

THE JOHN A. MAXWELL
SCHOLAR-DIPLOMAT PROGRAM

on

*Beyond Migrants and the “Drug War” – New Approaches
to the Study of the Western Hemisphere*

Washington, D.C.

April 6-8, 2016



Sponsored by The West Virginia
Consortium for Faculty and Course Development in
International Studies

Funded by the Higher Education Policy Commission
of West Virginia

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Program Coordinators:

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The John A. Maxwell Program is named in memory of the late co-director of FACDIS, who served in this capacity from 1984-1996. The **Scholar-Diplomat Program** was originally Dr. Maxwell's idea, and was renamed to honor his memory with the Spring 1996 program. The popular West Virginia history professor was well known as one of the university's most outstanding teachers, and naming this faculty development program in his honor was deemed a fitting tribute.

PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY, April 6

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| 12:00-2:00 pm | Lunch: | Old Ebbitt Grill, 675 15th Street, NW |
| | Speaker: | Max Paul Friedman, Professor, Department of History, American University |
| | Topic: | <i>POTUS in Havana and Buenos Aires in 1928 and Today: U.S. Presidents and the Inter-American System</i> |
| 2:30-3:30 pm | Meeting: | The George Washington University, Monroe Hall, 2115 G Street, NW, Suite 440 |
| | Speaker: | Cynthia McClintock, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, The George Washington University |
| | Topic: | <i>The Legacy of Insurgencies and Democracy Today</i> |
| 4:00-5:00 pm | Meeting: | Organization of American States, 17 th Street and Constitution Avenue, N.W. |
| | Speaker: | Betty Arevalo, Coordinator of the Public Tour and Briefing Program, Organization of American States |
| | Topic: | Tour of Organization of American States |

THURSDAY, April 7

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| 9:00-10:00 am | Meeting: | Council on Hemispheric Affairs, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 1C |
| | Speaker: | Larry Birns, Director, Council on Hemispheric Affairs |
| | Topic: | <i>The COHA Approach to Taking on U.S. Latin American Relations</i> |
| 10:30-11:30 am | Meeting: | National Security Archive, Suite 701, Gelman Library, The George Washington University, 2130 H Street, NW |
| | Speaker: | Peter Kornbluh, Senior Analyst, National Security Archive |
| | Topic: | <i>U.S. Cuban Relations Declassified: Exploring The Secret History of Normalizing Ties Between Washington and Havana</i> |

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| 12:00-1:30 pm | Lunch: | <i>Notti Bianche</i> , The George Washington University Inn, 824 New Hampshire Avenue, NW |
| | Speaker: | Joel Christenson, Historian, Policy Studies Division, Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State |
| | Topic: | <i>The Role of History in Support of U.S. Foreign Policy</i> |
| 2:00-3:00 pm | Meeting: | Institute for Policy Studies, 1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 600 |
| | Speaker: | Sanho Tree, Institute for Policy Studies, Fellow, Drug Policy, Institute for Policy Studies |
| | Topic: | <i>Addicted to Failure: Drug War Politics and Prospects for Breaking the Habit</i> |
| 3:30-4:30 pm | Meeting: | Inter-American Dialogue, 1211 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 510 |
| | Speaker: | Peter Hakim, President Emeritus & Senior Fellow, Inter-American Dialogue |
| | Topic: | <i>Beyond Obama, the U.S. Agenda in Latin America</i> |

FRIDAY, April 8

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| 9:00-10:00 am | Meeting: | Latin American Working Group, 2029 P Street, NW, Suite 301 |
| | Speaker: | Mavis Anderson, Senior Associate, Latin American Working Group |
| | Topic: | <i>Cuba: What Next?</i> |
| 10:30-11:30 am | Meeting: | The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW |
| | Speaker: | Ted Piccone, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy, Project on International Order and Strategy, Latin America Initiative, Brookings Institution |
| | Topic: | <i>U.S.-Cuba Relations and Regional Implications</i> |

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| 12:00-1:30 pm | Lunch: | <i>Notti Bianche</i> , The George Washington University Inn, 824 New Hampshire Avenue, NW |
| | Speaker: | Ambassador Daniel Hernández Joseph, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Mexico, Washington D.C. |
| | Topic: | <i>Beyond NAFTA: Mexico's Perspective on U.S.-Mexican Relations in the 21st Century</i> |

ADJOURN

GUIDE TO SPEAKERS

Mavis Anderson

Senior Associate, Latin America Working Group

Since 1997, Mavis Anderson has covered U.S. policy toward Cuba, cultivating congressional, organizational and grassroots support for the Latin America Working Group (LAWG) coalition's efforts to end the U.S. embargo on Cuba. Prior to her work with LAWG, Anderson was the program director for International Travel Seminars at the Center for Global Education at Augsburg College, Minneapolis, where she worked since 1982. During part of her time with the Center for Global Education, Anderson lived in El Salvador from 1988-1990, where she founded and coordinated the Center's El Salvador educational programs. A mid-westerner, Anderson received her Master's degree from Hamline University in St. Paul, Minnesota, where she focused her studies on international development.

Larry Birns

Director, Council on Hemispheric Affairs

Larry Birns has been the director of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs since its founding in 1975. A former defense researcher, strategist and member of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London and the All Souls College, Oxford's military seminar, he was a senior grade public affairs officer of the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America in Santiago, Chile. Birns also taught and lectured for 15 years in the fields of Latin American studies, comparative government, and international law at a number of U.S. and British colleges and universities.

Educated at Bates, Columbia, and St. Catherine's College - Oxford, he has authored and edited a study on the overthrow of the Allende government and has published hundreds of articles on U.S.-Latin American relations for a number of publications, including *The Nation*, *New York Review of Books*, *Ottawa Citizen*, *The Guardian*, *London Independent*, *The Village Voice*, *Miami Herald*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Atlanta Constitution*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Newsday*, *The New York Times* and *Foreign Policy*. He has made frequent appearances on foreign

and U.S. network radio and television programs, including the Voice of America and National Public Radio, as well as regular analyses for the BBC. He also makes frequent appearances on Radio Havana, Canadian Television (CTV), the CBC radio and TV networks ("As It Happens," "Newswatch," "The National," "Counterspin" and "Morningwatch"), and has made repeated appearances on "The McNeil-Lehrer Newshour," "Crossfire," as well as ABC's "Nightline," and the CBC's "Newsworld." On numerous occasions, he has been quoted by Reuters, AP, UPI, EFE, and Agence France Press news wires. His views and analyses also have been cited by almost every major newspaper, radio, and television network in Latin America, particularly on their world services.

He co-authored (with Jessica Leight) an article on the Bush White House's Latin American policy for the *American Foreign Service Journal*, and also co-authored (with Jessica Leight) the afterword to Dr. Paul Farmer's *The Uses of Haiti*, for which Jonathan Kozol contributed the foreword and Noam Chomsky wrote the introduction (1994, Common Courage Press).

Joel Christenson

Historian, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Historical Office

Joel C. Christenson specializes in the history of U.S.-Latin American relations in the Office of the Historian at the U.S. Department of State. He joined the State Department in 2015 after serving for two years as a contract historian with the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) Historical Office. In OSD, Christenson conducted research on post-Cold War U.S. defense planning and published works on defense secretaries' involvement in U.S. foreign policy and the history of the Pentagon's efforts to foster international defense cooperation. He completed his Ph.D. in American history at West Virginia University, where his research explored the role of early U.S. naval advising efforts in relations with Peru, and their impact on broader U.S. policy toward Latin America. Prior to his doctoral work, Christenson worked as a Senior Defense Analyst for the U.S. Government Accountability Office, the investigative arm of the U.S. Congress, and as a Research Associate at the Institute for Defense Analyses. Christenson is a distinguished graduate of the Virginia Military Institute and holds master's degrees from the University of Kentucky and George Mason University, as well as a Command and Staff Diploma from the U.S. Naval War College.

Max Paul Friedman

Professor, Department of History, American University

Max Paul Friedman specializes in 20th-century U.S. foreign relations. A graduate of Oberlin College and U.C. Berkeley, he was a Woodrow Wilson Postdoctoral Fellow and has taught at Boulder, Buenos Aires, Tallahassee, and Cologne. His first book, *Nazis and Good Neighbors: The United States Campaign against the Germans of Latin America in World War II* (Cambridge University Press, 2003) won the Herbert Hoover Prize in U.S. History and the A.B. Thomas Prize in Latin American Studies. He co-edited, with Padraic Kenney, *Partisan Histories: The Past in Contemporary Global Politics* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). His most recent book is *Rethinking Anti-Americanism: The History of an Exceptional Concept in American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 2012). The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations awarded him the Bernath Article Prize and Bernath Lecture Prize for his scholarship published in journals specializing in diplomatic, intellectual, social, and cultural history. He is a 2013-14 John Simon Guggenheim Fellow and 2014 American University Scholar/Teacher of the Year. He is fluent in English, French, German and Spanish. In addition, he has working knowledge of Italian, Portuguese and Arabic.

Peter Hakim

President Emeritus and Senior Fellow, Inter-American Dialogue

Peter Hakim is president emeritus and a senior fellow at the Inter-American Dialogue. From 1993 to 2010, he served as president of the organization. Hakim writes and speaks widely on hemispheric issues and has testified more than a dozen times before the U.S. Congress. His articles have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Miami Herald*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Financial Times*, and in newspapers and journals in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Canada, Cuba, El Salvador, Italy, Mexico, Peru, and Spain. From 1991 to 2001, he wrote a monthly column for the *Christian Science Monitor*, and now serves as a board member of Mexico's *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica* and editorial advisor to the Chilean-based *América Economía*. Prior to joining the Dialogue, Hakim was a vice president of the Inter-American Foundation and worked for the Ford Foundation in New York, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru. He taught at MIT and Columbia, and has served on boards and advisory committees for the World Bank, Council on Competitiveness, Inter-American Development Bank, Canadian Foundation for Latin America (FOCAL), Partners for Democratic Change, Human Rights Watch, and the Council on Foreign Relations. He has been decorated by the governments of Brazil, Chile and Spain. Hakim earned a bachelor's at Cornell University, a master's in physics at the University of Pennsylvania, and a master's in public and international affairs at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School.

Ambassador Daniel Hernández Joseph

Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Mexico, Washington D.C.

Ambassador Hernández Joseph is a career diplomat and member of the Mexican Foreign Service since May, 1982, and received the rank of Ambassador in May, 2009. He began as a specialist in consular protection. His postings abroad include officer in charge of Consular Protection and Cultural Affairs in the Consulate General of Mexico in Houston; officer in charge of Protection and later Consul and Deputy Head of Post at the Consulate in Austin, Texas, Head of Post at the Consulate in Laredo, Texas, Diplomat in Residence at American University in Washington, D.C. and Consul General in Boston, Massachusetts.

At home, in Mexico's Secretariat of Foreign Relations, previous postings include: Sub-director for Central America in the Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean; Director for Protection Policy at the Bureau for Protection and Consular Affairs; Director for Migration Issues at the Bureau for North America and, concurrently, Technical Secretary of the Interagency Group for the New Vision of the Border; Advisor to the Undersecretary for North America, Director General for Protection and Consular Affairs and Director General for Protection of Mexican Nationals Abroad.

He participated in the Mexican delegations to several bilateral forums with the United States in migration matters and border affairs from 1995 to 1999 and again between 2006 and 2011; and in the Regional Conference on Migration from 1996 to 2001. He was part of the working teams for the development of policy positions on international migration, 1996-1999, as well as 2006-2011, and bilateral negotiations on migration, regionally in North and Central America and bilaterally with the United States and with Cuba.

He obtained a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations at the Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, and a Master of Arts in Latin-American studies from the University of Texas at Austin. He has published a book on consular protection and several articles on that subject as well as international migration, border management and cultural affairs. During his stay at American University he lectured on migration policies in North America and developed research on land-border administration policies in North America.

He initiated his duties as Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy of Mexico in the United States on February 1, 2016.

Peter Kornbluh

Senior Analyst, National Security Archive

Peter Kornbluh has worked at the Archive since April 1986, and currently directs the Archive's Cuba and Chile documentation projects. He was co-director of the Iran-contra documentation project and director of the Archive's project on U.S. policy toward Nicaragua. From 1990-1999, he taught at Columbia University, as an adjunct assistant professor of international and public affairs.

His most recent book is *Back Channel to Cuba: The Hidden History of Negotiations between Washington and Havana* (UNC Press, 2014). He is the author/editor/co-editor of a number of Archive books: the Archive's first two documents readers: *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962*, and *The Iran-Contra Scandal: The Declassified History*, both published by the New Press, and *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba* (The New Press, 1998). On the 30th anniversary of the Chilean military coup in September 2003, he published *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*, which the *Los Angeles Times* selected as a "best book" of the year. *The Pinochet File* has been translated into Spanish and published in Barcelona as *Pinochet: Los Archivos Secretos*. A smaller book on the United States and the overthrow of the government of Salvador Allende has been published in Chile under the title: *Los EEUU y el Derrocamiento de Allende*.

His articles have been published in *Foreign Policy*, *The New York Review of Books*, *The New Yorker*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, among many others. He has appeared on national television and radio broadcasts, including "60 Minutes," "The Charlie Rose show," "Nightline," CNN, "All Things Considered," and "FreshAir" with Terri Gross. He has also worked on, and appeared in, numerous documentary films, including the Oscar-winning "Panama Deception," the History Channel's "Bay of Pigs Declassified," and "The Trials of Henry Kissinger." In November 2003, he served as producing consultant on the Discovery Times documentary, "Kennedy and Castro: The Secret History," which was based on his article in *Cigar Aficionado*, "Kennedy and Castro: The Secret Quest for Accommodation." He is currently a weekly columnist for the Chilean newspaper, *Diario Siete*.

Cynthia McClintock

Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, The George Washington University

Cynthia McClintock earned a B.A. degree from Harvard University and a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Dr. McClintock was President of the Latin American Studies Association in 1994-1995. Also, she was a member of the Council of the American Political Science Association in 1998-2000, and served as the Chair of its Comparative Democratization Section in 2003-2005. During 2006-2007, Professor McClintock was a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Based on her research at the Center, she is writing a book on the implications for democracy of runoff versus plurality rules for the election of the president in Latin America.

McClintock's publications include: *The United States and Peru: Cooperation - at a Cost* (co-authored with Fabián Vallas; Routledge, 2003 and Spanish edition, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005); *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America: El Salvador's FMLN and Peru's Shining Path* (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1998); *Peasant Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru* (Princeton University Press, 1981); and *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered*, Abraham F. Lowenthal and Cynthia McClintock, eds. (Princeton University Press, 1983 and Spanish edition, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1985). Dr. McClintock also is the author of scholarly articles in *World Politics*, *Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Democracy*, and many other journals.

Ted Piccone

Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy, Project on International Order and Strategy, Latin America Initiative

Ted Piccone's research is focused on global democracy and human rights policies; U.S.-Latin American relations, including Cuba; emerging powers; and multilateral affairs. Previously, he served as the acting vice president and director from 2013 to 2014 and deputy director from 2008 to 2013 of the Foreign Policy program. Piccone is the author of the upcoming book, *Five Rising Democracies and the Fate of the International Liberal Order* (Brookings Institution Press, 2016).

Piccone served eight years as a senior foreign policy advisor in the Clinton administration, including on the National Security Council staff, at the State Department's Office of Policy Planning and the Office of the Secretary of Defense at the Pentagon. From 2001 to 2008, Piccone was the executive director and co-founder of the Democracy Coalition Project, a research and advocacy organization working to promote international cooperation for democracy and human rights globally. He was also the Washington office director for the Club of Madrid, an association of over 70 former heads of state and government engaged in efforts to strengthen democracy around the world, and continues as an advisor. Piccone served as counsel for the United Nations Truth Commission in El Salvador from 1992 to 1993, and as press secretary to U.S. Representative Bob Edgar from 1985 to 1987.

Piccone has authored or edited multiple volumes and articles on foreign policy, Latin America and human rights. His book, *Catalysts for Change: How the UN's Independent Experts Promote Human Rights* (Brookings Institution Press, 2012), analyzes the effectiveness of this system at the national level and recommends ways to strengthen it. His research currently focuses on the evolving role of five rising democracies in the global democracy and human rights order.

Piccone received a law degree from Columbia University, where he was editor-in-chief of the *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* and *The Jailhouse Lawyer's Manual*, and a bachelor's in history magna cum laude from the University of Pennsylvania.

Sanho Tree

Fellow, Drug Policy Project, Institute for Policy Studies

Sanho Tree is a Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and has been director of its Drug Policy Project since 1998. The project has worked on many aspects of international drug policy over the years including source country eradication, interdiction, alternative development, harm reduction, and diplomacy. The project also works on domestic policy with a focus on tax and regulate models of cannabis control. Most importantly, the project develops new mechanisms to bypass the political paralysis that normally prevents a genuine debate about reform. Tree's other interests include culture wars, third-rail politics, and political messaging. Establishing humane and sustainable alternatives to the drug war fits into the IPS mandate as one of the major contemporary social justice issues at home and abroad. He has been featured in more than a dozen documentaries and frequently lectures at universities and conferences around the world. He previously collaborated with Dr. Gar Alperovitz on *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* (Knopf, 1995). He was also associate editor of *CovertAction Quarterly*, an award-winning magazine of investigative journalism, and worked at the International Human Rights Law Group in the late 1980s.