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JENNIFER MCCOY

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Biography

Curriculum Vita

POLS 8205 Syllabus

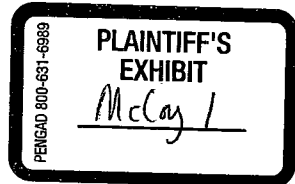
Fall 2010 Office Hours:
 Monday and Wednesday 3:00 - 4:30pm

Education: Ph.D. Minnesota 1985

Research Interests: International relations and world politics, comparative politics (Latin America) and democratization.

Recent Publications:

- Jennifer McCoy and Francisco Diez, *International Mediation in Venezuela: an Insider Story*, (United States Institute of Peace, forthcoming, 2011).
- "The Chavez Challenge for Obama: An Inconvenient Marriage or Frosty Separation," in *The Obama Administration and the Americas: Looking Forward*, Abraham F. Lowenthal, Theodore J. Piccone and Laurence Whitehead, Editors. (Brookings Institute Press, 2010) In Spanish with Bogota: Planeta Press, 2010.
- McCoy, Jennifer. 2009. "Engaging Venezuela: 2009 and Beyond." In *The Obama Administration and the Americas: Agenda for Change*. Edited by Abraham Lowenthal, Theodore Piccone and Laurence Whitehead. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.
- "Venezuela under Chávez: Beyond Liberalism," *Latin America's Left Turns: Politics, Policies and Trajectories of Change*. Edited by Maxwell A. Cameron and Eric Hershberg. Lynne Rienner Press, 2010.
- Jennifer McCoy and Jonathan Hartlyn, "The Relative Powerlessness of Elections," in *Democratization by Elections*, edited by Staffan Lindberg. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Jonathan Hartlyn, Jennifer McCoy, Thomas Mustillo, "Explaining the Success and Failure of Elections in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies*, 41:1 (Jan 2008): 73-98.
- *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*. Edited by Jennifer McCoy and David Myers. Johns Hopkins University Press. November 2004. Reprinted with new Epilogue in 2006. Published in Spanish by El Nacional, Caracas, Venezuela, 2007.



CURRICULUM VITA

JENNIFER L. McCOY

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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 1998-present Director, Americas Program, The Carter Center (joint position)
- 2006-present Professor, Department of Political Science, Georgia State University
- 1991-2005 Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Georgia State University
- 1984-1990 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Georgia State University
- 1989-1998 Senior Research Associate, Latin American and Caribbean Program, Carter Center
- 1994-present Senior Associate, Policy Research Center, Georgia State University
- 1987-88 Associate Director, Latin American and Caribbean Program, Carter Center of Emory University (on leave from Georgia State University)

EDUCATION University of Minnesota, PhD April, 1985
Department of Political Science

Fields of Concentration: International Politics
Comparative Politics (Latin America)
Comparative Political Economy

Supporting Program: Economics
Statistics

Dissertation: "Democratic Dependent Development and State-Labor Relations in Venezuela," (Advisors: Professors Gary Wynia and Raymond Duvall)

Oklahoma State University, 1974-78
B.A. with Honors, Political Science and Spanish

Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá Colombia
Semester of study, 1977

RESEARCH INTERESTS Democratization processes in Latin America and Third World.
Electoral processes and election monitoring.
Transparency and corruption.
U.S. policy towards Latin America.

TEACHING INTERESTS Comparative Politics
Latin American Politics
Comparative Political Economy
Comparative Democratization
International Politics
International Political Economy
International Development

COURSES TAUGHT Latin American Politics (graduate and undergraduate)
Political Economy of Latin America (graduate and undergraduate)
Comparative Political Economy (graduate)
Comparative Democratization Processes (graduate)
International Politics (undergraduate)
Theories of International Politics (graduate)
International Political Economy (graduate and undergraduate)
International Development (graduate)
Global Affairs (undergraduate)
The Vietnam War (graduate and undergraduate)
American Foreign Policy (undergraduate)

HONORS/GRANTS

Outstanding Faculty Scholarship Award, College of Arts and Sciences, Georgia State University, 2010.

Georgia State University Scholarly Support Grant, 2008 (\$15,000).

U.S. Institute of Peace Grant. "International Mediation in Venezuela, 2002-2004." (2005, \$47,600).

Rockefeller Foundation Team Residency Award "International Mediation in Venezuela, 2002-2004" July 2005 and February 2006.

The Carter Center, half-time buy-out to serve as Director of the Americas Program, 1998-Present. Manage Program with a \$2.7 million annual budget.

Georgia State University Exceptional Service Award, 2003.

Georgia State University Research Team Grant, Political Communication and Civil Society Formation in Transitional Democracies. 1998 (\$15,000)

Georgia State University International Initiatives Grant, "Democratization and Decentralization In Latin America." 1995-96 (\$13,000).

Rockefeller Foundation Team Residency, 1995. "Political Learning during Redemocratization in Latin America," Bellagio Conference and Retreat Center, Italy.

North-South Center Research Grant, 1993-94. "Political Learning during Redemocratization in Latin America" (\$43,000).

Return Fulbright Scholar, Uruguay, 1992.

Georgia Consortium on Conflict Resolution Research Grant, 1991.

Fulbright Scholar, Uruguay, 1991.

Georgia State University Instructional Improvement Grant, 1995.

Georgia State University Research Grant, 1987, 1990, 1992.

Faculty Development Seminar, Federal University of Pernambuco and University System of Georgia, Recife, Brazil, 1986.

Georgia State University Travel Research Grant, 1985.

PUBLICATIONS:

BOOKS

Jennifer McCoy and Francisco Diez, International Mediation in Venezuela: an Insider Story, (United States Institute of Peace, forthcoming, 2011).

The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela: Edited by Jennifer McCoy and David Myers. Johns Hopkins University Press. November 2004. Reprinted with new Epilogue in 2006. Published in Spanish by El Nacional, Caracas, Venezuela, 2007.

Political Learning and Redemocratization in Latin America: Do Politicians Learn from Political Crises?, edited by Jennifer L. McCoy (Univ. of Miami: North-South Center; Lynne Rienner Press (distributors), 2000).

Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress, edited by Jennifer L. McCoy, William C. Smith, Andres Serbin, and Andres Stambouli (North-South Center/Transaction Press, 1995).

Democracia Bajo Presion: Politica y Mercado en Venezuela, edited by Andres Serbin, Andres Stambouli, Jennifer L. McCoy and William Smith (Caracas, Venezuela: Nueva Sociedad, 1993).

Food, Agriculture, and Development in the Pacific Basin, co-edited with G. Edward Schuh, (Westview Press, 1986).

REFEREED ARTICLES and BOOK CHAPTERS

“Venezuela under Chávez: Beyond Liberalism,” Latin America’s Left Turns: Politics, Policies and Trajectories of Change. Edited by Maxwell A. Cameron and Eric Hershberg. Lynne Rienner Press, forthcoming, 2010.

Jennifer McCoy and Jonathan Hartlyn, “The Relative Powerlessness of Elections,” in Democratization by Elections, edited by Staffan Lindberg. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Jonathan Hartlyn, Jennifer McCoy, Thomas Mustillo, “Explaining the Success and Failure of Elections in Latin America,” Comparative Political Studies, Vol 41, No 1, (Jan 2008):73-98.

“Transnational Response to Democratic Crisis in the Americas, 1990-2005,” Promoting Democracy in the Americas, edited by Sharon Lean, Tom Legler, Dexter Boniface. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

“International Reaction to Democratic Crisis in the Americas, 1990-2005.” Democratization. 13:5 (December 2006): 756-775.

“The 2004 Venezuelan Recall Referendum,” Taiwan Journal of Democracy, 2:1 (July 2006): 61-80.

Jonathan Hartlyn and Jennifer McCoy, “Observer Paradoxes: How to Assess Electoral Manipulation,” in Andreas Schedler, editor. Electoral Authoritarianism: the Dynamics of Unfree Competition. Lynne Rienner Press, 2006, pp 41-56.

“One Act in an Unfinished Drama: the Referendum in Venezuela,” Journal of Democracy, 16:1 (Jan 2005): 109-123. Also published in Portuguese in Novos Estudos 72 (July 2005).

Jennifer McCoy, “From Representative to Participatory Democracy? Regime Transformation in Venezuela,” in The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela. Edited by Jennifer McCoy and David Myers. Johns Hopkins University Press. November 2004.

“Venezuela in the Gray Zone: from Feckless Pluralism to Dominant Power System,” by David Myers and Jennifer McCoy, Politeia (Sept 2003). Caracas: Central University of Venezuela, Institute of Political Studies journal.

Jennifer L. McCoy and Heather Heckel, “The Emergence of a Global Anti-Corruption Norm,” International Politics 38:1 (March 2001): 65-90.

Jennifer McCoy, “The Learning Process” and “Comparative Lessons” in Jennifer McCoy, editor, Political Learning and Redemocratization in Latin America: Do Politicians Learn from Political Crises (Univ. of Miami: North-South Center; Lynne Rienner Press (distributors), 2000): 1-14, 131-148.

Jennifer McCoy, “Venezuela: The End of Partyarchy,” Journal of Democracy (July 1999).

Jennifer McCoy, "Nicaragua's Second Election," in Krishna Kumar, editor, Post-Conflict Elections, Democratization, and International Assistance (Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1998).

Jennifer McCoy, "Monitoring and Mediating Elections during Latin American Democratization," in Kevin Middlebrook, editor, Electoral Observation and Democratic Traditions in Latin America (Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California-San Diego, 1998): 53-90.

Jennifer McCoy, "Introduction: Dismantling the Predatory State," in Robert Rotberg, ed., Haiti Renewed (Brookings Institute Press, 1997): 1-26.

Jennifer McCoy and William Smith, "From Deconsolidation to Reequilibration? Prospects for Democratic Renewal in Venezuela," in McCoy, et al, Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress (Transaction Press, 1995): 237-285.

William Smith and Jennifer McCoy, "Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress," in McCoy, et al, Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress (Transaction Press, 1995): 1-12.

Jennifer McCoy and William Smith, "Desconsolidación o reequilibrio democrático en Venezuela," Nueva Sociedad 140 (Nov-Dic 1995): 18-32.

Jennifer McCoy and William Smith, "Democratic Disequilibrium in Venezuela," Journal of InterAmerican Studies and World Affairs Vol 37, No 2 (Summer 1995): 113-179.

Jennifer McCoy, "La Crisis de Confianza," in Democracia Bajo Presion: Politica y Mercado en Venezuela, edited by Andres Serbin, Andres Stambouli, Jennifer McCoy and William Smith (Caracas, Venezuela: Nueva Sociedad, 1993): pp. 9-26.

Jennifer McCoy, "Mediating Democracy: A New Role for International Actors?" in ed. David Bruce, New World Order: Social and Economic Implications (Atlanta, Georgia: Georgia State University Business Press, 1993): pp. 129-140.

Howard Lehman and Jennifer McCoy, "The Dynamics of the Two-Level Bargaining Game: The 1988 Brazilian Debt Negotiations," World Politics 44:4 (July 1992): 600-644.

Jennifer McCoy, Larry Garber and Robert Pastor, "Making Peace by Observing and Mediating Elections," Journal of Democracy, Fall (1991): 102-114. Reprinted in The Global Resurgence of Democracy, edited by Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (John Hopkins University Press, 1993): 178-192.

Jennifer McCoy, "Labor and the State in a Party-Mediated Democracy: Institutional Change in Venezuela," Latin American Research Review, 24:2 (Spring 1989): 35-68.

Jennifer McCoy, "Venezuela: Austerity and the Working Class," in Paying the Costs of Austerity In Latin America, edited by Werner Baer and Howard Handelman (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989): 195-223.

Jennifer McCoy, "The State and the Democratic Class Compromise in Venezuela," The Journal of Developing Societies, 4:1 (Spring 1988): 85-104. Also in State and Development,

edited by Cal Clark and Jonathan Lemco (Leiden: Brill, 1988).

Jennifer McCoy, "Consecuencias de la crisis economica y la austeridad," Revista Relaciones de Trabajo (Valencia, Venezuela; 1988): 204-227.

Jennifer McCoy, "The Politics of Adjustment: Labor and the Venezuelan State," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 28, no. 4 (Winter 1986-87): 103-138.

Jennifer McCoy and G. Edward Schuh, "Food and Agriculture in the Pacific Basin: An Overview," in Schuh and McCoy (eds) Food, Agriculture and Development in the Pacific Basin (Westview Press, 1986): 11-22.

Roger Benjamin, Robert Kudrle, and Jennifer McCoy, "The Dynamics of Economic Change in the Pacific Basin," in R. Benjamin and R. Kudrle (eds.), The Industrial Future of the Pacific Basin, Westview Press, 1984: 1-12.

Elizabeth Cholawsky and Jennifer McCoy, "A Comparative Analysis of News Coverage of Rhodesia," Journalism Quarterly, Spring, 1982.

INVITED PUBLISHED ARTICLES, CHAPTERS and BOOK REVIEWS

"The Chavez Challenge for Obama: An Inconvenient Marriage or Frosty Separation," in The Obama Administration and the Americas: Looking Forward, Abraham F. Lowenthal, Theodore J. Piccone and Laurence Whitehead, Editors. (Brookings Institute Press, Sept. 2010) In Spanish with Bogota: Planeta Press, Sept. 2010.

Book Review of: Steve Ellner, *Rethinking Venezuelan Politics: Class, Conflict, and the Chávez Phenomenon*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2008; published in Latin American Politics and Society (Winter 2009).

McCoy, Jennifer. 2009. "Engaging Venezuela: 2009 and Beyond." In The Obama Administration and the Americas: Agenda for Change. Edited by Abraham Lowenthal, Theodore Piccone and Laurence Whitehead. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.

Book Review of Anibal Pérez-Linán, *Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press, 2007. Perspectives on Politics, June 2009.

"Venezuela", World Book Encyclopedia, 2009, with Andres Rangel.

"Venezuela: Leading a New Trend in Latin America?" Revista: Harvard Review of Latin America. (Fall, 2008): 52-56.

"Democratic Transformation in Latin America," Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations, Winter/Spring 2008: 19-29.

Julia Buxton and Jennifer McCoy. "Política, protargonismo y rendición de cuentas en la

Venezuela bolivariana.” Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales. 14:1 (2008).

“International Response to Democratic Crisis in Venezuela,” in Defending the Gains? Transatlantic Responses When Democracy is Under Threat, edited by Esther Brimmer, (Baltimore, MD: Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University, 2007): 119-132.

“Venezuela After the 2006 Elections,” Latin American Studies Association Forum, Vol 38, Issue 1 (Winter 2007): 25-27.

Book Review of Peter Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, Oxford University Press, 2005. In Perspectives on Politics (June 2007).

“The Vulnerabilities of Democracy and the Inter-American Democratic Charter,” FOCALPOINT: Spotlight on the Americas. Canadian Foundation on Latin America. March 2005.

“Venezuela After the Recall Referendum,” in U.S. Policy in Latin America: Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela. Aspen Institute, January 2005.

“Defining the ‘Bolivarian Revolution’: Hugo Chávez’s Venezuela,” Current History (February 2001): 80-85 (with Laura Neuman).

“Demystifying Venezuela’s Hugo Chávez,” Current History (February 2000) 66-71.

“Venezuela” 2000 American Annual/Encyclopedia Year Book (Grolier Educational).

“Venezuela” Encyclopedia Britannica (2000), with Heather Heckel.

“Venezuela’s ‘Peaceful Revolution’,” Current History (February 1999): 122-126 (with Harold Trinkunas).

“Nicaragua: Beyond the Revolution,” Current History (February 1997): 75-80 (with Shelley McConnell).

“This Land Is My Land: Nicaraguan Property Disputes,” Hemisfile, September 1995.

“Electing Ernesto: The Meaning of the Mexican Elections,” Hemisphere, Fall 1994.

“Venezuelan Alternatives,” Hemisphere, Winter/Spring 1993.

“Democratic Prospects in Latin America,” Harvard International Review, Symposium on Democracy (Winter 1992/93).

“Monitoring Latin America's Elections: Opportunities and Dilemmas Share the Ballot.” North-South Magazine (April-May, 1992): 30-35.

“All eyes on democratic elections,” Hemisfile, September 1991: 1-2, 12.

"Nicaragua in Transition," Current History (March 1991): 117-120, 131-32.

Book review, Steve Ellner, Venezuela's *Movimiento al Socialismo*, Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, 31:4 (Winter, 1989): 243-245.

Book review, John Weeks, Limits to Capitalist Development, South Eastern Latin Americanist, (June-September 1986):56-57.

PUBLISHED REPORTS AND WORKING PAPERS

Venezuela: Looking Ahead. Testimony Prepared for the Hearing on "Venezuela: Looking Ahead" House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere. July 17, 2008.

Observing the Venezuela Recall Referendum. The Carter Center. February 2005. (Contributor and editor.)

Venezuelan Referendum Process. Prepared statement for Hearing on Venezuelan Democracy presented to the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee, Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate, June 17, 2004.

"Democracy as Social Organization," in The Conceptual Debate over Democracy, Theoretical Appendix to Democracy in Latin America: Towards a Citizen's Democracy, United Nations Development Program, 2004, pp. 233-239.

Observing Political Change in Venezuela: the Bolivarian Constitution and the 2000 Elections, The Carter Center, April 2001 (with Laura Neuman).

The U.S. and Latin America in the New Millennium: Outlook and Priorities. Prepared Statement presented to the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of the House Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Congress, March 15, 2000.

Transparency in the Americas: Report of a Conference, The Carter Center, November 1999 (contributor).

The Observation of the 1998 Venezuela Elections, The Carter Center, March 1999 (with Harold Trinkunas).

The Observation of the 1996 Nicaragua Elections, Special Report, The Carter Center, March, 1997 (principal author).

Nicaraguan Elections and Property Disputes, Prepared Statement presented to the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of the House Foreign Relations committee, U.S. Congress, April 1996.

Nicaragua Pre-election Report: Voter Registration, The Carter Center, June 1996 (principal author).

Nicaragua Pre-election Report: Campaign and Election Preparations, The Carter Center,

September 1996 (principal author).

Haiti: Prospects for Political and Economic Reconstruction, World Peace Foundation Report No. 10, November 1995 (sole author).

Invited Intrusion: International Election-monitoring and the Evolving Concept of Sovereignty, Working Paper, Georgia Consortium on Conflict Resolution, July 1995 (sole author).

Report on a Property Issues Conference in Nicaragua, The Carter Center, July 1995 (principal author).

Nicaraguan Property Disputes, Report of The Carter Center, April 1995 (contributing author).

The August 21, 1994 Mexican National Elections: 4th Report, The Carter Center, August 21, 1994 (sole author).

Elections in Mexico: 3rd Report, The Carter Center, August 1, 1994 (sole author).

Electoral Reform in Mexico, Occasional Paper, Vol 4, The Carter Center, November 1993 (contributing author).

Mexican Electoral Reforms, Prepared Statement presented to the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee and the International Organization Subcommittee of the House Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Congress, April 20, 1994.

Economic and Political Situation in Nicaragua, Prepared Statement presented to the Subcommittee on Western Hemispheric Affairs, House Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., March 13, 1991.

Observing the Nicaraguan Election: Report of Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government Observer Delegation, Special Report #1 of The Carter Center of Emory University, July 1990 (Principal Author).

CONFERENCE PAPERS

Panel discussant on 3 panels, presenter on 1 roundtable. Latin American Studies Association Congress, June 11-14, 2009, Rio de Janeiro.

“Venezuela’s New Left Turn,” paper presented at the New Left Turns in Latin American Conference, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, British Columbia, April 2008.

“Electoral Processes and Democratization in Latin America,” with Jonathan Hartlyn, presented at the Seminar on Democratization through Elections, University of Florida, Gainesville, Nov 30-dec 2, 2007.

“Lessons from the International Mediation of the Venezuelan Political Crisis, 2002-2004” presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Montreal, Canada, Sept 6-8, 2007.

"Electoral Processes and Democratization in Latin America," with Jonathan Hartlyn, presented at the September 2007 APSA Congress, Chicago.

"Election Processes in Latin America: Historical Legacies and Proximate Causes," with Jonathan Hartlyn, presented at the September 2006 APSA Congress, Philadelphia.

"'Free and Fair' Enough? Assessing Electoral Manipulation in Democratizing Contexts" with Jonathan Hartlyn, presented at the September 2004 APSA Congress, Chicago.

"Explaining the Success and Failure of Elections in Latin America," paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Dallas, March 2003 (with Jonathan Hartlyn and Thomas Mustillo).

"Venezuela in the Grey Zone: from Feckless Democracy to Dominant Power Syndrome?," paper presented at Latin American Studies Association Congress, Dallas, March 2003 (with David Myers.)

"Making Democracy Meaningful in Latin America," paper presented at the American Political Science Convention, San Francisco, August 2001 (with Shelley McConnell).

"Elections with Adjectives in Contemporary Latin America: A Comparative Analysis," paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Washington, D.C. September 2001 (with Jonathan Hartlyn).

"From Representative to Participatory Democracy? Regime Change in Venezuela," paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Washington, D.C. September 2001.

"The Decline of Punto Fijo and the Rise of the Fifth Republic in Venezuela", paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Miami, March, 2000.

"Reluctant Reformers: Explaining Privatization in Venezuela and Uruguay," paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Chicago, September 24-27, 1998.

"Political Learning in an Emerging Democracy: Nicaragua since 1990," paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Guadalajara, Mexico, April 1997.

"Election Monitors and Mediators in Latin American Democratization," paper presented at the Conference on Election Monitors and Democratic Transitions, United Nations and University of California at San Diego, San Diego, January 24-25, 1997.

"Political Learning and Democratization in Latin America: Comparative Lessons," paper presented at the XIX Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington D.C., September 28-30, 1995.

"Election-Monitoring and Sovereignty," paper presented to the Project on Sovereignty and a New World Politics, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington D.C., January 12, 1995.

"The Democratic Advantage? Perceptions and Procedures of Economic Reform in Uruguay," paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association meetings, Chicago, April 1995.

Political Learning during Redemocratization in Latin America: Mid-term Project Report, Workshop Presentation, XVIII Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Atlanta, March 10-12, 1994.

"Political Learning in Reemerging Democracies: Framework for Analysis and Illustrations from Uruguay," with Luis Costa Bonino, paper presented at the XVII Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Los Angeles, September 24-27, 1992.

"The Collective Dilemma of Economic Reform: Uruguay in Comparative Perspective," paper presented to the Instituto de Ciencias Politicas, Universidad de la Republica, Montevideo, Uruguay, September 4, 1992.

"From Electoral Bargaining to Social Concertation in Nicaragua," paper presented at the XVI Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D.C., April 2-4, 1991.

Election Monitoring in Latin America, Round table presentation, XVI Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D.C., April 2-4, 1991.

With Howard Lehman, "Strategic Bargaining in Brazil's Debt negotiations: The Dynamics of the Two-Level Game," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 1989.

"Concertation in Latin America: The Limits of the Social Pact in Venezuela," presented at the Conference on the Micro-Foundations of Democracy, University of Chicago, April 29-May 1, 1988.

"Democratic Class Compromise, Concertation and the Social Pact in Venezuela," presented at the XIV Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, New Orleans, March 16-19, 1988.

"State, Labor and the Democratic Class Compromise in Venezuela," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Conference on Latin American Studies, Merida, April 1987.

"The Venezuelan Labor Movement: Help or Hindrance in the Management of the Debt Crisis," presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-South, Atlanta, November 1986 and at the XIII Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Boston, October 1986.

"Democratic Stability and Regime Change: Inducements and Constraints in Venezuela," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1985.

"Regime Transformation in the Periphery: A Conceptual Framework," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1985.

"Democracy, Social Reform, and Regime Stability in Venezuela," presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, March 1985.

INVITED LECTURES/SYMPOSIA

Moderator, "Brazil Rising: What happens after Lula", World Affairs Council of Atlanta, April 15, 2010.

Presenter, "International Reactions to Democratic Crisis: Trends from Latin America, 1990-2010," Symposium on Collective Defense and Promotion of Democracy, Georgia State University and The Carter Center, Atlanta, March 15, 2010.

Presenter, "The Volatile Relations between the U.S. and Andean Countries," Institute for Developing Nations, Emory University, Feb 9, 2010.

Participant, "Thirty Years of Democracy in Latin America," symposium chaired by President Leonel Fernandez and sponsored by Funglode and International IDEA, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, Oct. 28-30, 2009.

Keynote address, "Chávez' Venezuela," The Miller Center, University of Virginia, Nov 21, 2008.

Presenter, "Democratic Transformation in Latin America," Conference on Governability in Latin America, Private Sector Forum of Latin America, Medellin, Colombia, May 29-30, 2008.

Presenter, "Andean Politics", Conference on the Andes, Brown University, February 2008.

Presenter, "Venezuelan Foreign Policy," Conference on Venezuela, George Washington University, January 2008.

Presenter, "Measuring Violations of the Inter-American Democratic Charter", Conference on An International Research Network for Monitoring and Reporting on the State of Democracy in the Andes," Lima, Peru, Dec 14-15, 2007.

Presenter, "New Tendencies in Latin American Politics and their Impact on Relations with the U.S.," Conference on Hacia Donde Va America Latina?, Universidad Nacional de San Martin, Bariloche, Argentina, May 17-18, 2007.

Presenter, "Political conflict and Democracy," Conference on Venezuela after the Reelection of Hugo Chavez, Washington Office on Latin America, Washington, D.C., Feb 14, 2007.

Keynote speaker, "Venezuela after Chávez' Reelection", University of North-Carolina, Chapel Hill, February 7, 2007.

Presenter, "Venezuela and Colombia," UNC-Duke Consortium on Latin America Conference, Feb 8-9, 2007.

Presenter, "Democracy Promotion in Venezuela," Conference on Defending the Gains? Transatlantic Responses When Democracy is Under Threat, Johns Hopkins University SAIS, Baltimore, Sept 25, 2006.

Presenter, "International Response to Democratic Crisis in the Americas," Conference on the Inter-American Democratic Charter," The Carter Center, Atlanta, GA, April 26, 2006.

Presenter, "Four Democratic Vulnerabilities and the Inter-American Democratic Charter," Seminar on Democracy and the 2005 Summit of the Americas, Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 2005.

Presenter, Aspen Institute Congressional Forum on Latin America, Punta Mita, Mexico, Jan 9-14, 2005.

Presenter, "Venezuelan Politics," the Tuesday Seminar, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, Nov 30, 2004.

Organizer and presenter, Workshop on "Engaging the Inter-American Democratic Charter," The Carter Center, Nov 11-12, 2004.

Presenter, "Left in Latin America," Corporate Partners Workshop, David Rockefeller Center For Latin American Studies, Harvard University, October 22, 2004.

Presenter, "Venezuela Recall Referendum," Miami Herald Latin American Conference, Miami, Sept 30, 2004.

Presenter, "Venezuela Recall Referendum," Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, D.C., Sept 7, 2004.

Keynote speaker, "Latin America's Contemporary Context" Federal Reserve Bank Supervisory Meeting, Atlanta, June 3, 2004.

Organizer and presenter, Workshop on "Creating the Friends of the Inter-American Democratic Charter," The Carter Center, May, 2004.

Presenter, Sol Linowitz Forum on U.S. and Latin America, Inter-American Dialogue, May 14-16, 2004.

Presenter, Georgetown University Conference on the Future of Venezuela, April, 2004.

Presenter, U.S. Institute for Peace Workshop on Reconciliation in Venezuela, April 2004.

Presenter, "The Future for Venezuela," Salomon Smith Barney Conference on Latin America; Annual Meeting of the Inter-American Development Bank, Milan, Italy, March 22-24, 2003.

Presenter, "Venezuela Political and Economic Crisis," Council on Foreign Relations, New York, February 2003.

Participant, "Latin American Democracy," Conference of the Ditchley Foundation, Oxford, England, February 2003.

Presenter, "Venezuela: Perspectives and Prospects in a Time of Uncertainty," Institute of Latin American Iberian Studies, Columbia University, New York City, November 18, 2002.

Presenter, "Venezuela: The Path to Reconciliation and Change," Council of the Americas, New York City, November 18, 2002.

Présenter, Seminar on the Inter-American Democratic Charter, Liu Institute, University of British Columbia, November 12-13, 2002.

Moderator and Participant, Inter-American Forum on Political Parties, Sponsored by the Organization of American States, Vancouver, December 4-6, 2002.

Moderator, "The Future of U.S.-Cuba Relations," Debate at The Carter Center, Atlanta, March 22, 2002.

Moderator, Conference on Electoral Reform in Peru, Lima, Peru, December 1-2, 2001.

Presenter, Conference on the 2001 Elections in Peru, Lima, Peru, July 11, 2001.

Participant, Conference on Money and Politics, Mexico City, June 3-5, 2001.

Invited participant of civil society to the Presidential Summit of the Americas (Quebec City, April 2001. Contributed proposals through the OAS and the Council of Presidents and Prime Ministers.

Presenter, U.S. State Department Symposium on "Venezuela", September 2000.

Presenter, U.S. Inter-Agency Conference on "Venezuela", September 22, 1999.

Presenter, U.S. Inter-Agency Conferences on □Prospects for Reform in Venezuela,□ Washington, D.C., September 11, 1998.

Participant, □U.S National Interest and the Western Hemisphere,□ The American Assembly, May 28-31, 1998, Harriman, New York.

Presenter, U.S. Inter-Agency Conferences on Nicaragua, Washington D.C., October 17, 1997.

Presenter, U.S. AID Conference on Post-Conflict Democratic Transition: Washington, D.C., October 30-31, 1997.

Participant, United Nations Conference on Election-Monitoring, Querétaro, Mexico, August 14-16, 1997.

Presenter, U.S. Inter-Agency Conference on Nicaragua, Washington, D.C., September 22, 1997.

Participant, U.S. Department of State Conference on Venezuela, Washington, D.C. January 13, 1995.

Panel Moderator, Southern Center for International Studies Conference on Latin America: Emerging Power in a Changing World, Atlanta, GA, February 23, 1995.

Participant, Workshop on Defining International Standards for Free and Fair Elections, Inter-Parliamentary Union, United Nations, New York, January 22, 1994.

Participant, Seminar on Collective Responses to Regional Problems, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Carter Center, Atlanta, September 20-21, 1993.

Speaker, Seminar on The Social Aspects of Peacekeeping, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, United Nations, New York City, April 28, 1993.

Co-Director and Presenter, Conference on Democracy Under Pressure: Politics and Markets in Venezuela, North-South Center, Caracas, Venezuela, November 9-11, 1992.

Discussant, Conference on International Transformations and Hemispheric Restructuring, North-South Center, Miami, December 7-8, 1992.

Participant and Co-organizer, Conference on Public-Private Sector Cooperation for Development, University System of Georgia and Argentine Consulate, Atlanta, November 4-6, 1992.

Participant, Mexican Election-Monitoring of U.S. Elections Project, Carter Center, November 1-5, 1992.

Speaker, Workshop on Election-Monitoring, United Nations, New York, City, November 7, 1992.

Participant, Workshop on a New Social Science Research Agenda, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Affairs, Washington, D.C., December 13-15, 1991.

Speaker, Workshop on Civilian Aspects of Peacekeeping, Canadian Institute of Peace Security, Ottawa, July 9-10, 1991.

Presenter, Conference on U.S.-Latin American Relations in the 1990s, North-South Center, Miami, June 15-17, 1991.

Plenary Session speaker, "International Monitoring of Transitional Elections," Southern Political Science Association Meeting, Atlanta, November 9, 1990.

Presenter, "U.S. Foreign Policy in Central America," Third World Studies Conference, Georgia Southwestern College, May 25, 1989.

Keynote speaker, "The United States and Cuba," Conference on the New Ethnics: Immigration and Assimilation of Cubans in the U.S., Georgia College, April 19-20, 1989.

Rapporteur, Consultation on the Hemispheric Agenda, The Carter Center of Emory University, Atlanta, March 29-30, 1989.

Participant, Conference on Labor Movements and Transitions to Democracy, Kellogg Institute, Notre Dame, IN, April 26-28, 1988.

Participant, Conference on El Salvador, Commission on U.S.-Latin American Relations, St. Simon's Island, GA, October 1988.

Participant, Seminar on U.S. Elections and Policy Toward Latin America, Cuban Center for U.S. Studies and University of New Mexico, Havana, Cuba, September 1988.

OP/ED ARTICLES

"Avisa a Hugo Chávez: Vaya más despacio," Tal Cual newspaper, Caracas, Venezuela, Dec 12, 2007, p. 4.

"Putting the Brakes on Chávez," Newsday, Dec 10, 2007.

"The Meaning of the Year of Elections in Latin America," IPS Column Service, December 7, 2006.

"Chávez' Second Chance," New York Times, April 18, 2002.

"Does U.S. Vote Meet World's Standards?," with David Carroll, Atlanta Journal and Constitution, November 8, 1992.

"Venezuela Coup Plot a Test for Democracy," Daily News, February 16, 1992.

"Do Not Leave Nicaragua Alone," Christian Science Monitor, November 28, 1990.

"Venezuela: The Dilemmas of Sudden Oil Wealth," The Miami Herald, September 9, 1990.

"Journey to Democracy in Nicaragua," with Robert A. Pastor, Atlanta Journal and Constitution (Perspective Section), April 22, 1990.

"Venezuelan Riots Underscore Need for Debt Policy," Atlanta Constitution, March 7, 1989.

"Panama's Shift Must Come From Within," Atlanta Constitution, March 4, 1988.

"Unilateral Intervention by U.S. could Lend Support to Haiti's Military Junta," Atlanta Constitution, December 9, 1987.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES/RECOGNITION

Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on Brazil, 2010.

Senior Advisor to the Andean Democracy Research Network. 2008-present.

Mission leader for The Carter Center's election observation mission, Bolivia National Elections, December 6, 2009.

Facilitator for Sensitive Issues Commission during the restoration of diplomatic relations between Ecuador and Colombia, September-December 2009.

Led international delegation of Friends of the Inter-American Democratic Charter to Honduras to pursue a peaceful resolution to the coup and political conflict. October 2009.

Press commentary on Honduran coup to New York Times, Washington Post, LA Times, CNN domestic, CNN Espanol, CNN.com, and many others. 2009

Election observer, Bolivia Constitutional Referendum, January 25, 2009.

Invited civil society representative, Summit of the Americas, Trinidad and Tobago, April 2009.

Contributing member of Brookings Commission on Partnership with Latin America to provide recommendations to the next U.S. administration (2008)

Life-time Member of the Council on Foreign Relations (2005- present).

Executive Secretary and Founder, Friends of the Inter-American Democratic Charter, a group of leaders and ministers from the Americas promoting the collective defense of democracy in the hemisphere.

Academic Advisory Board Member to the U.S. Commission on Federal Election Reform, co-chaired by Jimmy Carter and James Baker (2005).

Editorial Board member, Latin American Politics and Society (2000-2002).

Editorial Board member, Latin American Research Review (1997-1999).

Member of the Board, FOCAL (Canadian Latin American Institute), 2005-present.

Task Force Member, "Colombia", Inter-American Dialogue, 2004.

Co-chair of the UNDP-LAC Democratic Dialogue Community of Practice project (2003).

Consultant to the UNDP Regional Project on Democratic Development in Latin America (theoretical framework), 2002.

Methodological Advisory Committee member of the Global Access Project to measure corruption and government accountability globally, Center for Public Integrity, 2002-2004.

Advisory Board member, SUNY-Binghamton Democracy Center (2001-2004).

Director, Carter Center's project on Mediation and Monitoring in Venezuela (2002-2004).

Representative for the Carter Center to the Tripartite International Working Group on Venezuela (OAS, UNDP, Carter Center) to mediate the political conflict, 2002-2004.

Director, President Carter's historic trip to Cuba, May 2002 (organized trip and accompanied the Carters).

Advisory Council member, Campaign Finance Reform in Latin America Project, Poder Ciudadano, Buenos Aires (2001-2002).

Consultant to the United Nations Development Program, U.S. State Department, and private companies.

Directed election observer delegations to Bolivia (2009), Jamaica (2002), Venezuela (1998, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004), Peru (2000, 2001), Nicaragua (1990, 1996, 2001), Panama (1994) and Mexico (1994) for The Carter Center.

Election observer to Indonesia (1999), Jamaica (1997), Guyana (October 1992) with Carter Center delegation; Haiti (December 1990) with Carter Center/NDI delegation; Suriname (May 1991) with OAS delegation.

Chaired hemispheric conference on Political Finance in the Americas, The Carter Center, March 2003 (100 participants including former presidents, current policymakers, leading scholars, media, business, NGOs.)

Chaired hemispheric conference on Challenges to Democracy in the Americas, The Carter Center, October 2000 (100 participants including former presidents, current policymakers, leading scholars, media, business, NGOs.)

Chaired hemispheric conference on Transparency for Growth in the Americas, The Carter Center, May 1999 (100 participants including former presidents, current policymakers, leading scholars, media, business, NGOs.)

Director, Nicaraguan Property Project of The Carter Center (1994-95).

Election-Monitor and Managua Director for Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government (Chair, Jimmy Carter), Nicaragua Elections Project, The Carter Center (October 1989-March 1990).

Member, Regents Council for International Education, University System of Georgia, 1995-96.

Member, Academic Advisory Council for Regents Global Center, University System of Georgia, 1992-94.

Local Arrangements Co-Chair, Congress of Latin American Studies Association, Atlanta, March 1994.

IR Section Head, Southern Political Science Association (1990)

Executive Council Member, International Studies Association-South (1989-91)

Board of Directors, Georgia Partners of the Americas (1989-91)

Associate Director, Latin America Consortium, University System of Georgia (1989-present)

Chair, Political Science Interdepartmental Group, University Center in Georgia (1988-90)

Creator and Chair, Atlanta Faculty Political Economy Study Group (1989-90)

Creator and Chair, Atlanta Latin American Faculty Study Group (1989-91)

Panel Organizer, Latin American Studies Association Meetings, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1998, 2000, 2001.

Panel Chair, American Political Science Association Meeting, 1986; Southern Political Science Association Meeting, 1994.

Panel Discussant, American Political Science Association Meetings, 1984, 1986; International Studies Association Meeting, 1986; Southern Political Science Association Meeting 2001; Latin American Studies Association Meeting 2004, 2006, 2007.

PROFESSIONAL
MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association
Latin American Studies Association

FOREIGN
LANGUAGES Spanish (high proficiency)

TRAVEL

Research: Venezuela, Nicaragua, Uruguay.
Professional Travel: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Europe, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago.

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