

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
Curriculum Vitae
Standard Format

1. Date: December 31, 2010 (amended March 1, 2011)

PERSONAL

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6. Current Academic Rank: Tenured, Full professor
7. Primary Department: Department of International Studies
8. Secondary or Joint Appointment: None
9. Citizenship: USA
10. Visa Type (if non-citizen): N.A.

HIGHER EDUCATION

11. Institutional (institution; degree; date conferred):
University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Political Science; Ph.D.; 1979.
University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Political Science; M.A.; 1968.
University of California, Berkeley, Department of Political Science; B.A.; 1967.

12. Non-Institutional (description; dates): None.

13. Certification, licensure (description; board or agency; dates): None

EXPERIENCE

14. Academic (institutions; rank/status; dates):
Chair, Department of International Studies, University of Miami, June 2006 - present
Professor of International and Comparative Studies, Department of International Studies,
University of Miami, 1990 - present.

Co-Chair (with Dr. Fred Frohock), CAS INS/POL merger task force, 2008- 09.

Co- Chair (with Dr. George Yudice), CAS Ad Hoc Committee on Latin American Studies, 2007-08 Department of International Studies, University of Miami, 2007 – 2009.

Acting Director, Center of Latin American Studies (CLAS), University of Miami, Jan 1, 2007- August 31, 2008.

Director of Graduate and Undergraduate Studies, Department of International Studies, University of Miami, January 2005- August 2007.

Director of Undergraduate Studies, Department of International Studies, University of Miami, January 2005- present.

Visiting Professor, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León (UANL), Monterrey, Mexico, 205 - present.

Lecturer, Diplomado de Estudio de los Estados Unidos, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), México City, México, 2003-present.

Visiting Professor, División de Estudios Internacionales (DEI), Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), México City, México, August 2002- August 2003.

Visiting Profesor, Programa de Relaciones Internacionales, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Quito, Ecuador, 2000- present.

Lecturer, Programa Presidentes de Empresas, Facultad de Administración, Universidad de los Andes, Bogota, Colombia, 2000-present.

Visiting Professor, Curso de Alta Gerencia, Instituto Colombiano de Estudios Superiores de INCOLDA (ICESI), Cali, Colombia, 1991-present.

Visiting Professor, Curso de Alta Gerencia, Escuela de Administración, Informática y Tecnología (EAFIT), Medellín Colombia, 1999 - present.

Visiting Professor, Centro de Estudios Bolivianos (CEBEM), La Paz, Bolivia, June-July 2001, Maestría de Comunicación y Relaciones Internacionales.

Associate Dean, Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), University of Miami, 1990-1995.

Visiting Professor, Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales (IEPRI), Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia, 1989, 1993.

Fulbright Professor, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Quito, Ecuador, July-August 1987; July-August 1989; May-June 1991.

Associate Professor of International and Comparative Studies, Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), University of Miami, 1987-1990.

Research Fellow and Visiting Lecturer, Centro de Estudios Internacionales (CEI), Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, July, 1985; August 1987; August 1988, January 1996.

Associate Professor of Comparative Politics and Latin American Studies, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), The Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC, 1983-1987.

Visiting Professor, Universidad de las Américas, Puebla, México, 1986 Summer Session.

Chairperson, Integrated Area and Language Studies Program, Andean Republics Course, Foreign Service Institute (FSI), U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC; July 1981-December 1982; August 1984-August 1987.

Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics and Latin American Studies, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), The Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC, 1978-1982.

Professor, Masters Program, Department of Political Science, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, 1975-1978.

Professor, Undergraduate Program, Department of Political Science, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, 1973-1978.

Research Fellow, Department of Political Science, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, June-August 1972.

Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, UCLA, 1971-1973.

High School Teacher and Community Action Promoter, U.S. Peace Corps, Fusagasugá, Cundinamarca, Colombia, 1968-1970.

Primary School Teacher, “Amigos” Program, sponsored by The University of California at Berkeley in Tlaxcala, Hidalgo, México, June-August 1967.

English Literacy Instructor, Yuba City Migrant Labor Camp, Yuba City, CA, June-August 1966.

15. Non-Academic (employers; title; responsibilities; dates):

Expert Witness, US Federal Court (Florida, New York, New Jersey, Georgia, Texas, California), Florida State Court, US Immigration Court (Florida, California, New York, Georgia, and New Jersey) 2000 - present.

Consultant, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Team Leader, Colombia Evaluation Mission, May-September, 2006.

Consultant, Consejo de Seguridad Pública, Government of Panamá, Panamá, 2001-2004.

Consultant/Scholar, Congressional Program, The Aspen Institute, “U.S. Policy toward Colombia Conference, Punta Mita, Nayarit, México, Nov. 21-26, 2002.

Co-editor, with William C. Smith, Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, SIS, University of Miami, 1997 - 2000.

Associate Dean, Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), University of Miami, June 1991 - January 1995.

Director, InterAmerican Studies, Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), University of Miami, May 1991 - June 1994.

Director, North/South Center Drug Task Force, North/South Center, University of Miami, May 1991- December 1994.

Director, North/South Center Mexican Security Task Force, University of Miami, May 1992 -May 1993.

Coordinator, Violence and Democracy in Central America Project, Inter-American Dialogue, Washington D.C. and Miami, 1991-1992.

Director, Andean Studies Project, Institute of Interamerican Studies, Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), University of Miami, 1988-1990.

Academic Consultant, The Inter-American Commission on Drug Policy, Institute of the Americas and The Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, CA, 1989-1991.

Academic Consultant, United States Information Agency (USIA), FLACSO, Quito, Ecuador, February 1989.

Conference Coordinator, International Task Force, The Miami Coalition for a Drug Free Community, 1988-1989.

Coordinator, Social Science Research Council (SSRC), MacArthur Peace and Security Program, Mexican National Security Project, 1988-1990.

Co-Director, Masters Degree Program, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Quito, Ecuador, 1988-1990.

Director, U.S. - Colombian Bilateral Drug Trafficking Study, North/South Center, University of Miami, 1987-1990.

Consultant, U.S.- Mexico Bilateral Commission, Washington D.C., 1987-88.

Consultant, Inter-American Development Bank, Central American Economic Development Project, 1985-1986.

Consultant, The World Bank, AID Effectiveness Project, 1984 - 1985.

Acting Director, Latin American Studies Program, SAIS, 1984 -1985.

Consultant, U.S.- Colombian Policy Dialogue, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, 1983-1984.

Associate Director, Latin American Studies Program, SAIS, 1980-1987.

Editor, SAIS Papers in Latin American Studies Series, 1983-1987.

Spanish Language Examiner, Spanish Proficiency Examinations, SAIS, 1978-1987.

Associate Director, Masters Degree Program, Department of Political Science, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, 1975-1977.

16. Military (branch; rank; responsibilities; dates):

Peace Corps; Volunteer; Colombia, August 1968 to December 1970.

PUBLICATIONS

17. Books and monographs published:

The International Relations of Latin America. Co-author with Betty Horwitz. New York: Routledge, Forthcoming 2012.

La desmovilización paramilitar en Colombia: Entre la esperanza y el escepticismo. Co-editor with Elvira maria Restrepo. Bogotá: Editorial Universidad de los Andes, Abril 2011.

El futuro del café en Colombia. Editor. Bogotá: Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia, 2009.

Drug Trafficking Research in the Americas, Editor, (Miami: North-South Center in Association with Lynn Rienner), 1997.

Drug Trafficking in the Americas, Co-edited with William O. Walker, III (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1994).

In Search of Security, Co-edited with Sergio Aguayo (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993).

Drug Trafficking Research Update, Guest Co-editor with William O. Walker III, Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 34, No. 3, Fall 1992, Special Issue.

Myths of Militarization: The Role of the Military in the War on Drugs in the Americas (Coral Gables: North-South Center, October, 1991).

La Economía Política del Narcotráfico en Ecuador, with Adrián Bonilla and Alexei Páez, eds. (Quito: FLACSO, 1991).

En Busca de la Seguridad Perdida: Ensayos sobre la Seguridad Nacional Mexicana, with Sergio Aguayo Quezada, eds. (México, DF: Siglo XXI Editores, 1990).

Economía y Política del Narcotráfico, with Juan Gabriel Tokatlián, eds. (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 1990).

Assessing the Americas' War on Drugs, Guest Editor Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 30, Nos. 2 and 3, Summer/Fall 1988.

The State and the Peasantry in Colombia (Meadville, PA: Allegheny College, Latin American Issues Monograph Series, No. 6, 1988).

Contadora: The Limits of Negotiation, with Juan Gabriel Tokatlián (Washington, DC: Foreign Policy Institute, SAIS, The Johns Hopkins University, FPI Case Studies No. 11, 1987).

Contadora and the Diplomacy of Peace in Central America: The United States, Central America and Contadora, editor, (Boulder: Westview, SAIS Papers in Latin American Studies, 1987).

Contadora and the Central American Peace Process: Selected Documents, with Roberto Alvarez and Katherine Hagedorn, eds. (Boulder: Westview, 1985).

Regional Powers in the Caribbean Basin: Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia (Washington, DC: Caribbean and Central American Program, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), The Johns Hopkins University, Occasional Paper No. 2, 1983).

18. Juried or refereed journal articles and exhibitions:

Journal Articles

“Carteles de la droga: de Medellín a Sinaloa.” en Razón Pública.com (Bogotá), 21 de febrero de 2011.

http://www.razonpublica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1821:carteles-de-la-droga-de-medellin-a-sinaloa&catid=21:conflicto-drogas-y-paz&Itemid=30

“Por qué se está perdiendo la guerra contra la droga (II): De cucarachas, estados incapaces y legalizaciones nebulosas,” en Razón Pública.com. (Bogotá), 7 de febrero 2011, 6 p.

http://www.razonpublica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1761:por-que-se-esta-perdiendo-la-guerra-contra-la-droga-ii-de-cucarachas-estados-incapaces-y-legalizaciones-nebulosas&catid=21:conflicto-drogas-y-paz&Itemid=30

“El efecto globo o por que se está perdiendo la ‘Guerra contra las Drogas’, en Razón Pública.com (Bogotá), 31 de enero de 2011.

http://www.razonpublica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1743:el-efecto-globo-o-por-que-se-esta-perdiendo-la-guerra-contra-las-drogas&catid=21:conflicto-drogas-y-paz&Itemid=30

“Colombia y la Guerra contra las drogas,” in *Foreign Affairs en Español*, Vol. 8, Núm., 1(enero - marzo 2009), pp. 169 -188.

“Editorial: Colombia y el TLC,” in *Colombia Internacional*, No. 61, enero-2005-junio 2005 pp. 7-9.

“Globalisation and Latin American and Caribbean Organised Crime,” in *Global Crime*, Volume 6, No. 1, February 2004, pp. 32-53.

“La globalización de la delincuencia organizada,” in *Foreign Affairs en Español*, Vol. 3, Num.2 (2003), pp. 110-137. This article was excerpted and reprinted as “La globalización y la delincuencia organizada,” in *Revista Fuerzas Armadas del Ecuador*, Vol. XLIII, No. 135 (Mayo del 2003), pp. 43-49.

“El tráfico de drogas y la política de los Estados Unidos en Colombia,” *Iconos*, No 10, *Revista de Flacso Sede Ecuador*, abril de 2001.

“Narcotráfico, Violencia Política y Relaciones Colombo-Estadounidenses en los Años Noventa,” *Colombia Internacional*, Vol. 49-50, enero-abril 2001. (Universidad de Los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia).

“Introduction,” *Journal of Latin American Affairs*, Vol. 5 No. 1 (1997).

“Colombia en el banquillo”, *Estrategia Económica y Financiera*, No. 242 (December 15, 1995).

“Colombia: un país intervenido o comprometido?”, *Estrategia Económica y Financiera*, No. 201, (November 14, 1994).

“Who will be the Bellwether in Bogotá?” *Hemisfile*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (September/October 1993).

“After San Antonio,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 34, Nos. 3 & 4, (fall 1992).

- “Colombia: El Dilema de la Droga”, with Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Nueva Sociedad, No. 109 (Sep Oct 1990), (Caracas).
- “Colombia y la Guerra contra la Droga”, Economía Colombiana, Nos. 226-227 (Feb-Mar 1990). (Bogotá).
- “Tráfico de Drogas y Relaciones entre los Estados Unidos y América Latina”, Heraldo Muñoz, ed., A la Espera de una Nueva Etapa. Anuario de Políticas Exteriores Latinoamericanas 1988-1989 (Caracas: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1989).
- “Deadly Choices, Deadly Decisions”, with Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Hemisfile, Perspectives on Political and Economic Trends in the Americas, No. 3, (May 1990).
- “Dateline Drug Wars: Colombia - Wrong Strategy,” Foreign Policy, No. 77 (winter 1989-1990).
- “Cuatro Posibles Soluciones al Problema del Narcotráfico”, Síntesis, No. 9 (Sept-Dec 1989). (Madrid).
- “América Latina y la administración Bush,” in Cuadernos de Política Exterior, No.1 (1989) pp. 11-17 (Quito, Ecuador).
- “Luís López de Mesa: Una Lectura Política”, with Gabriel Silva Luján, Estudios Sociales, No.4, (March 1989). (Medellín).
- “La Ley Antinarcóticos de 1988 en Estados Unidos y su Impacto para Colombia”, Colombia Internacional, No. 4, (October-December 1988). (Bogotá).
- “Foreword,” Journal of InterAmerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 30, Nos. 2 and 3, (Summer/Fall 1988).
- “U.S. Foreign Policy and the War on Drugs: Analysis of a Policy Failure,” Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 30, Nos. 2 and 3, (Summer/Fall 1988).
- “Colombia and the War on Drugs,” Foreign Affairs, Vol. 67, No. 1 (Fall 1988).
- “The New Hundred Years War: U.S. National Security and the War on Drugs,” Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring 1988). (Excerpted in Spanish as “La Nueva Guerra de los 100 Años”, Chasqui: Revista Latinoamericana de Comunicación, No. 29/30 (Enero-Junio 1989). (Quito).
- “Winning Battles, Losing the War: Latin America and the U.S. War on Drugs,” Hemisphere, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Fall 1988).
- “Entre Macondo y El Dorado: Notas sobre la Economía Política de Colombia Contemporánea”, Revista de Estudios Colombianos, No. 3 (1987).
- “Colombian Politics: Crisis or Continuity,” Current History, Vol. 86, No. 516 (January 1987).
- “La Política Exterior de Colombia en los Ochenta”, with Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Estrategia: Económica y Financiera, No. 102 (August 1986). (Bogotá).
- “La Interdependencia entre Estados Unidos y México a Finales de los Ochenta”, Cuadernos Semestrales Estados Unidos: Perspectiva Latinoamericana, No. 20 (Second Semester, 1986). (Mexico).

“Contadora: The Failure of Diplomacy,” Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Fall 1986).

“Colombian Foreign Policy in the 1980s: The Search for Leverage,” with Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Fall 1985). (Reprinted in Colombia Internacional, No. 2, September 1985).

“Mexican Foreign Policy: The Decline of a Regional Power?,” Current History, Vol. 82, No. 488 (December 1983).

“Mexico in the 1980s: A New Regional Power,” Current History, Vol. 80, No. 469 (November 1981).

“United States - Mexican Relations in the 1980s: A U.S. Perspective,” Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, Vol. 34, No. 1 (1981).

“Film and Society: A Survey of Latin American Political Cinema,” with Annette Traversie Bagley, AFI Education Newsletter, Vol. 3, No. 2 (November-December 1979). Reprinted in Patricia Erens with Marian Henley, eds., College Course Files (New York: University Film and Video Association Monograph No. 5 (1986).

“Organizaciones Campesinas Contemporáneas en Colombia: El caso de la Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos (ANUC),” with Fernando Botero Zea, Estudios Rurales Latinoamericanos, Vol. I, No. 1 (Bogotá) (January-February 1978).

19. Other works, publications, and abstracts:

Book Chapters and Occasional Papers

Bruce Bagley and Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, “La política exterior de Colombia durante la década de los ochenta: Los límites de un poder regional,” en Sandra Borda Guzmán y Arlene Beth Tickner, compiladoras, Relaciones internacionales y política exterior de Colombia. Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 2010, pp. 79-146.

Bruce Bagley and Olga Nazario, “Lithium and Bolivia: The Promise and the Problems.” Miami: Western Hemisphere Security Center (WHEMSEC), June 2010, 33p.

“Crimen organizado en México y sus vínculos con Estados Unidos,” with Aline Hernandez, en Han Mathieu y Catalina Niño Guarnizo, editores, Seguridad regional en América Latina y el Caribe Anuario 2010. Bogotá: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Programa de Cooperación en Seguridad Regional, octubre de 2010, pp. 328-378.

Bruce Bagley, “La conexión Colombia-México-Estados Unidos,” en Raúl Benítez Manaut, Abelardo Rodríguez Sumano Armando Rodríguez Luna, editores, Atlas de la Seguridad y de la Defensa en México 2009. México DF: Colectivo de Análisis de la Seguridad con Democracia (CASADE), 2009, pp. 24-32.

Bruce M. Bagley, “Políticas de control de drogas ilícitas en Estados Unidos: ¿que funciona y que no funciona?” en Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, compilador, La guerra contra las drogas en el mundo andino: Hacia un cambio de paradigma. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Libros de Zorzal, 2009, pp. 283-296.

Bruce Michael Bagley, “Globalización y crimen organizado en Latinoamérica y el Caribe,” en Luis Guillermo Solís y Francisco Rojas Aravena, editores, Crimen organizado en América Latina y el Caribe. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Catalonia, Ltda., 2009, pp. 109-138.

“Dope and Dogma Explaining the Failure of U.S-Latin American Drug Policies (with Juan Gabriel Tokatlian), in Michael LaRosa and Frank O. Mora, eds., Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U.S.-Latin American Relations. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006, Second Edition, pp. 219-234.

“The Regional Integration Process and Security Maintenance: An Historical Perspective,” in Gordon Mace and Catherine Durepos, eds., The New Security Equation in the Americas. Quebec: Laval University, 2007, pp. 52-76.

“Drug Control Policies in the United States: What Works and What Doesn’t?” in Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), ed., Proceedings of the Workshop-Dialogue ‘Europe-Latin America’ on Illicit Drugs. Paris: Inter-American Development Bank, Europe Office, 2007, pp. 76-85.

“Dope and Dogma Explaining the Failure of U.S-Latin American Drug Policies (with Juan Gabriel Tokatlian), in Michael LaRosa and Frank O. Mora, eds., Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U.S.-Latin American Relations. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006, Second Edition, pp. 219-234.

“Notas sobre la política exterior ecuatoriana,” in Javier Ponce Leiva, ed., Ecuador en el mundo: 1830-2006.

“Prologo: La relación bilateral EEUU-México,” en Consuelo Dávila y Rafael Velásquez, coordinadores., Perspectivas de la política exterior de México para 2006-2012. México DF: Editorial UNAM, 2006, pp. i-vi.

“Globalisation and Latin American and Caribbean Organized Crime,” in Mark Galeotti, ed., Global Crime. London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2005, pp. 32-54.

“La situación política de Estados Unidos y su relación con Latinoamérica y con Colombia,” en Eduardo Robayo Salom, moderador, Actualidad: Discusiones y Propuestas. Bogota: Universidad de los Andes, Facultad de Administración, Comité de Publicaciones, febrero 2004, pp. 8-11.

“Globalization and Transnational Organized Crime: The Russian Mafia in Latin America and the Caribbean,” in Menno Velinga, ed., The Political Economy of the Drug Industry: Latin America and the International System. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004, pp. 261-296.

“Tráfico de drogas, violencia política y política estadounidense en Colombia durante los años noventa,” en Agustín Maciel, Coordinador, La Seguridad nacional en las relaciones México-Estados Unidos. San Luis Potosí: El Colegio de San Luis Potosí, 2003, pp. 197-243.

“The Narco Connection,” in Cynthia Arnson, ed., The Crisis of Democratic Governance in the Andes. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center, Woodrow Wilson Center Reports on the Americas, #2, 2001.

“Hablando Duro: La política antinarcóticos de los Estados Unidos en los años noventa,” in Juan G. Tokatlian, ed., Colombia y Estados Unidos: Problemas y Perspectivas. (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo 1998).

“Introduction,” in Bruce Bagley, ed., Drug Trafficking Research in the Americas. (Miami: North-South Center, University of Miami, 1997).

“The Drug War in Colombia,” in William O. Walker, ed., Drugs in the Western Hemisphere: An odyssey of cultures in conflict. (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, Inc., Jaguar Books on Latin America, No. 12, 1996).

“Organizaciones campesinas contemporaneas en Colombia: Un Estudio de la Asociacion Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos (ANUC), with Fernando Botero Zea, in Absalon Machado, compilador, El agro y la cuestion social. Bogota: Tercer Mundo editores en coedicion con el banco ganadero, caja agraria y vecol, 1994, pp. 185-228.

“Introduction,” in Bruce M. Bagley and William O. Walker, eds. Drug Trafficking in the Americas, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, Inc., 1994).

“After San Antonio,” in Bruce M. Bagley and William O. Walker, eds., Drug Trafficking in the Americas. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, Inc., 1994).

“Introducción”, in Adrián Bonilla, Las sorprendentes virtudes de lo perverso: Ecuador y Narcotráfico en los 90, (Quito: FLACSO-Ecuador and North-South Center, University of Miami, 1993).

“Drugs,” in The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World, Joel Krieger, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1993).

“La crisis política, la visión desde Washington y la reinserción financiera internacional”, in La democracia en cuestión, (Lima: Centro Norte Sur/Universidad de Miami, Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales-CEPES and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos-IEP, 1992).

“Cesar Gaviria Trujillo”, in David Eggenberger, ed., Encyclopedia of World Biography (New York: XXXXX, 1992).

“The Military and the War on Drugs in The United States and Latin America,” in Peter H. Smith et al, Drug Trafficking in the Americas, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992). Reprinted in Spanish as “Los mitos de la militarización: las fuerzas armadas en la guerra contra las drogas”, in Peter H. Smith, ed., El combate a las drogas en América (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993).

“Dope and Dogma: The Politics of U.S.-Latin American Drug Diplomacy,” with Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, in Jonathan Hartlyn, et al, eds., U.S.-Latin American Relations in the 1990s, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

“Cartagena II: Whither the War on Drugs in the Americas,” North-South Issues/ Drugs, February 1992.

“La diplomacia de Estados Unidos y América Latina en la década de los ochenta”, Pensamiento Iberoamericano, 19 (Enero-Junio 1991).

“Droga y dogma: La narcodiplomacia entre Estados Unidos y América Latina en la década de los ochenta y su proyección para los noventa”, in Bruce Bagley et al, Las drogas bajo tres nuevos enfoques analíticos. Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, Documentos Ocasionales CEI, No. 23 (Sept-Oct 1991).

“Comentarios”, in Jesus Antonio Bejarano, ed., Construir la Paz: Memorias del Seminario Paz, Democracia y Desarrollo. (Bogotá: CEREC, 1990).

“Narcotráfico: Colombia Asediada”, in Francisco Leal Buitrago and Leon Zamosc, ed., Al Filo del Caos: Crisis Política en la Colombia de los Años 80 (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores, 1990).

“Narco-Diplomacy: U.S. Latin American Relations and the War on Drugs,” in James Malloy and E. Gamarra, eds., Latin American and Caribbean Contemporary Record, Vol. VII, 1987-88 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1989). This article was reprinted in Spanish as “Tráfico de Drogas y Relaciones entre los Estados Unidos y América Latina”, in H. Muñoz, ed., Anuario de Políticas

Exteriores Latinoamericanas. A La Espera de una Nueva Etapa (Caracas: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1989).

“The New Hundred Years War? U.S. National Security and the War on Drugs in Latin America,” in Donald Mabry, ed., The Latin American Narcotics Trade and U.S. National Security, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

“Colombian Society,” in Sandra Meditz, et. al, eds., Colombia: A Country Study. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989).

“U.S.-Mexican Interdependence in the 1980s,” in Riordan Roett, ed., U.S.-Mexican Interdependence (Boulder: Westview, 1988). Reprinted in Spanish as “Interdependencia y Política Estadunidense hacia México en los Años Ochenta,” in México y Estados Unidos: El Manejo de la Relación, Riordan Roett (comp.), (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1989).

“Reflections on the U.S.- Latin American Drug Trade: Losing the War on Drugs,” Miami Report II (Coral Gables, FL: NORTH/SOUTH CENTER, GSIS, University of Miami, 1988).

“Latin American Insurgencies,” with David Scott Palmer, in Abraham Lowenthal, ed., Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record, Vol. VI, 1986-1987 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988).

“La Política Exterior Colombiana en los 1980s,” with Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, in Monica Hirst, ed., Continuidad y Cambio en las Relaciones América Latina/Estados Unidos (Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1987).

“Contadora,” in Abraham Lowenthal, ed., Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record, Vol. V, 1985-1986 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987).

“The Colombian Connection: The Impact of Drug Traffic on Colombia,” in Deborah Pacini and Christine Franquemont, eds., Coca and Cocaine: Effects on People and Policy in Latin America (Peterborough, New Hampshire: Cultural Survival and Cornell University, 1986).

“Mexico in Crisis: The Parameters of Accommodation,” (Washington, DC: Foreign Policy Briefs, Foreign Policy Institute, School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, 1986).

“Reagan y el Sistema Interamericano,” in Escuela de Ciencias Internacionales, ed., Conferencias sobre el Sistema Interamericano (Quito: Universidad Central de Ecuador, 1985).

“AID Effectiveness in Colombia,” in Robert Cassen and Associates, Does AID Work? Report to the Inter-governmental Task Force, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

“Colombian Foreign Policy in the 1980s,” with Juan Gabriel Tokatlian (Washington, D.C.: Occasional Paper No. 7, CACP, SAIS, The Johns Hopkins University, 1985).

“Colombia: National Front and Economic Development,” in Robert Wesson, ed., Politics, Policies and Economic Development in Latin America (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution, 1984).

“Mexico in Central America: The Limits of Regional Power,” in Wolf Grabendorff, ed., Political Change in Central America (Boulder: Westview, 1984).

“The Politics of Asymmetrical Interdependence: U.S.-Mexican Relations in the 1980s,” in Michael Erisman, ed., The Caribbean Challenge: U.S. Policy in a Volatile Region (Boulder: Westview, 1984).

“The National Front and Beyond: Political Power, Public Policy, and the State in an Inclusionary Authoritarian Regime,” (Washington, DC: CACP, SAIS, Occasional Paper No. 4, 1984).

“Mexico: The Promise of Oil,” in Margaret Daly Hayes, Latin America and the U.S. National Interest: A Basis for U.S. Policy (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984).

“Colombia en el Caribe: El Nuevo Aliado Norteamericano?” in Juan Gabriel Tokatlian and Klaus Schubert, eds., Relaciones Internacionales en la Cuenca del Caribe y la Política de Colombia (Bogotá: FESCOL and the Chamber of Commerce of Bogotá, 1982).

“Popular Mobilization Programs of the National Front: Cooptation and Radicalization,” with Matthew Edel, in Albert Berry, Ronald Hellman, and Mauricio Solaun, eds., Politics of Compromise: Coalition Government in Colombia (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1980).

“El Sector Privado y la Vivienda Popular,” with Fernando Botero Zea, in Gabriel Murillo and Elizabeth Ungar, eds., Política, Vivienda Popular y el Proceso de Toma de Decisiones en Colombia (Bogotá: Department of Political Science, Universidad de los Andes, 1978).

“Urban Reform in Colombia: The Impact of the ‘Politics of Games’ on Public Policy,” with Mauricio Solaun and Fernando Cepeda Ulloa, in F. Rabinowitz and F. Trueblood, eds., Latin American Urban Research, Vol. III (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1973).

Book Reviews and Periodical Articles

“La paz no vendrá de afuera,” El Tiempo, (Bogota) 8 de febrero de 2002.

“Clinton’s Search for a Drug Policy for Latin America,” North-South, the Magazine of the Americas, Vol. 4, No. 3 (November 1994).

“Jonathan Hartlyn: The Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia,” Development and Change (1992). (The Hague).

“Interview: President César Gaviria Trujillo,” NORTH-SOUTH: The Magazine of the Americas, Vol. I, No. 1 (June 1991).

“Review Essay: Understanding Colombian Democracy,” Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 32, No. 1, (Spring 1990).

“Kings of Cocaine is Riveting and True,” with Annette Traversie Bagley, The Miami Herald, April 23, 1989.

“The Politics of Colombia,” Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring 1988).

“La Conexión Colombiana”, La Jornada Semanal, 12 March 1988. (Mexico).

“Colombia: Vieja Política Exterior”, with Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, La Jornada Semanal, 5 October 1986. (Mexico).

“The United States and Latin America in the 1980s: Contending Perspectives on a Decade of Crisis,” Revista InterAmericana de Bibliografía, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (1986).

“Barco en Estados Unidos: Una Política Exterior que Puede Ser Sorpresa”, with Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, El Tiempo, 30 September 1986. (Bogotá).

“Lo Bueno y lo Malo de Contadora para Colombia”, El Tiempo, 18 May 1986. (Bogotá).

“Colombia: So Close to Unity, Now So Far,” The Los Angeles Times, 27 November 1985.

“Le Mexique Face a la Crise en Amerique Centrale”, Le Monde Diplomatique, No. 377, 29 Annee (April 1982). (Paris).

“México en los Ochenta: una Nueva Potencia Regional”, Uno más Uno, No. 19, 3 January 1982 and No. 20, 10 January 1982. (Mexico).

20. Other works accepted for publication:

“Crimen organizado, trafico de drogas y democracia en America Latina y el Caribe,” en Rosental Alves, ed., Periodismo en America Latina. Austin, University of Texas, Knight Center, 2012, forthcoming.

“Siete tendencias del narcotráfico en Latinoamérica,” Revista Criterio Jurídicos (Universidad Javeriana, Cali, Colombia), forthcoming, 2011.

“Organized Crime and Democracy in Latin America.” Woodrow Wilson Center, Latin American Program, forthcoming, 2011.

“The Merida Initiative and Drug Trafficking on the U.S.-Mexican Border,” in Small Wars, forthcoming, 2011.

The International Relations of Latin America. Co-author with Betty Horwitz. New York: Routledge, Forthcoming 2012.

PROFESSIONAL

21. Funded Research Performed (include all grants received in the last five years, identifying the principal investigator and the amounts and dates of the awards):

Last Five Years

Open Society Institute (OSI), Bruce Bagley PI, ALBA Project, 2011, \$20,000

Ford Foundation (Chile), Bruce Bagley PI, ABA Project, 2010-11, \$4,000

CLAS (UM), Bruce Bagley PI, ALBA Project, 2010-11, \$ 5,000

LACC (FIU), Bruce Bagley, ALBA Project, 2010-11, \$5,000

CIBER (UM) Bruce Bagley PI, ALBA Project, 2010-11, \$5,000

CAS/UM (Dean’s Publication Award), ALBA Project, Bruce Bagley PI, 2010-11, \$4,000

National Coffee Growers Federation of Colombia, Coffee Future Project, Bruce Bagley PI, \$140,000, 2008 - 09

Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF), Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime Project, Juan Gabriel Tokatlian and Bruce Bagley, PIs, 2007- 09, \$290.00

Prior to Last Five Years

Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE, México) and the Instituto Matías Romero (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de México) co-sponsored a two-day workshop in Mexico City bringing together both academic specialists and Mexican government officials to analyze the implications (advantages, risks and possible pitfalls) flowing from the United Nations Drug Control Program's (UNDCP) June 1998 initiative to promote and institutionalize multilateral cooperative agreements and collective actions against international drug trafficking. June 4-7, 1998 (Mexico City). \$10,000. Principal investigator: Jorge Chabat, Director of the International Relations Program, CIDE. (GSIS Ph.D. 1998)

Lecturer, United States Information Agency (USIA), Mexico, May-June 1997.

Grant from the Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales (IEPRI) of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Bogotá) and Colciencias (Colombian National Science Foundation) funding the "Comisión Colombia-Estados Unidos" to analyze Colombian-US relations and to make policy recommendations designed to improve bilateral relations between these two countries. April 1997-March 1998. \$250,000. Principal investigator: Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Director, International Studies Program, IEPRI, Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Departamento de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad Javeriana (Bogotá) and Colciencias (Bogotá) jointly funded a 12-month research project on "US-Andean Bilateral Relations in the 1990's" involving eight international relations specialists (3 US academics and 5 Andean researchers, one from each of the five Andean nations: Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia). Jan-Dec 1997. \$50,000. Principal investigator: Andrés Franco, Director, Departamento de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá. (GSIS Ph.D. 1997)

Instituto de Estudios Internacionales (IEPRI) of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Bogotá) sponsored an external evaluation carried out by three non-Colombian social scientists specializing on Colombia to assess the academic quality, quantity, impact, and contributions of the research and publications produced by IEPRI's fifty academic investigators during the first ten years of its operations (1986-1996). The purpose of this analytic exercise was to evaluate the Institute's scholarly production critically and comparatively against international academic standards, to identify strengths and weaknesses at the theoretical/conceptual, methodological and programmatic/project levels and to publish the surveys as a collection that would serve as a benchmark (or point of reference) against which to measure the Institute's next ten years of scholarly research and publications. December 1996 - June 1997. \$40,000. Principal investigators: (1) Bruce Bagley, GSIS, University of Miami: International area; (2) Jonathan Hartlyn, Political Science and Director of Latin American Studies, University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill): Governance and Democracy area; (3) Daniel Pecaut, sociologist, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris): violence area.

Council on Foreign Relations Grant underwriting the creation of a "Task Force on U.S. International Drug Control Policies" to evaluate the effectiveness of the U.S. drug control policies and their impacts on countries of Latin America, to assess their success/failure in curtailing drug trafficking in the hemisphere and to recommend future directors for U.S. Policy toward drug control in the regime. December 1995 - June 1997. \$200,000. Principal investigator: Mathea Falco, President, Drug Studies and former Assistant Secretary of State for International Matters.

Center for the Study of Hemispheric Trade, University of Texas (Austin) funded a six-month research project to assess the impact of guerrillas, drug trafficking and paramilitary violence, political corruption and common criminality in Colombia on U.S. and other multinational companies operating in Colombia's oil sector during the 1990s. November 1995-April 1996. \$5,000. Principal investigator: Bruce Bagley, GSIS, University of Miami.

North-South Center, Drug Trafficking Research Project Grants: 1991-92: \$100,000; 1992-93: \$89,000; 1993-94: \$85,000; 1994-95: \$56,000. Principal investigator: Bruce Bagley, GSIS, University of Miami.

North-South Center, Mexican National Security Project Grant. June 1992-May 1993. \$35,000. Principal investigator: Bruce Bagley, GSIS, University of Miami.

Colombian Project Grant, United Nations Development Program (UNDP, Bogotá Office), 1988-1989.

Lecturer, United States Information Agency (USIA), Ecuador (1989); Colombia (1988); Honduras (1987); Mexico, Guatemala, and Bolivia (1986).

General Research Support Award, University of Miami, 1987.

SAIS Mexico Project Grant, Hewlett Foundation, 1987-1988.

Central American Research Grant, Ford Foundation, 1985 - 1986.

Colombia Conference Grant, Ford Foundation, 1982.

Colombia Conference Grants, Inter American Foundation (IAF), Washington D.C., 1981, 1983.

International Conference Travel Grant, IREX, LASA, Moscow, USSR, June - July 1983.

Faculty Research Grant, Peter Magowan Research Fund, SAIS, 1982.

SAIS University of Havana Exchange Grants, Ford Foundation, 1980 - 1986.

Latin American Teaching Fellowship (LATF), Bogotá, Colombia, 1975-1977.

Dissertation Fellowship, Foreign Area Fellowship Program, Social Science Research Council, 1973 -1975.

Summer Project Research Grant, Universidad of los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, 1974.

Collaborative Research Training Project Grant, Social Science Research Council (SSRC), Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, June-August 1972.

22. Editorial responsibilities:

Member, Editorial Board, *The Hemispheric Review*, 2010 - present

Member, Editorial Board, *Problemas de Desarrollo*, 2010 - present.

Member, Editorial Board, *Revista de Relaciones Internacionales* (UNAM, Mexico DF, Mexico), 2009 – present.

Member, Editorial Board, *Estudios Gerenciales* (ICESI, Cali, Colombia), 2006 - present.

Member, International Editorial Board, *ICONOS* (FLACSO, Quito, Ecuador), 2005-present.

Member, Editorial Board, *Colombia Internacional* (Bogotá, Colombia), 2000 - present.

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of Latin American Politics and Society (LAPS), 2000-present.

Co-editor, with William C. Smith, Journal of Inter American Studies and World Affairs, SIS, University of Miami, 1997 - 2000.

Reviewer: Studies in Comparative International Development, Politics and Society, Journal of Politics, SAIS Review, Foro Internacional, Western Political Quarterly, American Political Science Review, Latin American Research Review, Greenwood Press, Mac Arthur Foundation, Woodrow Wilson Program (Smithsonian Institution), Journal of Latin American Politics and Society, CQ Press, Notre Dame Press, International Security, Harvard University Press.

Member, Editorial Board, Hemisfile, Institute of the Americas, La Jolla, CA, 1989-2001.

Editor, SAIS Papers in Latin American Studies Series, 1983-1987.

23. Professional and Honorary Organizations (member; officer; date):

Member, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), 2008 – present

Member, Advisory Board, Center for Hemispheric Policy, 2007- present

Member, Executive Board, Center of Latin American Studies (CLAS), University of Miami, 2000-present

Academic Consultant, Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP), Washington D.C., January 1998.

Academic Expert, “Hearing on U.S. Drug Certification Process” U.S. House of Representatives, Washington D.C., March 1998.

Academic Consultant, U.S.-Colombia Bilateral Relations Project, IEPRI, Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Bogotá) 1997.

Member, U.S. - Andean Foreign Policy Task Force, Universidad Javeriana (Bogotá), May 1997.

Member, Council on Foreign Relations, “Task Force on U.S. International Drug Control Policies,” New York, 1997.

External Evaluator, International Relations Program, Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales (IEPRI), Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, 1996-1997.

Faculty Advisor, Journal of Latin American Affairs, GSIS, University of Miami, 1995-1997.

Academic Consultant, Policy Briefing for U.S. Ambassador Designate to Colombia, Mr. Kurt Kammen, December 1997.

Member, Advisory Board, The Journal of Latin American Affairs, Washington D.C., 1994-1997.

Program Chair, Latin American Studies Association, LASA '94, 1994.

Member, Advisory Board, Center for International Business and Research (CIBER), University of Miami, 1990-1993.

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL, 1991-1997.

Member, Inter-American Commission on Drug Policy, IOA and CILAS, USCD, 1990-1991.

Member, Academic Advisory Board, FLACSO Sede Quito, Quito, Ecuador, 1988-Present.

Member, International Task Force, The Miami Coalition For a Drug-Free Community, Miami, FL, 1988-1995.

Member, American Political Science Association (APSA)

Member, International Studies Association (ISA) and ISA South

Member, Latin American Studies Association (LASA)

Member, Southeast Conference on Latin American Studies (SECOLAS).

Member, Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Internacionales (AMEI).

Member, Association of North American Colombianistas.

Chair, Social Science Research Council, Dissertation Fellowship Selection Committee, Latin American region, 1982-1984.

24. Honors and Awards:

25. Post-Doctoral Fellowships:

Fulbright Professor, FLACSO, Quito, Ecuador, July-August 1987; July-August 1989; May-June 1991.

Project Director, Mexican National Security Project, Social Science Research Council Grants, 1988-1990.

Post Doctoral Fellowship, Tinker Foundation, 1982-1983.

Post Doctoral Fellowship, Tinker Foundation, (declined), 1978-1979.

26. Other Professional Activities (e.g. papers presented; performances; conference proceedings; seminar or conference panel member; catalogue work; etc):

In 2010-11 presented two academic papers at:

The World Affairs Council meeting in San Francisco, CA, USA, March 18-19, 2011

The Latin American Studies Association (LASA) meeting in Toronto, Canada November 6-9, 2010.

Lecturer, United States Information Agency (USIA), Brazil, April 30 –May 6, 2011

Other Professional Activities:

Visiting Lecturer at five Latin American Universities in 2010 (Los Andes (Bogota), ICESI (Cali), CIDE (Mexico DF, MX), UANL (MX), FLACSO (Quito Ecuador), Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF), Tijuana, MX).

For additional professional activities see attached activities list 2010 (Appendix I)

TEACHING:

27. Teaching Awards Received:

None

28. Teaching Specialization (courses taught)

Over the last five years, I have regularly taught the following five courses:

Foreign Policy Analysis
Drug Trafficking in the Americas
National Security and U.S. Foreign Policy
Doctoral Workshop
U.S. Foreign Policy

During my twenty three years of teaching at the University of Miami, I have also taught the following courses at the Undergraduate, M.A. and Ph.D. levels:

- U.S. Politics and Foreign Policy
- Foreign Policies of the Andean Republics
- Drug Trafficking in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean
- The State and the Political Power in Central America
- Inter American Relations
- U.S.-Latin American Relations
- U.S.-Mexican Relations
- U.S-Colombian Relations
- Cuba and the United States
- Latin American History
- Civil-Military Relations and Democratic Transitions in Latin America
- Politics and Foreign Policies of the Central American Republics
- Soviet-Latin American Relations in Historical and Comparative Perspective
- Soviet Foreign Policy and the Third World
- The Political Economy of Latin American Development
- Agrarian Reform and Political Economy of Rural Development in Latin America
- Peasants, Guerrillas and Revolutionary Movements in Latin America
- Comparative Revolutions: Cuba, Mexico and Bolivia
- International Relations Theory
- Introduction to International Studies
- Introduction to American Foreign Policy
- Globalization and Change in World Politics

29. Thesis and Dissertation Advising/Post-doctoral student supervision (chairman or committee member; topic; student name; date):

I currently direct 15 and am a member of seven INS Ph.D. dissertation and MA Thesis Committees (Names, topics and dates available; three completed PhD dissertations in 2010).

I served on one dissertation committee in Political Science at FIU in 2010.

I served as chair on two INS Undergraduate Honors Theses in 2010.

SERVICE:

30. University Committee and Administrative Responsibilities:

Chair, Department of International Studies, 2006- present

Faculty sponsor of four UM student organizations: CANES International, STAND, INS GSA, Students for Democracy, 2007- present.

Faculty mentor for two NSF undergraduates, NSF summer program at UM, 2010.

Coordinator, Osher Center (OLLI) speakers series on International Affairs, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011.

Director, Andean Republics Interdisciplinary Research Group (IRG), CLAS, UM, 2010.

Director, Ill-Liberal Democracies Interdisciplinary Research Group (IRG), CLAS, UM, 2010.

Distinguished Speaker, Distinguished Speaker Series, CLAS (UM) and LACC (FIU), fall and spring 2010

Guest lecturer in School of Business, School of Communications and Department of Political Science, 2010

Co-Chair (with George Yudice), Latin American Studies Task Force, CAS/UM, 2008-09

Co-Chair (with Fred Frohock), INS/POL Merger Task force 2008-09

Director of Undergraduate Studies, Department of International Studies, University of Miami, January 2005 - present.

Director of Graduate Studies, Department of International Studies, 2005-2007.

Member, Advisory Board, Center for Hemispheric Policy (CHP), 2007- present

Member, Executive Committee, Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS), University of Miami, 2000-present.

INS Representative, College Council, College of Arts and Sciences (CAS), University of Miami, August 2005-2007.

Member, University Admissions Committee, University of Miami, 2004-2007.

Member, University of Miami Center of Latin American Studies Planning Committee, Sponsored by Dean Kanet (SIS) and Dean Subbaswamy (Arts and Sciences) 1998-1999.

Chair and member, "GSIS Undergraduate Curriculum Reform Committee," initiated by Interim Dean John Masterson, 1996-97.

Member, "GSIS Faculty Search Committee," 1997-98.

GSIS Representative; Graduate Faculty, University of Miami, 1991-1994.

Member, GSIS, University of Miami Bacardi Chair and Bacardi Awards Selection Committee, 1987-97.

31. Community Activities:

I frequently speak at community activities in South Florida and beyond (see Appendix I for 2010 activities).

32. Media Activities

I made frequent newspaper, radio and TV interviews and talk show appearances in the United States and various Latin American countries in 2010.

See attached list for 2010 activities (Appendix II)