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- * Applications for admission *pro hac vice* forthcoming
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**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
 FOR THE DISTRICT OF UTAH
 CENTRAL DIVISION**

Utah Coalition of La Raza, et al.,
 Plaintiffs,

v.

Gary R. Herbert, et al.,
 Defendants.

**DECLARATION OF ABRAHAM F.
 LOWENTHAL**

Case No. 2:11-cv-00401-BCW
 Judge: Brooke C. Wells

Declaration of Abraham F. Lowenthal

I, Abraham F. Lowenthal, hereby declare:

1. I make this declaration based on my own personal knowledge and if called to testify I could and would do so competently as follows.
2. I am a Professor of International Relations at the University of Southern California (USC), a position I have held since 1984. I am also currently a non-resident Senior Fellow of the Pacific Council on International Policy, a Los Angeles-based international leadership forum. My curriculum vitae is attached to my declaration as Exhibit A.
3. I received my PhD in Government from Harvard University in 1971. Previously, I earned my BA and a Master's in Public Administration degree, both also from Harvard, in 1961 and 1964, respectively.
4. For the past forty years, my primary area of research has been relations between the United States and Latin America. I have written or edited some fifteen books and numerous journal articles, chapters and volumes on various aspects of those relations. My essay published in the July 2010 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the leading journal on international relations, was my seventh; no one else in that journal's history has published as frequently on US-Latin American relations. I was founding director of the Latin America Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC from 1977 to 1983, and founding director of the Inter-American Dialogue, also in Washington, from 1982 to 1992. These are still considered among the country's foremost think tanks on US-Latin American relations.
5. Among the issues on which I have focused is the relationship between the United States and Mexico, including the special issues which arise from Mexico's proximity, presence and influence. I directed the California-Mexico project at USC from 1984 to 1992, co-edited the *California-Mexico Connection* (Stanford University Press, 1993), and included sections on managing complex interdependence with Mexico in my most recent book, *Global California* (Stanford University Press, 2009). I have travelled frequently to Mexico, lectured there often, and participated actively in numerous academic and policy exchanges there. I recently published an essay titled "United States and Latin America, 1960-2010," in the Mexican journal, *Foro Internacional*. It was the lead essay in their fiftieth anniversary issue.

6. I have testified fourteen times on US-Latin American relations before the US Congress, briefed the First Lady and two Secretaries of State, and addressed all the US Ambassadors to Latin America and the Caribbean in January 2010 at the request of the State Department.
7. I am quite familiar with the history as well as the current state of relations between the United States and Mexico. During 2008-2009, I served as senior advisor to the Binational Task Force on the US-Mexico Border organized by the Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP) and the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI), which in 2009 published a widely-praised report, *Managing the Mexico-US Border: Seeking Cooperative Solutions to Common Challenges*. Many of the ideas in that report are reflected in the joint “Declaration by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Mexican States Concerning Twenty-First Century Border Management” (May 19, 2010), a document which illustrates the important progress the two countries have recently been making in confronting shared challenges in a constructive, mutually respectful and effective way.
8. Former President George W. Bush, President Barack Obama and numerous other senior US government officials have identified the US relationship with Mexico as one of the most significant international relationships this country has, in some ways the most important in day to day terms. A country of nearly 110 million persons sharing a two thousand miles land border with the United States, Mexico is both large and close, and it is inextricably intertwined with the United States as a result of many years of migration and of functional economic integration involving investment, trade and the movement of people, goods, money and ideas. Mexico is the third largest export market for the United States (after Canada and China). It is an arena for major investment by US corporations, in many cases facilitating integrated industrial production that might otherwise move to Asia. It is the destination for millions of US tourists each year, and has become the retirement site for hundreds of thousands of US citizens. The extent and significance of the US-Mexico connection in quotidian terms can hardly be exaggerated. It substantially affects a range of issues including employment, the environment, public health, law enforcement, as well as immigration.

9. Because of Mexico's large and growing importance for the United States, relations with Mexico have been a high priority for the current government of the United States. The only foreign head of state with whom President-elect Obama met was Felipe Calderon of Mexico. Mexico was also the first country of the Americas Mr. Obama visited as President. In her first fifteen months in office, Secretary of State Clinton made two trips to Mexico, accompanied on one or both occasions by the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretary for Homeland Security, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and other senior officials. Mexico's President Calderon made the second state visit to Washington during the Obama administration and recently returned for further discussions with the US government and Congress.
10. I have read House Bill 497, the recent legislation approved by the legislature of Utah and signed by that state's governor. Among other provisions, the law requires Utah law enforcement to verify the immigration status of individuals they stop in numerous circumstances, and allows for the warrantless arrest of individuals if law enforcement agents have "reasonable cause" to believe an individual fits under a specific category of "aliens."
11. It is my considered opinion that this law, if allowed to stand, would significantly impair the relations of Mexico with the United States, the attitudes and opinions of Mexicans, officials and the general public, toward the United States, and the capacity of US Government officials to conduct constructive relations with Mexico in the national interest of the United States and its citizens.
12. Actions taken in Utah that affect international issues undoubtedly have an important impact upon relations between the United States and Mexico. One such issue is the question of immigration and the treatment of Mexican nationals who migrate, legally or illegally, to the United States. Any policy that significantly affects Mexicans living abroad affects the attitude of the Mexican government and of other important Mexican business and other interest groups. Such policies therefore significantly affect Mexico's stance in foreign relations and foreign negotiations.
13. The juxtaposition of the United States and Mexico – of a powerful post-industrial, technologically advanced society and economy next to a capital poor, labor surplus developing economy – creates both great opportunities for synergistic cooperation and

for destructive conflict. The task of US foreign policy is to try to build upon and realize the synergies, and to reduce, mitigate and manage the conflicts. Utah's HB 497 makes this challenge far more difficult. Negotiations on immigration regulations, improving various aspects of life at the border, foreign trade, and control of drug trafficking have been or will be negatively affected by this law.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

EXECUTED this 20th day of April, 2011 in Santa Monica, California.



Abraham F. Lowenthal

EXHIBIT A

ABRAHAM F. LOWENTHAL
CURRICULUM VITAE
October 2010

Born: April 6, 1941, in Hyannis, Massachusetts

Married: June 24, 1962, to Janet Wyzanski (divorced);
January 20, 1991 to Jane S. Jaquette

Children: Linda Claudina; born April 6, 1966, Santiago, Dominican Republic
Michael Francis; born May 9, 1969, Washington, D.C.

Education: Public schools of Leominster, Massachusetts

A.B. Harvard College 1961 (magna cum laude in History)

Harvard Law School 1961-1962 (completed one year)

M.P.A. Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University, 1964

Ph.D. Harvard University (Government) 1971

AWARDS AND HONORS (Selected)

- Phi Kappa Phi award, for outstanding book by faculty member at University of Southern California (USC) (1988)
- Golden Key award, for faculty excellence, University of Southern California (1990)
- Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, University of Notre Dame (1991)
- Fulbright Senior Fellow Award, for research in Japan, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Washington, DC (1993)
- Decorated by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (Brazil) with the Order of the Southern Cross, rank of Grand Commander (reserved for cabinet members, justices of the Supreme Court and others of comparable stature), for outstanding contributions to the study and practice of inter-American relations, Washington, DC (1999)
- Appointed Robert F. Erburu Professor of Ethics, Globalization and Development, USC (2005)
- Edwin J. Perkins Public Service Award for "demonstrated commitment to promoting diversity in international affairs." (2005)
- Decorated by President Leonel Fernandez (Dominican Republic) with the Order of

Sanchez, Duarte and Mella, with rank of Commander. (2006)

- Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Stanley T. Olafson Award for “contributing to the development of world trade in Southern California.” (2010)

SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Undergraduate and Graduate:

Various local, state and Harvard College scholarships; Harvard University Administration Fellowships; Brookings Institution Foreign Policy Fellowship (1967-1969)

Post-Graduate:

- International Affairs Fellowship, Council on Foreign Relations (1972-1973); Awardee, European Visitors' Program, EEC, November-December, 1976; Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution (1980); Visiting Scholar, Villa Serbelloni, Rockefeller Foundation, February 1981; Mellon Scholar, UCLA (1981); Fellow, St. Antony's College, Oxford, April-May 1983; Lester Martin Fellow, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, June 1983; Tinker Visiting Fellow, CEBRAP, São Paulo, Brazil (July 1983); Visiting Fellow, University of California, San Diego (September-December, 1983); Senior Associate Member, St. Antony's College, Oxford (May-June 1988); Distinguished Visiting Scholar, Towson State University, Towson, Maryland (August 1989), Distinguished Visiting Scholar, University of Oklahoma (November 1991); Research Associate, International Institute of Strategic Studies, London (May-July, 1992). Senior Fulbright Scholar, Tokyo (May-June 1994); Fellow, Southern California Studies Center, University of Southern California (1998-99); Visiting Fellow, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, (May-June 1999); Visiting Scholar, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, (July-December 1999); Visiting Fellow, Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco (January 2000-June 2000); Senior Fellow, UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research (2003-2004); Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., November 1, 2005 - January 31, 2006.

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

Sept 1964-Aug 1966:	Training Associate, Ford Foundation, Santiago, Dominican Republic
Feb 1966-June 1966:	Visiting Lecturer in Political Science, Catholic University of Santiago, Dominican Republic
July 1969-June 1972:	Assistant Representative, Acting Representative, and Social Science Program Advisor, Ford Foundation, Lima, Peru
Sept 1972-June 1974:	Visiting Fellow and Research Associate, Center for International Studies, Princeton University

July 1974-Dec 1976: Assistant Director and then Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, New York

Sept 1974-June 1976: Lecturer (part-time) in Public and International Affairs and Latin American Studies, Princeton University

Jan 1977-Dec 1983: Established and directed Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington

Oct 1982-January 1992: Founding Executive Director, Inter-American Dialogue

Jan 1984-present: Professor, School of International Relations, University of Southern California (USC)

Sept 1989-June 1993: Director, California-Mexico Project, USC

July 1992-June 1997: Director, Center for International Studies, USC

1993-1995 Led exploratory effort to establish the Pacific Council on International Policy

April, 1995-June 2005 President, Pacific Council on International Policy

July, 1995-June 2005 Vice President, Council on Foreign Relations (New York)

July 2005-present President emeritus, Pacific Council on International Policy

Nov 2005 - Jan 2006 Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC

January 2006-present Adjunct Professor (Research), Thomas Watson Institute on International Studies, Brown University

January 2007-present Senior Fellow for Latin America and International Affairs, Pacific Council on International Policy

January 2008-June 2010 Nonresident Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

GOVERNANCE BOARDS

1977-1980	Member, Ad Hoc Committee, Rockefeller Public Service Awards, Princeton University
1977-1982	Member, National Advisory Council, Amnesty International
1979-1981	Member, Council, American Political Science Association
1979-1981	Member, Executive Council, Latin American Studies Association
1979-1984	Charter Member, National Advisory Committee, Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Program (Chairman for two meetings)
1981-1986	Member, International Advisory Board, Center on U.S.-Mexico Relations, University of California, San Diego
1981-1986	Member, International Scientific Committees, Gino Germani Center, Italy
1982-1983	Member, Board, Consortium of U.S. Research Programs for Mexico (PROFMEX)
1984-1986	Member, Board of Monticello West Foundation, Stanford
1984-1995	Member, International Advisory Board, Helen Kellogg Institute, Notre Dame
1985	Chairman, Nominations Committee, Latin American Studies Association
1985-1989	Chairman, Board of Advisors on Latin American Affairs, Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies
1985-present	Member of Advisory Board, <u>New Perspectives Quarterly</u>
1985-1990	Member, Committee of Friends, International Friends of the Chilean Human Rights Commission
1986-1988	Member, Selection Panel, International Fellowship Program to Strengthen Soviet Studies, Social Science Research Council
1986-1995	Member, National Advisory Board, Center for National Policy
1989-1995	Member, Consejo Consultivo, <u>Foro Interamericano</u> , Santiago, Chile
1989-1999	Member, Board of Advisors, <u>Hemisfile: Latin American Trends</u> , Institute of the Americas, La Jolla
1989-1993	Member, Selection Panel, International Affairs Fellowship, Council on Foreign Relations
1989-1996	Member, California Committee, Americas Watch,
1991-1992	Member, Latin American Task Force, Commission on Competitiveness, New York State Industrial Cooperation Council
1991-present	Member, International Advisory Committee, Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic
1992-1995	Member, Advisory Board, Instituto Cultural Mexicano de Los Angeles
1993-2004	Member of the Board of Directors, Inter-American Dialogue
1993-present	Member, International Advisory Board, Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Bogota)
1994-present	Member, Research Council, International Forum for Democratic Studies

1998-present	Member; Consejo Editorial, Revista de Humanidades, Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, Mexico
1999-2001	Board member, Fulbright Association
2003-2006	Member, Advisory Committee, Institutions for the Successor Generation of Americans, American Assembly
2003-present	Member, International Advisory Board, Monterey Institute of International Studies
January 2006	Contributing Editor, New Perspectives Quarterly
April 2006-present	Member, Editorial Board, Revista do Economia e Relações Internacionais (São Paulo)
March 2007-present	Member, Selection Committee, Gus Hart Award, Chicago Council on Global Affairs
March 2010 –present	Member of the International Advisory Board of the Department of Political Studies, Fundación Salvadoreña para El Desarrollo Económico y Social (FUSADES, El Salvador).
August 2010-present	Member of the Strategic Advisory Board of the United Nations Development Program, Regional Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean.

OTHER APPOINTMENTS

1992-present	Member, Inter-American Dialogue
05-93 to 07-93	Visiting Research Associate, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London
1992-1993	Senior Fellow, Inter-American Dialogue (IAD)
1993-1994	Director, Brazil Project, Inter-American Dialogue (IAD)
1993-1995	Director, Democratic Governance Project, (IAD)
1997-2001	Member, International Trade Advisory Council appointed by Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan
1999-2000	Senior Advisor, Society of International Business Fellows(Atlanta)
2001-2005	Member, International Trade Advisory Board appointed by Los Angeles Mayor James Hahn
2004-2005	Member, Task Force on US Policy in the Americas, Inter-American Dialogue
March-April 2006	Visiting Fellow, Fernando Henrique Cardoso Institute, and Fundação Armando Alvares Penteado, (FAAP), São Paulo, Brazil
April-May 2006	Visiting Fellow, Latin American Social Science Faculty (FLACSO), Santiago, Chile
January 2008-present	Non-resident Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE RESPONSIBILITIES (Selected)

- Chairman, Committee on Admissions and Financial Aid, School of International Relations 1985-86; 1986-87
- Member, Pew Advisory Committee, Center for International Studies, 1986-87, 1987-88
- Member, Advisory Committee on Selection of New Dean for Letters, Arts, and Sciences, 1986
- Chairman, University-wide Committee on Investments and Social Responsibility, 1986-1989
- Member, Committee on Libraries, 1986-1989
- Member, Search Committee, Department of History, 1986
- Member, Advisory Committee, Program on International Journalism, School of Journalism, 1986-present
- Chairman, Task Force on Strengthening the PhD Program, School of International Relations, 1989
- Member, University-wide Committee on Appointments, Promotion and Tenure, 1989
- Member, All-University Phi Kappa Phi Faculty Awards Committee 1989-90
- Member, Advisory Committee, Center for International Studies, 1987-88, 1990-91
- Chairman, Committee on Placement, Internships and Alumni Relations, School of International Relations, 1987-88, 1991-92
- Member, Search Committee, Dean of Social Sciences and Communications, LAS, 1991-92
- Co-Chair, Southern California Workshop on Political and Economic Liberalization, 1992-93; chair, 1995-96
- Member, Advisory Board, International Business Education and Research Program (IBEAR), 1992-present
- Participant, Boeckman Center for Latin American Studies, 1992-present
- Member, Search Committees, School of International Relations, 1992-93 and most subsequent years

- Member, Advisory Board, Social Science Research Institute, 1993-1998
- Member, Advisory Board, Program in International Journalism, 1993-1997
- Member, Academic Senate, Regional Studies Program, 1993-present
- Member, Ad Hoc Group on International Education, 1993-present
- Chair, Selection Committee for Provost's Initiative on Latin American and Asia Experts, 1996-99
- Fellow, Southern California Studies Center, 1995-1999
- Member, numerous committees at the School of International Relations, most recently on Development, on College Initiative, and on Public Diplomacy Search (joint with Annenberg).
- Member, Faculty Advisory Council, Center for Public Diplomacy, Annenberg School of Communication
- Member, Advisory Board of Levan Institute for Humanities and Ethics

EDITORIAL BOARDS

New Perspectives Quarterly, Hemisphere, Hemisfile (1984-2000), Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs (1980-1997), International Security (1977-1985), The Wilson Quarterly (1977-1983), Center for US-Mexico Studies, University of California, San Diego (1988-1995), Revista de Humanidades: Tecnológico de Monterrey (1999-present), and Revista de Economia Relações Internacionais in São Paulo, Brazil (2006-present).

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Member: Council on Foreign Relations, Pacific Council on International Policy, International Institute of Strategic Studies, American Political Science Association, Latin American Studies Association, International Political Science Association, National Committee on United States-China Relations, US-Asia Council.

LECTURES

Lectures at numerous institutions in the United States, including University of Arizona, University of Arkansas, Brandeis, Brown, University of California (Berkeley), UCLA,

University of California (Irvine), University of California (Riverside), University of California (San Diego), Claremont, Colorado College, Columbia, Dartmouth, Dayton, Denver, Duke, Florida, Florida International, Georgetown, George Washington, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Miami (FL), Miami of Ohio, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Carolina Central, Oberlin, Occidental, University of Oklahoma, University of the Pacific, Pennsylvania, Princeton, SAIS, San Diego State, University of South Florida, St. Olafs, Stanford, Swarthmore, Tufts, Vanderbilt, Vassar, Washington University of St. Louis, West Georgia College, Whittier, Yale, and other colleges and universities; Armed Forces Staff College, National War College, Western Hemisphere Security Institute and Inter-American Defense College; Foreign Service Institute; City Bar Association, New York; Inter-American Bar Foundation, Washington; National Association of Foreign Student Advisers; Inter-Action; Keynote Speaker, Business International Conference in Latin America; BusinessWeek Forum of CFOs; luncheon address, CFO meeting, Institutional Investor; Mexican Institute of Financial Executives (Monterrey, Mexico); presentations at American Airlines, IBM Corporate Headquarters, Chase Manhattan Bank, Esso Inter-America, The Capital Group, Wells Fargo Bank and other corporations; Americas Society (New York); Carnegie Endowment; Council on Religion and International Affairs; Foreign Policy Association; Institute of Policy Studies; The Conference Board; The American Society of International Law; Brookings Institution, American Friends Service Committee; American Association of University Women; Committees on Foreign Relations and World Affairs Councils in Albuquerque, Austin, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Des Moines, Detroit, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, Omaha, Palm Springs, Phoenix, Portland, Salt Lake City, San Antonio, San Jose, Santa Barbara, Seattle, St. Louis, and Tucson; meetings of the Society of International Business Fellows in Charlotte, Dallas, and Nashville; Institute of the Americas (La Jolla); Public Policy Institute of California; and many other such organizations; as well as various institutions abroad, including Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Latin America Institute, Moscow; El Colegio de Mexico, University of the West Indies; Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and CEPEI (Lima); CIEPLAN, Consejo Chileno de Relaciones Internacionales and FLACSO, (Santiago); INTAL and CARI Buenos Aires); CEBRAP, FAAP and University of São Paulo (São Paulo); FLACSO and CORDES (Quito); Simon Bolivar University (Caracas); EAFIT (Medellín, Colombia); University of Havana; SELA (Havana); FUNGLODE, Santo Domingo; Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Royal Institute of International Affairs (London); Oxford, Cambridge, University of London; German Association of Latin American Studies; Ortega y Gasset Institute (Madrid); Sophia University and International House of Japan (Tokyo); Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO); Hong Kong Forum; University of British Columbia (Vancouver); and many others.

CONGRESSIONAL AND OTHER TESTIMONY

Testified in the House or the Senate in 1973, 1975, 1976, 1977 (twice), 1981, 1982 (twice), 1983, 1985, 1988, 1990, 1991 and 1997, on issues such as Panama Canal, Central American crisis, Caribbean development, U.S. interests in Latin America, and U.S. policy regarding Latin American democracy.

Testified before the California Assembly on “Maintaining California’s Mexican Connection” (1999).

INTERVIEWS

Frequently interviewed by radio, television and press from the United States, many countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

CONFERENCES, MEETINGS, AND SEMINARS

Papers presented at American Political Science Association, Latin American Studies Association, International Studies Association, Caribbean Studies Association, and Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society. Participant in conferences in China, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Spain, Sweden, the Soviet Union, Taiwan and the United Kingdom, as well as numerous conferences in the United States and throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.

Chaired numerous seminars, conferences and meetings including the Faculty Colloquium on National Development at Princeton University (1972-75); the Peru Seminar at the Center for Inter-American Relations, New York (1973); various study groups at the Council on Foreign Relations, New York; the Inaugural Conference at the Institute of the Americas, La Jolla, California, (November, 1984); the conference on "Brazil in a New World" of the Inter-American Dialogue (December 1992); the West Coast Conference on "American Foreign Policy in the Clinton Era" held at USC (April 1993); a four-part series on Mexico under the auspices of the USC Center for International Studies and its California-Mexico project (February-April 1994); the Democratic Governance in the Americas conference at the Kellogg Institute at Notre Dame (April-May 1994); and the Inter-American Dialogue’s project and conference on Democratic Governance (September 1994). I also organized the substantive program for the Western States Treasurers Association (October 1993); and chaired the plenary session of the conference of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) in Santiago, Chile on “Prospects for Transpacific Partnership” (September 1997). From 1995-2005, I chaired numerous workshops and panels of the Pacific Council. Since July 2005 I have participated in a number of conferences and workshops in the United States, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Mexico, Peru, Spain and the United Kingdom.

TRAVEL

Caribbean area (Dominican Republic, Cuba, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, Grenada, St. Vincent, Antigua, and Guyana), Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela; Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, England, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Israel, Italy, Kenya, Luxembourg, Poland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, the Soviet Union (Russia); Japan, Korea, People's Republic of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

RESEARCH PROJECT DIRECTOR

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1974-1975 | Research project on "The Conduct of Routine Relations", Commission on the Organization of Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy |
| 1976-1977 | Research Project on "Conflict and Cooperation in the Americas", Department of State |
| 1980-1985 | "The United States and Latin America", Twentieth Century Fund |
| 1986-1989 | The United States and Democracy in Latin America", World Peace Foundation, Social Science Research Council/American Council of Learned Societies |
| 1990-1992 | "The California-Mexico Connection", John Randolph and Dora Haynes Foundation; William & Flora Hewlett Foundation; James Irvine Foundation |
| 1990-1993 | "Latin America and the Changing International Context", The Pew Charitable Trusts |
| 1992-1994 | "Political and Economic Liberalization in Latin America", USC/CIS with support from the North-South Center, University of Miami and the Ford Foundation |
| 1998-1999 | "Mexico's Transformations", Pacific Council Study Group, with support from the Ford Foundation and many corporate sources |
| 1998-1999 | "Managing California's Mexico Connection", Pacific Council Task Force |
| 1999-2002 | "Latin America and the United States at the Century's Turn" |

- 1999-2005 “California’s Global Connections, Challenges and Opportunities”, funding from USC’s Southern California Studies Center (from Irvine Foundation grant), Public Policy Institute of California, the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, and the School of International Relations and Center for International Studies, USC.
- 2005-present "The Craft of Think Tank Institution Building: Working at the Nexus Between Thought and Action," funding from Rockefeller Brothers Fund, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, John Templeton Foundation, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and School of International Relations, USC.
- Jan 2008-2010 “Rethinking US Policies and Relationships in the Americas,” funding from the Ford Foundation and Brookings Institution.

FUNDRAISING

In connection with my responsibilities at the Council on Foreign Relations, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Inter-American Dialogue, University of Southern California and the Pacific Council on International Policy, I have secured considerably more than \$15 million in grants, other than those to support my personal research, from foundations, corporations, individuals, governments and international organizations. Among the foundations from which I have secured grants (in many cases multiple grants) are, in alphabetical order:

The Ahmanson Foundation	William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
The Andrew Mellon Foundation	Conrad N. Hilton Foundation
The Asia Foundation	James Irvine Foundation
The Benton Foundation	John D. and Catherine T. Mac Arthur Foundation
Carnegie Corporation of New York	The Joyce Foundation
The Claire Giannini Fund	The North-South Center, University of Miami
The Edgerton Foundation	The Ralph M. Parsons Foundation
The Exxon-Mobil Foundation	The Pew Charitable Trusts
The Ford Foundation	Rockefeller Brothers Fund
The Freeman Foundation	The Rockefeller Foundation
The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation	The Stanley Foundation
General Service Foundation	The John Templeton Foundation
The J. Paul Getty Trust	The Tinker Foundation
German Marshall Fund of the United States	The World Peace Foundation
John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation	

CONSULTING

- June 1974-December 1976, Special Consultant, Commission on U.S.-Latin American Relations ("Linowitz Commission")
- Various dates, Consultant for Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Inter-American Foundation, Benton Foundation, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation; Charles F. Kettering Foundation, Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies; NBC-TV, PBS; Transnational Research Corporation, The Futures Group, etc.

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

Single-authored volumes

- The Dominican Intervention (Harvard University Press, 1972). Published in Spanish (El Desatino Americano) in Santo Domingo in 1977. Reissued in paperback (with a new preface) by Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.
- Partners in Conflict: The United States and Latin America (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987). Second hard cover edition published in November 1987. Revised edition published in paperback in March 1988.
- Partners in Conflict: The United States and Latin America in the 1990s (rev. ed., 1990, Johns Hopkins University Press). Spanish language version, La Convivencia Imperfecta: Los Estados Unidos y America Latina, (Mexico: Nuevo Imagen, 1990).
- Global California: Rising to the Cosmopolitan Challenge (Stanford University Press, 2009).

Edited volumes

- Editor and Contributor, The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change Under Military Rule, (Princeton University Press, 1975).
- Co-editor (with Cynthia McClintock) and contributor, The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered, (Princeton University Press, 1983). Published in Spanish in Peru in 1985.
- Editor and Contributor, Armies and Politics in Latin America, (Holmes and Meier, 1976).

- Co-editor (with J.S. Fitch) and contributor of second and completely revised edition, 1986.
- Editor and Contributor, Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record, Volume V (Holmes & Meier, January 1988).
 - Co-editor and Contributor, Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record, Volume VI (Holmes & Meier, April 1989).
 - Editor and Contributor, Exporting Democracy: the United States and Latin America, (Johns Hopkins, 1991).
 - Co-editor (with Katrina Burgess) and Contributor, The California-Mexico Connection, (Stanford University Press, 1993). Published in Spanish by Siglo XXI in Mexico in 1995.
 - Co-editor (with Gregory F. Treverton) and Contributor, Latin America in a New World, (Westview Press, 1994). Published in Spanish by Fondo de Cultura Economica in Mexico in 1996.
 - Co-editor (with Jorge I. Dominguez) Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the mid 1990s (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
 - Co-editor (with Theodore J. Piccone and Laurence Whitehead) and Contributor, The Obama Administration and the Americas: Agenda for Change (Brookings Institution Press, 2009).
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Book Reviews

Reviewer of all books on Latin America for Foreign Affairs, 1988-1993.

Book reviews in American Political Science Review, New York Times Sunday Book Review, Los Angeles Times Sunday Book Review, Political Science Quarterly, Hispanic American Historical Review, Chronicle of Higher Education, Commonweal, Foreign Affairs en Español, Journal of Cold War Studies and other publications.

Current Research

I am currently doing research for a book project on “Rethinking U.S. Interests, Policies and Relations in the Americas,” being prepared for the Brookings Institution with support from a Ford Foundation grant. In conjunction with this project, I have spent some nine months in Latin America and the Caribbean since March 2006, conducting more than 180 interviews in 27 cities of 15 countries.

I have also done some 130 interviews for a project on “The Craft of Think Tank Institution Building: Working at the Nexus Between Thought and Action.” This project has been supported by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and John Templeton Foundation.

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