

SUMMER 2025

CURRICULUM VITAE ARTURO VALENZUELA

Department of Government
Georgetown University
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EDUCATION

Columbia University, Ph.D., 1971
Fields: Political Science, Comparative Politics, European Politics, and Latin American Politics
Dissertation: "Clientelist Politics in Chile: An Analysis of Center Local Linkages"
Columbia University, M.A., 1967
Field: Political Science, Comparative Politics,
Thesis: "The Chilean Political System and the Armed Forces"
Drew University, B.A., 1965
Fields: American Politics, Religion
Honor's Thesis: "The Civil Rights Act of 1964"

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Emeritus Professor of Government and International Service
Georgetown University 2014-
Professor of Government and International Service
Georgetown University 1987-2014
Professor of Political Science
Duke University, 1983-1987
Associate Professor of Political Science
Duke University, 1976-1983
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Duke University, 1972-1976
Instructor of Political Science Duke
University, 1970-1971

ADMINISTRATIVE

Director, Center for Latin American Studies, Edmund A. Walsh School of Service, Georgetown University, 1987-2009
 Director, Council on Latin American Studies Duke University, 1979-1987
 Director of Undergraduate Studies, Political Science Department, Duke University, 1982-1985
 Director, Duke Graduate Program in Santiago Chile, Summer 1983
 Director, Office of Education Grant, Center for International Studies, Duke University, 1978-1980
 Chairman, Faculty Discrimination Grievance Committee, Duke University, 1979
 Director, Duke University Comparative Area Studies Program, 1975-1977
 Director, SSRC Collaborative Research Training Project, Chile, 1974

OTHER ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Visiting Scholar, Institut D'Etudes Politiques, Université Aix en Provence, France, November 2012
 Invited Fellow, Center for Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California, 1992 (declined to join Government Service)
 Visiting Professor, Università degli Studi di Firenze, Florence, Italy, Spring 1992
 Visiting Professor, Instituto de Ciencias Políticas, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago, Chile, May-August, 1990, July-August 1993
 Visiting Fellow, Oxford University (St. Antony's), Oxford, U.K. Trinity Term, 1985
 Visiting Scholar, Instituto de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile, June-August 1983
 Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC 1981-82 academic year
 Visiting Fellow, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Sussex, U.K., 1977-78 academic year
 Visiting Scholar, Instituto de Ciencias Políticas, Pontificia, Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago, Chile, July-December, 1974
 Visiting Researcher, Instituto de Administración (INSORA) University of Chile, Santiago, Chile 1968-69

GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, United States
Department of State, November, 2009- August, 2011

Responsible for formulating policy and managing the diplomatic relations of the United States with the countries of the Americas from Canada to Chile and Argentina. Headed the second largest bureau in the Department of State, with 29 embassies and 19 consulates and an operating budget of \$376 million for FY 2010. The Bureau had 1,800 United States foreign and civil service employees, and a locally engaged staff overseas of close to 8,000. The Bureau helped manage a foreign assistance budget of \$1.63 billion for FY 2010, not counting assistance to Haiti.

Senior Advisor Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, United States Department of State, July-November 2009

Pending Senate confirmation to the position above.

Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Inter-American Affairs
National Security Council, The White House, June, 1999- December, 2000

Advised the President and the National Security Adviser on foreign, defense, intelligence, and economic and other policy issues concerning the Western Hemisphere. Chaired Inter-Agency Executive Committee Meetings on Haiti and Colombia and numerous inter-agency meetings dealing primarily with Argentina, the Caribbean, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela. Led the process that resulted in support for Colombia, known as Plan Colombia. Member and organizer of the US Delegation to the Transfer of the Panama Canal, December 2000

J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, 1998 -1999

Attended Board meetings while awaiting Senate Confirmation. Withdrew nomination on being appointed by the President to the National Security Council in June, 1999

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, United States
Department of State, January, 1994 to August, 1996

White House appointment responsible for the formulation and

implementation of U.S. foreign policy towards Mexico. Also responsible for regional issues, including democracy, human rights, environment and immigration for Latin America and the Caribbean. Member of the interagency working group on Puerto Rico. Head of U.S. delegation to the Second International Conference on New and Restored Democracies in Managua, Nicaragua. Served as special emissary to Haiti and to Paraguay, in the aftermath of the civil-military crisis of 1996

PRIVATE SECTOR EMPLOYMENT

Senior International Policy Advisor—Latin America, Covington & Burling, LLP., Washington, D.C. Provided strategic advice, risk assessment and consulting services to U.S. and international companies with investments and operations in Latin America and Latin American clients interested in expanding or safeguarding their operations overseas, 2014-2020

CONSULTING, CORPORATE LECTURING

Consultant, Covington and Burling LLP., Part-time Senior Advisor for Latin America, Washington D.C., 2011-2013

Private Sector Consultant 1997-1999, 2001-2009:

Georgetown Analytics, Inc.; RMA International; Senior Counsel Shepardson, Stern and Kaminsky; Senior Advisor the Intelibridge Corporation; International Advisor Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer and Feld, LL. C, where clients included Time Warner, First-Energy, Disney, Choice-Point, Televisa, Conoco Phillips, Coca-Cola and other companies to resolve issues in Latin America.

Consultant, National Intelligence Council, 2001- 2009

Expert witness for Occidental Petroleum in suit against Lloyd's of London and other insurers in Los Angeles County Superior Court, 2005-2006

Foundation Consulting prior to 2009:

National Endowment for Democracy; Inter-American Foundation; Ford Foundation; Aspen Institute, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Freedom House and others.

Lecturing: Lectures to corporate groups including Colombian Banking Association; Honduran Banking Association; Association of U.S. Chambers of Commerce; U.S. Chambers of Commerce in various Latin American

countries; Latin American Institute of Iron and Steel; Latin American Free Press Association; Mexico Business Summit; Council of the Americas; Consejo Empresarial de América Latina (CEAL); World Economic Forum (WEF); Campus Excelencia (Spain); Concordia Summit (Colombia) and others.

BOARD MEMBERSHIPS-NON- PROFIT AND PHILANTHROPIC

Board Member of Ayuda en Acción, Spanish Development Agency, 2021-
 Board Member, Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson Center, 2018-
 Member, Atlantic Council Task Force on Colombia-US Relations, 2017-
 Member Board of Trustees, Santiago College, Santiago Chile, 1998-99, 2001-2009,
 2012- ; President 2022-
 Member International Advisory Group of Luminate, founded by the Omidyar
 Group, 2019-2023
 Board of Directors, National Council of La Raza (NCLR-now UNIDOS-US), 2004-2009
 Secretary of Executive Committee 2008-2009
 Member Executive Committee, 2006-2009
 Chair Policy Committee, 2006-2009
 Board of Directors, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI),
 1997- 1999, 2002-2009
 Advisory Board, Security and Peace Initiative (M. K. Albright and Gary Hart, co-
 chairs)--A joint Project of the Center for American Progress and the Century
 Foundation), 2005-2007
 Board of Trustees, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, 2002-2009
 Board of Directors, Hispanic Council for International Relations (HCIR),1997-99
 Advisory Board, Freedom House, 2002-2006
 Advisory Board, America's Watch, 1991-1994, 2002- 2009
 Advisory Board, Museum of the Americas, Washington, D.C.1998-99
 Advisory Board, GALA Hispanic Theatre, Washington, D.C. 1997-99
 National Board of Directors, Americans for Democratic Action, 1964-68
 Serving on the Board as Vice-President of the Campus Division
 of Americans for Democratic Action

BOARD MEMBERSHIPS-CORPORATE

REPSOL/YPF -International Advisory Board, Jan 2007- Dec 2007
 CORPBANCA, Chile -Board of Directors, July 2007- 2009

COMMUNITY AND PUBLIC SERVICE

Member President-Elect Obama's Transition Team (National Security Cluster—US Institute for Peace Lead), December, 2008

Member Advisory Group, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Joseph Biden, Chairman, 2001-2006

Head, Carter Center Delegation to observe national elections in the Dominican Republic, 2004

Organizer of International Consultancy Team on Electoral Reform to advise the Colombian Ministry of the Interior. Team members included: Miguel Cevallos, Josep Colomer, Arend Lijphart, Matthew Shuggart, 1998

National Council of La Raza (NCLR) International Affairs Consultant, 1997-99

Member President-Elect William J. Clinton's Transition Team (National Security Cluster-- USIA), December, 1992- January, 1993

Organizer International consultancy team on constitutional reform, Fundación Milenio, La Paz, Bolivia. Team members included Juan Linz, Bolivar Lamounier, Carlos Nino and Carina Perelli, 1991-1993

Observer Presidential Election in Haiti as special advisor to Secretary General Joao Clemente Baena Soares of the Organization of American States, 1990

Co-organizer and Co-Chair with Paul Drake of the Latin American Studies Association Delegation to Observe the Chilean Plebiscite, October, 1988

Consultant Senate Democratic Policy Committee, 1982

National Vice Chairman, Campus Division, Americans for Democratic Action, 1964-68, working closely with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and other youth organizations in support of the Civil Rights Movement and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

DISTINCTIONS, AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Orden del Mérito Civil, Spain, 2015

Member, American Academy of Diplomacy, 2014-

Special Commendation given by the Secretary General of SICA (Sistema de la Integración Centro-Americana), 2013

Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters, Drew University, 2010

Featured in the Black Book of Poder magazine as one of 50 most Influential Hispanic leaders in the United States, 2006, 2010

Order of Boyacá, Gran Cruz, Colombia, 2001

Order of the Southern Cross, Brazil, 2001

Special Service Recognition, Hispanic Council for International Relations, 2000

Named one of the 100 most influential Hispanics in the United States by *Hispanic Business*, 1999

Drew University Alumni Achievement Award, 1995
 Tinker Foundation Award, 1992-94
 Member, Council on Foreign Relations 1992-
 Howard Heinz Endowment Research Grant, 1989-90
 Fulbright Research Fellow, 1985
 Ford Foundation Awards, 1977-78, 1988-89
 Duke University Research Council Major Grants (various years)
 Social Science Research Council Grant, 1973-74
 Columbia University Traveling Fellow, 1968-69
 Fulbright-Hays Fellow, 1968-69
 N.D.E.A. Graduate Fellow, 1965-70
 Danforth Graduate Fellow, 1965-70
 Rockefeller Brothers Theological Fellow, 1965 (accepted at Yale
 Divinity and Union Theological, declined to attend Columbia
 University)
 Bachelor of Arts, Drew University, *Summa Cum Laude*, 1965

EDITORIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

International Editorial Board, *Revista Latinoamericana de Política
 Comparada*, 2010-2023
 Editorial Board, *Third World Quarterly*, 1992- 2024
 Editorial Board, *Estudios Públicos*, 2011- 2018
 Editorial Board, *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, 2006-2010
 Editorial Board, *Journal of Democracy*, 1989-99, 2002-2015
 Contributing Editor, *Current History*, 1987-2019
 International Advisory Board, *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1995-2000
 Editorial Board, *Latin American Research Review*, 2003-2006
 Associate Editor, *Latin American Research Review*,
 1979-1982
 Editorial Board, *Amérique Latine*, 1980-85
 Advisory Editor, Cambridge University Press, Latin
 American Studies Series, 1983-1992

OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES (Selected)

Membre Conseil Scientifique, Institut des Amériques, Paris, 2008-2009
 Member Latin American Studies Association Task Force on the Former
 Soviet Union, 1992-1994
 Reader- Fellows Selection Committee, Woodrow Wilson International
 Center for Scholars. 1989-1993
 Selection Committee for Latin America, Humphrey Fellows Program, USIA 1987-
 1988

Member Chile Study Group, Council on Foreign Relations, 1987
 Member Executive Council, Latin American Studies Association, 1985-1988
 Invited to present "State of the Discipline" paper in Political Science at Latin American Studies Association, International Congress, 1985
 Member, Nominations Committee Latin American Studies Association, 1977, 1985
 Parliamentarian, International Congress Annual Meetings, Latin American Studies Association, 1982-1992

COURSES TAUGHT

Graduate:

Latin American Politics and Government
 Core Graduate Seminar in Comparative Politics
 Political Economy of Development
 Research Seminar in Latin American Politics
 Seminar on the Military in Politics
 Politics of the Southern Cone
 Graduate Colloquium in Latin American Studies
 Parties, Coalitions and Stable Democracy
 The Crisis of Latin American Democracy: The Institutional Dimension
 Mexico's Transition and the U.S. Response
 U.S. Latin American Relations
 U.S. Foreign Policy Decision-Making and Latin America

Undergraduate:

Introduction to American Politics
 Introduction to Latin American Politics
 Introduction to Comparative Politics
 Seminar on Brazil and Chile
 Seminar on the Cuban Revolution
 Sophomore Seminar: Pinochet in London
 U.S. Foreign Policy Decision Making and Latin America

LANGUAGES

Native level fluency: English, Spanish, French
 Working Knowledge: Italian, Portuguese

PROFESSIONAL ACADEMIC PAPERS (Selected--Several more than once)

Universities and Research Institutions—Presentations:

Duke University, Universidad de Chile, Universidad Católica de Chile, Harvard University, Columbia University, Yale University, University of Sussex (England), University of Wisconsin, University of North Carolina, Instituto de Cooperación Ibero-Americana (Madrid), Casa de las Américas (Madrid), Escuela Asturiana de Estudios Hispánicos (Oviedo, Spain), Universidad de Salamanca (Salamanca), Centro Estudios de la Realidad Portorriqueña (Puerto Rico), Facultad Latino Americana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) (Chile), Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Center for Inter-American Affairs (New York), Instituto Latinoamericano de Doctrina y Sociedad (Santiago), Comunidad Teológica (Santiago), Centro de Estudios Públicos (Santiago), Academia de Humanismo Cristiano (Santiago), University of Notre Dame, Oxford University, University of Sussex, University of Essex, University of Manchester, University of Pennsylvania, the Johns Hopkins University, Florida International University, George Washington University, Stanford University, University of California, Berkeley, Institute for International Economy and World Affairs, Soviet Academy of Sciences (Moscow), Sofia University (Japan), University of Paris, Universidad Complutense (Madrid), University of Sao Paolo, Universidad Torcuato di Tella (Argentina), Universidad Belgrano (Argentina) University of Florence (Italy), ITAM (México), Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) (México), Colegio de México, Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos (Costa Rica), Universidad de la República (Uruguay), Universidad Ibero-Americana (México), Universidad Católica (Perú), Universidad Sao Paolo, Universidad Brasilia, Universidad del Valle (Colombia), Universidad Sergio Arboleda (Colombia) Universidad de Monterrey (México), ITESM (Monterrey, Estado de México, Distrito Federal, Tampico- México), IPADE (México), CIDE (México), Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública (Colombia), Southern Methodist University, Universidad Diego Portales (Chile), University of California San Diego, Tulane University, Dartmouth College, London School of Economics, University of Florida, University of Aix-en Provence, Aix, France.

Professional Meetings--Presentations:

American Political Science Association, Latin American Studies Association, International Studies Association, International Political Science Association, International Sociological Association, Society of Latin American Studies (England), Chilean Political Science Association (Santiago, Chile), Consortium on Comparative Legislative Studies (Carmel, California), Council on Religion and International Affairs (Washington, D.C.), Conference on Higher Civil Servants in Central Governments (Madrid, Spain), Conference on Transnationalization and Dependence (Madrid, Spain), Conference on the Breakdown of Democratic Regimes (Yale University), Study Group on Transnational Capitalism and National Development (Sussex, England), Conference on Human Rights and Development (Washington, D.C.), Conference on Authoritarianism in the Southern Cone (Yale University), Conference on "International Factors and Alternative Models of Development in Latin America" (Santiago, Chile), Conference on "Return to the Barracks" (Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, England), Workshop on Political Parties and Redemocratization (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C.), Conference on Socialist Governments in Market Economies (Princeton University), Conference on "Redemocratization and the Chilean Case" (Catholic University of Chile), Conference on "Presidencia y Parlamento en Chile," (Catholic of Chile), "Chile Study Group" (Council on Foreign Relations, New York.), Conference on "Military Rule and Political Transition in Chile (University of California, San Diego), Conference on "Perestroika and Democratization: The USSR and Latin America," IMEMO, Soviet Academy of Sciences (Moscow), Conference on "Parlamentarismo e Voto Distrital," (Brazilian Federal Senate, Brasilia), Conference on "Constitutional Reform," (Asunción, Paraguay), Conference on "Latin American Electoral Systems," (San José, Costa Rica), Workshop on "Constitutional Reform and Parliamentary Democracy," (Sao Paulo Brazil), Conference on "Democratization in Latin America," (Latin America Association, Tokyo, Japan), Conference on "Democracy and Human Rights in Peru," Institute of International Studies, Catholic University of Peru (Lima Peru), Conference on "Presidential or Parliamentary Regimes," (Department of International Relations and Political Science, University of Sao Paulo (Sao Paulo Brazil), Conference on "La Crisis de las Relaciones Internacionales de Colombia," Partido Conservador y Centro de Estudios Colombianos (Bogotá, Colombia), Conference on "Régimen Democrático y Desarrollo" Bancada Parlamentaria, Partido Acción Nacional (México, D.F.), Conference on "Continuismo o Democracia? Los Contenidos de la Transición," Bancada Parlamentaria, Partido Revolución Democrática (México, D.F.), Conference on "Evaluación

de Experiencias de Fortalecimiento de Instituciones Democráticas: El Caso de los Parlamentos,” Chilean Congress (Valparaíso, Chile), “Parlamentarismo y Presidencialismo”, Conferencia Magistral, Instituto Federal Electoral (Mexico), Círculo de Montevideo, Cuarta Reunión Plenaria, (Madrid.), Club de Madrid Plenary Sessions, Latin America in the year 2020, Workshop co-sponsored by Nueva Mayoría, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Georgetown University and the National Intelligence Council. Club de Madrid.

Lectures—Academic and Policy:

In Washington and New York at the Council on Foreign Relations, the American Academy of Diplomacy, the Council of American Ambassadors, the Washington Institute for International Affairs, the America’s Society, the Council of the Americas, the Brookings Institution, the Foreign Service Institute, the Washington Office on Latin America, the Society for International Development, the National Defense University, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Inter-American Defense College, Amnesty International, the American Bar Association, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Intelligence Council, the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Institute for Peace, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the National Women’s Democratic Club, the Library of Congress, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the Heritage Foundation, the Center for Strategic and International Studies and others. Also, the Círculo de Montevideo, the Club de Madrid, the World Economic Forum, the Mexico Business Summit, the Growth Net, the Summit of the Americas, Conferencia Empresarial de America Latina. Additional lectures at universities and think tanks in Europe, Japan, Russia, China, Canada and Latin America.

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

Chile: Politics and Society, Edited and co-authored with J. Samuel Valenzuela. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, Inc. 1975.

Political Brokers in Chile: Local Government in a Centralized Polity. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1977. A Spanish translation was published in 2016, as *Intermediarios Políticos en Chile: Gobierno Local en*

un Régimen Centralizado by Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile.

The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978. (Still in press after multiple printings.) An earlier version was published as *Il Crollo della Democrazia in Cile*, with a translation by Leonardo Morlino, Torino: Centro de Ricerca e Documentazione Luigi Einaudi, 1977. A Spanish language edition, with an introduction by Juan Linz, and a preface by Angel Flisfisch was published as *El Quiebre de la Democracia en Chile*: Santiago: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 1989. A new Spanish edition by the same title with a preface by Arturo Fontaine Talavera was published by the Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile in September 2003 on the 30th anniversary of the military coup in Chile and again in September 2013. In August, 2023 on the 50th Anniversary of the Coup in Chile, Pamela Figueroa and Peter M. Siavelis edited a new volume “*El Quiebre de la Democracia: 50 años después*” published in spanish by the Universidad de Santiago de Chile Press, based on the original version published in 1978, with contributions by Chilean and international scholars and commentaries from selected Chilean political leaders across the political spectrum.

Military Rule in Chile: Dictatorship and Opposition, Edited and co-authored with J. Samuel Valenzuela. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

Chile: Prospects for Democracy, co-authored with Mark Falcoff and Susan Kaufman Purcell. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1988.

Hacia una Democracia Moderna: La Opción Parlamentaria, co-authored with Juan J. Linz and Arend Lijphart. Santiago: Editorial de la Universidad Católica de Chile, 1990. Prologue by Oscar Godoy.

A opção parlamentarista, co-authored with Juan Linz, Arend Lijphart, Bolivar Lamounier, São Paulo: IDESP, Editora Sumaré, 1991. Prologue by Carlos Eduardo Lins da Silva.

A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet. New York: W.W. Norton, 1991. With Pamela Constable. A spanish translation, *Una Nación de Enemigos: Chile Bajo Pinochet* was published by the Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales in 2014, on the 40th anniversary of the coup d’etat in Chile.

The Failure of Presidential Democracy. 2 Volumes. Co-edited and coauthored with Juan J. Linz. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994. Volume 1 published as *Il Falimento del presidenzialismo*.

Bologna: Società editrice il Molino, 1995. Both volumes were published as *Las crisis del presidencialismo* Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1998. A Japanese edition was published by Nanso Sha Publishers, Tokyo, 2003.

Politics, Society and Democracy: Latin America. Co-edited and co-authored with Scott Mainwaring. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998.

El Cambio Político en México. México. Arturo Valenzuela, et. al. Mexico, DF: Instituto Electoral del Distrito Federal, Colección Sinergia, 2003.

Academic Articles and Chapters:

"The Scope of the Chilean Party System," *Comparative Politics*, Vol 4, No. 2 (January 1972): 179-99. A French version was published in *Problèmes Politiques et Sociaux*, No. 152-53 (December 1972). Reprinted in Jorge I. Domínguez, ed. *Essays on Mexico, Central and South America* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995.)

"Political Constraints and the Prospects for Socialism in Chile," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (August 1972): 65-82.

"Il Crollo della Democrazia in Cile," *Revista Italiana de Scienza Politica*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (April 1975): 83-129.

"Political Participation, Agriculture and Literacy: Communal Versus Provincial Voting Patterns in Chile," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (1977): 105-14.

"Visions of Chile," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. X, No. 3 (1975): 155-175. With J. Samuel Valenzuela.

"Modernization and Dependence: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment." *Comparative Politics*, Vol X, No. 4 (July 1978): 535-57. Reprinted in Jose Villamil (ed.), *Transnational Capitalism and National Development*. Sussex, England: Harvester Press, 1979 and Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982- Spanish edition; Heraldo Muñoz (ed.), *From Dependency to Development: Strategies to Overcome Underdevelopment and Inequality*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1981; Mitchell A. Seligson (ed.), *The Gap Between Rich and Poor: Contending Perspectives on the Political Economy of Development* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1984; Mark Kauppi and Paul Viotti (eds.), *International Relations Theory: Alternative Images*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1986; Roy C. Macridis and Bernard E. Brown (eds.),

Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings (Sixth Edition). Chicago, Illinois: The Dorsey Press 1986; Mitchell A. Seligson and John T. Passé-Smith (eds.), *Development and Underdevelopment: The Political Economy of Global Inequality*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998. With J. Samuel Valenzuela.

"Presidentialism and the Decline of the Chilean Congress," in Joel Smith and Lloyd Musolf (eds.), *Legislatures and Political Development*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1979. With Alexander Wilde.

"Chile and the Breakdown of Democracy," in Howard Wiarda and Harvey F. Cline (eds.), *Latin American Politics and Development*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1979. With J. Samuel Valenzuela.

"The Study of Chilean Political History 1850-1925: An Introduction to Sources," in John J. Tepaske (ed.), *Research Guide to Andean History*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1981.

"Six Years of Military Rule in Chile - A Rapporteur's Report." Working Paper No. 109, Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C. 1981.

"Eight Years of Military Rule in Chile," *Current History* (February, 1982): 64-69.

"Party Oppositions Under the Chilean Authoritarian Regime." *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* (April-June 1982) Vol. XLIV, No. 2: 599-648. Reprinted in Manuel Antonio Garretón et.al., *Chile, 1973-198?* Santiago: FLASCO, 1983. A revised and enlarged version was published in J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela (eds), *Chile Under Military Rule: Dictatorship and Oppositions*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987. With J. Samuel Valenzuela.

"Parties, Politics and the State in Chile: The Higher Civil Service," in Ezra Suleiman (ed.), *The Role of Higher Civil Servants in Central Governments*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983. A Spanish version was published by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, Madrid.

"The Origins of Democracy: Theoretical Reflections on the Chilean Case," *Working Papers: The Wilson Center Latin America Program*, Number 129, 1983. A revised version, co-authored with J. Samuel Valenzuela, was published as "Los Orígenes de la Democracia: Reflexiones Teóricas sobre el Caso de Chile." *Estudios Públicos*, No. 12 (Primavera 1983): 5-39.

"Authoritarian Chile: Implications for United States Foreign Policy," in Richard Newfarmer (ed.), *From Gunboats to Diplomacy*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984. With Robert Kaufman.

"Chile's Political Instability." *Current History* (February, 1984): 68-72, 88-89.

"El Congreso y la Redemocratización en Chile." *Alternativas*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (May-August, 1984): 5-40. With Alexander Wilde.

"The Political Crisis of the Pinochet Regime." *LASA Forum*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (Summer 1984): 17-20.

"Estados Unidos: Doctrinas de Desarrollo y América Latina," in Heraldo Muñoz (ed.), *Crisis y Desarrollo Alternativo en Latinoamérica*. Santiago: Editorial Aconcagua, 1985.

"Prospects for the Pinochet Regime in Chile," *Current History* (February, 1985): 77-80, 89-90.

"A Note on the Military and Social Science Theory," *The Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (January 1985): 132-43.

"Orígenes y características del sistema de partidos en Chile: Proposición para un Gobierno parlamentario," *Estudios Públicos*, No. 18 (Otoño 1985): 87-154. Reproduced in *Síntesis: Revista Documental de Ciencias Sociales Iberoamericanas*, No. 1 (Enero Abril 1987)

"Hacia una Democracia Estable: La Opción Parlamentaria Para Chile," *Revista de Ciencia Política*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (1985): 129-41.

"Is Chile Next," *Foreign Policy*, No. 63 (Summer 1986): 58-75. With Pamela Constable.

"The Chilean Armed Forces," *Harvard International Review* Vol. VIII, (May-June 1986): 25-28. With Pamela Constable.

"Chile," in Abraham Lowenthal (ed.), *Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988). With Pamela Constable.

"Plebiscite in Chile: End of the Pinochet Era?" *Current History*, (January, 1988): 29-33, 41. With Pamela Constable.

"Political Science and Latin America: A Discipline in Search of Political Reality" in Christopher Mitchell (ed.), *Changing Perspectives in Latin American Studies*. Stanford University Press, 1988.

"Chile: Origins, Consolidation and Breakdown of a Democratic Regime," in Larry Diamond, Juan Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Democracy in Developing Countries: Latin America*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989. Extensively updated in the second edition edited by Larry Diamond, Jonathan Hartlyn, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset, 1999. Also published in Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset, *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990; 2nd edition 1995.

"The Chilean Plebiscite: Defeat of a Dictator," *Current History* (March 1989): 129-33, 152-53. With Pamela Constable.

"The Chilean Plebiscite: A First Step Toward Redemocratization," Report of the International Commission of the Latin American Studies Association to Observe the Chilean Plebiscite, *LASA Forum*, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1989):18-36. A Spanish version was published in *Revista de Ciencia Política*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (1989): 73-87. With Paul Drake.

"Presidencialismo, Semi-Presidencialismo y Parlamentarismo," *Estudios Públicos*, No. 36 (Spring, 1989): 5-70. With Juan Linz

"Chile's Return to Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, (Winter 1989/90): 169-186. With Pamela Constable.

"El Futuro del Parlamentarismo en Chile," *Revista Universitaria*, No. 29 (1990): 17-21.

"Chile After Pinochet: Democracy Restored," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 1990): 3-12. With Pamela Constable.

"A Opção Parlamentarista para a América Latina," *Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política*, No. 24 (Setembro 1991):55-71. Also published as "La Opción Parlamentaria para América Latina," *Boletín Electoral Latinoamericano*, Vol. VI (Julio-Diciembre 1991):129-146.

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Testimony before the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, House Foreign Affairs Committee, February 15, 2011

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Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, House International Relations Committee, March 9, 2005

Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, United States Senate, March 23, 2004

Testimony before the Subcommittee on Investigations and Oversight, Committee on Public Works and Transportation, U.S. House of Representatives, April 13, 1994

Testimony before the House Subcommittee on State, Commerce, Justice, of the House Committee on Appropriations, March 18, 1994

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Additional briefings for members of Congress and Congressional staffs on global, Latin American, Inter-American and Mexican issues.

MEDIA APPEARANCES (Many on numerous occasions)

Television: ABC "Nightline"; ABC "World News Tonight"; NBC "Today Show"; CBS "Evening News"; PBS "The News Hour with Jim Lehrer"; PBS "Great Decisions" series. C-Span "Washington Journal"; Monitor Television; PBS "Great Decisions"; BBC International; CNN; CNN "Crossfire"; CNN "International Hour"; CNN "Inside Politics"; CNN "Insight"; CNN "Panorama Internacional"; CNN Spanish; CNN Spanish "Election Night Coverage 1992"; CNN Spanish: Carmen Aristegui; Fox News; NBC Spanish; Televisa; Televisa "Election Night Coverage 2004"; ECO Television; USIA "Foro Inter-Americano"; Univisión; Univisión "Temas y Debates"; Telemundo; Canal 13 (Santiago, Chile), Al Jazeera, RTN24, and other outlets in the U.S., Mexico, Europe and Latin America. Regular host of CNN Spanish's "Choque de Opiniones." Regular contributor for V-Me Television through PBS.

Radio: BBC "World Service"; National Public Radio ("Morning Edition," "Weekend Edition," "Fresh Air with Terry Gross", "Talk of the Nation," "All Things Considered," "Day to Day," "The World," "On Point," "The Diane Rehm Show"); Council on Foreign Relations "America and the World" Radio Series; Canadian Broadcasting System; Longhorn Radio Network, Monitor Radio, Swiss Radio, Hispanic-American Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Mitre (Argentina), Radio La Plata (Argentina), Radio Caracol (Colombia) Radio Cooperativa (Chile), "Blanco y Negro" (Mexico), "Carmen Aristegui" (Mexico) and others.

Newspaper Features and Commentary: *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Raleigh News and Observer*, *The Boston Globe*, *Miami Herald*, *La Época*, *APSI*, *CARAS*, *COSAS*, *El Mercurio*, *La Tercera*, *La Nación*, *Clarín*, *La Voce Republicana*, *Qué Pasa*, *Hoy*, *Clarín*, *La Nación Veja*, *Visión*, *Folha de S. Paolo*, *Jornal do Brasil*, *Semana*, *El Tiempo*, *El País*, *Época*, *Jornal da Tarde*, *Valor*, *O Estado de S. Paolo*, *El día*, *Estrategia*, *Die Weltwoche*, *El Universal*, *Reforma*, *El Norte*, *Cambio*, *Poder*, *El Mercurio*, *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas* and others. Former regular columnist for *El Universal* of México.