

**ANTHONY W. PEREIRA**  
Curriculum Vitae

**CONTACT INFORMATION**

Kimberly Green Latin American and Caribbean Center  
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**POSITIONS HELD**

Director, Kimberly Green Latin American and Caribbean Center, and Professor, Department of Politics and International Relations, Florida International University, September 2022-present.

Professor, Department of International Development and the Brazil Institute, School of Global Affairs, King's College London, September 2020-August 2022.

Professor and Director, Brazil Institute, King's College London, May 2010-August 2020.

Visiting Professor, Institute of International Relations, University of São Paulo, April 2017 – September 2019.

Professor and Chair, Department of Political Science, Tulane University, 2008-2010; Associate Professor, 1999-2006 (tenure awarded in 2001; on leave 2005-2008).

Senior Lecturer, School of International Development, University of East Anglia, 2006-2008.

Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, Federal University of Pernambuco, Recife, Brazil, 2005-2006.

Neil A. Allen Visiting Associate Professor of Latin American Studies, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1998-1999.

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, New School University, 1991-1998.

Visiting Assistant Professor, Harvard University Government Department, 1995.

Teaching Fellow, Harvard University Government Department, 1986-91.

**EDUCATION**

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Ph.D. in Government, June 1991. (Major Field: Comparative Politics, with a concentration in Latin America).

Dissertation: "Regime Change Without Democratization: Sugar Workers' Unions in Pernambuco, Northeast Brazil, 1961-89".

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, M.A. in Government, June 1986. (Major Field: Comparative Politics/Latin America; Minor Field: International Political Economy).

SUSSEX UNIVERSITY, B.A. (First Class Honours) in Politics and African and Asian Studies, 1982.

## **AWARDS**

Member of the British Empire (MBE), for services to UK/Brazil relations, 2018.

Order of Rio Branco, Brazilian Foreign Ministry, 2017.

Friend of the Brazilian Navy, 2016.

Latin Americanist Graduate Organization Outstanding Faculty Member Service Award, Stone Center, Tulane University, 2005.

Edward M. Chase Dissertation Prize, Harvard University, 1991.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Books**

Modern Brazil: A Very Short Introduction (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

(with Jeffrey Garmany) Understanding Contemporary Brazil (London: Routledge, 2018).

Ditadura e Repressão [Dictatorship and Repression] (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2010). This is a Portuguese translation of the book below, with a new introduction and preface by Paulo Sergio Pinheiro.

Political (In)justice: Authoritarianism and the Rule of Law in Brazil, Chile and Argentina (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005).

The End of the Peasantry: The Emergence of the Rural Labor Movement in Northeast Brazil, 1961-1988 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997).

### **Edited volumes**

Right-Wing Populism Within and Beyond Latin America (Abingdon: Routledge, 2023).

Lauro Mattei and Anthony Pereira, eds. The Brazilian Economy Today: Towards a New Socio-Economic Model? (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Diane Davis and Anthony Pereira, eds. Irregular Armed Forces and their Role in

Politics and State Formation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). [The paperback version of this book was published in 2008.]

### **Articles in refereed journals**

“Samuel Huntington, Brazilian ‘Decompression’, and Democracy” in Journal of Latin American Studies, Volume 53, Number 2, May 2021, pp. 349-371.

“Paper cemeteries: informal barriers to public security reform in Brazil” in Revista Brasileira de Ciências Policiais [Brazilian Journal of Police Sciences] Volume 10, Number 1, January-June 2019, pp. 55-98.

“The US Role in the 1964 Coup in Brazil: A Reassessment” in Bulletin of Latin American Research, Volume 37, Issue 1, January 2018, pp. 5-17.

“Nothing Succeeds Like Failure? Honduras and the Defense of Democracy in Brazilian Foreign Policy” in Rising Powers Quarterly, Volume 2, Issue 2, May 2017, pp. 83-103. This is part of a special issue on Brazil for which I also wrote an introduction, “Brazil: Geopolitical Challenges in a Multipolar World”, pp. 7-13.

(with Louse Tillin) “Federalism, Multilevel Elections and Social Policy in Brazil and India”, in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, Volume 55, Issue 3, 2017, pp. 328-352.

“Is the Brazilian State Patrimonial?” in Latin American Perspectives, Volume 43, Number 2, March 2016, pp. 135-152.

“Bolsa Família and Democracy in Brazil” in Third World Quarterly, Volume 36, Number 9, September 2015, pp. 1682-1699.

“Politics vs. Policy: Is Police Politicization a Threat to Democracy in Brazil?” in Teoria e Pesquisa: Revista de Ciência Política [Theory and Research: Journal of Political Science], Volume 23, Number 1, January-June 2014, pp. 6-28.

“Continuity is Not Lack of Change” (part of a symposium, “Brazil Under President Dilma Rousseff: A Preliminary Assessment”) in Critical Sociology, Volume 38, Number 6, 2012, pp. 777-787.

“Brazilian Studies Then and Now” in Brasiliana – Journal for Brazilian Studies, Volume 1, Number 1, 2012, pp. 3-21.

“Reforma Policial y Derechos Humanos en Brasil: la Dimensión Internacional” [Police Reform and Human Rights in Brazil: the International Dimension] in Araucaria: Revista Iberoamericana de Filosofía, Política y Humanidades, Año 10, No. 20, 2008, pp. 155-174.

(with Ana Margheritis) “The Neoliberal Turn in Latin America: The Cycle of Ideas and the Search for an Alternative” in Latin American Perspectives, Issue 154, Volume 34, Number 3, May 2007, pp. 25-48.

(with Jorge Zaverucha) “The Neglected Step-Child: Military Justice and Democratic

Transition in Chile” in Social Justice, Volume 32, Number 2, 2005, pp. 115-131.

“The Dialectics of the Brazilian Military Regime’s Political Trials” in Luso-Brazilian Review, Volume 41, Number 2, 2005, pp. 162-183.

“Explaining Judicial Reform Outcomes in New Democracies: The Importance of Authoritarian Legalism in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile” in Human Rights Review, Volume 4, Number 3, April-June 2004, pp. 3-16.

“Brazil’s Agrarian Reform: Democratic Innovation or Oligarchic Exclusion Redux?” in Latin American Politics and Society, Volume 45, Number 2, summer 2003, pp. 41-65. [An updated version of this article is reprinted in William C. Smith, ed. Latin American Democratic Transformations: Institutions, Actors, and Processes (Cambridge, MA and Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 251-270.]

“Political Justice Under Authoritarian Regimes in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile” in Human Rights Review, Volume 4, Number 2, spring 2003, pp. 27-47.

“Military Justice Before and After September 11” in Constellations, Volume 9, Number 4, December 2002, pp. 477-491.

“‘Virtual Legality’: Authoritarian Legacies and the Reform of Military Justice in Brazil, the Southern Cone, and Mexico” in Comparative Political Studies, Volume 34, Number 5, June 2001, pp. 555-574.

(with Diane Davis) "New Patterns of Militarized Violence and Coercion in the Americas", introductions to a double issue of Latin American Perspectives, Issues 111-112, Volume 27, Numbers 2-3, entitled "Violence, Coercion and Rights in the Americas", March and June 2000, pp. 3-17 and pp. 3-7.

"'Persecution and Farce': The Origins and Transformation of Brazil's Political Trials" in Latin American Research Review, Volume 33, Number 1, 1998, pp. 43-66.

"Working for Democracy: Brazil’s Organized Working Class in Comparative Perspective" in International Labor and Working-Class History, Number 49, Spring 1996, pp. 93-115. [Reprinted as “Brazilian Workers and Democracy” in Vincent C. Peloso, ed. Work, Protest, and Identity in Twentieth-Century Latin America (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., Jaguar Books on Latin America Number 26, 2003), pp. 277-300.]

(with Cliff Welch), introduction to an issue of Latin American Perspectives (co-edited by Anthony Pereira and Cliff Welch) entitled "Labor and the Free Market in the Americas", Issue 84, Volume 22, Number 1, Winter 1995, pp. 3-9.

"The Neglected Tragedy: The Return to War in Angola, 1992-93", in the Journal of Modern African Studies, Volume 32, Number 1, March 1994, pp. 1-28.

"Economic Development, Democracy, and Civil Society in the Third World: the

Northeastern Brazilian Case" in Third World Quarterly, Volume 14, Number 2, November 1993, pp. 365-380.

"Agrarian Reform and the Rural Workers' Unions of the Pernambuco Sugar Zone, Brazil 1985-1988" in Journal of Developing Areas, No. 26, Jan., 1992, pp. 169-192.

"Profeta no Exílio: O Retorno do Mito de Francisco Julião" [Prophet in Exile: The Return of the Myth of Francisco Julião] in Cadernos de Estudos Sociais (Recife, Brazil), Volume 17, Number 1, January/June, 1991, pp. 101-119.

### **Chapters in books**

(with Renato Sérgio de Lima) "Crime, Violence and Public Security" in Richard Bourne, ed. Brazil After Bolsonaro: The Comeback of Lula da Silva (Abingdon: Routledge, forthcoming). [Expected publication date: August 2023]

"The Police Ombudsman in Brazil as a Potential Mechanism to Reduce Violence" in Pablo Policzer, ed. The Politics of Violence in Latin America (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2019), pp. 143-170.

(with Juliana T. de S. Martins) "The Politics of Human Rights" in Barry Ames, ed. Routledge Handbook of Brazilian Politics (New York: Routledge 2019), pp. 503-518.

"Le rôle des États-Unis dans le coup d'État 1964 au Brésil: une reevaluation" in James Green and Monica Schpun, eds. Le Dictature Brésilienne et son Legs (Paris: Le Poisson Volant, 2018).

"Brazil's Truth Commission: Progress or Perdition?" in Peter Kingstone and Timothy Power, eds. Democratic Brazil Divided (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2017), pp. 152-171.

"Brazil's Truth Commission: Opportunities and Risks" in Flavia Piovesan and Inês Soares, eds. Direitos Humanos Atual [Contemporary Human Rights] (São Paulo: Elsevier, 2014), pp. 518-526.

"Human Rights and Military Abuses" in P. Kingstone and D. Yashar, eds. Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 114-130.

"Rural Social Movements in Nicaragua"; "Rejoinder to Jeffrey Gould"; and "Response to John Hammond" in Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. Contention in Context: Political Opportunities and the Emergence of Protest (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 59-73; 78-82; 127-129.

"Military Rule" in Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser, and Leonardo Morlino, eds., International Encyclopedia of Political Science (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 2011), pp. 1573-1578.

"Brazil: Struggle for Human Rights" in D. P. Forsythe, editor-in-chief, Encyclopedia of Human Rights (Oxford University Press, 2009), volume 1, pp. 187-197.

“Brazil's Agrarian Reform: Democratic Innovation or Oligarchic Exclusion Redux?” in William C. Smith, ed. Latin American Democratic Transformations: Institutions, Actors, and Processes (Cambridge, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 251-270.

“Judicial Systems and Political Repression in Argentina, Brazil and Chile” in Cecília MacDowell Santos, Edson Luis de Almeida Teles, and Janaína de Almeida Teles, eds. Desarquivando a Ditadura: Memória e Justiça no Brasil [Uncovering the Dictatorship: Memory and Justice in Brazil] (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2009), volume 1, pp. 203-224.

“Of Judges and Generals: Security Courts Under Authoritarian Regimes in Argentina, Brazil and Chile” in Tom Ginsburg and Tamir Moustafa, eds. Rule by Law: The Politics of Courts in Authoritarian Regimes (Cambridge: C. U. Press, 2008), pp. 23-57.

“Public Security, Private Interests and Police Reform in Brazil” in Peter Kingstone and Timothy Power, eds. Democratic Brazil Revisited (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), pp. 185-208.

“Democracy, Citizenship, and Police Procedures in New Orleans: The Importance of the Local Context for Defining Rights” in Stacey McGoldrick and Andrea McArdle, eds. Uniform Behavior: Police Localism and National Politics (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 127-153. [Translated and reproduced in Jorge Zaverucha, Adriano Oliveira, and Armando Nascimento, eds. (In)Segurança Pública e a Ordem Social [Public Insecurity and the Social Order] (Recife: Editora UFPE – Federal University of Pernambuco, 2007).

“O Papel dos Advogados de Defesa na Justiça Militar Brasileira, 1964-1979: Redefinindo o Crime Político” [The Role of Defence Lawyers in Brazilian Military Justice, 1964-1979: Redefining Political Crime] in João Roberto Martins Filho, ed. O Golpe de 1964 e o Regime Militar: Novas Perspectivas [The 1964 Coup and the Military Regime: New Perspectives] (São Carlos: EdUFSCar, 2006), pp. 119-128.

“Agrarian Reform” in Mauricio Font and Anthony Spanakos, eds. Reforming Brazil (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2004), pp. 93-114.

(with Mark Ungar) “The Persistence of the ‘Mano Duro’: Authoritarian Legacies and Policing in Brazil and the Southern Cone” in Paola Cesarini and Katherine Hite, eds. Authoritarian Legacies in Southern Europe and Latin America (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), pp. 263-304.

“Armed Forces, Coercive Monopolies, and Changing Patterns of State Formation and Violence” in Diane Davis and Anthony Pereira, eds. Irregular Armed Forces and their Role in Politics and State Formation (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 387-407.

(with Jorge Zaverucha) “The Rule of Law and the Federal Military Justice System in Brazil” in Gerhard Kuemmel, ed., Proceedings of the Interim Conference 2000 of the International Sociological Association [SOWI Forum International Volume 23] (Strausbourg: SOWI, 2001), pp. 479-528.

"An Ugly Democracy?: State Violence and the Rule of Law in Post-Authoritarian

Brazil" in Peter Kingstone and Timothy Power eds., Democratic Brazil (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), pp. 217-235.

"O Monstro Algemado?: Violência do Estado e Repressão Legal no Brasil, 1964-97" [The Shackled Monster? State Violence and Legal Repression in Brazil, 1964-97] in Jorge Zaverucha ed., Democracia e Instituições Políticas Brasileiras no Final do Século Vinte [Democracy and Brazilian Political Institutions at the End of the Twentieth Century] (Recife, Brazil: Bagaço, 1998), pp. 13-61.

"The Crisis of Developmentalism and the Rural Labor Movement in Northeast Brazil", in Douglas Chalmers, Carlos Vilas, Katherine Hite, Scott Martin, Kerianne Piester, and Monique Segarra eds, The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation (Oxford U. Press, 1997), pp. 95-114.

"The Effects of Agricultural Modernization", in Ünner Kirdar and Leonard Silk, eds, People: From Impoverishment to Empowerment (New York University Press/UNDP, 1995), pp. 26-40.

### **Prefaces to Books**

Leslie Bethell, Brazil: Essays on History and Politics (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2018), pp. v-vii.

Ulisses Terto Neto, Protecting Human Rights Defenders in Latin America: A Legal and Socio-Political Analysis of Brazil. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. ix-xii.

Sara de Sousa Epitácio and Roberta Carnelos Resende, eds. Política no Piauí: Contextos históricos, eleições, e partidos políticos [Politics in Piauí: Historical contexts, elections, and political parties] (Porto Alegre: Editora da UFRGS, 2015), pp. 11-14.

“Parathënie për botimin shqip” (Preface) to Boris Fausto, Historie shkurtër e Brazilit [Albanian translation of A Concise History of Brazil] (Tirana: Albanian Institute for International Studies, 2012), pp. 13-18.

### **Articles in scholarly periodicals and working paper series**

Brazil” in D.S. Lewis and Wendy Slater, eds. The 2023 Annual Register: World Events (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest); and in D.S. Lewis and Wendy Slater, eds. The 2022 Annual Register: World Events (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest); in The 2021 Annual Register: World Events (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest); The 2020 Annual Register: World Events (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest); The 2019 Annual Register: World Events (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest, pp. 146-149); The 2018 Annual Register: World Events (pp. 146-149); The 2017 Annual Register: World Events (pp. 157-159); The 2016 Annual Register: World Events (pp. 149-152); The 2015 Annual Register: World Events (pp. 148-150); The 2014 Annual Register: World Events (pp. 145-148); and The 2013 Annual Register: World Events (pp. 148-151).

“A Tradição da Legalidade Autoritária no Brasil” [The Tradition of Authoritarian

Legality in Brazil”] in José Geraldo de Souza Santos et al. (eds.), Introdução Crítica à Justiça de Transição [A Critical Introduction to Transitional Justice] in O Direito Achado na Rua [Law Found in the Street] Volume 7 (Brasília: UnB Editora, 2015).

“O Declínio das Ligas Camponesas e a Ascensão dos Sindicatos: as Organizações de Trabalhadores Rurais em Pernambuco na Segunda República, 1955-1963” [The Decline of the Peasant Leagues and the Rise of the Trade Unions: Pernambuco’s Rural Labor Organizations in the Second Republic, 1955-1963] in Clio: Revista de Pesquisa Histórica (Recife: Department of History, Federal University of Pernambuco), Number 26-2, 2008, pp. 245-272. (Dated 2008 but published in 2009.)

“Brazil: Dividing the Spoils” in The World Today (Royal Institute of International Affairs), Volume 62, Number 10, October 2006, pp. 20-21.

(with Ana Margheritis) “A América Latina e o Fim do ‘Consenso de Washington’” [Latin America and the End of the ‘Washington Consensus’] in Relações Internacionais [International Relations], (Lisbon), Number 4, December 2004, pp. 89-101.

(with Timothy Power) “Lula lá: Implications of the 2002 elections in Brazil” in LASA Forum (the bulletin of the Latin American Studies Association), Volume XXXIII, Number 4, Winter 2003, pp. 8-10 and 27-28.

“Democracies: Emerging or Submerging?” in Dissent, Volume 48, Winter 2001, pp. 17-23. Reprinted in Lettera Internazionale, Italian edition and Robert J. Griffiths, ed. Annual Editions: Developing World 02/03 (Guildford, CT: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2002), pp. 122-126, and in Robert J. Griffiths, ed. Annual Editions: Developing World 03/04 (Guildford, CT: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2004), pp. 120-124.

Virtual Legality: The Use and Reform of Military Justice in Brazil, the Southern Cone, and Mexico, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies Working Paper Number 99/00-2.

“God, the Devil, and Development in Northeast Brazil” in Praxis, Volume XV, 1999, pp. 112-136.

(with Sanjay Reddy) The Role and Reform of the State (New York: U.N. Development Programme/Bureau for Development Policy/Office of Development Studies Working Paper No 8, August 1998).

Law Under Siege: The Origins and Transformation of Brazil’s Political Trials, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies Working Paper Number 96/97-7.

“Latin America in the Era of ‘Hot Money’” in Dissent, Volume 43, Number 1, Winter 1996, pp. 47-51.

“Angola's 1992 Elections: A Personal View” in Camões Center Quarterly, Volume 5, Numbers 1 and 2, Winter 1994, pp. 1-8.

“The Foreign Aid Disaster” in The New School Commentator, Volume Five, Number



1, October-November 1993, pp. 1-4.

“Peace in the Third World? The Case of Angola” in Dissent, Volume 40, Number 3, Summer 1993, pp. 291-294.

“A Transformação de Cuba” [The Transformation of Cuba] in Cadernos de Ciências Sociais, Belo Horizonte, Brazil, Volume 2, Number 2, October, 1992, pp. 51-53.

“Brazil: Fire in the Forest” in Hemisphere, Volume 1, No. 3, Summer 1989, pp. 3-6.

### **Selected recent articles in magazines, newspapers and websites**

Interview in Quatro Cinco Um (São Paulo), September 2023, forthcoming.

“The Amazon Summit: Two Slow, Uncertain Steps Forward”, blogpost for Canning House, 16 August 2023 at <https://www.canninghouse.org/canning-insights/the-amazon-summit-two-slow-uncertain-steps-forward>.

“Os Significados de Independência” [The Meanings of Independence] in Interesse Nacional, Year 16, Issue 66, 16 August 2023.

“Brasil, Reino Unido e as mudanças climáticas” [Brazil, the UK, and Climate Change] in Interesse Nacional, Year 16, Issue 65, 19 July 2023.

“Crise de segurança no Haiti – existe uma saída?” [The crisis of security in Haiti – is there a way out?] in Interesse Nacional, Year 16, Issue 64, 14 June 2023.

“O Intermediário – Por que o Brasil pode ser uma ponte para os dois lados de um mundo dividido” [The In-Betweener: Why Brazil Could be a Bridge to Both Sides of a Divided World] in Interesse Nacional, Year 16, Issue 63, 18 May 2023. [Published in English by the Washington Brazil Office, August 2023.]

“Desigualdade econômico no Brasil: Pode Cair?” [Economic Inequality in Brazil: Is It Likely to Fall?] in Interesse Nacional, Year 16, Issue 62, 2023.

“Populismo em Marcha?” [Populism on the March?] in Interesse Nacional, Year 16, Issue 61, April-June 2023, pp. 26-31.

“O Brasil Conseguirá Se Reindustrializar?” [Can Brazil Reindustrialize?] in Interesse Nacional, 8 March 2023 at <https://interessenacional.com.br/edicoes-posts/anthony-w-pereira-o-brasil-conseguira-se-reindustrializar/>.

“Brazil’s military is supposed to safeguard democracy – yet its power and self-image are a problem” in The Conversation 16 January 2023.

“A visao de Washington sobre o novo governo” [Washington’s vision of the new government] in Poder360, 10 January 2023, at <https://www.poder360.com.br/opiniaio/a-visao-de-washington-sobre-o-novo-governo/>

“Brazil Election: Victorious Lula faces an uphill struggle – a damaged economy and a

deeply divided country” in The Conversation 31 October 2022. [Translated and published as “Eleições no Brasil: Vitorioso, Lula enfrentará uma luta árdua – uma economia danificada e um país profundamente dividido” in Interesse Nacional 2 November 2022.]

“Até 2022 é tempo demais” [2022 is too far away] in Revista Problemas Brasileiros, Year 58, Number 463, April-May 2021 pp. 20-21.

(with Matthew Flinders) “Donald Trump gets coronavirus: what catching COVID-19 meant for Boris Johnson and Jair Bolsonaro” in The Conversation 2 October 2020.

“Brazil’s Jair Bolsonaro has coronavirus – what it could mean for him politically” in The Conversation 8 July 2020.

(with Jeff Garmany) “A Year after Jair Bolsonaro’s election, why he’s not solely to blame for Brazil’s toxic politics” in The Conversation 28 October 2019.

“Amazon fires: Jair Bolsonaro faces mounting political backlash in Brazil – even from his allies” in The Conversation 29 August 2019.

Interview with Paulo Beraldo, “Discurso liberal é obscurecido pelo conservador” in O Estado de São Paulo, 8 April 2019, p. A6.

“Jair Bolsonaro can be stopped from trashing the Amazon – here’s how” in The Conversation 4 January 2019 republished in the Independent 7 January 2019.

“Will Brazil’s Democracy Survive the 2018 Election?” in Commentary ISPI (Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale), 2 October 2018, at: <https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/will-brazils-democracy-survive-2018-election-21339>

“Brazil’s democracy is on the ropes – and now a dreaded election begins” in The Conversation, 31 August 2018.

“Lula Convicted: End of an Era?” in AulaBlog [Center for Latin American and Latino Studies, American University, Washington DC, 17 July 2017.

“Brazil’s President Faces Criminal Charges and 2% Approval Rating – But Clings On” in The Conversation, 30 June 2017.

“Brazil Shoots for Olympian Heights at a Time of Political Lows” in The Conversation, 1 August 2016.

“Who Stands to Gain from Dilma Rousseff’s Impeachment?” in Prospect, 19 April 2016.

“What’s Next for Brazil and President Dilma Rousseff” in Fortune, 17 April 2016.  
“Não em Nosso Nome” [Not in Our Name] in El País (Americas edition) 10 April 2016.

“Lula charged: Brazil seems ungovernable, but it’s more robust than it looks” in The Conversation, 8 March 2016.

“A Crise Vista de Fora: Brazilianistas fala à Folha sobre as reflexes da atual crise política e econômica no país” [The crisis seen from abroad: Brazilianists talk to the Folha about the reactions to the current political and economic crises in the country”] (with Kenneth Maxwell and Barbara Weinstein) in Folha de São Paulo, 10 Jan. 2016.

“Recessão não vai tirar importância do Brasil, afirma cientista político” [The recession will not diminish the importance of Brazil, says political scientist] in Folha de São Paulo, 10 January 2016.

“How the massive Petrobras corruption scandal is upending Brazilian politics” in The Conversation, 7 July 2015.

“The 2014 elections: development or decay?” in Brazil Business Brief (News from the Brazilian Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain) Volume 18, Number 51, January 2015, pp. 4-7.

“Victorious Rousseff must now pull together a deeply divided Brazil” in The Conversation, 27 October 2014, reprinted as “Dilma Rousseff must now pull together a deeply divided Brazil” in The Guardian, 28 October 2014.

“Tension mounts in Brazilian election as first round looms” in The Conversation, 30 September 2014.

“The ‘B’ in Brazil: Beautiful or Bombastic?” in The BRICS Post, 15 July 2014.

“Brazil 2014: Exploding the myths of sun, samba, soccer” in CNN International, 13 June 2014.

“Don’t believe the naysayers, Brazil is still strong” in The Conversation 12 June 2014.

“Legislative Practice in Brazil and the UK” at Speaker’s Corner, FCO blog in Brazil, <http://blogs.fco.gov.uk/speakerscorner/> on 20 February 2014.

“Does Brazil deserve its ‘B’ for BRIC?” in CNN Online, 11 June 2013.

“Challenges for the Dilma Rousseff Government” in Brazil Business Brief (News from the Brazilian Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain) Volume 14, Number 4, April 2012, pp. 10-13.

“O Gambito Chileno” [The Chilean Gambit] in O Estado de São Paulo, 17 March 2012.

“Três Questões sobre o Brasil pós-Lula” [Three Issues Concerning Post-Lula Brazil] in O Globo, 31 October 2010, p. 9.

“President Dilma Rousseff of Brazil: the End or the Continuation of the Lula Era?” in

BBC News Interactive, 31 October 2010.

“O judiciário é autoritário, disse brasileiro” [The judiciary is authoritarian, says Brazilianist] (interview by Lucas Ferraz) in Folha de São Paulo, 3 October 2010.

“Brazil: Finally on the Yellow BRIC Road?” in World Commerce Review (London), Volume 4, Issue 3, September 2010, pp. 12-15.

“Contas Ainda Abertas” [Accounts Still Open] in O Estado de São Paulo, Sunday, 25 April 2010, Aliás (weekend supplement), p. J3.

“Sem Soluções Mágicas para a Questão Racial” [No Magic Solutions for the Racial Question] in Jornal do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro), 6 November, 2008.

“Uma Oportunidade Foi Perdida” [An Opportunity was Lost] in O Diário de Pernambuco (Recife, Brazil), 30 August 2006, p. 15 of a special section, “O Plano de Kennedy para Desenvolver o Nordeste” [Kennedy's Plan to Develop the Northeast].

“Governo Bush: Declínio ou Renovação?” [The Bush Government: Decline or Renovation?] in O Diário de Pernambuco (Recife, Brazil), 26 April 2006, p. A3.

“Encontro Analisa Ligas Camponesas” [Conference Analyzes Peasant Leagues] in O Diário de Pernambuco (Recife, Brazil), 2 December 2005, p. B12.

“Para Analista, Chile Avança Mais Que Brasil” [For Analyst, Chile Advances Farther Than Brazil] (interview) in Folha de São Paulo, 5 November 2004, p. A-9.

“As Ligas Influenciaram a Política de Kennedy” [The Leagues Influenced Kennedy's Policy] (interview) in O Diário de Pernambuco, 31 March 2004, p. 12.

“Via Judicial da Repressão Evitou Mortes, Afirma Brasileiro” [Judicial Repression Avoided Deaths, Affirms Brazilianist] (interview) in Folha de São Paulo (São Paulo, Brazil), 5 April 2004, p. A10.

“Como Julgar os Taliban?” [How to Judge the Taliban?] in O Mundo em Português [The World in Portuguese] (Lisbon, Portugal), Volume III, Number 29, February 2002, pp. 4-5.

“Ser um Patriota Americano Hoje” [What It Means to be a Patriot Today] in O Mundo em Português [The World in Portuguese] (Lisbon, Portugal) Volume III, Number 28, January 2002, pp. 29-30.

“Cuba: Defying the Predictions” [Cuba: Más Allá de los Pronósticos] in Observador International (Mexico City, Mexico), Year 1, Number 7, 26 July 26 1993, pp. 42-44.

“Lonely Cuba Bobbles on Ocean of Capitalism” in In These Times, 6-12 November 1991, p. 16.

Op-ed articles in The Boston Globe (10/20/98; 2/12/97), Sacramento Bee (1/6/93; 9/27/92; 3/11/90) Providence Journal-Bulletin (9/27/92; 3/24/90; 1/1/90) and Boston Herald (1/4/90).

## Book reviews

Natalia Viana, *Dano Colateral: A intervenção dos militares na segurança pública* [Collateral Damage: The intervention of the military in public security] in ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin America (the magazine of the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University), Volume XXI, Number 1, Fall 2021, at: <https://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/the-brazilian-militarys-role-in-public-security/>.

Perry Anderson, *Brazil Apart 1964-2019* in The Political Quarterly, Volume 91, Issue 3, July-September 2020, pp. 673-675.

Lee Alston, Marcus Melo, Bernardo Mueller, and Carlos Pereira, *Brazil in Transition* in Perspectives on Politics, Volume 16, Number 1, March 2018, pp. 269-271.

Ben Ross Schneider, ed., *New Order and Progress: Development and Democracy in Brazil*, in Journal of Latin American Studies, Volume 49, Number 3, August 2017, pp. 659-661.

Jeffrey Needell, ed., *Emergent Brazil: Key Perspectives on a New Global Power*, in Luso-Brazilian Review, Volume 54, Number 2, Winter 2017, pp. E1-E3.

Samuel Cohn, *Employment and Development under Globalization: State and Economy in Brazil*, in Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 34, No. 2, Jan. 2015, pp. 16-18.

Mauricio A. Font and Laura Randall eds., *The Brazilian State: Debate and Agenda* in Journal of Latin American Studies, Volume 45, Issue 1, February 2013, pp. 175-176.

Leonardo Avritzer, *Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil* in Luso-Brazilian Review, Volume 48, Number 1, June 2011, pp. 159-161.

R.S. Rose, *The Unpast: Elite Violence and Social Control in Brazil, 1954-2000* in Luso-Brazilian Review, Volume 43, Number 2, 2006, pp. 169-170.

Guillermo O'Donnell, Jorge V. Cullel, and Osvaldo Iazzetta, eds., *The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications* in Americas, Volume 62, Number 2, October 2005, pp. 296-297.

Shawn C. Smallman, *Fear and Memory in The Brazilian Army and Society, 1889-1954*, in Left History, Volume 9, Number 1, Fall/Winter 2003, pp. 179-182.

Kirk S. Bowman, *Militarization, Democracy and Development: The Perils of Praetorianism* in Latin America in Perspectives on Politics, Volume 1, Number 4, December 2003, pp. 802-803.

Lincoln Gordon, *Brazil's Second Chance: En Route toward the First World* in Political Science Quarterly, Volume 117, Number 4, Winter 2002-03, pp. 714-716.

Marco F. Guillén, *The Limits of Convergence: Globalization and Organizational*

*Change in Argentina, South Korea, and Spain* in Political Science Quarterly, Volume 117, Number 3, Fall 2002, pp. 522-523.

Patricia Verdugo, *Chile, Pinochet, and the Caravan of Death*, in Latin American Politics and Society, Volume 44, Number 2, Summer 2002, pp. 157-162.

Kees Koonings and Dirk Kruijt, eds. *Societies of Fear: The Legacy of Civil War, Violence, and Terror in Latin America* in The Journal of Third World Studies, Volume XVIII, Number 2, Fall 2001, pp. 316-318.

Joe Foweraker and Todd Landman, *Citizenship Rights and Social Movements: A Comparative and Statistical Analysis* in Mobilization, Volume 4, Number 2, Fall 1999, pp. 260-261.

Kurt Weyland, *Democracy Without Equity: Failures of Reform in Brazil* in Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Volume 40 Number 2, 1998.

Carlos Nino, *Radical Evil on Trial* in Americas, March 1998, Volume 55, Number 1.

Paul Buchanan, *State, Labor, Capital: Democratizing Class Relations in the Southern Cone* in Journal of Latin American Studies, March 1997.

Kurt von Mettenheim, *The Brazilian Voter: Mass Politics in Democratic Transition, 1974-1986* in American Political Science Review, September 1996.

Shawn H. McCormick, *The Angolan Economy: Prospects for Growth in a Postwar Environment* in Journal of Developing Societies, December 1995.

Joseph Collins and John Lear, *Chile's Free-Market Miracle: A Second Look* in NACLA Report on the Americas, December 1995.

Leigh Payne, *Brazilian Industrialists and Democratic Change* in Journal of Developing Areas in Journal of Developing Areas, Volume 29, Number 1, October 1994.

Jeffrey Frieden, *Debt, Development, and Democracy: Modern Political Economy and Latin America, 1965-1985* in The Journal of Politics, November 1993.

Todd Diacon, *The Contestado Rebellion: Millenarian Vision, Capitalist Reality* in Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Volume 17, Issue 34, 1992, pp. 132-134.

Abraham F. Lowenthal (ed.), *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America* in Political Science Quarterly, Winter 1992.

Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, in Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Volume 16, Issue 32, 1991, pp. 119-122.

Ronald Chilcote, *Power and the Ruling Classes in Northeast Brazil: Juazeiro and Petrolina in Transition* in South Eastern Latin Americanist, September 1991, Volume XXXV, No. 2.

Youssef Cohen, *The Manipulation of Consent: The State and Working-Class*

*Consciousness in Brazil* and Charles Davis, *Working-Class Mobilization and Control: Venezuela and Mexico* in American Political Science Review, Vol. 84, No.4, 12/1990.

William Blum, *The CIA: A Forgotten History*; John Prados, *Presidents' Secret Wars*; and John Ranelagh, *The Agency: The Rise and Decline of the CIA*, in "The CIA's Not-So-Secret Wars" in Fletcher Forum, a journal of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Winter 1988.

Wayne Smith, The Closest of Enemies in "The Disillusionment of a Diplomat" in the Harvard International Review, January 1988.

### **Selected media appearances**

WLRN Miami (South Florida Roundup with Tim Padgett 2 June 2023); Bandnews TV (6 May 2023); CNN Brasil (William Waack; 5 May 2023); France 24 (30 March 2023); BBC Radio Scotland (9 January 2023); Radio Five Live (9 January 2023); France 24 (8 January 2023); Radio Five Live (3 January 2023); France 24 (2 January 2023); Sky News (1 January 2023); LBC Radio Ian Payne (1 November 2022); Actualidad Radio AM 1040 (Contacto Directo, con Roberto Rodriguez Tejera y Juan Camilo Gomez, 31 October 2022); CNN en Espanol: Oppenheimer Presenta (panel discussion, 30 October 2022); BBC World Service: Newshour (30 October 2022); France 24 (30 October 2022); LBC Radio Ben Kentish (30 October 2022); BBC World Service Newshour (30 October 2022); Mega TV: Ahora con Oscar Haza (6 October 2022); quoted in article by Andres Oppenheimer in The Miami Herald (4 October 2022); BBC World Service: The World Tonight (3 October 2022); BBC World Service: Newshour (3 October 2022); CNN en Espanol: Oppenheimer Presenta (panel discussion with Brian Winter, Rubens Barbosa, and Andres Oppenheimer, 2 October 2022); TRT World (2 October 2022); France 24 (2 October 2022); BBC World Service: The Inquiry (29 September 2022); BandNews TV (5 September 2022); Agence France Press (5 September 2022); O Estado de São Paulo (19 August 2022); BBC World Service (The Real Story) (28 July 2022); France 24 (24 July 2022); BandNews TV (20 July 2022); BandNews TV (6 June 2022); IstoÉ Dinheiro (2 February 2022); TRT World (21 December 2021); BandNews TV (17 December 2021); TRT World (27 October 2021); BBC World (20 October 2021); France 24 (20 October 2021); Times Radio (20 October 2021); TRT World (7 September 2021); France 24 (3 August 2021); UOL (14 August 2021); The Beijing News (12 August 2021); France 24 (26 July 2021); Sky News with Stephen Dixon (19 June 2021); Euronews (11 March 2021); France 24 (9 March 2021); O Estado de São Paulo (10 February 2021); Jota (2 February 2021); CNN Brasil (2 January 2021); BBC Radio 4 (The World Tonight) 10 November 2020; TV CNN Brasil (7 November 2020); TV CNN Brasil (6 November 2020); Radio CNN Manhã (6 November 2020); Band News Radio (3 November 2020); Valor Econômico (30 September 2020); BBC Brasil (24 August 2020); Sky News (19 July 2020); BBC World News (7 July 2020); O Estado de São Paulo (28 June 2020); Euronews (23 June 2020); BBC World News (13 June 2020); BBC World Service (12 June 2020); Valor Econômico (12 June 2020); BBC World Service with Lyse Doucet (7 June 2020); France24 (7 June 2020); quoted in Crusoé, 29 May 2020; Sky News Breakfast with Steve Dixon (24 May 2020); France 24 (23 May 2020); BBC Radio 4 PM (22 May 2020); BBC World News with Lucy Hockings (21 May 2020); TRT World (18 May 2020); BBC Brasil (26 April 2020); Estado de São Paulo (26 April 2020); Broadcast (24 April 2020); Vox (28 April 2020); BBC Brasil (26 April 2020); O Estado de São

Paulo (26 April 2020); (Radio France International (27 March 2020); Bandnews TV (31 January 2020); LBC Radio with Eddie Mair (23 August 2019); BBC News (23 August 2019); BBC World News (23 August 2019); Channel Four News, interview with Fatima Manji (22 August 2019); BBC2 Newsnight (22 August 2019); More or Less, BBC Radio 4 (9 August 2019); BBC World Service (30 July 2019); Sky News with Gamal Fahnbulleh (14 June 2019); BBC World Talking Business with Aaron Heslehurst (2 January 2019); BBC Radio 4 Today (1 January 2019); France 24 (31 August, 4 August, 4 April 2018); Time magazine (23 August 2018); BBC World Service (4 April 2018); Radio Bandeirantes (31 January 2018); CNN (Amanpour) 29 August 2016; GloboNews TV, 23 and 24 June, 2016; Radio France International, 24 June 2016; BBC World Service, 20 June 2016; GloboNews TV – Sem Fronteiras - 19 May 2016; France 24 TV March 2016; Bloomberg TV December 2015; BBC Radio 4 (March 2016); France 24 TV (Focus) 14 January 2015 and 4 October 2014; CNB Radio, 29 October, 2015; Bloomberg TV (Countdown) 27 November 2014,; Bloomberg TV (The Pulse) 6 October 2014, (Countdown) 30 June 2014 and 27 June 2013; BBC Radio 4 (The World Tonight) 20 October 2013.

### **Membership of editorial boards**

Member, Editorial Board, *Luso-Brazilian Review* (2015-present); *Latin American Perspectives* (2003-present); *Human Rights Review* (2004-present); *Teoria e Pesquisa: Revista de Ciência Política* [Theory and Research: Journal of Political Science - Federal University of São Carlos, Brazil], 2010-present; *Observanordeste* [Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Brazil] (2010-present); *Anistia* [Amnesty Commission, Brazilian Ministry of Justice] (2011-present); *Revista Estudos de Política* [Federal University of Campina Grande, Brazil] (2011-present); *Brasiliana: Journal for Brazilian Studies* (2012-present); *Brazilian Studies* (2016-present); *Sustainability* (2018-present); and *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Policiais* (2019-present).

### **Organizer**

Host and organizer, XII international conference of the Brazilian Studies Association, 20-23 August 2014 (at King's College London).

### **Reviewing**

Member, international jury to select the best MA thesis and PhD dissertation in the social sciences in Brazil for the National Association of Research and Postgraduate Programs in the Social Sciences (ANPOCS), Brazil, February-March 2021.

Reviewer of grant proposals, National Science Foundation, 2006 and 2014; FCT (Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology), 2014, 2020 and 2021; International Institution of Education (Fulbright), 2008; Economic and Social Research Council (U.K.; 2006) Rockefeller Foundation, 2005.

Reviewer, faculty publications in the Centre for Historical Research and Documentation (CPDOC), Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV), Rio de Janeiro, 30-31 October 2019.

Reviewer, Memórias Reveladas Prize for the best PhD dissertation based on work in



the archive, National Archive of Brazil, August 2018.

Reviewer, external committee to review the interdisciplinary centers on Africa, Development Studies, Latin America, and South Asia, University of Cambridge, November 2017.

Reviewer, International Committee for the Evaluation of Interdisciplinary Research Centers, FAPESP (São Paulo state research agency), October 2017 and June 2023.

Reviewer, International Committee for the Evaluation of Interdisciplinary Research Centres, University of São Paulo, 2012 and 2011.

Reviewer of tenure files, John Jay College, 2006; University of Connecticut, 2009; University of Minnesota, 2010; University of New Mexico 2011; Tulane University 2013.

Reviewer of promotion file, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2015.

Reviewer of manuscripts for *International Political Science Review*; *Brasiliana*, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, *Comparative Politics*, *Human Rights Review*, *Journal of Cold War History*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Journal of Politics*, *Latin American Perspectives*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Luso-Brazilian Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Power and Social Theory*, *Political Studies*, *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política*, *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Polícias*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Penn State University Press, Oxford University Press, Rowman and Littlefield, Stanford University Press, University of Notre Dame Press, University of Pittsburgh Press, and the Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Witness, Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Commons Inquiry into Global Britain and South America, 29 January 2019.

Witness, Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Commons Inquiry into UK-Brazil Relations, April 2011.

Expert Witness, cases involving asylum requests by refugees from Brazil, San Francisco, 2004-5 and case involving asylum case from Mexico, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, 2018.

## **PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP**

American Political Science Association, 1990-present.

Association of Brazilianists in Europe, 2019-present.

Brazilian Studies Association, (President 2014-16; Vice President 2012-14).

International Political Science Association, 2019-present.

Latin American Studies Association, 1989-present.

Member of the Council, Brazilian Chamber of Commerce of GB, 2012-present.

Society for Latin American Studies (UK), 2008-present.