

TERRY LYNN KARL

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EDUCATION AND DEGREES

Doctor of Humane Letters, *honoris causa*, for human rights, University of San Francisco, 2005.
Ph.D. with Distinction, Political Science, Stanford University, 1982.
M.A., Political Science, Stanford University, 1976.
B.A. with Honors, Humanities Special Programs, Stanford University, 1970.

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Gildred Professor of Latin American Studies, Stanford University.
Professor of Political Science, Stanford University.
William R. and Gretchen Kimball University Fellow in for Excellence in Teaching.
Senior Fellow, Freeman and Spogli Institute of International Studies, Stanford University.
Director, Center for Latin American Studies, Stanford University. 1990-2002.
Visiting Professor, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, 2002-2003.
Visiting Professor, Instituto Juan March, Madrid, Spain, September-December 2000.
Visiting Scholar, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa, January-March 1997.
Visiting Professor, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, January-June 1997.
Visiting Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 1984-1985.
Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1982-1985.
Research Associate, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1981-1985.
Instructor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 1980.
Research Associate, CENDES, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1977-1979.
Instructor, Merrill College, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1977.

FIELDS OF INTEREST

Comparative Politics, especially comparative democratization, transitions from authoritarian rule, and human rights in all regions. Latin America Politics, especially El Salvador, Central America and Venezuela. African Politics, especially West Africa and South Africa.

Political Economy of Development, especially in oil-exporting countries in all regions, with emphasis on the relationship between natural resources, development and conflict.

International Relations, with emphasis on the resolution of civil wars, the global politics of human rights, the global politics of oil, and U.S foreign policy towards the developing world.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

South Africa, 2004, 2003, 1999, 1997.

Central and West Africa, including Chad, Cameroon, Republic of Congo, and Democratic Republic of Congo, 2002.

Central America: 2002, 2001, 1998, 1997, 1996, 1995, 1994, 1993, 1992, 1990, 1988, 1987, 1985, 1984, 1983, 1981.

Hungary, 2001.

Spain, 2001, 2000.

Venezuela: 2001, 1999, 1992, 1983, 1977-1979.

Cuba: 2001, 2000, 1999, 1997, 1996, 1994, 1975.

Mexico: 1995, 1994, 1992, 1989, 1988, 1981.

Chile: 1990.

COURSES OFFERED

Graduate:

Classics in Comparative Politics
The Political Economy of Development
Comparative Democratization
Advanced Research Seminar on Comparative Politics
Latin America in Comparative Perspective

Undergraduate:

The Global Politics of Human Rights
The Political Economy of Development
The Politics of Oil-Exporting Nations
Central American Politics

International:

Workshops on democratization and/or human rights conducted in Chile, El Salvador, Cuba, South Africa and Cameroon.

FELLOWSHIPS, HONORS AND PRIZES

For Specific Publications:

Conference named after *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States*, Oslo, Norway, 2000.

Bryce Wood Book Award for the Outstanding Book on Latin America in the Social Sciences and the Humanities, First Honorable Mention, Latin American Studies Association, September 25, 1998.

"Twelve Stars Prize" from the European Union for multi-authored book, The Limits of Competition, 1995.

For Teaching:

Appointed William R. and Gretchen Kimball University Fellow in recognition of role as "exceptional intellectual and scholarly mentor of students," 2002 to the present.

Commencement Speaker for the Senior Class of 2004, chosen by the class, Stanford University, June 2004.

Outstanding Departmental Advising Award in Recognition of an Exceptional and Dedicated Undergraduate Advising Program, presented to Latin American Studies by the President of the University, 1998-1999.

Walter J. Gores Prize for Excellence in Graduate and Undergraduate Teaching, Stanford University's Highest University Prize, 1997.

Alan Cox Medal for Faculty Excellence Fostering Undergraduate Research, 1994.

Stanford University Dean's Award for Excellence in Teaching, 1988-1989.

Radcliffe/Harvard Mentorship Award for Excellence in Teaching, 1983.

For Service:

Doctor of Humane Letters, *honoris causa*, in recognition of pro bono work in the field of human rights, University of San Francisco. Commencement Address, College of Arts and Sciences, University of San Francisco, May 20, 2005.

Order of Rio Branco, conferred by the President and Foreign Minister of the Republic of Brazil in Recognition of Service to Latin America, 1997.

For Research:

Appointed the Gildred Professor of Latin American Studies, 2004.

Schink Gift for Research and Activities on Human Rights and Democratization, 2004, 2005.

POSCO Visiting Fellowship, East-West Center, 2004.

Rockefeller Foundation, (with Mary Kaldor, London School of Economics).2001-2002.

Ford Foundation,(with Mary Kaldor, London School of Economics), 2001-2002.

Shaler Adams Foundations, 2000 , 2001, 2002, 2003.

United States Institute for Peace Grant, April 1997-1998.

MacArthur Research and Writing Grant, 1997-1999.

Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa, 1997.

Schink Gift for Research and Activities on Human Rights and Democratization, 1994.

North-South Center, University of Miami, Grant for "Resolving Civil Conflicts: Lessons from El Salvador," 1993.

Office of Technology Licensing of Stanford University, Grant for "Global Democratization and Its Consequences," 1992.

Faculty Undergraduate Research Award, Undergraduate Research Opportunities, Stanford University, 1992.

Ford Foundation, Grant for "Workshop on Democratization in Latin America," held in Santiago, Chile, summer 1991.

Tinker Grant, Committee of Latin American and Iberian Studies, Harvard University, 1984.

Council on Foreign Relations International Fellowship, awarded 1982 but declined.

Tinker Grant, Committee of Latin American and Iberian Studies, Harvard University, 1981.

Harvard Faculty Research Grant, 1981.

Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Research Support, 1981.

Institute for the Study of World Politics Grant, 1980.

Social Science Research Council Dissertation Award and Write-Up Grant, 1977-1979.

Fulbright-Hays Fellowship, 1977-1979.

Doherty Dissertation Fellowship, 1977

Tinker Grant, Committee of Latin American Studies Award, Stanford University, 1976.

Stanford University Fellowship, 1975-1977.

WORK IN PROGRESS/FORTHCOMING

Trials and Truth, working title of a planned book on the lessons from my participation as an expert witness in a series of trials of war criminals, held in the U.S. from 2001-2005.

“The Political Challenges of Escaping the Resource Curse,” in Joseph Stiglitz and Jeffrey Sachs, eds., *Escaping the Resource Curse: Optimal Strategies and Best Practices for Oil and Gas Exporting Developing Countries*, commissioned by the Earth Institute and the Initiative for Policy Dialogue of Columbia University and the Open Society Institute.

“New and Old Oil Wars,” (with Mary Kaldor and Yahia Said), forthcoming from Pluto Press, 2006.

“Oil, Conflict and Integration: Towards an Anthropology of Oil,” in Steve Reyna and Gunther Schlee, Max Planck Institute of Social Anthropology, Haale/Saale, Germany, article length.

“What we know about building democracies,” paper commissioned by the UN Department of Political Affairs, Peacekeeping Operations and UNDP, article length.

“Political Transitions,” in Carlos Boix and Susan Stokes, eds., *Handbook of Comparative Politics*, article length.

Preface and Postscript for Spanish translation of *The Paradox of Plenty*.

PUBLICATIONS

Books and Monographs:

Bottom of the Barrel: Africa's Oil Boom and the Poor (co-authored with Ian Gary). Catholic Relief Services Press. 2003 and www.catholicrelief.org/africanoil.cfm. 103 pages.

- French translation, 2003 and Portuguese translation, 2004.
- Over 150,000 copies disseminated, including in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Sudan and other countries.
- Reviewed or covered extensively from *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *Times of London*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Le Monde*, *Oil and Gas Journal*, *BBC World Service*, *CNN International*, *National Public Radio*, etc.

The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997: 342 pages.

- Awarded Bryce Woods Prize for the Outstanding Book on Latin America in the Social Sciences and the Humanities, First Honorable Mention, Latin American Studies Association, 1998.
- Spanish Edition forthcoming with new chapter

The Limits to Competition (Co-authored with members of the Group of Lisbon of the European Commission). Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1995: 225 pages.

- Awarded the "12 Stars Environmental Prize" from the European Union (EEC).
- German Edition, Luchterhand, 1997, Portuguese: Limites a Competição. Lisboa: Publicações Europa-America, 1995, second edition 1997, French (versions in French-Quebec, French-Belgium, and French-France): Limites a la Competitivite. Quebec: Boreal, 1995, Italian: I Limiti della Competitivita. Roma: Manifestolibri, 1995, Dutch: Grenzen aan de Concurrentie. Brussel: VUBPress, 1994, Other translations in Spanish, Japanese, Swedish, Polish, Chinese and Arabic.

Journal Articles and Book Chapters:

"From Democracy to Democratization and Back," in Colin Crouch and Wolfgang Streck (eds.), *A Diversity of Democracy: In Honor of Philippe C. Schmitter*, London: Elsevier, forthcoming 2006.

"Understanding the Resource Curse," in Svetlana Tsalik and Anya Schriffin (eds.), *Covering Oil: A Guide to Energy and Development*. New York: Open Society Institute, 2005.

"The Social and Political Consequences of Oil," Cutler Cleveland, ed., *Encyclopedia of Energy*. San Diego: Elsevier, 2004.

"The Vicious Cycle of Inequality in Latin America," in Susan Eva Eckstein and Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, (eds.), *What Justice? Whose Justice?*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

“Not on Your Vita:” The Relevance of Comparative Politics for Public Life, (*American Political Science Association/Comparative Politics* Vol 14, No. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 14-19.

“Accident or Intent? Reneging on Democratic Promotion in Venezuela,” *British Journal of Latin American Studies*, 2003.

“Democracia, Desarrollo, y Estado de Derecho,” Compiladores: Osvaldo Iazzetta, Guillermo O’Donnell y Jorge Vargas-Cullell, *Democracia, desarrollo humano y ciudadanía*. (Argentina: editorial Homo Sapiens, en coauspicio con el Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD), 2003.

“The Nature of the Political Transition in El Salvador: Advances and Setbacks in Democratic Consolidation: A Comment,” in Cynthia Arnson, ed., *El Salvador’s Democratic Transition Ten Years After the Peace Accord*,” Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Reports on the Americas, NO.6, 2003.

“Comparing Modes of Transition to Democracy Between the East and the South,” (with Philippe Schmitter), *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 2, Issue 1, April 2002.

“Democratic Governance for Human Development,” and “Deepening Democracy by Tackling Democratic Deficits,” *United Nations Development Report 2002*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. (multi-authored manuscript: wrote portions of chapters 2 and 3).

“Economic Inequality and Democratic Instability,” *Journal of Democracy*_11, no.1, January 2000.

“The Venezuelan Revolution of 1958,” in Jack Goldstone (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of Political Revolutions*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 2000.

"Democratization and Inequality in Latin America: Chile as a Test Case," in *From Frei to Frei*, Santiago, Chile: 2000.

“Crude Calculations: OPEC Lessons for Caspian Leaders,” in Robert Ebel and Rajan Menon, ed., *Energy and Politics in Central Asia and the Caucasus*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.

"Electoralism: Why Elections are not Democracy," in Richard Rose (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Elections*. Congressional Quarterly Books, 2000.

“The Perils of Petroleum: Reflections on *The Paradox of Plenty*,” in *Fueling the 21st Century: The New Political Economy of Energy*, special edition of *The Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 53, no. 1, fall 1999.

“War Transitions Versus Peace Transitions,” in *The Challenge of Democratic Transitions in Post-Conflict Situations*, produced by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research and the Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland, Geneva: March 1999.

“Democratization y globalizacion en America Latina: Un nuevo marco para el debate.” *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (Universidad de Costa Rica), no.81, Septiembre 1998.

“State-Building and Petro-Revenues,” in *The Geopolitics of Oil, Gas and Ecology in the Caucasus and Caspian Basin*, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, May 1998.

“How Much Inequality Can Democracy Stand? How Much Democracy Can Inequality Stand?”, in Larry Diamond and Abraham Lowenthal (eds.), *Constructing Democracy in Markets: Comparing Latin America and Asia*. Washington, D.C.: International Forum for Democratic Studies, 1996.

“Democratization Around the Globe: Opportunities and Risks,(with Philippe Schmitter), in Kenneth P. Jameson and Charles K. Wilber (eds.), *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*, Sixth ed. McGraw Hill, 1996.

Also published in Michael T. Klare and Daniel C. Thomas (eds.), *World Security: Challenges for a New Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994: 43-62.

"From an Iron Curtain of Coercion to a Paper Curtain of Concepts: Grounding Transitologists or Confining Students of Post-Communism?"(with Philippe Schmitter), *Slavic Review* 54, no.4 (Winter 1995).

“Comparing Neo-Democracies: Origins, Trajectories, and Outcomes,” (with Philippe Schmitter), in Leslie Elliott Armijo (ed.), *Conversations About Democratization and Economic Reform: Working Papers of the Southern California Seminar*. University of Miami: North-South Center, 1995.

"Democracy in Central America," in Seymour M. Lipset et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*. Washington: Library of Congress, Congressional Quarterly Books, 1995.

"Rómulo Betancourt" and "Oscar Arias," in Seymour Martin Lipset et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*. Washington: Library of Congress, Congressional Quarterly Books, 1995.

"Democracy in Venezuela," in Seymour Martin Lipset et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Congressional Quarterly Books, 1995.

"Modes of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe," (with Philippe Schmitter), in Geoffrey Pridham (ed.), *Transitions to Democracy: Comparative Perspectives from Southern Europe, Latin America and Eastern Europe*. Aldershot, England: Dartmouth, 1995: 153-172.

"The Hybrid Regimes of Central America," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 3 (July 1995).

Also published in Project Latin America 2000, Kellogg Institute series, Working Paper #5 (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1994).

"Los modelos de democracia emergentes en la Europa meridional y del Este y en la América del Sur y Central," (with Philippe Schmitter), *Cuadernos de la Cátedra Fadrique Furio Ceriol* (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 1994): 21-43.

"The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far East Should They Attempt to Go?" (with Philippe Schmitter), *Slavic Review* 53, no. 1, (Spring 1994).

"The Venezuelan Petro-State and the Crisis of "Its" Democracy," in Jennifer McCoy et al. (eds.), *Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress*. New Brunswick: Transaction Press, 1994.

"Mi A Demokrácia Es Mi Nem?," (with Philippe Schmitter), *Beszélő, Új folyam IV. évfolyam* 11. szám, 1993.

"What Democracy Is... and Is Not," (with Philippe Schmitter), in Marc F. Plattner and Larry Diamond, (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Also published in Geoffrey Pridham, *Transitions to Democracy: Comparative Perspectives from Southern Europe, Latin America and Eastern Europe*. Aldershot, England: Dartmouth Press, 1995: 3-16.

"Hegemons and Political Entrepreneurs: Democratization and Cooperation in the Americas," in Clark Reynolds, Stephen Krasner and Philippe Schmitter (eds.), *The Political Economy of Interdependence in the Americas*.

"El Salvador's Negotiated Revolution," *Foreign Affairs* 71, no. 2 (Spring 1992).

"La revolución negociada de El Salvador," 9, núm. 32 (Argentina FLACSO, Abril 1992).
América Latina Internacional

"What Kinds of Democracies are Emerging in South America, Central America, Southern Europe and Eastern Europe?," (with Philippe Schmitter), in Peter Volten (ed.), *Bound to Change: Consolidating Democracy in Central Europe*. New York: IEWSS, 1992: 42-68.

"What Democracy Is... And Is Not," (with Philippe Schmitter), *Journal of Democracy* (Summer 1991): 75-89.

Also published as "Qué es y no es la democracia?," *Sistema* (Madrid), no. 116 (Septiembre 1993): 17-30. (See also book chapters).

"Modes of Transition in Southern and Eastern Europe and South and Central America," (with Philippe Schmitter), *International Social Science Journal*, no. 128, (1991): 269-284.

Also published as "Les Modes de transition en Amérique Latine, en Europe du Sud et de l'Est," *Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales*, (Mai 1991), and "Modos de Transición en Europa del Sur, Europa del Este y América Latina," *Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales*, (mayo, 1991).

"Central America at the End of the Cold War," in George W. Breslauer, Harry Kreisler, and Benjamin Ward (eds.), *Beyond the Cold War*. Berkeley: Institute of International and Area Studies, University of California, 1991.

"Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," in Dankwart Rustow and Kenneth Paul Erickson (eds.), *Comparative Political Dynamics: Global Research Perspectives*. New York: Harper Collins, 1991: 163-192.

Also published in Geoffrey Pridham (ed.), *Transitions to Democracy: Comparative Perspectives from Southern Europe, Latin America, and Eastern Europe*. Aldershot, England: Dartmouth, 1995. 271-293.

Also published in Roderic Ai Camp (ed.), *Democracy and Development in Latin America: Patterns and Cycles*. Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1996: 21-46.

"Dilemas de la democratización en América Latina," in Julio Cotler (ed.), *Estrategias para el desarrollo de la democracia: En Perú y América Latina*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1991.

Also published as "Dilemas de la democratización en América Latina," in Calos Barba Solano, José Luis Barrios Horcasitas, Javier Hurtado (eds.), *Transiciones a la Democracia en Europa y América Latina*. Mexico: Grupo Editorial Miguel Angel Porrúa, 1991.

"Getting to Democracy: A Research Perspective," in *The Transition to Democracy: Proceedings of a Workshop*. National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences, National Academy Press: Washington, D.C., 1991: 29-40.

"Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics*, 23, no. 1, (October 1990): 1-23.

This article was originally presented to the conference "Latin America at the Threshold of the 1990s," sponsored by the Institute of Latin America of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Ford Foundation, Beijing, Peoples Republic of China, June 8-16, 1988. It is published in Chinese, 35 pages.

Also published as "Dilemas de democratización en América Latina," *Foro Internacional* Vol. XXXI, (enero-marzo, 1991).

"El Salvador at the Crossroads: Negotiations or Total War: Interview with Salvador Samayoa," *World Policy Journal* (April 1989): 321-355.

"Hegemonistas y empresarios políticos: dependencia, democratización y cooperación en las Américas," *Estudios Internacionales* num. 22 (abril, 1989): 183-223.

Also published as "Hégemonistes et entrepreneurs politiques: dépendance, démocratisation et coopération dans les Amériques," *Etudes Internationales* 86, (avril, 1989).

"The Christian Democratic Party and the Prospects for Democratization in El Salvador," in Jan Flora & Edelberto Torres Rivas, (eds.), *The Sociology of Developing Societies: Central America*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989: 140-164.

"Exporting Democracy: U.S. Electoral Policy in El Salvador," in Nora Hamilton et al. (eds.), *Crisis in Central America: Regional Dynamics and U.S. Policy in the 1980s*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1988: 173-192.

Forging Peace: The Challenge of Central America,₂ (prepared first draft of manuscript with principal author Richard R. Fagen). Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987: 161 pages.

"Petroleum and Political Pacts," *Latin American Research Review* (January 1987): 63-94.

"La Palma and Ayaguayo: Brief Peaceful Encounters in a Long Civil War," in Marvin Gettleman et al. (eds.), *El Salvador: Central America in the Cold War*. New York: Grove Press, 1986: 404-434.

"Imposing Consent: Electoralism Versus Democratization in El Salvador" in Paul Drake and Eduardo Silva (eds.), *Elections in Latin America*. University of California, San Diego, 1986: 9-36.

"Regional Powers and Central American Peace: Mexico, Venezuela, and the Contadora Initiative," in Morris Blachman, William LeoGrande, and Kenneth Sharpe, (eds.), *Confronting Revolution: Security Through Diplomacy in Central America*. New York: Pantheon Press, 1986: 271-291.

"The Logics of Hegemony: The United States as a Superpower in Central America," (with Richard R. Fagen), in Jan Triska (ed.), *Dominant Powers and Subordinate States: The United States in Latin America and the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe*. North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1986: 218-238.

"El Salvador after La Palma," Debate With Edward Herman, *World Policy Journal* (Summer 1985): 587-592.

"After La Palma: Christian Democracy, U.S. Policy, and the Prospects for Democratization in El Salvador," *World Policy Journal* (Winter, 1985): 305-330.

"Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela," in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

"Democracy by Design: The Christian Democratic Party in El Salvador," in Giuseppe DiPalma and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *The Central American Impasse* (London: Croom Helm Publishers, 1985: 305-330.

"La Reforme des entreprises d'état au Venezuela," *Problèmes Amérique Latine* (Paris: Documentacion Française, 1981): 40 pages.

"La administración Carter y las relaciones Venezuela/Estados Unidos," (with Arturo Borja), *Carter y América Latina* (México: Cuadernos Semestrales, Estados Unidos, Perspectiva Latinoamericana, CIDE, 1978): 213-232.

"Venezuela in Contemporary International Affairs," *The Monthly Report* (Special Edition, Caracas: 1978): 12-30.

"Work Incentives in Cuba," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol.II, No. 7.4 (Summer 1975): 21-41.

Legal Publications and Briefs:

Romagoza et al. v. Generals Garcia and Vides Casanova. Expert Witness Legal Brief and Expert Testimony on equitable tolling of the statute of limitations, holding that the statute of limitation should not begin to toll at least until the signing of the peace agreements in 1992 or until other signs of regime change. No. 02-14427, Docket NO. 99-08364 When the Court of Appeals reversed its former ruling and accepted this date for equitable tolling, this was called by *New York Times and Miami Herald* an "unprecedented reversal" of the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals and a major human rights ruling, January 2006.

Chavez et al. v. Colonel Carranza. Expert Witness Legal Brief and Testimony for civil action, holding that former Vice Minister of Defense and Director General of the Treasury Police is responsible for gross and systematic violations of human rights, including murder and torture, committed between 1979-1983. First jury finding of "crimes against humanity" in a command responsibility trial in the U.S., Memphis, Tennessee, 2005.

Doe v. Saravia. Expert Witness Legal Brief and Testimony for civil action, holding that Captain Saravia and others, including top leaders of El Salvador, conspired to murder Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero of El Salvador. One of few findings of "crimes against humanity" in U.S., Fresno, California, 2004.

Romagoza et al. v. Generals Garcia and Vides Casanova. Expert Witness Legal Brief and Testimony for civil action 99-8364, holding that former ministers of defense of El Salvador are responsible for gross and systematic violations of human rights committed between 1979-1988. First jury trial in U.S. finding liability of commanders for torture under the doctrine of command responsibility, West Palm Beach, 2002. Upheld by 11th Circuit Court of Appeals, January 2006

Colombia: The Impact of Oil Development on the U'wa People,. Expert Witness Legal Brief submitted to the Consejo del Estado, Bogota, Colombia, August 2000 in the U'wa People versus Occidental Petroleum, holding that oil exploration in U'wa territories is linked to the rise of environmental damage, human rights abuses, and corruption. 80 pages.

Temporary Haven From Unstable Conditions: The Case for the Extension of Temporary Protected Status for Salvadorans, Report to Attorney General William P. Barr, submitted with Central American Refugee Center (CARECEN), New York April 20, 1992 holding that Salvadorans should be given protected status in the United States.

"Conditions of Minors in INS Detention in South Texas," Interim Report from the Center for Latin American Studies Working Group on Children in INS Detention, (1991).

Brief prepared for *Cañas-Segovia versus Immigration and Naturalization Services*, 902 F.2d 717 (9th Cir. 1990) holding that a refusal to serve in the military for reasons of conscience may form the basis of a claim to political asylum under the 1980 Refugee Act, (currently before the U.S. Supreme Court).

Brief prepared for *Ramirez Rivas versus Immigration and Naturalization Services*, 899 F.2d 864 (9th Cir. 1990), rejects U.S. government's argument that assassination, torture and disappearance constitute legitimate governmental prosecution rather than persecution. My prepared affidavits were singled out by the 9th Circuit Court for being a central basis for rejecting the U.S. government's position.

"Civilians at Risk in El Salvador," (9th Cir. 1989). Documents country conditions in El Salvador for non-refoulement argument based on the Geneva Accords/International Law.

"Cultural Bias in the Courts" in *The Impact of Cultural Factors on Credibility in the Asylum Context*. Stanford University: A joint publication of the Stanford Law School/Immigration Legal Resource Center and the Father Moriarity Refugee Project, 1988: 35-41.

Preparation of approximately 250 affidavits for political asylum hearings for Central American refugees.

Selected Policy Publications, Reports and Opinion Pieces:

"Bush's Second Gulf Crisis," opinion piece published in *Le Figaro* (France), *L'Agef* (Switzerland), and in newspapers in Kazakhstan, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia Slovenia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Panama, China, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Taiwan, Jordan, Mali, Estonia, Sweden, etc.

"Oil and Development: The Global Record," in *Oil Change*, Foreign Policy In Focus, 2004.

"Towards a Democratic Haiti," Testimony to the United States House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services , October 7, 1994.

"Improving the Efficacy of the United Nations: Some Preliminary Lessons from Central America," Testimony prepared for the United States Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations, February 2, 1993.

"Challenges to Peace and the Electoral Process: Report of a U.S. Congressional Delegation to El Salvador, Washington, D.C., December 6, 1993.

"Death and Rebirth in El Salvador," Archbishop Romero Lecture Series, University of Notre Dame publication, March, 1991.

"El Salvador: Democracy Made in the USA," SOMA, no. 10, 1989.

"Report and Recommendation on Congressional Delegation to El Salvador," sponsored by Congressman Edward Roybal, January 16-20, 1987.

"A Hard Landing Ahead? U.S. Policy Myths in El Salvador," Report to the Inter-American Dialogue, November 1985.

Numerous editorials and opinion pieces have appeared in the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Boston Globe*, *USA Today*, *Philadelphia Enquirer*, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *San Francisco Examiner*, *St. Petersburg Times*, *Sacramento Bee*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Business Latin America*, *Reuters Washington Report*, *Newsday*.

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL TALKS, CONFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES

"Oil, Integration and Conflict," Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle, December 2004.

"From Nuremberg to Florida: Prosecuting Human Rights Abusers in the United States," Democratic Women's Forum of Greater St. Louis, November 2004.

"The Study of New Democracies in Latin America and Elsewhere: Reflections on the 25th Anniversary of the "Transitions Project" at the Woodrow Wilson Center of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C., October 1-2, 2004.

"The Rule of Law in Mexico," Stanford University, October 7-8, 2004.

"The Hazards of Petroleum Wealth: A Workshop for Reporters," Institute for Policy Dialogue and the United Nations Development Program, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the MacArthur Foundation, Lagos, Nigeria, May 7-8, 2004.

“Covering Globalization: The Hazards of the Resource Curse,” Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism and the Initiative for Policy Dialogue,” March 25-28, 2004.

“The Role of Law and Policy: Africa, the Caribbean and the United States,” Boalt Hall School of Law, University of California, Berkeley, spring symposium, March 6, 2004.

“Escaping the Resource Curse: Managing Natural Resource Revenues in Low-Income Countries,” Center on Globalization and Sustainable Development, Earth Institute of Columbia University, Open Society Institute, sponsored by George Soros, February 26, 2004.

“Reforming the School of the Americas: A Debate with the School’s Directors,” Sponsored by the President’s Office and the Law School of the University of San Francisco, February 19, 2004.

“Truth and Trials: Human Rights Trials as Vehicles for Historical Truth,” Stanford Law School,” February 18, 2004.

“Iraq Revenue Watch Meetings,” London, England, February 6, 2004.

“The World Bank’s Extractive Industries Review,” Milieudefensie, Netherlands, November 30, 2003.

“What have We Learned about Democratic Transitions: Latin America,” 19th Annual Conference of the International Political Science Association, Durban, South Africa, June 29-July 4, 2003.

“The Paradox of Plenty in Africa,” Conference on *The Earth’s Riches and the World’s Poor: Finding Answers to Problems of Economic Justice and Natural Resource Extraction*, sponsored by the Carnegie Council on Ethics, Oxfam America, and Catholic Relief Services, Washington, D.C., May 9, 2003.

“Rethinking the Resource Curse: Lessons from the Former Soviet Union,” February 12, 2004.

“Oil and Conflict,” meeting with oil companies and human rights organizations, Bellagio, Italy, Nov. 19-21, 2002.

Concepts, Assumptions and Hypotheses about Democratization: Reflections on ‘Stretching’ From South to East,” Workshop on Regime Transitions: Transitions from Communist Rule in Comparative Perspective, sponsored by the Center for Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University, Nov. 15-16, 2002.

“Oil and Human Rights in Africa,” European University Institute, Florence, Italy, October 8, 2002.

“Washington Contentious: Issues in Global and Domestic Inequality,” Workshop of the Center for Global Development and the Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, D.C., June 13, 2002.

“Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts,” International Institute for Strategic Studies, June 10, 2002.

“State Capacity and the Leading Sector of the Economy in Post-Socialist Transformations,” Central European University, Budapest, February 2002.

“African Oil: A Priority for U.S. National Security and African Development,” Washington, D.C., February 2, 2002.

“The Salvadoran Peace Agreements: The Ten Year Anniversary: Keynote in Casa de America, Madrid, Spain, April 2002.

“The Other Side of War,” European University Institute, Florence, Italy, December 3, 2001.

“The Foreign Policy Consequences of the Attack on the US,” European University Institute, Florence, Italy, Sept. 26, 2001.

Keynote speech, “Raw Materials Versus Poverty?” A Conference on the Role of the World Bank in Financing Fossil Fuel and Mining Projects, Millieudensie, Friends of the Earth, Both Ends, Amsterdam, September 12, 2001.

“The Economics of War,” sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Center and the International Peace Academy, Washington, D.C., September 10, 2001.

“Resolving Civil Conflicts in Latin America,” in *The Dispossessed in Global Perspective*, conference sponsored by the Joint Area Centers of Stanford University, June, 2001.

“Human Rights and Corporate Responsibility,” inaugural seminar of Global Dimensions at the United Nations and the London School of Economics Centre for Global Governance, June 1, 2001.

“Democracy in Africa,” Joint Berkeley-Stanford Center for African Studies, April 28, 2001.

“Colombia: A Dialogue in the Midst of Turmoil” Center for Latin American Studies, Sanford University, Feb. 27, 2001.

“Working Group on Democracy and Development,” Council on Foreign Relations, 2001.
Venezuela: alcances, limites y desafios del actual sistema politico,” Universidad de Salamanca, Spain, Nov. 16, 2000.

“Cuba in Transition:” Speech to the San Francisco Club and the Commonwealth Club, May 10, 2000.

“The Latin American Debt Crisis,” Solidarity and Justice in the Americas: Debt Relief for Developing Countries, speech to the Archdiocese of San Francisco, March 2000.

“An Overview of Threats to Democracy,” in Threats to Democracy in Latin America,” University of British Columbia, Canada, March 3-4, 2000.

“Democratization in Global Perspective,” Seminar XXI sponsored by MIT and Agencies of the U.S. Government, Dec. 1999.

“Elections and Peace,” speech and training session to the Post-Conflict Peace Building Seminar, Department of Political Affairs of the United Nations, Tarrytown, New York, December 9-11, 1999.

“State, Market and Democracy in East Asia and Latin America,” sponsored by the Institute for National Policy research of Taiwan, the National Endowment for Democracy, and the Centro de Estudios Publicos, Santiago, Chile, Nov. 11-13, 1999.

“Venezuela under President Chavez,” Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C., June 29, 1999.

“The Paradox of Plenty in the Caspian Region,” The Geopolitics of Energy Development in the Caspian Region: Regional Cooperation or Conflict?, Stanford University, May 13-15, 1999.

“Oil and Political Crisis,” Universidad Catolica Andres Bello, Caracas, Venezuela, 1999.

Senior raining Seminar on Peacemaking and Preventive Diplomacy: “Applying Lessons from the Past to Future UN Peacemaking and Peacekeeping.” Sponsored by the United nations Institute for Training and Research, Mont Pelerin, Switzerland, March 1999.

“Building Workable Cities: Local Innovation in the Americas,” Stanford University, Jan. 11, 1999.

“The Paradox of Plenty in the Caucasus and the Caspian Basin,” in The Geopolitics of Oil, Gas and Ecology in the Caucasus and the Caspian Basin, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies and the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, May 16, 1998.

“A Latin Americanist Looks at Africa,” in Crisis and Renewal in Africa: States, Markets, Law and Democracy, Emory University, November 12-14, 1998.

“Resolving Civil Conflict,” International Peace Academy, Pocantico, New York, March 1998.

“Democratic Consolidation in Comparative Perspective,” Centre for Policy Studies, Braamfontein, South Africa, February 16-17, 1998.

"Human Rights and Democratization in Central America: Are They Compatible?", Latin American Studies Association, Guadalajara, Mexico, April 17-19, 1997.

"War Transitions: Consolidating Democracy After Civil Conflict," Center for Policy Studies, Johannesburg, South Africa, 1997.

"Democracy and Inequality in Latin America," prepared for Centro de Estudios sobre América, Havana, Cuba, February 1996.

"Democracy in Eastern Europe: Lessons from Latin America," Seminar XXI of M.I.T., in conjunction with the Departments of State and Defense, Washington, D.C., December 1994, 1995, 1996.

"The Crisis of Democracy in Venezuela," Grupo Santa Lucía, San José, Costa Rica, October 9-13, 1994.

Co-Chair (with President Oscar Arias), "Imagining a Post-War Guatemala," formal talks to end the civil war in Guatemala, Presidio, October 2-4, 1994.

"Democracy's Victory and Crisis: Social and Cultural Aspects," Nobel Symposium, Upsala University, Norway August 27-30, 1994.

"Building Nations and Protecting Rights: New Roles for the United Nations," Address to the West Coast Editor's Seminar on the United Nations, Press Club of San Francisco, June 13, 1994.

"Political Asylum and the Caribbean Basin: Contemporary Country Conditions and Challenges for U.S. Immigration Policy," Speech to the Annual Meeting of U.S. Immigration Judges, Grand Hyatt Hotel, San Francisco, June 1, 1994.

"Fault Lines of Democratic Governance in the Americas," North-South Center, University of Miami, May 4-6, 1994.

"The Prospects for Democracy in Central America," Workshop on Democracy in the Americas: Approaching the Year 2000," Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, April 29-30, 1994.

"Sexual Harassment in the Academy," Washington University School of Medicine, St. Louis, April 28, 1994.

Appointment to the U.S. Mission of the United Nations to Observe the Elections in El Salvador, March-April, 1994.

"Workshop on Democratization," (Co-directed with Philippe Schmitter), Centro de Estudios de America, Havana, Cuba, January 2-10, 1994.

Nomination, Executive Director, Inter-American Development Bank, 1994.

"Prospects for Democracy in Latin America and Eastern Europe," Seminar XXI of the Department of Defense, Washington, D.C., December 7, 1990 –2006.

"The Future of Democracy in Latin America," Foreign Service Institute of the U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., December 6, 1993.

"Human Rights in Central America," World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco, November 15, 1993.

"Las Lecciones de la experiencia centroamericana para Venezuela," Grupo Santa Lucia, San Jose, Costa Rica, October 9-13, 1993.

"Reconfiguring State and Society: Social and Political Consequences of Liberalization in Comparative Perspective," Northern California Workshop, April 22-24, 1993.

"Alternatives in Latin America: A Panel of 1993-94 Presidential Candidates," Princeton University, April 16-17, 1993.

"Democratization Around the Globe," Keynote Speech to Seminar XXI Meeting for U.S. Military and Foreign Policy Personnel, Aspen Institute, Wye Conference Center, February 5-7, 1993.

Participant, Southern California Workshop on Political and Economic Liberalization, 1992-1993.

"Critical Issues of Women in Democratic Transitions," Conference on Women and Political Transitions in South America, and Eastern and Central Europe, December 3-4, 1992.

"El Agotamiento del Estado Rentista Petrolero," Conference on La Democracia Bajo Presion: Politica y Mercado en Venezuela, November 11-13, 1992.

"The Crisis of Democracy in Venezuela," Conference on Lessons of the Venezuelan Experience, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C., October 21, 1992.

"Hacia adónde van las nuevas democracias en América Latina?," Latin American Studies Association, Los Angeles, California, September 24-27, 1992.

"The Role of Congress in Foreign Policy: Challenges for the 1990s," sponsored by the Aspen Institute for the U.S. Congress, San Francisco, June 19, 1992.

"Democracy in the Third World: How Durable?," Speech to the Department of State, April 6, 1992.

"Comparative Perspectives on Democratization," Conference on Assessing Political Transitions in Europe, Henry M. Jackson School of International Relations, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, May 9, 1992.

"The Venezuelan Crisis: How Serious?" Council on Foreign Relations, April 9, 1992.

"The Transition to Democracy," National Academy of Sciences/ United States Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., October 17, 1991.

"Types of Democracy in Europe and Latin America," Coloquio Internacional sobre Transiciones a la Democracia en Europa y América Latina, Universidad de Guadalajara y FLACSO, Mexico, January 21-25, 1991.

"Central America at the End of the Cold War," Conference on Superpower Conflict and Cooperation," sponsored by the MacArthur Foundation, University of California, Berkeley, October 4-6, 1990.

"Revenues and States," Conference on Revenue Extraction and the Institutionalization of the State, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council and the University of Washington, April 27-29, 1990.

"Structural and Organizational Approaches to Institutional Analysis," Conference on Understanding the Political Economy of the NICS: Current Conceptual Debates, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego, January 5-6, 1990.

Debate with Assistant Secretary of State, Elliot Abrams, "The Application of Science Theories to Central America," Department of Defense/ Massachusetts Institute of Technology Seminar XXI for senior staff officers of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, April 1990 and April 1989.

Workshop on Democratization, Santiago, Chile (sponsored by the Ford Foundation).

Chair, Pre-Talks to End the Civil War in El Salvador, Washington, D.C., 1989 and consultant to Alvaro De Soto, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations and chair of the peace talks for El Salvador for the United Nations.

"The Future of Venezuelan Democracy," Latin American Studies Association, Puerto Rico, September 1989.

"The Conflict in Central America," Seminar XXI, held for senior staff officers of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, sponsored by Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Department of Defense, 1988.

"Latin America at the Threshold of the 1990s," Seminar on Latin America sponsored by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Ford Foundation, Beijing, June 1988.

"The United States and Latin American Democracy," School of International Relations of the University of Southern California, March 1988.

"Democracy and Political Pacts," Latin American Studies Association, New Orleans, 1988.

"Micro-Foundations of Democracy," sponsored by the Center for Ethics, Rationality and Society of the University of Chicago, November 1987.

"The Crisis in Nicaragua and El Salvador," Seminar on Central America, Joint Meeting of Social Scientists from the US and USSR, International Center for Development Policy, Washington D.C., October 1987.

"The United States and Central America," 41st Annual Asilomar Conference of the World Affairs Council, May 1987.

"Some Thoughts on Democratization in Latin America (Whose Relevance to Southern Europe are as yet Unclear)," Joint Meeting of the Social Science Research Council on Southern Europe and Latin America, University of Notre Dame, Helen Kellogg Institute, April 1987.

"Elections in El Salvador," 41st Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Anaheim, California, March 1987.

Co-Chair, Joint Berkeley/Stanford Faculty Seminar on Latin America, 1987.

"Dilemmas of Democratization," Latin American Studies Association, Boston, October, 1986.

Conference on Assessing Five Years of U.S. Policy in El Salvador, University of Southern California, February 20-22, 1986.

Conference on Democratic Consolidation in Latin America, sponsored by the Ford Foundation/Helen Kellogg Institute, Notre Dame, 1985.

"Democratization in the Caribbean Basin: A Proposal," Conference on Democratic Consolidation in Latin America, CEBRAP-Kellogg Institute, Brazil, December 16-17, 1985.

"Social Movements in Latin America," Latin American Studies Association, Albuquerque, 1985.

"The United States and Central America," Eighth Annual Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Washington, D.C., June 1985.

Democratic Party Policy Group on Central America, 1984-1985.

Latin American Policy Group for U.S. Representative Michael Barnes, Chairman, House Sub-Committee on Inter-American Affairs, 1983-1985.

"Exporting Democracy: Venezuelan Lessons for El Salvador," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1984.

"Elections and Democracy in Central America," Conference of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights/Neumann Foundation, Costa Rica, 1984.

"Oil and Politics in Latin America," Latin American Studies Association, Mexico City, 1983.

"The Paradox of the Rich Debtor: Foreign Borrowing in Oil-Exporting Countries," 1983 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1983.

"Democracy Over a Barrel: Authoritarian Responses to Oil Shocks in Venezuela and Iran," Tenth National Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D.C., March 1982.

"Project on Transitions to Democracy in Latin America and Latin Europe," sponsored by the Wilson Center of the Smithsonian Institute, 1982.

Co-chair, Latin American Seminar, sponsored by the Committee on Latin American and Iberian Studies and the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1982-1985.

Joint Harvard-Massachusetts Institute of Technology Seminar on Political Development, 1982-1984.

Harvard Faculty Seminar on Political Economy, 1982-1983.

"The Impact of Oil Booms in Latin America: Mexico and Venezuela," Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D.C., 1982.

"Policy Formulation in an Entrepreneurial State: The Reform of State Enterprises in Venezuela," National Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, April 1979

Numerous national and local radio and television appearances, including CBS, ABC, National Public Radio, Monitor News, KGO, the Voice of America, and all major local news programs.

Numerous training sessions for political asylum officers of the U.S. Immigration Service .

Note: This is an incomplete list. Talks have also been given at: University of Chicago, University of Washington, Yale University, Colombia University, University of California at Berkeley, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard University, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, University of Stockholm, University of California at San Diego, University of Southern California, Brown University, Central University of Venezuela, Catholic University of Chile, University of Guadalajara, etc.

BOARDS, CONSULTANCIES AND OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Advisory Committee and Peer Consultant, *United Nations Development Report*, 2002.

Advisory Committee, Caspian Revenue Oil Watch, Open Society Institute, 2002.

Advisory Committee, Council on Foreign Relations Domestic Politics and American Foreign Policy Project, 1994-present, (Chair, Charleyne Hunter-Gault).

Research Council, International Forum for Democratic Studies, National Endowment for Democracy, 1994-present.

Editorial Board, *Journal of Democracy*, 1999-present.

Editorial Board, *World Policy Journal*, 1987-present.

Editorial Board, *Hemisfile*, 1990-2000.

Advisory Council, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Relations, Notre Dame University, 1992-2000.

Social Science Research Council, Selection Committee, 1998, 1999.

Democracy and Governance, Consultant to Management Systems International project of the Agency for International Development, 1996.

"Group of Lisbon," Advisory Council for the European Commission, 1992-present.

Board of Directors, General Services Foundation, 1994-1997.

Board of Directors, Vesper Society, 1993-1996.

Board of Directors, CINTERANDES, 1994-1997.

Chair, Media Task Force, Latin American Studies Association, 1995 and 1993.

Consultant, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, Montreal, Canada, 1994.

Consultant, MacArthur Foundation, 1996, 1994, 1993, 1992, 1990, 1988.

Consultant, Ford Foundation, 1992, 1990 and 1988.

Visiting Committee, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Relations, Notre Dame University, 1991.

Nominating Committee, Latin American Studies Association, 1985.

Executive Board, Committee on Latin American and Iberian Studies, Harvard University, 1982-1985.

Executive Committee, New England Council on Latin American Studies, 1984

Reviewer for the following professional journals:

American Political Science Review, Comparative Politics, World Politics, Latin American Research Review, Journal of Latin American Politics, Studies in Comparative International Development , Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs.

Membership in the following:

American Association of University Women
American Political Science Association
Council on Foreign Relations
Latin American Studies Association
Society for Comparative Research
Inter-American Dialogue

LANGUAGES

Spanish: fluent

French: speaking, reading and comprehension

Italian: speaking, reading and comprehension

Portuguese: reading and comprehension

German: reading

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