

## **HARRY E. VANDEN, Ph.D.**

Department of Government and International Affairs  
Institute for the Study of Latin America and the Caribbean  
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### **EDUCATION**

**B.A., International Affairs**, minor in Spanish. Albright College, Reading, Pennsylvania.

"Diploma," Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Madrid, España (New York University Junior Year in Spain).

**M.A., Political Science** (with some work in Public Administration), and  
**Certificate in Latin American Studies** (Graduate).

Maxwell School, Syracuse University, **Thesis**: "Central American Political Integration."

Doctoral Study in Political Science (and Public Administration), Temple University.

**Ph.D., Political Science**, minor concentration in Latin American Studies. The New School for Social Research, New York, New York. **Dissertation**: "José Carlos Mariátegui: Revolutionary Political Thought and Praxis in a Developing Nation."

### **WORK/TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

#### *University of South Florida, Tampa*

1987-      **Professor of Political Science/ International Studies and Institute for the Study of Latin America and the Caribbean** (2013- )  
1980-87    **Associate Professor** of Political Science  
1975-80    **Assistant Professor** of Political Science

**Founding Director**, Caribbean and Latin American Studies Center (1993-97)

**Member**, Institute for the Study of Latin America and the Caribbean Advisory Committee (1997-Present) and ISLAC Steering Committee (for charting ISLAC's future) 2006/2007 Academic Year

**Director of Graduate Studies**, Dept. of Political Science (1985-89)

**Founding Coordinator/Chair**, Latin American Studies Committee (1979-83 and 1989-97)

**Member M.P.A. Committee**, 1979-1980 (started Masters Program in Public Administration)

**Coordinator**, USF MacDill Air Force Base Program (1986-89)

**Chair**, Fulbright Committee, 1999-2000, and 2001-2002.

**Faculty Senate**, 1999-2000 to 2001-2002 and 2003-2004 to 2005-2006, Secretary of Senate, 2005-2006.

**Other University Positions and Committees:** Political Science Undergraduate Advisor; College of Social and Behavioral Sciences Undergraduate Committee; College of Social and Behavioral Sciences Graduate Committee; College of Social and Behavioral Sciences Promotions and Tenure Committee; Awards Committee, Division of Sponsored Research; and USF Publications Committee. College of Arts and Sciences Advisory Committee, 2005-2008. Search Committees (2000-2013): Institute for Latin America and Caribbean Studies, Public Administration-Department of Government and International Affairs, Department of Africana Studies.

### *Visiting Positions*

2003-04 **Visiting Professor**, Department of Politics and Government, Illinois State University  
2007 **Visiting Professor**, Graduate Program in International Relations jointly given by The State University of São Paulo (UNESP), The State University at Campinas (UNICAMP), and the Pontifical Catholic University, São Paulo (PUC São Paulo), São Paulo, Brazil.

### *Community Involvement*

Working Group Latin American Paz (Peace), American Society of Friends (National Quaker Organization), Member and Treasurer, 2009-

WMNF Community Radio Station: volunteer and Board Member 1990-1996.

Hillsborough County Organization for Progress and Equality, volunteer and Board Member 2000-03.

Hispanic Service Council: Board Member 1995-2003.

### *Related Work Experience*

**Advisor/Technical Expert**, Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública, Office of the President, Republic of Peru. Duties: Research, program development and preparation of the house publication, *Administración*. 1974-75.

**Instructor**, Division of Social Sciences, New School for Social Research (Teaching Latin American Politics and Political Thought), 1973.

**Graduate Student Advisor**, Department of Political Science, Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research (Administration and Advising), 1971-72.

**Lecturer**, Department of Government, Manhattan College, Bronx, New York (Latin American Politics), Spring, 1972.

**Lecturer**, Division of Social Sciences, Richmond College, City University of New York (courses in Political Science), 1971.

**Field Research Coordinator**, National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago (New York Office). Duties: Supervising field interviewing in Spanish and English, data collection, coding, and sampling, 1969-70.

***Other Work Experience:***

Spanish speaking Social Worker, Philadelphia  
Spanish Speaking Psychiatric Social Worker, New York City

**Awards, Honors, Grants:**

**Fulbright Scholar**, Graduate teaching and research. São Paulo, Brazil, August-December, 2007.

**Fulbright Scholar**, Peru, 1973-74, Dissertation research.

**Grant Director**, Ministry of Interior, Republic of Costa Rica, training program in police practices and administration at Costa Rican National School of Police. \$2,000. 1998.

**U.S. AID Training Grant**: "Training Vocational Rehabilitation Specialists from El Salvador." Co-P.I. with Susan Kelly. Administered through Development Associates. \$150,000. 1994.

**TIP Teaching Award**, University of South Florida, 1994/95 Academic Year.

**Creative Faculty Research Grant**, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, 1990.

One of ten **outstanding professors** chosen by two successive University of South Florida graduating classes in 1980's.

**Faculty Research Grant**, University of South Florida, 1982.

**Summer Seminar Grant**, National Endowment for the Humanities, (Multidisciplinary Seminar on Latin America by Historian Bob Levine, at SUNY, Stony Brook), 1980.

**ELECTION OBSERVATION:**

International Election Observer with President Jimmy Carter and the Carter Center, Mozambique national elections, December 2004.

International Election Observer with President Jimmy Carter and the Carter Center, Nicaraguan national elections, 2001.

International Election Observer with President Jimmy Carter and the Carter Center, Venezuelan presidential elections, December, 1998.

International Election Observer, National Elections in Nicaragua, 1990.

## **EDITORIAL:**

**Editor**, *New Political Science*, 1977-78, Co-editor, 1989-1994, Managing Editor, 1994-96.

**International Consultative Committee**, *Anuario Mariáteguiano* (Lima, Peru), 1989-2010

**Editorial board**, *Globalizations*, 2004-

**Editorial Board**, Dr. Kiran C. Patel Center for Global Solutions, 2005- 2009

**Editorial Board**, *Latin American Perspectives*, 2007-

### **Special editions co-editor:**

**New Political Science**, “The Central American Malestorm,” Fall/Winter, 1990, No. 18/19.

**Journal of Developing Societies**, special issue on Inter-American Relations , 2005.

**Latin American Perspectives**, special issue on New Social Movements, March, 2007.

**Latin American Perspectives**, second special issue on New Social Movements, January, 2011.

## **RESEARCH AND TEACHING FOCI:**

### ***Areas of Research Specialization:***

Latin American Politics and Thought; New Political Movements (Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela); Central American Gang Activity; Third World Marxist Thought; Revolutionary Movements/Peasants; Inter-American Relations; Terrorism.

Research and living experience in Peru, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Spain, Ecuador, Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Cuba, Mexico, and Argentina.

***Areas of Teaching Competence:***

Latin American Studies:

- Politics
- Thought
- Political Economy
- Contemporary History
- Interdisciplinary Introduction

Inter-American Relations

Contemporary History

Politics of Developing Areas

Comparative Politics

Political Economy

World Ideologies

Marxist Thought

International Law and Relations

International Organization

Terrorism

*Specialized courses given:*

Central America

Latin American Political Thought

Latin American Public Administration

Latin America Through Film,

New Social/Political Movements in Latin America,

The Americas (based on PBS Series).

U.S.-Latin American Relations

Democracy in Latin America

**Expert Witness Testimony:**

Testimony on country conditions in U.S. Immigration, Federal and State Courts and Immigration courts in Great Britain.

Countries: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela and Argentina.

Areas: General political and social conditions, gangs, cartels and gang and cartel victimization in Central America and Mexico, status and treatment of homosexuals and racial minorities, domestic violence.

**Professional Affiliations and Offices:**

Latin American Studies Association

Co-Chair, Central American Section, 1997- 2000

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Member, LASA Task-force On Central America, 1992-1997

South Eastern Council on Latin American Studies

President, 1988-1989

President Elect, 1987-1988

Executive Council Member, 1978-1982

Charter Member, Society for Iberian and Latin American Thought

President, 1983-1985

Vice-President, 1982-1983

Florida Political Science Association

Secretary-Treasurer, 1979-81

The American Society of International Law

International Political Science Association

American Political Science Association

International Studies Association

### **Languages:**

Spanish (fluency/bilingual)

Portuguese (fluency)

French

### **Travel:**

Mexico, South and Central America, Caribbean. Western and Eastern Europe, North Africa, and Southern Africa.

### **PUBLICATIONS:**

#### ***Books:***

Harry E. Vanden, Peter N. Funke, Gary Prevost, eds., *The New Global Politics: Social Movements on a Global Scale*. London and New York: Routledge, in press, 2017.

Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden, Marc Becker, eds., *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements: Radical Action From Below*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014.

Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press . Fifth Edition (revised), 2015. , 4<sup>th</sup> edition (further revised with additional new chapter on U.S.- Latin American Relations ), 2012. Third Edition (revised and expanded), 2009.

Gary Prevost, Harry E. Vanden, Carlos Oliva, and Luis Fernando Ayerbe, eds., *U.S. National Security Concerns in Latin America and the Caribbean: the Concept of Ungoverned Spaces and Sovereignty*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014

Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker, editors and translators, *José Carlos Mariátegui: An Anthology of His Writings*, Kharagpur, West Bengal, India: Cornerstone Publications, 2013. [a specially edited Indian edition of the 2011 edition, with a much revised 50 page introduction]

Gary Prevost, Carlos Oliva and Harry E. Vanden, eds. *Social Movements and Leftists Governments in Latin America*. London: Zed Press, 2012.

*José Carlos Mariátegui: An Anthology of His Writings*, translated and edited by Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011.

Gary Prevost and Harry E. Vanden, *Latin America: An Introduction*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden and Glen Kuecker, eds., *Latin American Social Movements in the Twenty-First Century, Resistance, Power, and Democracy*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008. *Chosen as a Choice Outstanding Academic Book for 2009*.

Jorge Nef. and Harry E. Vanden, eds., *Inter-American Relations in an Era of Globalization. Beyond Unilateralism?* Whitby, Ontario: de Sitter Publications, 2007.

Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press . Second (revised and expanded) Edition, 2006.

Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, reprinted 2003.

Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, eds., *The Undermining of the Sandinista Revolution*. London: Macmillan Press Limited, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999. (Paperback edition with new preface.)

Gary Prevost and Harry E. Vanden, eds., *The Undermining of the Sandinista Revolution*. London: Macmillan Press Limited, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Democracy and Socialism in Sandinista Nicaragua*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.

Harry E. Vanden, *A Bibliography of Latin American Marxism*. New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1991 (869 pages).

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Harry E. Vanden, *National Marxism in Latin America: José Carlos Mariátegui's Thought and Praxis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1986.

Harry E. Vanden, *José Carlos Mariátegui: Influencias en su formación ideológica*. Lima: Biblioteca "Amauta", 1975.

### **Other Works:**

Harry E. Vanden, ed., *Fin de Siglo Latin America: Notes on a Changing Reality*. Tampa: Honors Publishing, 1997. (Publication of Honors Student papers from honors class on Latin America.)

Waltrud Quesier Morales and Harry E. Vanden, *La Lucha por la Soberanía: Nicaragua y los No Alineados*. Documento de Trabajo PROSPEL, No.5, Santiago, Chile: Academia de Humansimo Cristiano, 1986.

### **Report:**

Susan D. M. Kelley and Harry E. Vanden, *A Project to Train Vocational Habilitation Specialists for Persons with Mental Retardation in El Salvador*, Final Report for Development Associates and Agency for International Development, U.S. Department of State, 140pp. Tampa, 1994.

### **Electronic Publication:**

Ilene Frank, and Harry E. Vanden . (2008 and updated). "Maras: Gangs in Central America. A Bibliography." Available at <http://www.box.net/shared/m267o3flis>

### **Blog Entry/Publication:**

Violeta Polanco and Harry E. Vanden, "Medidas extraordinarias de seguridad en El Salvador: ¿Pueden reducir la violencia en el país?" *Latin American Perspectives* Blog, July, 2016.

### **Book Chapters:**

"Cycles of Protest and Social Movements in Brazil," in Harry E. Vanden, Peter N. Funke, Gary Prevost, eds., *The New Global Politics: Social Movements on a Global Scale*. London and New York: Routledge, in press, 2017.

With Peter N. Funke and Gary Prevost, "Introduction," in Harry E. Vanden, Peter N. Funke, Gary Prevost, eds., *The New Global Politics: Social Movements on a Global Scale*. London and New York: Routledge, in press, 2017.



“The Sandinistas, Armed Struggle, Participation, Democracy, Verticalism and mass Movements in Nicaragua,” in Stephan Feuchtwang and Alpa Shah, eds., *Emancipatory Politics: A Critique*. On Line, Open Access Publication [London]:Open Anthropology Cooperative Press, 2015.

“Taking the Streets, Swarming Public Places: the 2013 Popular Protests and Social Movements in Brazil,” in Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden, Marc Becker, eds., *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements: Radical Action From Below*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014.

Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker, “Introduction” and “Conclusion” in Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden, Marc Becker, eds., *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements: Radical Action From Below*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014.

“Crimen Organizado y Areas No Gobernados en la America Central: Mara Salvatrucha y Barrio 18,” (Organized Crime and Non-Governed Areas in Central America: the Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street Gang), in Luis Fernando Ayerbe, ed., *Territorialidade e entrecruzamentos geopolíticos na América Latina*. São Paulo: Memorial da América Latina, 2014.

“Maras, Contragoverned Spaces and Sovereignty,” in Gary Prevost, Harry E. Vanden, Luis Fernando Ayerbe, and Carlos Oliva, eds., *U.S. National Security Concerns in Latin America and the Caribbean: the Concept of Ungoverned Spaces and Sovereignty*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Gary Prevost and Harry E. Vanden, “Introduction,” in Gary Prevost, Harry E. Vanden, Carlos Oliva and Luis Fernando Ayerbe, eds., *U.S. National Security Concerns in Latin America and the Caribbean: the Concept of Ungoverned Spaces and Sovereignty*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker, Préface (introduction), in Pierre Beaudet, editor, José Carlos Mariátegui and Alvaro García Linares, *Indianisme et paysannerie en Amérique Latine, socialisme et libération nationale*. Montreal : M editeur, 2012.

“Las Maras, Espacios Contragovernados y Soberanía.” (The Maras [Central American Gangs], Nongoverned Spaces and Sovereignty), in Luis Fernando Ayerbe, ed., *Territorialidades, Conflictos E Desafíos A Soberanía Estatal Na América Latina* (Territorialities, Conflict and Challenges to State Sovereignty in Latin America). São Paulo, Brazil: Memorial da América Latina, 2012.

Gary Prevost, Harry E. Vanden, and Carlos Oliva Campos, “Introduction,” in Gary Prevost, Harry E. Vanden, Luis Ayerbe, Carlos Campos, eds., *Social Movements and Leftist Governments in Latin America*, London : Zed Press, 2012.

“The Landless Rural Workers Movement and their Waning Influence on Brazil’s Workers’s

Party Government,” in Gary Prevost, Carlos Oliva Campos and Harry E. Vanden, eds., *Social Movements and Leftist Governments in Latin America*. London: Zed Books, 2012.

“Os Sem-Terra Brasileiros Marca, Posição Política,” in Miriam Claudia Lourenção Simonetti, editor, *Asentamentos Rurais e Ciudadania: a construção de novos espaços de vida*. São Paulo: Prensa da Universidad Estadual de São Paulo, 2011.

Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden and Glen Kuecker, “Introduction” and “Conclusion” in Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden and Glen Kuecker, eds., *Latin American Social Movements in the Twenty-First Century, Resistance, Power, and Democracy*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.

“Social Movements, Hegemony, and New Forms of Resistance,” in Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden and Glen Kuecker, eds., *Latin American Social Movements in the Twenty-First Century, Resistance, Power, and Democracy*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.

“Epilogue: The Fable of the Shark and the Piranhas.” in *Inter-American Relations in an Era of Globalization. Beyond Unilateralism?* Jorge Nef. and Harry E. Vanden, eds., Whitby, Ontario: de Sitter Publications, 2007.

“Social Movements, Hegemony and Resistance,” in Gary Prevost and Carlos Oliva eds., *The Bush Doctrine and Latin America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

“The Landless Hold Their Ground,” in Teo Ballvé and Vijay Prashad, eds., *Dispatches from Latin America: On the Frontiers of Neoliberalism*. Boston: South End Press, 2006.

“The Landless Hold Their Ground,” in Vijay Prashad and Teo Ballvé, eds., *Dispatches from Latin America: On the Frontiers of Neoliberalism*. New Delhi, India: Left World Books, 2006.

“Globalization in a Time of Neoliberalism: Politicized Social Movements and the Latin American Response,” in Richard Harris, ed., *Globalization and Development in Latin America*. Whitby, Ontario: de Sitter Publications, 2005.

“The Effects of Globalization and Neoliberalism in Central America: Nicaragua and Costa Rica,” in Gary Prevost and Carlos Oliva Campos, eds., *Neoliberalism and NeoPanamericanismo, the View from Latin America*. New York and Houndmills, Basingstroke: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002.

“Nicaragua,” in *One Party Regimes*, Marco Rumanelli, ed. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999.

“Democracy Derailed: The 1990 Elections and After” in Gary Prevost and Harry E. Vanden, *The Undermining of the Sandinista Revolution*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997.

“U.S.- Nicaraguan Relations.” With Thomas Walker. in Kenneth M. Coleman and George C. Herring (eds.) *The Central American Crisis*. 2nd ed., Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources,

"Nicaraguan Foreign Relations" in Thomas Walker (ed.), *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Nicaragua: 1979 Through 1989*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991.

"Nicaraguan-U.S. Relations" (Introduction and Bibliography). With Joel Edelstein, Jimmy Furlow and Janine Pittman in Neil Snarr and Associates, *Sandinista Nicaragua Part II*. Ann Arbor: Pierian Press, 1990.

"Mariátegui y los primeros pasos hacia un auténtico marxismo Latinoamericano," in Manuel J. Peláez and Miguel Martínez López, eds., *Essays in the History of Political Thought*. Barcelona: PPU, 1988.

"State Policy and the Cult of Terror in Central America," in Paul Wilkinson and A.M. Stewart, eds., *Contemporary Research on Terrorism*, Aberdeen, Scotland: Aberdeen University Press, 1987.

"Nicaraguan Relations with the Non-Aligned Movement," With Waltrud Quesier Morales, in Tom Walker, ed., *Nicaragua: The First Five Years*. New York: Praeger, 1985.

"The Ideology of the Nicaraguan Insurrection," in Thomas W. Walker, ed., *Nicaraguan Revolution*, (New York: Praeger, 1982), pp. 41-62.

### **Articles:**

"Como la Monarquía Española facilitó la Independencia Republicana de los Estados Unidos: El rol de Bernardo de Gálvez en la Guerra de Independencia Norteamericana" *TSN (Transatlantic Studies Networks) Revista de Estudios Internacionales*, (Universidad de Malaga, Spain), No 2, September, 2016.

"Reflexiones sobre el pensamiento del peruano José Carlos Mariátegui, Europa y unas influencias europeas." *Surco Sur* (Tampa), No. 6, January, 2014.

"A Violência das Gangues da América Central" (The Violence of Central American Gangs) and in Spanish version of magazine, "La Violencia de las Maras Centroamericanas," *Nuestra América, Revista do Memorial da América Latina*. (São Paulo, Brazil) No 42, Third Trimester, 2011.

Richard Stahler Sholk and Harry E. Vanden, "Introduction" in "A Second Look at Latin American Social Movements" Special Issue of *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol 38, No. 1 (January) 2011.

"O Desenvolvimento das Novas Movimentos Sociais e Sua Influência na Política Externa" ("The Development of New Social Movements and Their Influence on Foreign Policy") NERA (UNESP, Brazil), 2009.

"La Vigencia del Pensamiento Marxista de Mariátegui en el Siglo XXI," *Geografia em Questão*, Publication of Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros ( Marechal Cândido Rondon, Brazil). No. 1, Vol 1, 2008.

"Brazil's Landless and the Revolt Against Neo-Liberalism." *Global Dialogue*, Vol. 10, 2008.

"Sem-Terra Brasileiros Marcam Sua Posição" (Brazilian Landless Hold Their Ground) *Perspectives, Revista de Ciências Sociais, Universidade Estadual Paulista/UNESP*. Vol 32, July/December, 2007, pp. 203-213.

"Bringing Latin America to Life with Films in the Classroom," *Social Education*, Vol. 74, No.4, May/June 2007.

"Social Movements, Hegemony, and New Forms of Resistance," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 34, No 2, March, 2007.

"José Carlos Mariátegui," in *Diccionario de Juristas Hispanos*, Manuel J. Peláez, ed., Malaga: University of Malaga, 2006.

"New Social Movements and the Response to Neoliberalism: Brazil's MST" *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, March/April, 2005, Vol. 38, No.5.

"L'Amérique Latine qui Dit 'Non,' " *Enjeux Internationaux* (Brussels) No. 9, Autumn 2005.

"Le MST, Pas de Terre, Mais Beaucoup d'Idées," *Enjeux Internationaux* (Brussels) No. 9, Autumn 2005.

"Vigencia del Pensamiento Marxista de Mariátegui en el Siglo XXI," *Revista Peruana de Filosofía Aplicada*. Lima, XI, No. 12, 2005, pp.25-38.

"New Political Movements, Governance and the Breakdown of Traditional Politics in Latin America." *International Journal of Public Administration*. Vol. 27, No. 13-14, 2004.

"Globalization in a Time of Neoliberalism: Politicized Social Movements and the Latin American Response." *Journal of Developing Societies*. Vol. 19, Issue 2-3, 2003.

"New Forms of Hegemony: Effects of Globalization and Neo-Liberalism in the Central American State of Nicaragua." *Cenários, Revista do Grupo de Estudos Interdisciplinares sobre Cultura e Desenvolvimento*. (Araraquara, São Paulo State, Brazil) No. 3-4 2001/2002.

"Neloliberal Meltdown in Argentina," with Patrice E. Olsen, *Shanachie* (alternative Publication at the University of South Florida). No. 7, January 7, 2002.

"Globalization and Beyond: What We Need to Learn From Latin America," *Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education*. February, 2000.

"International Law, Embargo on Cuba: Human Rights Violations Add Up to Genocide," *The Human Quest*. January-February, 1998.

"The U.S. Embargo and Health Care in Cuba," With Anthony F. Kirkpatrick, M.D. *LASA Forum*, XXXVI, No. 2, Summer, 1997.

"Contra Crack and the Company," *The Human Quest*, Nov-Dec, 1996.

"Bay Area Must Reconsider Its Hispanic Heritage," *Tampa Tribune*. October 26, 1993.

"Democracy and Socialism: Latin American and Nicaraguan," *Proceedings, Second Biennial Conference on Culture, Society and Change in Latin America*. Tampa and Mérida: University of South Florida and Universidad de los Andes, 1993.

"José Carlos Mariátegui" in the *Routledge Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Political Thinkers*, London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

"Terrorism, Law and State Policy in Central America: The Eighties," *New Political Science* No. 18/19 (Fall/Winter, 1990), pp.55-73.

"José Carlos Mariátegui y la perestroika," *El Día Latinoamericano* (Mexico City) December 31, 1990.

"The U.S., State Policy and the Cult of Terror in Central America," *Cuadernos Informativos de Derecho Histórico, Público, Procesal y de la Navegación* (Barcelona) No.2 (1989), pp.1691-1710.

"Mariátegui, marxismo, comunismo, y otras notas bibliográficas," in Victor Berger (ed.), *Ensayos sobre Mariátegui: Simposio de Nueva York*. Lima: Biblioteca Amauta, 1987.

Articles/Entries, Carlos Fonseca Amador, Daniel Ortega, Tomás Borge (Nicaragua), José Carlos Mariátegui, Ricardo Martínez de la Torre (Peru) in Robert A. Gorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Neo-Marxism* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986).

"The Making of a Latin Marxist, José Carlos Mariátegui's Intellectual Formation," *Inter-American Review of Bibliography*, XXXVI, No. 1 (1986), pp. 5-28.

"Mariátegui and the First Steps Toward Authentic Latin American Marxism," *South Eastern*

*Latin Americanist*. XXX, Nos. 1-2, (June-Sept., 1986), pp. 17-34.

"Nicaraguan Relations with the Nonaligned." With Waltrud Quesier Morales. *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*, XXVII, No.3 (Fall,1985), pp.141-161.

"The Nicaraguan Elections," *Journal of Communist Studies* (London) I, No. 2 (June,1985).

"El Marxismo-Leninismo de Mariátegui," *Dialéctica* (Puebla, Mexico), VIII, No. 13 (June, 1983), pp. 75-93.

"Defining Terrorism in El Salvador: 'La Matanza'," With Robert W. Taylor. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 463 (September, 1982), pp. 106-118.

"Marxism and the Peasant in Latin America: Marginalization or Mobilization," *Latin American Perspectives* IX, No. 4 (Fall, 1982), pp. 74-98.

"The Ideology of the Nicaraguan Revolution," *Monthly Review*. Vol. 34 (June, 1982), pp. 25-41.

"Lecturas Marxistas de Mariátegui," *Nuevo Amanecer Cultural* (Managua), 1, No. 30 (December 28, 1980).

"Mariátegui: Marxismo, comunismo y otras notas bibliograficas, *Buelna*, Culiacán, Mexico, No. 4-5 (January-March, 1980), pp. 87-107.

"La Influencia Italiana," Mariátegui, A 50 Años de su Muerte, Special Magazine Supplement, *El Día* (Mexico City), June, 1980.

"Mariátegui: Marxismo, Comunismo and Other Bibliographic Notes," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Fall, 1979) pp. 61-86.

"The Peasants as a Revolutionary Class--An Early View From Peru," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 2, (May, 1978), pp. 191-209.

"Socialism, Land and the Indian," in the 7 Ensayos, *INTI* (University of Connecticut), No. 4, Autumn, 1976.

"Influencias en Mariátegui," *La Jornada* (Lima), 1, No. 14, May 6, 1975.

**Reviews and review essays:**

*American Political Science Review*

*Hispanic American Historical Review*

*Journal of Politics*

*Journal of Developing Areas*

*Latin American Politics and Society/Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*

*South Eastern Latin Americanist*

***Reviewer/Referee/Academic Evaluation:***

**Program Evaluation:**

International Panel for the Evaluation of Curricular Revision, School of Political Science (70 professors, 1,700 students) Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, October 14-19, 2013.

**Grant Evaluation:**

CAPES (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior), Ministry of Education/Fulbright Brazil

Economic and Social Research Council (Britain)

National Endowment for the Humanities

Social Science and Humanities Research Council (Canada)

**Refereed Review:**

*Bulletin of Latin American Research*

*Comparative Political Studies*

*Globalizations*

*International Studies Quarterly*

*Latin American Perspectives*

*Latin American Politics and Society/Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*

*Latin American Research Review*

*New Political Science*

*Polity*

*Social Movement Studies*

*Radical Philosophy*

*Lynne Rienner Publisher*

*Oxford University Press*

*Palgrave Macmillan*

*Routledge/Taylor Francis*

*Rowman and Littlefield*

*University of Arizona Press*

*University of Florida Presses*

*University of Kansas Press*

***Recent Panels Chaired/Dicussant:***

Organized two panels tied to a book project on Globalized Social Movements, "Globalized Social Movements: Latin America the Arab Spring and Beyond" for May 2015 LASA International Congress,

San Juan, Puerto Rico, and for ISA South Annual Meeting, March , 2016, Tampa Florida. Included Four USF graduate students and Four USF Professors in panels and book project (published by Routledge, February, 2017, as *The New Politics: Globalized Social Movements in the Twenty-First Century*).

Discussant, Panel on “ Movimientos Sociales y Procesos Políticos en América Latina” LASA International Congress. June 29-May 2, 2013, Washington, D.C.

Chair, Organizer and Participant , “Maras and Violence in Central America,” (Roundtable), XXIX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Sept., 2010, Toronto.

Chair and Organizer, “Maras in Central America,” (Roundtable), XXVII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Sept 5-8, 2007, Montreal.

Chair, Final Roundtable Discussion, Human Rights, State Terrorism and Universal Jurisdiction, Global Implications of the Pinochet Case ( an International Symposia), University of South Florida, Tampa, September 12, 2006.

Chair and Discussant, Transborder Politics, Corruption, Education and State Power in the Americas, Florida Political Science Association, April 8, 2006.

Chair and Commentator, “Electoral Dynamics in New Democracies,” Midwest Political Science Association, April 15-18, 2004, Chicago, Illinois.

Chair (and Convener), “New Social Movements in Latin America: New Repertoires of Resistance in a Globalizing Reality,” Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies. Santa Fe, New Mexico, March 10-13, 2004.

### **Papers and Major Presentations:**

“Maras: American Bred Youth Gangs That Challenge State Sovereignty in Central America,” Invited University Wide Presentation, Joint Special Operations Command University, Tampa, Florida. July 8, 2016.

Invited presentation, “Como la Monarquía Española facilitó la Independencia Republicana de los Estados Unidos: El rol de Bernardo de Gálvez en la Guerra de Independencia Norteamericana” II Workshop Internacional de Estudios Transatlánticos, los Gálvez y los Orígenes de una Relación Problemática Entre Dos Continentes. Universidad de Málaga, Málaga, Spain, 16 June, 2016.

Invited University Wide Lecture, “Latin American Social Movements” IFI Forum, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland, March 16, 2016.



"Taking the Streets, Swarming Public Places: the 2013 Popular Protests and Social Movements in Brazil on 2013, " May 2015 LASA International Congress, San Juan, Puerto Rico

Invited presentation, "Relaciones Transatlánticas y Trans-ideológicas: Estados Unidos y España Desde la República, "I Workshop International de Estudios Transatlánticos: España y América: Miradas Cruzadas. Una Perspectiva Interdisciplinaria." University of Málaga, Málaga, España, 14-15 May, 2015.

"Nuevos Movimientos Sociales en Latinoamérica," Conferencia de Cientistas Sociales Internacionales, en el XL Aniversario de la Escuela de Ciencia Política Y Tricentenario de la Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, Guatemala, October 8-11, 2013.

"Las Maras, Espacios Contragobernados y Soberanía, M.S. 13 y M 18 en la América Central," Seminario Internacional: Extraterritorialidades, Entrecruzamiento de Soberanía e Conflicto na América Latina. Memorial da América Latina e Instituto de Estudos Econômicos e Internacionais da UNESP, São Paulo, Brazil. August 14-16, 2013.

"Marxist Revolutionary Thought and Practice in Latin America," Centre for Comparative Politics and Political Theory, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, July 29, 2013.

"Social Movements in Latin America," School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, India, July 22, 2013.

"Social Movements and Democracy in Latin America," Department of Cultural Studies, English and Foreign Language University, Hyderabad, India, July 22, 2013

5th Annual Ghandy Memorial Lecture, "Marxist Revolutionary Thought and Practice in Latin America," Sponsored by the Anuradha Ghandy Memorial Committee, held at St. Xavier's College, Mumbai, India, July 18, 2013.

"The Resurgence of the Latin American Left" Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, India, July 17, 2013.

"Central American Gangs and Non-Governed Spaces," International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), San Francisco, CA., May 23-26, 2012.

With Tamara Simunovic, "Democracy and Human Rights in Post Zelaya Honduras," Annual Conference, South Eastern Council on Latin American Studies (SECOLAS), March 29-31, 2012 Gainesville, Florida.

"Las Maras y Espacios No Gobernados." (The Maras[Central American Gangs] and Nongoverned Spaces), International Invited Conference, Extraterritorialities, Entrecruzamiento de Soberanías e Fontes de Conflicto na América Latina (Extraterritorialities, Sovereignty

Crossover and Sources of Conflict in Latin America), Memorial da América Latina, São Paulo, Brazil, September 29, 2011. Funded by Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

“Participation, Democracy, Verticalism, Vanguard and Mass Movements: Nicaragua and Latin America,” Peoples’ Movements: Strategy and Tactics, International Invited Conference, Oxford University, July 11-12, 2011.

“Latin America and the United States,” Address to Annual Meeting of the German Marshall Fund, Del Ray Beach, Florida, January 30, 2012.

“New Social and Political Movements in Latin America,” Maxwell School, Syracuse University, September 9, 2008. Invited lecture hosted by Latin American Studies Program and Africana Studies Department.

“Geography and U.S. Cuban Relations,” UNIOESTE (State University of Eastern Paraná), Marechal Cândido Rondon, Paraná, Brazil, December 7, 2007.

“Movimentos Sociais na América Latina no Início do Século XXI” (Social Movements in Latin America at the Beginning of the 21st Century), VII Post Graduate Week in Sociology, UNESPE (State University of São Paulo)-Araraquara, Araraquara, Brazil, November 8, 2007.

Discussant, Foreign Policy and International Politics Panel, First International Symposium, Post Graduate Program in International Relations San Tiago Dantes- UNESPE, UNICAMP and PUC/SP (State University of São Paulo, State University, Campinas, Pontifical Catholic University-São Paulo), November 13, 2007. São Paulo, Brazil.

“EUA e América Latina,” (The United States and Latin America) V Annual Week of International Relations- New Actors in International Relations, State University of São Paulo-Marília, Marília, S.P., Brazil, September 27, 2007.

“11 de Setembro e Imbricações no Direito Internacional,” (September 11 and International Law), September 11, 2007, Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil.

“Novos Movimentos Sociais e Novas Lideranças Políticas na América Latina,” Short Course, International Seminar “New Political Leadership, Social Movements, and Government Alternatives in Latin America,” with International Participants, Memorial da América Latina (Major Brazilian Foundation on Latin America), São Paulo, August 8, 2007.

Roundtable discussant, “Maras in Central America,” XXVII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Sept 5-8, 2007, Montreal.

“Amauta en el Contexto Internacional” Simposio Internacional, Amauta a los 80 Años, Lima, September 6-9, 2006.

“Brasil y el M.S.T.” World Social Forum, Caracas, Venezuela, January 26, 2006.

“The Mobilization of the Subalterns in the Twenty-First Century: Politicized Social Movements in Latin America” Annual Conference, Southwestern Council of Latin American Studies, Vera Cruz, Mexico, March 9-12, 2005.

“Os Sem Terra y Novos Movimentos Sociais”, World Social Forum, January, 2005, Porto Alegre Brazil (Given in Portuguese)

“Nuevos Movimientos Sociales y Políticos, la Crisis del Neoliberalismo y el Aporte de Mariátegui,” Casa Museo José Carlos Mariátegui, Lima, Peru, July 11, 2005.

“Luchando Por la Justicia. El MST de Brazil,” Seminario Internacional, AUNA, Havana, Cuba June 9, 2005.

Roundtable Discussion on “Peasant Movements and Agro-Business in Latin American and the Caribbean,” CLASCO (Conference on Latin American Social Sciences) Presidente Prudente, São Paulo State, Brazil . August 29 to September 3, 2005. (In Portuguese and Spanish)

“Politicized Social Movements in Latin America: New Forms of Resistance,” Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies, Santa Fe, New Mexico March 10-13 , 2004.

El Marxismo de José Carlos Mariátegui, Invited addresses, Cátedra Ernesto Guevara, FLACSO, Havana and the University of Havana, March 8 and 9, 2004.

“Art and Politics: The Latin American Artist as Political Actor,” Southeastern Council on Latin American Studies, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, March 4-6, 2004.

“U.S. Foreign Policy and Inter-American Relations After September 11,” in (short) course on Inter-American Relations offered by Graduate Program in International Relations offered jointly by the Universidade Estadual Paulista, Universidade Estadual Paulista de Campinas, and the Pontífica Universidade Católica de São Paulo, São Paulo, September 17-18, 2003.

“Globalização, Hegemonia Norteamericana, Espaço e Resistência-Os Sem Terra e Novos Movimentos Sociais-políticos,” International conference on As Relações Estados Unidos-America Latina no Contexto da Doutrina Bush sponsored by the (joint) Graduate Program in International Relations of the Universidade Estadual Paulista, Universidade Estadual Paulista de Campinas, and the Pontífica Universidade Católica de São Paulo, São Paulo, September 15-16, 2003

“Globalization in a Time of Neoliberalism: the MST and New Social Movements” Latin American Studies Association, XXIV International Congress, Dallas, March 27-30, 2003.

“The Landless in a Time of Globalization: Democracy and the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra in Brazil” Seminario Regional “Las Relaciones Interamericanas Después del

11 de Septiembre del 2001,” Havana, November 4-6, 2002.

“New Political Movements in a Time of Neoliberalism, Venezuela and Chavismo” Rocky Mountain Conference on Latin American Studies, April 11-13, 2002, Portland, Oregon.

“La Vigencia del Pensamiento Marxista de Mariátegui en el Siglo 21” , Rocky Mountain Conference on Latin American Studies, Tucson, Feb 28– March 2, 2001.

“Integration and Globalized Reintegration in Central America: Nicaragua and Costa Rica” Latin American Studies Association, XXIII, International Congress, Washington, D.C. Sept 6-8, 2001.

“New Horizons, New Hegemony in Interamerican Relations: the effects of Globalization in Costa Rica and Nicaragua” Latin American Studies Association, XXII International Congress, Miami Florida. March 16-18, 2000.

“Costos Sociales del Neoliberalismo en América Central, Casos de Nicaragua y Costa Rica” 50<sup>th</sup> Congress of Americanists, Warsaw, Poland, July 10-14, 2000.

“Los efectos de la globalización en Centro America: Nicaragua y otros casos” presented in Seminário Internacional, As Relações Inter-Americanas, in Araraquara, São Paulo State, Brazil. Universidade Estadual Paulista. 3-4 November, 1999.

“International Law and the Embargo,” Salud y Nutrición en Cuba: Efectos del Embargo Americano, conference sponsored by the Cuban Committee for Democracy and the Olof Palm Center (Sweden), Miami, September 13, 1997.

“Elections in Nicaragua: 1990 and 1996,” XX International Congress, Latin American Studies Association, Guadalajara, Mexico, April, 1997.

“La Globalización de las Economías Americanas: Nicaragua, Chile, EE UU y Ecuador,” Plenary, XII Asamblea Nacional de Economistas del Ecuador, Guayaquil, 22-27 July, 1996.

“La globalización de las economías centroamericanas: el caso de Nicaragua y apuntes para un futuro,” Plenary, V Congreso de Profesionales en las Ciencias Economicas de Costa Rica meeting jointly with the V Congreso Latinoamericano de Economistas, San José, Costa Rica, 26-29 September, 1995.

"Un hombre amplio: Thought and Culture in José Carlos Mariátegui" The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., December 16, 1994. (Sponsored jointly by the Peruvian Embassy and the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress to celebrate Mariátegui's centenary)

"Pasos hacia un socialismo para el siglo XXI: los plantamientos marxistas de José Carlos Mariátegui", Coloquio Internacional Mariátegui, Casa de las Américas, Havana, June 18-21, 1994.

"Como forjar un socialismo viable: los plantamientos marxistas de José Carlos Mariátegui", Centenario de José Carlos Mariátegui, Museo Nacional, Lima, June 13-17, 1994.

"Socialism and Democracy in the Nicaraguan Context," XVII International Congress, Latin American Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, March 10-12, 1994.

"Democracy and Socialism" Encuentro Internacional Constitución, Democracia y Sistemas Políticas, Sponsored by the National Union of Jurists, Havana, Cuba, November, 16-19, 1993.

"Democracy and Socialism: Latin American and Nicaraguan," Second Biennial Conference on Culture, Society and Change in the Americas." Merida, Venezuela, March 10-14, 1993.

"Capitalist and Socialist Conceptions of Democracy in Nicaragua," South Eastern Council on Latin American Studies Meeting, Antigua, Guatemala, February 18-21, 1993.

"El Pensamiento de Mariátegui ante la crisis del Socialismo," Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, Feb. 17, 1993.

"La Política Exterior de Bill Clinton hacia Centroamérica," Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (National University in Guatemala) Feb. 15, 1993.

"The 1990 Elections: How Capitalism and Western Democracy Stopped the Revolution," XVII International Congress, Latin American Studies Association, Los Angeles, September 24-27, 1992, and the International Studies Association South, Tampa, October 9-11, 1992.

"Democracy and the Development of Mass Organizations in Nicaragua," 39th Annual Meeting, South Eastern Council of Latin American Studies, Charleston, April 2-5, 1992.

"El Plan Bush, La Iniciativa para las Americas," plenary, III Congreso de Profesionales en Ciencias Economicas, San José, Costa Rica, March 26-27, 1992.

"The International Political Economy of the 1990 Nicaraguan Elections," American Political Science Association Meeting, Washington, D.C. August 27-31, 1991.

"How Democracy Stopped the Revolution: Reflections on the 1990 Elections in Nicaragua," 38th Annual Meeting, South Eastern Council of Latin American Studies, Jacksonville, Florida, March 2, 1991.

"U.S. Foreign Relations With Nicaragua During the Reagan Years", with Thomas W. Walker. American Political Science Association Meeting, Atlanta, GA., August 31- September 2, 1989.

"Democratization in Central America" Conference on Democratization in Latin America, College of William and Mary, August 1-2, 1989.

"Radical Thought in the Third World," December 9, 1988, College of William and Mary.

"U.S.- Nicaragua Relations," July 8, 1988, Queens College, Cambridge University, Cambridge.

"Socialism and Democracy in the New Nicaragua", American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 1988.

"Democracy and Socialism in the New Nicaragua," 46<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Americanists, Amsterdam, July 4-8, 1988.

"Marxism and Democracy: Political Development in Nicaragua," Latin American Studies Association, Boston, October 23-25, 1986.

"State Policy and the Cult of Terror in Central America," Research on Terrorism, An International Academic Conference, University of Aberdeen, Scotland, April 15-17, 1986.

"Mariátegui and the First Steps Toward Authentic Latin American Marxism," XII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Albuquerque, April 18-20, 1985.

"Nicaraguan Relations with the Nonaligned Movement," With Waltrud Queiser Morales. 25th Annual Convention, International Studies Association, Atlanta, March 27-31, 1984.

"The Ideology of Revolution in Nicaragua," American Historical Association Meeting, Washington, D.C., December, 1982.

"Defining Terrorism in El Salvador," with Robert W. Taylor. 85th Annual Meeting, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, April 23-24, 1982.

"The Ideology of the Nicaraguan Insurrection," International Studies Association Meeting, Cincinnati, Ohio, March 24-27, 1982.

"The New Ideology of Revolution in Central America," Latin American Studies Association Meeting, Washington, D.C., March 4-6, 1982.

"El Marxismo-Leninismo de Mariátegui," Coloquio Internacional Mariátegui y la Revolución Latinoamericana, Universidad Autonoma de Sinaloa, Culiacán, Mexico, April, 1980.

"José Carlos Mariátegui and the Development of Indo-American Marxism," Joint Meeting, Society for Iberian and Latin American Thought and The Third National Colloquy of the Mexican Philosophy Association, Puebla, Mexico, December 3-7, 1979.

"National Culture and International Marxism in Mariátegui," Latin American Studies Association, Pittsburgh, April, 1979.

"The Peasants as a Revolutionary Class," Latin American Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, March 1976.

"Los Libros Marxistas de Mariátegui," II Seminario Internacional José Carlos Mariátegui, Lima, Peru, June 17-20, 1974.

