Worrell and wrote one chapter.

**Democracy in the Americas: Stopping the Pendulum** (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1989). Edited and wrote two chapters.

**Latin America's Debt Crisis: Adjusting to the Past or Planning for the Future?** (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987). Edited and wrote two chapters.

**Migration and Development in the Caribbean: The Unexplored Connection** (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1985). Edited and wrote two chapters.

## **Monographs**

**The Paramount Challenge for North America: Closing the Development Gap** (San Antonio: North American Development Bank, March 14, 2005).

**The North American Free Trade Agreement: Hemispheric and Geopolitical Implications** (Washington, D.C.: United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Inter-American Development Bank, 1993).

**The Carter Administration and Latin America: A Test of Principle** (Atlanta: The Carter Center of Emory University, Occasional Paper Vol. II, No. 3, 1992).

**Migration and Development: Implications and Recommendations for Policy**, Washington, D.C.: Commission [Executive-Legislative] for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, Working Paper, No. 7, 1989.

**U.S. Foreign Economic Policy: The Dynamics of the Debate**, Santiago, Chile: United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, November 1986.

**U.S. Foreign Investment in Latin America: The Impact on Employment** (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Institute for Latin American Integration, Inter-American Development Bank, 1984). Also published in Spanish.

Principal author of about 40 Reports on the elections and political process in 20 countries that The Carter Center monitored, 1989-2000; and was the principal editor of Building a North American Community: Independent Task Force Report No. 53 (N.Y.: Council on Foreign Relations, May 2005); and Building Confidence in U.S. Elections: Report of the Commission on Federal Election Reform (Washington, D.C.: American University's Center for Democracy and Election Management, September 2005); and Bringing Hope, Forging Peace: The Elders' Mission to Sudan (Washington, D.C., December 2007).

## **Chapters in Books**

"North America: A Partial Eclipse and a Future Community," in Imtiaz Hussain, ed., **North American Political Economy: Forever Bonded?** (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamerica, 2008).

"Beyond NAFTA: The Emergence and Future of North America," in Yasmeen Abu-Laban, Radha Jhapan, and Francois Rocher, eds., **Politics in North America: Redefining Continental Relations** (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2008).

“China’s Elections: Foreword,” in Village Elections in China: Democratizing the Countryside, by Qingshan Tan (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006).

“The US Administration of Elections: Decentralized to the Point of Being Dysfunctional,” in Electoral Management Design: The International IDEA Handbook. (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2006).

“U.S. Policy on Human Rights and Democracy: Reconciling Ideals and Interests,” in Shireen Hunter, ed., The Human Rights Divide Between the U.S. and the Muslim World: Building Bridges (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2005).

“North America and the Americas: Integration Among Unequal Partners,” in Mary Farrell, Bjorn Hette, and Luk Van Langenhove, eds., Global Politics of Regionalism (London: Pluto Press, 2005)

“Closing the Development Gap and Forging a Partnership: The Challenge for NAFTA’s Second Decade,” in Laurence Whitehead, Mexico and North American Realities (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). In Spanish as “Despues Del Libre Comercio en America del Norte; Como Cerrar La Brecha de Desarrollo,” published by El Colegio de Mexico and Oxford University.

“El Modelo de America del Norte en un Mundo de Tres Regiones” (The North American Model in a World of Three Regions), in Joaquin Roy, Alejandro Channona, and Robert Dominguez, La Union Europea y el Tlacan: Integracion Regional Comparada y Relaciones Mutuas (Miami: University of Miami Press, 2005).

“The Great Powers in an Age of Global Governance,” in J. N. Clarke and G. R. Edwards, eds., Global Governance in the Twenty-First Century (N.Y.: Palgrave: MacMillan, 2004)

"The Delicate Balance Between Coercion and Diplomacy: Haiti and Panama," in The United States and Coercive Diplomacy: Lessons Learned from the Early Post-Cold War World, eds. Robert Art and Patrick Cronin (U.S. Institute for Peace, 2003)

"NAFTA is Not Enough: Steps Toward a North American Community," in Robert Litan and Peter Hakim, eds., The Future of North American Integration Beyond NAFTA (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002).

"A Regional Development Policy for North America: Adapting the European Union Model," in Edward J. Chambers and Peter H. Smith, eds., NAFTA in the New Millennium (University of California, San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies and Calgary, Canada: University of Alberta Press, 2002).

"The United States and the Americas: Unfilled Promise at the Century’s Turn," in Eagle Rules? Foreign Policy and American Primacy in the 21st Century, ed. Robert Lieber (N.Y.: Prentice-Hall Publishers, 2001).

"U.S.-Taiwan-China Relations: Drawing Lessons from the Past for the Future," in The Taiwan Relations Act, eds. William W. Boyer and Jaw-Ling Joanne Chang (Baltimore: University of Maryland Press, 2000).

"Is Democracy Possible in China? If So, What Paths Might China Take," in Democratization in Mainland China and Taiwan, edited by Thomas Bellows (N.Y.: St. Johns University Press, 2000).

"Democratization and the International Community," in The Democratic Invention, edited by Marc F. Plattner and Joao Carlos Espada (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

“More and Less Than It Seemed: The Carter-Nunn-Powell Mission in Haiti, 1994”, in Herding Cats: The Management of Complex International Mediation, edited by Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson, and Pamela Aall (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1999).

"The Third Dimension of Accountability: The Role of the International Community in National Elections," and "A Brief History of Electoral Administration," in The Self-Restraining State: Corruption and Accountability in New Democracies, eds. Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner (Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Press, 1998).

"Restoring Democracy in Haiti," Mediating Deadly Conflict, ed. Dana Francis (Cambridge, Mass.: World Peace Foundation, 1998).

"A Popular Democratic Revolution in a Predemocratic Society: The Case of Haiti," in Haiti Renewed: Political and Economic Prospects, ed. Robert I. Rotberg (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1997).

"The State of U.S.-Mexican Relations," foreword to Joining Together, Standing Apart: National Identities After NAFTA (Kluwer Law International, 1997).

"The Clinton Administration and the Americas: Moving to the Rhythm of the Post-War World," in Eagle Adrift: American Foreign Policy at the End of the Century, ed. Robert Lieber (N.Y.: HarperCollins, 1996).

"U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean," The Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations (Lakeville, CT: American Reference Publishing Company, 1996).

"To Intervene or Not to Intervene: The Question for U.S. Policy in the Caribbean Basin," in U.S. and Russian Policy-Making with Respect to the Use of Force, ed. Jeremy R. Azrael (Santa Monica: RAND, 1996).

"Monitoring Elections," in Encyclopedia of Democracy (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1995).

"Disagreeing on Latin America," in Congress and The Making of Foreign Policy, ed. Paul E. Peterson (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

"The United States and Central America: Interlocking Debates," in Peter Evans, Harold K. Jacobson, and Robert D. Putnam (eds.), Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

"The War Between the Branches: Explaining U.S. Policy Toward Nicaragua, 1979-89," in Richard Sobel (ed.), Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy: The Controversy over Contra Aid (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1993).

"Forward to the Beginning: Widening the Scope for Global Collective Action," in Laura Reed (ed.), Emerging Norms of Justified Intervention (Cambridge, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1993).

"NAFTA as the Center of an Integration Process: The Nontrade Issues," in Nora Lustig, Barry P. Bosworth, and Robert Z. Lawrence (eds.), North American Free Trade: Assessing the Impact (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1992).

"The President Versus Congress," in Robert J. Art and Seyom Brown (eds.), U.S. Foreign Policy: The Search for a New Role (N.Y.: MacMillan, 1992).

"Old Habits, New Opportunities in Nicaragua," Afterword, in William I. Robinson, A Faustian Bargain (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

"George Bush and Latin America: The Pragmatic Style and the Regionalist Option," in Kenneth Oye, Robert J. Lieber, and Donald Rothchild (eds.), Eagle in a New Land: American Grand Strategy in the Post-Cold War

World (N.Y.: HarperCollins, 1992). [Also published in Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Fall 1991)]

"The United States and Central America After the Cold War: Seal, Peel, or Repeal the Sphere of Influence?" in George Breslauer, et. al. (eds.), Beyond the Cold War (University of California at Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1991).

"U.S. National Security and Latin American Revolutions: Imprised," in Richard J. Bloomfield and Gregory Treverton (eds.), Alternative to Intervention: A New U.S.-Latin America Security Relationship (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990).

"The Centrality of Central America," in Larry Berman (ed.), Looking Back on the Reagan Presidency (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

"The United States and the Grenada Revolution: Who Pushed First and Why?" in Jorge Heine (ed.), A Revolution Aborted: The Lessons of Grenada (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990).

"Who in Mexico Paid for the Debt Crisis?" in Dwight Brothers and Adele E. Wick (eds.), Mexico's Search for A New Strategy (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990).

"The Carter Administration and Latin America: A Test of Principle," in John D. Martz (ed.), U.S. Policy in Latin America: Quarter Century of Crisis and Challenge (University of Nebraska Press, 1988). ["El Gobierno de Carter y America Latina: Una Prueba de Principios," Foro Internacional 106, 27, Oct-Dec. 1986]

"The Invasion of Grenada: A Pre- and Post-Mortem," in Scott MacDonald, Harald Sandstrom, and Paul Goodwin (eds.), The Caribbean After Grenada (N.Y.: Praeger Publishers, 1988).

"Caribbean Emigration and U.S. Immigration Policy," in Jorge Heine and Leslie Manigat (eds.), The Caribbean and World Politics: Cross Currents and Cleavages (N.Y.: Holmes and Meier, 1988).

"The Reagan Administration and Latin America: Eagle Insurgent," in Kenneth Oye, Robert Lieber, and Donald Rothchild (eds.), Eagle Resurgent? The Reagan Era in American Foreign Policy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987). ["El Gobierno de Reagan y America Latina: La Busqueda Implacable de Seguridad," Foro Internacional, Mexico 105, Vol. 27, 1, Julio-Sep. 1986]

"The Impact of U.S. Immigration Policy on Caribbean Emigration: Does It Matter?" in Barry Levine (ed.), Caribbean Exodus (N.Y.: Praeger, 1987).

"The Caribbean-- More People and Fewer Resources," with Sergio Diaz Briquets, in Andrew Maguire and Janet Welsh Brown (eds.), Bordering on Trouble: Resources and Politics in the Americas (Bethesda, Maryland: Adler and Adler, 1986).

"U.S. Policy Toward the Caribbean: Interests and Strategies," in Peter M. Dunn and Bruce W. Watson (eds.), American Intervention in Grenada: The Implications of Operation "Urgent Fury" (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1985).

"Re-Defining the Strategic Challenge in Central America," in Joseph Cirincione (ed.), Central America and the Western Alliance (N.Y.: Holmes and Meier, 1985).

"The Impact of Grenada on the Caribbean: Ripples From a Revolution," in Jack W. Hopkins (ed.), Latin America and Caribbean, Contemporary Record III, 1983-84 (N.Y.: Holmes and Meier, 1985).

"Puerto Rico as an International Issue: A Motive for Movement?" in Richard Bloomfield (ed.), Puerto Rico: The Need for a National Policy (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1985).

"The Threat to U.S. National Security in Central America Is Exaggerated," in David L. Bender (ed.), Central America: Opposing Viewpoints (St. Paul, Minn.: Greenhaven Press, 1984).

"Far From Hopeless: An Economic Program for a Post-War Central America," with Richard Feinberg, in Robert Leiken (ed.), Central America: Anatomy of Conflict (N.Y.: Pergamon Press, 1984).

"A Question of U.S. National Interests in Central America," in Wolf Grabendorff, et. al. (eds.), Change in Central America: Internal and External Dimensions (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984).

"The Cry and Sigh Syndrome: Congress and U.S. Trade Policy," in Allen Schick (ed.), Making Economic Policy in Congress (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1983).

"Migration in the Caribbean Basin" The Need for an Approach as Dynamic as the Phenomenon," in M. M. Kritz (ed.), U.S. Immigration and Refugee Policy: Global and Domestic Issues (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1983).

"Cuba and the Soviet Union: Does Cuba Act Alone?" in Barry B. Levine (ed.), The New Cuban Presence in the Caribbean, (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1983).

"U.S. Policies Toward the Caribbean: Recurring Problems and Promises," in Jack Hopkins (ed.), Latin American and Caribbean Contemporary Record, I, 1981-82 (N.Y.: Holmes and Meier, 1983).

"Congress' Impact on Latin America: Is There a Madness in the Method?" and "U.S. Sugar Politics and Latin America: Asymmetries in Input and Impact," in Abraham F. Lowenthal (ed.) The Conduct of Routine Economic Relations: U.S. Foreign Policy-Making to Latin America, III, I. Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1975).

## **Selected Articles**

"The Future of North America: Replacing a Bad Neighbor Policy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 87, No. 4 (July/August 2008). Also published in Spanish.

"The Solution to North America's Triple Problem: The Case for a North American Investment Fund," Norteamérica, January 2008.

"America Observed: Why Foreign Election Observers Would Rate the U.S. Near the Bottom," The American Prospect, January 2005.

"Building a Democratic State: Is It Possible? A Review Essay of State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century by Francis Fukuyama, and The Future of Freedom by Fareed Zakaria, Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 58, No. 1 (Fall 2004). .

"Collectively Defending Democracy: The Inter-American Model," The Brown Journal of World Affairs, Vol. XI, No. 1 (Summer/Fall 2004).

"North America's Second Decade," Foreign Affairs, vol. 83, No. 1 (January/February 2004). Also published in Spanish as "La Segunda Década de América del Norte," Foreign Affairs En Español, Vol. 4, No. 1

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