

## **Jorge I. Domínguez**

Title: Antonio Madero Professor for the Study of Mexico, Harvard University, and chair, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. (Harvard Vice Provost for International Affairs, 2006-15.)

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Education: Harvard Ph.D. 1972, M.A. 1968; Yale B.A. 1967

### Harvard current:

Chair, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, 2004-

David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Cuban Studies Committee, co-chair;  
Social Sciences Tuesday Seminar, co-chair

Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, executive committee, senior adviser; member,  
Graduate Student Associate appointments committee, 2017-

Government Department, steering committee, 2016-

Faculty Associate, Leverett House, 1974-

Courses, alternate years: Freshman Seminar 30v, Mexico: Revolution, Authoritarianism, and Democracy: 100 Years; Government 90Q, U.S.-Latin American Relations; Government 2105, Field Seminar in Comparative Politics; Government 2131, Comparative Politics in Latin America; Societies of the World 15: The Cuban Revolution, 1956-1971: A Self-Debate

Dissertations: chair, 2; member, 9.

Current work: Comparative politics and international relations in Latin America. Projects on international relations in Latin America; U.S.-Mexican relations; U.S.-Cuban relations; public opinion and elections in Mexico; political change in Cuba; assessment of democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean

Other service:

Editorial boards: Political Science Quarterly (1984- ); Cuban Studies (1974- ), Co-editor (1990-98); Revista de Ciencias Sociales (Puerto Rico) (1995- ); Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica (2000- ); Istor (Mexico) (2000- ); Foro internacional (Mexico) (2001- ); Journal of Cold War Studies (2011- )

Weatherhead Foundation, Board, Vice President (2006- )

Latin American Scholarship Program of American Universities (LASPAU), Board of Trustees, Member, 2015-

Routledge, U.S. Latin American Relations, General book series co-editor (with R. Fernández de Castro)

Club of Madrid, Advisory Committee, Member, 2002-

Inter-American Dialogue, Member (1983- ), Associated Fellow, 1995-

Member: American Political Science Association; Council on Foreign Relations; Latin American Studies Association; International Studies Association

Past service:

Latin American Studies Association, President, 1982-83, Vice president, 1981, and Chairman, Program Committee, 1979 National Meeting

Latin American Studies Association, Cuba Section, executive committee, member, 2011-15

Latin American Scholarship Program of American Universities, Board of Trustees, 1980-85 (Executive Committee, 1981-83, Chairman, 1982)

New England Council on Latin American Studies, President, 1980, Vice president, 1979, and Executive Committee member, 1976-78

Institute of Cuban Studies (Board of Directors, 1973-98); President, (1990-94)

Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE), Spain, Advisory Committee, Member, 2002-16

National Science Foundation, social science graduate fellowship panels, Member, 1992-95

Hubert Humphrey Fellowship Selection Panel for Central America, the Caribbean, and Mexico, U.S. Information Agency, Member, 1994

International Studies Association, member, Program Committee, 1978 National Meeting

Co-editor of Public Policy (1973-74)

Editorial Boards: Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs (1984-96); American Political Science Review (1979-81); Social Science Quarterly (1972-1982); Worldview (1972-1982); International Organization (1982-83); Mexican Studies (1983-97); Latin American Research Review (2003-7); Contributing Editor, Foreign Policy (1997-2010)

Best Scholarly Article on Latin America Prize Committee, Hoover Institution, Member, 1984-85

Aspen Institute Project on Governance in the Western Hemisphere, Steering Committee member, 1980-1982

U.S. United Nations Association, National Policy Panel on U.S.-Soviet Relations, member, 1981

Pan American Society of New England, member, Board of Governors (1979-1982)

Social Science Research Council, International Doctoral Research Fellowship Program for Latin America and the Caribbean, Selection Committee, 1981-83 (Chairman, 1982-83)

Committee on Social Development and World Peace, U.S. Catholic Conference, member (1981-83)

World Peace Foundation, Steering Committee, Project on Collective Security in the Americas, Member, (1985-88)

Instituto Centroamericano de Administración de Empresas, Board of Academic Advisers, Member (1986-88)

Council on Foreign Relations and Inter-American Dialogue, Task Force on Colombia, Member, 1999-2000

Fulbright Fellowship Selection Panel, member (Andean region and Mexico), 1998; co-chairman (Mexico, Central America, Caribbean), 1999-2000

American Assembly, Program Co-Director and principal report drafter, The Future of the Western Hemisphere: A Shared Vision Toward 2015, 1999-2000, Assembly held in Alajuela, Costa Rica

Executive Committee member, Conference on Democratic Transitions and Consolidation,

Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (Madrid), 2000-2001

Latin American Studies Association, Academic Freedom and Human Rights Committee, member, 1998-2001

Associate Editor, Latin American Series, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997-2004

Visiting Appointments:

Visiting Senior Fellow, Inter-American Dialogue, 1993-94, 2001

Visiting Professor, El Colegio de México, 1983, 1988, 1990, 2001, 2016

Visiting Fellow, Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE) (Madrid), 2000

Distinguished Fulbright Visiting Professor, El Colegio de México, 1988

Distinguished Visiting Scholar, Institute of Latin American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1984

Distinguished Fulbright Visiting Professor, El Colegio de México and CIDE, 1983, Mexico

Research Associate, Antilles Research Program, Yale University, 1974-1975

Fellowships and honors: Lifetime academic achievement award, Cuba Section, Latin American Studies Association, 2010; Hoopes Prizes for senior thesis advising (two in 2005; one in 2010); McCord Writing Prize for prose writing in Harvard Magazine, 2000; Walter Channing Cabot Fellow, Harvard University, 1996-97; Joseph R. Levenson Memorial Teaching Award, Harvard College, 1991; Harvard Junior Fellow, 1969-1972; Danforth Fellow, 1967-72; Woodrow Wilson Fellow, 1967-68; Harvard Graduate Prize Fellow 1967-68; Harvard Government Department Toppan Prize for best dissertation, 1972; Phi Beta Kappa, 1967; B.A. summa cum laude

Academic positions, past:

Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1996-2006;

Harvard College Professor (a teaching award), 1998-2003, concurrent with Clarence Dillon Professorship;

Frank G. Thomson Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1993-96;  
Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1979-93;  
Associate Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1977-79;  
Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1972-77

Other past major positions at Harvard:

Vice Provost for International Affairs, 2006-2015; Chair, University Committee on International Projects and Sites, 2006-2015; Member, Gift Policy Committee, 2006-2015; Member, University Risk Management Committee, 2010-2015; Board Member, Harvard Business School Publishing, 2007-2015; Board Chair, Harvard International LLC, 2009-2015; Board Chair, Botswana Harvard Partnership, 2008-2015; Board Chair, Africa Academy for Public Health (Tanzania), 2009-2015; Board Chair, Harvard Global LLC, 2013-2015

Special Adviser on International Affairs to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS), 2006-2015; Chair, FAS Committee on International Projects and Sites, 2006-2015; Member, Committee on Education Abroad, 2006-2010

Member, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Committee on Public Service, 2016

Member, Faculty Council, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 1975-78

Member, Committee on Graduate Education, 1975-78

Chair, Subcommittee on Minorities in the Graduate School, 1977-80

Member, Committee on the Future of Harvard College, 1990-92

Member, inter-Faculty Academic Council, Royal Complutense College, 1990-93

Chair, Committee on Latin American and Iberian Studies, 1979-83, 1990-93

Chair, Admissions Committee, Government Dept., 1982-83 (member 1980-83, 87-88, 89-90)

Member, Executive Committee, Center for International Affairs, 1972-74, 1977-83, 1987-2006

Chair, FAS Foreign Cultures subcommittee, Core Curriculum, 1985-91

Chair, FAS committee on ethnic studies, 1989-91, 1994-96; member, 1991-93

Curriculum Coordinator, Government Dept., 1988-91

Comparative Politics Field Coordinator, Government Dept., 1986-91, 1994-98

Special Appointments Committee, chair, Government Dept., 1985-91

Acting Director, Center for International Affairs, 1995

Chair, Robert F. Kennedy Professorship of Latin American Studies search committee, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 1990-98

Chair, FAS Historical Studies subcommittee, Core Curriculum, 1991-98

Member, FAS Standing Committee on the Core Curriculum, 1985-98

Comparative Politics Coordinator, Government Department, 1991-98

Knafel Building Faculty Planning Committee, Acting Chair, 1998-99, member, 1997-

Co-chairman, Harvard-M.I.T. Joint Seminar on Political Development (JOSPOD), 1996-99

Member, Provost's Committee to Review the status of the Harvard Institute for International Development, 1999

Chairman, Committee to Visit the Graduate and Undergraduate Curriculum of the Harvard Government Department, 1999-2000

Chair, Planning Committee, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 1995-2000

Co-chairman, International Studies Planning Committee, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 1998-2001

Chair, Latin American politics senior search, Government Department, 2000-2003

Member, FAS representative on the Allston campus planning task force on the Professional Schools, 2005

Coordinator for the Core Curriculum, Government Dept., 1998-2005

Chair, Provost's Task Force on international issues at Harvard, 2004-2005

Provost's advisory committee on the Latin American Scholarship Program of American Universities (LASPAU), 2004-2006

Harvard-MIT Joint Seminar on Political Development (JOSPOD, co-chairman, 1990-2005

Member, Executive Committee, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies; and

member of FAS Committee on Latin American and Iberian Studies, 1994-2006

Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, and chair, Executive Committee, 1996-2006

Chair, Space Committee, Center for Government and International Studies, 2005-2008

Member, Senior Management Team, University-wide, 2006-10

Board Chair, Management and Development for Health (Tanzania), 2009-12

Government Department, Planning Committee, 2010-2012

Chair, Executive Board, Murty Classical Library of India, Harvard University Press, 2010-12

## BOOKS

Cuba: Order and Revolution (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978)

(with Nigel S. Rodley, Bryce Wood and Richard Falk) Enhancing Global Human Rights (McGraw-Hill for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1979). Author of “Assessing Human Rights Conditions”

Insurrection or Loyalty: The Breakdown of the Spanish American Empire (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980). Translated into Spanish: Insurrección o lealtad: la desintegración del imperio español en América (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1985)

(editor and chapter author) Mexico’s Political Economy: Challenges at Home and Abroad (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1982). Author of “Introduction” and “International Reverberations of a Dynamic Political Economy”

(editor and chapter author) Cuba: Internal and International Affairs (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1982). Author of “Introduction” and “Revolutionary Politics: the New Demands for Orderliness”

(editor and chapter author) Economic Issues and Political Conflict: U.S.-Latin American Relations (London: Butterworth, 1982). Author of “Introduction” and of “Business Nationalism: Latin American National Business Attitudes and Behavior toward Multinational Enterprises”

To Make a World Safe for Revolution: Cuba’s Foreign Policy (Cambridge: Harvard University

Press, 1989).

(co-editor and co-author with Rafael Hernández, and chapter author), U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 1990s (Westview Press, 1989). Co-author (with Rafael Hernández) of “Introduction;” author of “The Obstacles and Prospects for Improved U.S.-Cuban Relations: A U.S. Perspective”

(co-editor with R. A. Pastor and R. D. Worrell, and chapter author), Democracy in the Caribbean: Political, Economic, and Social Perspectives (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). Author of “The Caribbean Question: Why Has Liberal Democracy (Surprisingly) Flourished?” Also published in The Caribbean Prepares for the 21st. Century (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1991), 1-26

(editor and chapter author) Essays on Mexico, Central and South America: Scholarly Debates from the 1950s to the 1990s (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), seven volumes:

- vol. 1, Economic Strategies and Policies in Latin America
- vol. 2, Authoritarian and Democratic Regimes in Latin America
- vol. 3, The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America
- vol. 4, Social Movement in Latin America: The Experience of Peasants, Workers, Women, the Urban Poor, and the Middle Sectors
- vol. 5, Parties, Elections, and Political Participation in Latin America
- vol. 6, Latin America’s International Relations and Their Domestic Consequences: War and Peace, Dependency and Autonomy, Integration and Disintegration
- vol. 7, Race and Ethnicity in Latin America

(co-editor with Marc Lindenberg, and chapter author), ed., Transiciones democráticas en Centro América (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Instituto Centroamericano de Administración de Empresas, 1994). Chapter autor, “Transiciones democráticas en Centro América y Panamá,” 19-62

(with James A. McCann) Democratizing Mexico: Public Opinion and Electoral Choices (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)

(co-editor with Abraham F. Lowenthal, and chapter co-author) Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). Also published as three separate paperback books: Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s-Themes and Issues; Constructing Democratic Governance: Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean in the 1990s; and Constructing Democratic Governance: South America in the 1990s. Co-authored book chapter with Abraham F. Lowenthal, “Introduction: Constructing Democratic Governance,” and with Jeanne Kinney Giraldo, “Conclusion: Parties, Institutions, and Market Reforms in Constructing Democracies”



(editor) Technopols: Freeing Politics and Markets in Latin America in the 1990s (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997). Author of chapter “Technopols: Ideas and Leaders in Freeing Politics and Markets in Latin America in the 1990s”

(co-editor with Marc Lindenberg) Democratic Transitions in Central America (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997). Author of chapter “Democratic Transitions in Central America and Panama”

(editor and chapter author) International Security and Democracy: Latin America and the Caribbean in the Post-Cold War Era (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998). Also published partially as Seguridad internacional, paz, y democracia en el cono sur (Santiago: FLACSO-Chile, 1998)

(co-editor with M. Desch and A. Serbin, and chapter author) From Pirates to Drug Lords: The Post-Cold War Caribbean Security Environment (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998)

Democratic Politics in Latin America and the Caribbean (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998)

(co-editor with A. Poiré, and chapter author) Toward Mexico’s Democratization: Parties, Campaigns, Elections, and Public Opinion (New York: Routledge, 1999)

(editor and chapter author) The Future of Inter-American Relations (New York: Routledge, 2000)

(editor) Mexico, Central, and South America: New Perspectives (New York: Routledge, 2001), 5 volumes, as follows:  
Vol. 1, Economics  
Vol. 2, Democracy  
Vol. 3, Social Movements  
Vol. 4, Political Parties  
Vol. 5, Race and Ethnicity

(co-editor with C. Lawson, and chapter author) Mexico’s Pivotal Democratic Election: Candidates, Voters, and the Presidential Campaign of 2000 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004)

(co-editor, with O. E. Pérez Villanueva and L. Barberia, and chapter author) The Cuban Economy at the Start of the Twenty-First Century (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2004). Translated and published as La economía cubana a principios del siglo XXI (Mexico: El Colegio de

México, 2007)

(co-editor with Byung-Kook Kim, and chapter author) Between Compliance and Conflict: East Asia, Latin America, and the “New” Pax Americana (New York: Routledge, 2005).  
Republished as “Cuba and the Pax Americana,” in Reinventing the Revolution: A Contemporary Cuba Reader, ed. Philip Brenner, Marguerite Rose Jiménez, John Kirk, and William LeoGrande (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008): 203-211

Cuba hoy: Analizando su pasado, imaginando su futuro (Madrid: Editorial Colibrí, 2006)

(co-editor with A. Jones, and chapter co-author) The Construction of Democracy: Lessons from Practice and Research (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007)

(co-editor with M. Shifter, and chapter author) Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America (Third edition. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008). Second Edition (2003) translated and published as Construcción de gobernabilidad democrática en América Latina (Bogotá: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005)

(with R. Fernández de Castro) *The United States and Mexico: Between Partnership and Conflict*. Second edition. Routledge, 2009. First ed. in 2001), also published as ¿Socios o adversarios? México-Estados Unidos Hoy (México: Editorial Oceano, 2001)

(co-editor with C. Lawson and A. Moreno, and chapter author) Consolidating Mexico’s Democracy: The 2006 Presidential Campaign in Comparative Perspective (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009)

La política exterior de Cuba (1962-2009) (Madrid: Editorial Colibrí, 2009)

(co-editor and chapter co-author, with R. Fernández de Castro, and chapter author) Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations: Cooperation or Conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. New York: Routledge, 2010

(co-editor with O. E. Pérez Villanueva, M. Espina Prieto and L. Barberia, and chapter author) Cuban Economic and Social Development: Policy Reforms and Challenges in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Cambridge, MA: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies and Harvard University Press, 2012). Translated and published as Desarrollo económico y social en Cuba: Reformas emprendidas y desafíos en el siglo XXI (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2013)

(co-editor with M. Shifter, and chapter author), Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America (Fourth edition. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013)

(co-editor with K. F. Greene, C. H. Lawson, and A. Moreno, and chapter author), Mexico’s Evolving Democracy: A Comparative Study of the 2012 Elections (Baltimore, Md.: The

Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).

(co-editor with A. Covarrubias, and chapter co-author) Handbook of Latin America in the World (New York: Routledge, 2015)

(co-editor and chapter co-author with R. Fernández de Castro, and chapter author) Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations: Cooperation or Conflict in the 21st. Century? (New York: Routledge, 2016)

(co-editor with S. Levitsky, J. Loxton, and B. Van Dyck, and author two chapters), Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

(co-editor with R. Hernández and L. Barberia, and chapter author) Debating U.S.-Cuban Relations: How Should We Now Play Ball? ed. Jorge I. Domínguez,. Revised and updated edition. (New York: Routledge, 2017). First ed. in 2012.

(co-editor with O. E. Pérez Villanueva, and L. Barberia, and chapter author) The Cuban Economy in a New Era: An Agenda for Change toward Durable Development (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies and Harvard University Press, 2017).

(co-editor with M. C. Zabala Argüelles, M. Espina Prieto, and L. Barberia, and chapter author) Social Policies and Decentralization in Cuba: Change in the Context of 21st. Century Latin America (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies and Harvard University Press, 2017)

## BOOKLETS

(with William Watts) The United States and Cuba: Old Issues and New Directions, Policy Perspective, no. 1 (Washington: Potomac Associates, 1977)

(with Virginia R. Dominguez) The Caribbean: Its Implications for the United States, Headline Series, no. 253 (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1981)

U.S. Interests and Policies in the Caribbean and Central America (Washington: The American Enterprises Institute, 1982)

(with Marc Lindenberg) Central America: Current Crisis and Future Prospects, Headline Series, no. 271 (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1984). Translated into Spanish: Centroamérica: crisis actual y perspectivas futuras (1985)

(co-edited with Peter Hakim) Advancing Democracy and Human Rights in the Americas: What Role for the OAS? (Washington, DC: Inter-American Dialogue, 1994), 98

pp.

(co-edited with Peter Hakim) Democracy, Markets, and their International Context: A Research Agenda for Contemporary Latin America (Washington, DC: Inter-American Dialogue, 1994), 12 pp.

(co-edited with Peter Hakim) The Environment in U.S.-Cuban Relations: Opportunities for Cooperation (Washington, DC: Inter-American Dialogue, 1995), 75 pp.  
Author (with Sally Cole) of “Overview,” 1-8

(with Peter Hakim) The Environment in U.S.-Cuban Relations: Recommendations for Cooperation (Washington, DC: Inter-American Dialogue, 1997), 52 pp.

México: Hoy y mañana (Madrid: Fundación Conferencia Anual Francisco Fernández Ordóñez, 2000)

(with Viron P. Vaky) “Can An Anti-Narcotics Effort Be Multilateralized?” Policy Brief (Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Dialogue, 2001)

(editor, author) Conflictos territoriales y democracia en América Latina (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores, 2003)

Boundary Disputes in Latin America. Peaceworks no. 50 (with David Mares, Manuel Orozco, David Scott Palmer, Francisco Rojas Aravena, and Andrés Serbin) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2003). Translated and published as “Disputas fronterizas en América Latina,” Foro internacional 44:3 (July-September 2004): 357-391

A Constitution for Cuba’s Political Transition: The Utility of Retaining (and Amending) the 1992 Constitution (Miami, Fla.: Cuba Transition Project, Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, University of Miami, 2003). Translated and published as Una Constitución para la Transición Política en Cuba: La Utilidad de Retener (y Enmendar) la Constitución de 1992 con un Anexo (Miami: Cuba Transition Project, Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, University of Miami, 2005), 98 pp.

“China’s Relations with Latin America: Shared Gains, Asymmetric Hopes,” with Amy Catalinac, Sergio Cesarin, Javier Corrales, Stephanie Golob, Andrew Kennedy, Alexander Liebman, Marusia Musacchio-Farias, João Resende-Santos, Roberto Russell, and Yongwook Ryu, *Inter-American Dialogue Working Paper* (Washington, DC: 2006), 59 pp.

## TEXTBOOK

(with Karl W. Deutsch, Hugh Hecló et al.) Comparative Government: Politics of Industrialized

and Developing Nations (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981)

#### PRINCIPAL ARTICLES

- (with Karl W. Deutsch) "Political Development toward National Self-Determination: Some Recent Concepts and Models," Political Models and Participation (Rio de Janeiro: Edicoes Dados, 1970): 11-39. Republished in Theorie und Politik, ed. Klaus von Beyme (Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971); and in abbreviated form in Comparative Political Studies 4:4 (January 1972)
- "Mice That Do Not Roar: Some Aspects of International Politics in the World's Peripheries," International Organization 25:2 (Spring 1971): 175-208
- "To Reign or to Rule: A Choice for University Boards of Trustees," Connecticut Law Review no. 3 (spring, 1971): 375-405. Extracts republished in A G B Reports 15 no. 4 (January 1973)
- "Sectoral Clashes in Cuban Politics and Development," Latin American Research Review 6:3 (Fall 1971): 61-81
- "Taming the Cuban Shrew," Foreign Policy no. 10 (Spring 1973): 94-116. Republished in LADOC, no. 40 (September 1973); republished in abbreviated form as "Freeze or Thaw?" Harper's (April 1973)
- "The Civic Soldier in Cuba," in Political Military Systems: A Comparative Analysis, ed. Catherine M. Kelleher (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1974): 209-238. Republished and expanded in Armies and Politics in Latin America, ed. Abraham F. Lowenthal and J. Samuel Fitch (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986): 262-314
- "Political Participation and the Social Mobilization Hypothesis: Chile, Cuba, Mexico and Venezuela, 1800-1825," The Journal of Interdisciplinary History 5:2 (Fall 1974): 237-266
- "Cuba, The United States and Latin America: After Detente," SAIS Review 19:1 (1975): 20-31
- "U.S. Policy toward Cuba: A Discussion of Options," in The Americas in a Changing World, ed. Commission on United States-Latin American Relations (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1975): 112-131
- (with Samuel P. Huntington) "Political Development," in Handbook of Political Science, eds. Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1975), III, 1-114. Translated into Turkish by Dr. Ergun Ozbudun, Siyasal Gelisme (Ankara: 1985)

- “Smuggling,” Foreign Policy no. 20 (Fall 1975): 87-96, 161-164
- “Socialism in Cuba,” in Socialism in the Third World, ed. Helen Desfosses and Jacques Levesque (New York: Praeger, 1975): 32-52
- “Institutionalization and Civil-Military Relations in Cuba,” Cuban Studies 6:1 (January 1976): 39-65
- “Racial and Ethnic Relations in the Cuban Armed Forces,” Armed Forces and Society 2:2 (February 1976): 273-290
- “Revolutionary Values and Development Performance: China, Cuba and the Soviet Union,” in Values in Development, ed. Harold Lasswell, Daniel Lerner and John D. Montgomery (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1976): 20-54
- (with Christopher Mitchell) “The Roads Not Taken: Institutionalization and Political Parties in Cuba and Bolivia,” Comparative Politics 9:2 (January 1977): 173-195
- “Conclusion: the Politics of Age,” in Political Generations and Political Development, ed. Richard J. Samuels (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1977): 135-141
- “Consensus and Divergence: The State of the Literature on Inter-American Relations in the 1970s,” Latin American Research Review 13:1 (1978): 87-126
- “The Cuban Operation in Angola: Costs and Benefits for the Armed Forces,” Cuban Studies 8:1 (January 1978): 10-21
- “Cuban Foreign Policy,” Foreign Affairs 57:1 (1978): 83-108
- “The Armed Forces and Foreign Relations,” in Cuba in the World, ed. Cole Blasier and Carmelo Mesa-Lago (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979): 53-86
- “Cuban National Security in the 1970s: Critique and Evaluation,” in Revolutionary Cuba in the World Arena, ed. Martin Weinstein (Philadelphia: ISHI Press, 1979): 77-97
- “Responses to Occupations by the United States: Caliban’s Dilemma,” Pacific Historical Review 48:4 (November 1979): 591-605
- “Political and Military Limitations and Consequences of Cuban Policies in Africa,” Cuban Studies 10:2 (July 1980): 2-35. For a longer version, see chapter in Carmelo Mesa-Lago and June S. Belkin, Cuba in Africa (Pittsburgh: Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1982).

- “The United States and Its Regional Security Interests: The Caribbean, Central and South America,” Daedalus 109:4 (Fall 1980): 115-133
- “Public Opinion on International Affairs in Less Developed Countries,” in From National Development to Global Community, ed. Richard Merritt and Bruce Russett (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981): 184-205
- “Political Relations in the Western Hemisphere,” in Governance in the Western Hemisphere, ed. Viron P. Vaky (New York: Praeger, 1983): 135-158
- “Cuba’s Relations with Caribbean and Central American Countries,” Cuban Studies 13:2 (Summer 1983): 79-112. Reprinted in Confrontations in the Caribbean Basin, ed. Alan Adelman and Reid Reiding (Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1984)
- “It Won’t Go Away: Cuba on the U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda,” International Security 8:1 (1983): 113-128
- (with Juan Lindau) “The Primacy of Politics: Comparing the Foreign Policies of Cuba and Mexico,” International Political Science Review 5:1 (1984): 75-101. Republished in How Foreign Policy Decisions are Made in the Third World, ed. Bahgat Korany (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986): 113-137
- “Las relaciones entre Argentina y Estados Unidos,” A fondo 4:33 (1983): 30-42
- “High Noon: reflexiones sobre la política de la Administración Reagan hacia Cuba,” in La política de la administración Reagan hacia Cuba, no. 6 (Havana: Centro de Estudios sobre América, 1984): 75-102. Republished abbreviated in Areíto 9:35 (1983): 12-16
- “Derechos políticos y el sistema político cubano,” Revista occidental no. 2 (January-April 1984): 249-281
- “La política exterior de Estados Unidos en Centroamérica y las islas de las Antillas,” Cuadernos IMRED no. 1 (México: 1984): 1-31.
- “Los conflictos internacionales en America Latina y la amenaza de guerra,” Foro internacional no. 97 (Mexico: July-September 1984): 1-13. Simultaneously published in Third World Militarization: A Challenge to Third World Diplomacy, ed. J. S. Mehta (Austin: The Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas, 1985): 141-154
- “Die Politik Kubas gegenüber Mittelamerika und der Karibik,” Europa Archiv (March 10, 1984): 136-144. Republished, with expansions, in Krisengebiet Mittelamerika, ed. Helmut Nuhn (Westermann, 1985): 75-85

- “U.S.-Cuban Relations in the mid-1980s: Issues and Policies,” Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs 27:1 (February 1985): 17-34
- “Imperial Breakdown: S. N. Eisenstadt’s Work and the Spanish American Case,” in Comparative Social Dynamics, ed. Erik Cohen, Moshe Lissak, and Uri Almagor (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985): 108-115
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