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John F. Clark

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Education

Ph.D., Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia, August 1992 Dissertation: *Superpower Intervention in Several Conflicts of Sub-Saharan Africa*

M.A., Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia, May 1988 Thesis: *Realism and the Reagan Doctrine*

A.B., Political Science, *Magna Cum Laude*, Georgia Southern College, June 1986 Minors: French and International Studies

Major Appointments

Professor, Department of Politics and International Relations, FIU, Fall 2009-present

- <u>Chairperson</u>, Department of Politics and International Relations, Florida International University (FIU), Fall 2016—Summer 2020
- <u>Honorary Visiting Professor</u>, Institute of Interdisciplinary Training and Research, Mbarara University of Science and Technology, Mbarara, Uganda, Fall 2014—present

Chairperson, Department of International Relations, FIU, Fall 2002-December 2008 (see p.17)

Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, FIU, Fall 1997-Summer 2009

Graduate Director, Department of International Relations, FIU, 2000-2001

Fulbright Lecturer/Research Scholar, Makerere University, Uganda, September 1999-July 2000

<u>Assistant Professor</u>, Department of International Relations, FIU, Fall 1992--Summer 1997 (Instructor during 1991-92 academic year)

<u>Research Assistant/Editor</u>, Miller Center of Public Affairs, (Research Center on the American Presidency, University of Virginia) January 1987-June 1990

Books

- *Africa's International Relations: Balancing Domestic and Global Interests*, co-authored with Beth Whitaker. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner, 2018.
- *Historical Dictionary of Congo*, 4th ed., co-authored with Samuel Decalo. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2012.
- The Failure of Democracy in the Republic of Congo. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2008.
- *The African Stakes of the Congo War*, Edited. New York: Palgrave, and Kampala, Uganda: Fountain, 2002.
- *Political Reform in Francophone Africa,* Co-edited with David E. Gardinier. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997.

Journal Articles

- "South Africa: Africa's Reluctant and Conflicted Regional Power." *Air and Space Power Journal: Africa and Francophonie* 7, no.1 (Spring 2016): 30-47.
- "Peacemaking or Pacification for the Pool: The Restoration of State Authority in a Rebellious Region of Congo-Brazzaville." *Journal of African Policy Studies* 20, no.1 (2014): 39-70. (With Brett L. Carter).
- "Neither war nor peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC): profiting and coping amid violence and disorder." *Review of African Political Economy* 40, no.135 (March 2013): 1-12. (With Miles Larmer and Ann Laudati).
- "A Constructivist Account of the Congo Wars." *African Security* 4, no.3 (September 2011): 147-170.
- "Does Democratization Reduce the Risk of Military Interventions in Politics in Africa?" *Democratization* 15, no.1 (February 2008): 85-105. (With Staffan I. Lindberg).
- "The Decline of the African Military Coup." *Journal of Democracy* 18, no.2 (2007): 141-155. Reprinted under the same title in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *Democratization in Africa: Progress and Retreat*, 2nd. ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010: 73-87.
- "Understanding Democratic Survival and Democratic Failure in Africa: Insights from the Divergent Democratic Experiments in Benin and Congo." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47, no.3 (July 2005): 552-582 (With Bruce A. Magnusson).

"Resource Revenues and Political Development in sub-Saharan Africa: Congo Republic in

Comparative Perspective." Afrika Spectrum 37, no.1 (2002): 25-41.

- "The Neo-Colonial Context of the Democratic Experiment of Congo-Brazzaville." *African Affairs* 101, no.403 (April 2002): 171-192. Reprinted as "Le context néocolonial de l'expérience démocratique au Congo-Brazzaville," in Patrick Quantin, ed., *L'Afrique politique 2002*, Paris: Karthala, 2003. [Annual compendium of important articles on African politics and society.]
- "Explaining Ugandan Intervention in Congo: evidence and explanations." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 39, no.2 (June 2001): 261-87.
- "UEMOA and ECOWAS: Conflict or Cooperation in the Era of the 'New Regionalism."" *Global Development Studies* 2, nos. 3-4 (Spring 2001): 167-195. (With Sekou Camara)
- "The Clinton Administration and Africa: White House Involvement and the Foreign Affairs Bureaucracies in Clinton's Africa Policy." *Issue* 26, no.2 (1998): 8-13.
- "The Nature and Evolution of the State in Zaire." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 32, no.4 (Winter 1998): 3-23.
- "Foreign Intervention in the Civil War of the Congo Republic." Issue 26, no.1 (1998): 31-36.
- "Democracy Dismantled in the Congo Republic." *Current History* 97, no. 619 (May 1998): 234-237.
- "Petro-Politics in the Republic of Congo." Journal of Democracy 8, no. 3 (July 1997): 62-76.
- "Reform or Democratization for Africa? Troubling Constraints and Partial Solutions," *Transafrica Forum* 10, no. 1 (1996): 3-19.
- "Ethno-Regionalism in Zaire: Roots, Manifestations and Meaning," *Journal of African Policy Studies* 1, no. 2 (1995): 23-45.
- "Evaluating the Efficacy of Foreign Policy: An Essay on the Complexity of Foreign Policy Goals," *Southeastern Political Review* 23, no. 4 (December 1995): 559-79.
- "Elections, Leadership and Democracy in Congo," *Africa Today* 41, no.3, (3rd Quarter 1994): 41-60.
- "The Constraints on Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case for Limited Democracy," *SAIS Review* XIV, no.2 (Summer-Fall 1994): 91-108. Reprinted in Lyn Graybill and Kenneth W. Thompson, eds., *Africa's Second Wave of Freedom*, Lanham, Md: University Press of America, 1998: 43-64.

"The National Conference as an Instrument of Democratization in Francophone Africa," Journal

of Third World Studies 11, no.1 (Spring 1994): 304-335.

- "Collective Interventions After the Cold War: Lessons from the U.N. Mission to the Congo, 1960-1964," *Journal of Political Science* 12 (1994): 93-115.
- "Socio-Political Change in the Republic of the Congo: Political Dilemmas of Economic Reform," *Journal of Third World Studies* 10, no.1 (Spring 1993): 52-77.

Chapters in Edited Books

- "Political Culture and Post-Colonial Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo," in Jennifer Leaning, ed., *Legacies of War: Enduring Memories, Persistent Patterns*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020, forthcoming.
- "African Regime Interests and the 'Securitization of the Economic Community of Central Africa States," in Jason Warner and Timothy M. Shaw, eds., *African Foreign Policies in International Institutions*. New York: Palgrave, 2018: 127-148. (With Graham Palmateer).
- "Identity Politics, Governance, and Development in Africa," in Louis A. Picard, Terry F. Buss, Taylor Seybolt and Macrina Lelei, eds., *Sustainable Development and Human Security in Africa: Governance as the Missing Link.* Boca Roton, FL: CRC Press, Taylor and Francis Group, 2015: 175-194.
- "The United Nations and African Security," in James J. Hentz, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of African Security*. New York: Routledge, 2013: 279-291.
- "The International Community and Congo's Recent Crisis," in Jacques Mangala, ed., *New* Security Threats and Crises in Africa: Regional and International Perspectives, New York: Palgrave, 2010: 171-190.
- "When do the Military Step into the Electoral Arena?" in Andreas Schedler, ed., *Electoral Authoritarianism*, Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2006: 129-148.
- "Rwanda: Tragic Land of Dual Nationalisms," in Lowell W. Barrington, ed., *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Post-Colonial and Post-Communist States.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006: 71-106.
- "The Collapse of the Democratic Experiment in the Republic of Congo: A Thick Description," in Leonardo Villalon and Peter VonDoepp, eds., *The Fate of Africa's Democratic Experiments*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005: 96-125.

"Petroleum Revenues and Political Development in the Congo Republic: The Democratic

Experiment and Beyond," in Matthias Basedau and Andreas Mehler, eds., *Resource Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Hamburg: Institute for African Studies, 2005: 121-144.

- "Introduction: Causes and Consequences of the Congo War," in Clark, ed., *The African Stakes* of the Congo War, pp.1-10
- "Museveni's Adventure in the Congo War: Uganda's Vietnam?" in Clark, ed., *The African Stakes of the Congo War*, pp.145-165.
- "The Economic Consequences of the Congo War," in Clark, ed., *The African Stakes of the Congo War*, pp.201-223. (With Mungbalemwe Koyame, first author)
- "Foreign Policy Making in Central Africa: The Imperative of Regime Security in a New Context" in Gilbert Khadiagala and Terrence Lyons, eds., *African Foreign Policy: Power and Process*, Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2001: 67-86.
- "Realism, Neo-Realism and Africa's International Relations in the Post Cold-War Era," in Kevin Dunn and Timothy Shaw, eds., *Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory*, New York: Palgrave, 2001: 85-102.
- "What Price Empire? A Study of the Costs and Benefits of American Involvement in Zaire" in Stuart Nagel, ed., *Handbook of Global International Policy*, New York: Marcel Dekker, 2000: 21-41.
- "Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire as a Nondemocratic Presidential Leader" in Lyn Graybill and Kenneth W. Thompson, eds., *Africa's Second Wave of Freedom*, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1998: 81-101.
- "Political Culture, Civil Society and the National Conferences in Francophone Africa," in Julius Ihonvbere and John M. Mbaku, eds., *Multi-party Democracy and Political Change: Constraints on Democratization in Africa*, London: Ashgate, 1998: 97-122. [Reprinted as "National Conferences and Democratization in Francophone Africa," in a volume of the same title, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2006: 101-126.]
- "The Extractive State in Zaire," in Leonardo Villalon, ed., *The African State at a Critical Juncture: Between Disintegration and Reconfiguration*, (Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner, 1998): 109-125.

"Introduction," in Clark and Gardinier, eds., Political Reform in Francophone Africa, pp.1-5

"The Challenges of Political Reform in Africa," in Clark and Gardinier, eds., pp.23-39.

"Congo: Transition and the Struggle to Consolidate," in Clark and Gardinier, eds., pp.62-85.

"Ethnic Cleavage and the Prospects for Democratization in Zaire," in Harvey Glickman, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and Democratization in Africa*, (Atlanta: African Studies Association Press, 1995): 351-380.

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- "Congo: History and Government" in *New Encyclopedia of Africa*, 2nd ed. Farmington Hills, MI: Thomson-Gale, 2008: 510-512.
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- "Congo Republic," in Encyclopedia of the Developing World. New York: Routledge, 2005.
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- "Uganda." Self-Determination Conflict Profile for Foreign Policy in Focus website. Available at http://www.selfdetermine.org/conflicts/uganda.html. (Posted January 2002).
- "The Republic of Congo." Self-Determination Conflict Profile for Foreign Policy in Focus website. Available at http://www.selfdetermine.org/conflicts/congo.html. (Posted November 2001).
- "Congo-Brazzaville: Uneasy Peace and Gradual Economic Reform," in *Africa Contemporary Record*, 1994-1996, vol.25, New York: Holmes & Meier, 2002: B228-237.
- "Congo-Brazzaville," in *Africa Contemporary Record*, 1992-1994, vol.24, New York: Holmes & Meier, 2000: B223-231.
- "Congo: History and Government." In *Encyclopedia of Sub-Saharan Africa*. Vol. 1, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997: 364-67.

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- Report: "Pastor Ntoumi and Ninja/Nsiloulou Militias of Congo-Brazzaville, 1991 to present." With Brett L. Carter. 8900 word report submitted to the Social Science Research Council, June 2012.
- Review Essay: "Political Change and Social Contestation in the Republic of Congo: Sources and Analyses." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 30, no.3 (1997): 601-606.
- Update: "Violence Erupts in Congo-Brazzaville." *Journal of Democracy* 8, no.4 (October 1997): 186-87.
- Reports: "Executive Report: Congo." 25 pp. Consultant Report for Political Risk Services, East Syracuse, N.Y., July 1995. Revised and up-dated, July 1996 and August 1997.
- Review Essay: "American Foreign Policy in Africa after the Cold War," *Africa Today* 40, no.2 (1993): 91-93.
- Review Essay: "Theoretical Disarray and the Study of Democratization in Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 31, no.3 (Fall 1993): 529-34.

Book Reviews

Violent Capitalism and Hybrid Identity in the Eastern Congo: Power to the Margins by Timothy Raeymaekers, Perspectives on Politics 14, no. 2 (June 2016): 537-538.

Development corruption in South Africa: governance matters by Soma Pillay, Choice 53, no.2 (October 2015).

Africa consensus: new interests, initiatives, and partners by Ludger Kühnhardt, Choice 52, no.5 (January 2015).

Congo Masquerade: The Political Culture of Aid Inefficiency and Reform Failure by Theodore Trefon, *Africa* 83, no.3 (August 2013): 523-524.

The Scramble for African Oil: Oppression, Corruption and War for Control of Africa's Natural Resources by Douglas A. Yates, *Journal of Modern African Studies* 51, no. 02 (June 2013): 360-361.

Elections and the media in post-conflict Africa: votes and voices for peace? by, Marie-Soleil Frère, *Choice* 49, no.9 (May 2012): 5300.

The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding, by Severine Autesserre, in *Perspectives on Politics*, 9, no.4 (December 2011): 902-203.

Museveni's Uganda: paradoxes of power in a hybrid regime, by Aili Mari Tripp, in *Choice* 48, no.6 (February 2011): 3528.

The Great African War: Congo and Regional Geopolitics, 1996-2006 by Filip Reyntjens, in *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 43, no.3 (September 2010):

République démocratique du Congo: De la guerre aux elections, by Gauthier de Villers, in *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 43, no. 1 (January 2010): 177-179.

Conflict transformation and social change in Uganda: remembering after violence, by Buckley-Zistel, Susanne, in *Choice* 46, no.12 (August 2009): 7040.

Regime hegemony in Museveni's Uganda: Pax Musevenica, by Joshua B. Rubongoya, in *Choice* 45, no.1 (September 2007): 512.

Security Dynamics in Africa's Great Lakes Region, edited by Gilbert M. Khadiagala in African Studies Review 50, no.1 (April 2007):150-151.

The Trouble with Africa: why foreign aid isn't working, by Robert Calderisi in *Choice* 44, no.4 (December 2006): 2344.

Comment la France a perdu l'Afrique, by Antoine Glaser and Stephen Smith in *Politique Africaine* no. 103 (October 2006): 176-177.

Dilemmas of Weak States: Africa and Transnational Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century, by Tatah Mentan in *Democratization* 12, no.5 (December 2005): 856-857.

Public Opinion, democracy, and market reform in Africa, by Michael Bratton, Robert Mattes, and E. Gyimah-Boadi in *Choice* 42, no. 11 (July 2005): 6746.

Military Intervention: Cases in Context for the Twenty-First Century, edited by William J. Lahneman in *Political Science Quarterly* 119, no.4 (Winter 2004-05): 713-714.

Thabo Mbeki's world: the politics and ideology of the South African president, edited by Sean Jacobs and Richard Calland in *Choice* 42, no. 1 (September 2004): 567.

Pride, Faith and Fear by Charlotte and Frederick Quinn, Choice 41, no. 5 (January 2004): 3068.

Evaluating methodology in international studies edited by Michael Brecher and Frank P. Harvey in *Choice* 40, no.10 (June 2003): 6070.

Millennial reflections on international studies edited by Michael Brecher and Frank P. Harvey in *Choice* 40, no. 9 (May 2003): 5470.

Intervention and transnationalism in Africa: global-local networks of power edited by Thomas M. Callaghy, Ronald Kassimir, and Robert Latham in *Choice* 40, no. 4 (December 2002): 2449.

Political Transformations of the Congo by Mbow M. Amphas in *Journal of African History* 43, no.2 (2002): 359-360.

Une Guerre Contre les Civils: Reflexions sur les pratiques humanitaires au Congo Brazzaville (1998-2000), edited by Marc le Pape and Pierre Salignon in *African Affairs* 101, no.404 (July 2002): 442-43.

Africa Policy in the Clinton Years: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration edited by J. Stephen Morrison and Jennifer G. Cooke in *Political Science Quarterly* 117, no.2 (Summer 2002): 340-42.

The Skull Beneath the Skin by Mark Huband in Choice 39, no.10 (June 2002): 6053.

The Graves are Not Yet Full by Bill Berkeley in Choice 39, no. 6 (February 2002): 3612.

The Assassination of Lumumba by Ludo de Witte in Choice 39, no. 5 (January 2002): 3053.

When Victims Become Killers: colonialism, nativism, and the genocide in Rwanda by Mahmood Mamdani in Choice 39, no.4 (December 2001): 2334

No-Party Democracy in Uganda: Myths and Realities edited by Justus Mugaju and Joseph Oloka-Onyango in *Choice* 38, no.10 (June 2001): 5815.

Historical Dictionary of Congo, 3rd edition, by Samuel Decalo, Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff in *Journal of Third World Studies* 16, no.2 (Fall 1999): 217-21. (With Francois Sita)

The rise of multipartyism and democracy in the context of global change: the case of Africa by Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo in *Choice* 36, no.6 (February 1999): 3586.

International relations theory and the Third World edited by Stephanie G. Neuman in *Choice* 36, no.4 (December 1998): 2417.

The origins of the Angolan civil war: foreign intervention and domestic political conflict by Fernando A. Guimaraes in *Choice* 36, no.1 (September 1998): 0573.

Democracy in Translation: Understanding Politics in an Unfamiliar Culture by Frederic Schaffer, in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 31, no.3 (1998): 663-65.

Along the domestic-foreign frontier: exploring governance in a turbulent world by James Rosenau in Choice 35, no.9 (May 1998): 5339.

Mozambique: UN peacekeeping in action, 1992-94 by Richard Synge in *Choice* 35, no.8 (April 1998): 4773.

Challenging the State by Merilee Grindle in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 77, no. 4 (1997): 763-64.

Ethics and International Relations by Gordon Graham in Choice 34, no.10 (June 1997): 5943.

State and Society in Francophone Africa since Independence edited by Daniel Bach and Anthony Kirk-Greene in *Africa Today*, 44, no.1 (1997): 84-86.

Classical theories of international relations edited by Ian Clark and Iver Neumann in *Choice* 34, no. 5 (January 1997): 2994.

Leisure and society in colonial Brazzaville by Phyllis M. Martin in Choice 34, no.2 (October 1996): 1074.

The Politics of Economic Reform in Zimbabwe by Tor Skalnes, in *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 31, no.3 (1996): 167-169.

Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority edited by I. William Zartman in *Africa Today* 43, no.4 (1996): 429-431.

Africa in World Politics, 2nd. ed., by John Harbeson and Donald Rothchild, eds., in *Journal of Third World Studies*, XIII, no.1 (Spring 1996): 276-279.

The Poverty of Nations: The Aid Dilemma at the Heart of Africa by John Morton, in *Journal of Third World Studies*, XII, no.2 (Fall 1995): 417-421.

Burundi: Ethnocide as Discourse and Practice by René Lemarchand, in *Africa Today* 42, nos.1-2 (1st-2nd Quarters 1995): 142-145.

Making War and Waging Peace: Foreign Intervention in Africa by David Smock, ed., in *Journal of Modern African Studies* 33, no.1 (March 1995): 158-60.

Southern Africa After Apartheid: The End of Apartheid, Future Regional Cooperation and Foreign Aid by Elling N. Tjonneland, in Africa Today 41, no.1 (1994):96-97.

Free At Last? U.S. Policy Toward Africa and the End of the Cold War by Michael Clough, in *Journal of Third World Studies*, X, no.1 (Spring 1993): 511-13.

From Confrontation to Cooperation? U.S. and Soviet Aid to Developing Countries by Richard E. Feinberg and Ratchik M. Avakov, eds., in *Journal of Third World Studies*, IX no. 2 (Fall 1992): 546-550.

Conference Paper Presentations

"Regime Types, Regime Identities, and African Foreign Policies." Presented at the 60th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, 28 March 2019

"Personal Rule and Ugandan Foreign Policy." Presented at the 60th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Chicago, USA, November 2017

"The Resource Curse and Conflict in Eastern D.R. Congo." Presented at an international conference entitled *Avoiding the Resource Curse in East Africa*, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, 19 May 2016.

Graham Palmateer and John F. Clark, "The Uses (and Abuses) of the Economic Community of Central African States: African Regimes in Pursuit of Security Interests." Presented at the Annual ASA conference, Washington, DC, 1 December 2016. [Presented by Clark.]

"The United Nations Force Intervention Brigade (FIB): A New Model for Peacemaking in Africa?" Presented at the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA), Atlanta, GA, 17 March 2016.

"South Africa: Africa's Reluctant and Conflicted Regional Power." Presented at the Annual Convention of the ISA, New Orleans, LA, 18 February 2015.

"A Typology of Foreign Policy Role Conceptions for African States." Presented at the Annual Convention of the ISA, Toronto, Canada, 28 March 2014.

"Regime Security and Ugandan Foreign Policy." Presented at the 56th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA), Baltimore, MD, USA, November 2013.

"War and Development in the Great Lakes Region: The Cases of Rwanda and Uganda." Presented at the Mbarara Seminar Series: Peace, Security and Development – Debating the Peace/State-Building Experiences of Rwanda and Uganda for the Benefit of the Great Lakes Region, Mbarara University of Science and Technology, Uganda, 24 May 2013.

"The Intriguing Case of Pasteur Ntoumi and the Political Culture of Congo-Brazzaville." Presented at the 55th ASA conference, Philadelphia, PA, 30 November 2012.

"Peacemaking or Pacification for the Pool: The Restoration of State Authority in a Rebellious Region of Congo-Brazzaville." Presented at the Nordic Africa Days Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland, October 2012.

"Ethnicity, Governance, and Development in Africa." Presented at a Conference entitled "Achieving Sustainable Development in Africa," at the University of Pittsburgh, 30 March 2012.*

"The Changing Rules of Intervention under Africa's 'Society of Regimes."" Presented at the 54th Annual ASA conference, Washington, DC, 18 November 2011

"Understanding the Congo War: the International Security Regime." Presented at the International Studies Association-South Conference, St. Petersburg, FL, 23 October 2010.

"The Dangers of 'Enablement': The International Community and Conflict in the Great Lakes." Presented at the Conference on "Africa in Contemporary International Relations," Grand Valley State University, Grand Rapids, MI, 22 September 2009.*

"Political Culture and Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo." Presented at a Conference entitled "Post-Colonial Wars: Current Perspectives on the Deferred Violence of Colonialism," Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, October 30-31, 2008.*

"The Origins of Post-Colonial Wars in the DRC." Presented at the Expert Working Seminar on Post-Colonial Wars entitled "Conduct and Consequences: Congo, Rhodesia, Rwanda/Burundi" at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, 28-30 May 2008.*

"The Congo War as an International Event." Presented at the 50th meeting of the African Studies Association [ASA], New York, October 2007.

[With Staffan Lindberg.] "Does Liberalization Prevent Military Interventions in Politics? Evidence from Africa." Presented [by Lindberg] at the 49th meeting of the ASA, San Francisco, CA, November 2006.

"Political Liberalization and Military Intervention In African States Since 1991." Presented at the 102nd Meeting of the American Political Science Association [APSA], Philadelphia, PA, 1 September 2006.

"Electoral Authoritarianism under Sassou-Nguesso." Ambassadorial Seminar on Congo-Brazzaville for Robert Weisberg (Out-going U.S. Ambassador to Congo). 28 March 2006.*

"The Contribution of Flawed Elections to State Reformulation in Sub-Saharan Africa: Evidence from Several Cases," Presented at the 101st Meeting of the APSA, Washington, DC, 4 September 2005.

"Coalition Government in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Interim Peace or a Path to National Unity?" Presented at the First Global International Studies Conference, Istanbul, Turkey, 25 August 2005.

"Institutional Design and Democratic Outcomes: Lessons from the Congo Republic," Presented at the 46th Meeting of the International Studies Association [ISA], Honolulu, HI, 5 March 2005.

"The Collapse of the Democratic Experiment in Congo Republic: The Role of the Military and Militias," Presented at the 47th Meeting of the ASA, New Orleans, LA, 13 November 2004.

"Military Intervention in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from African Cases," Presented at a Special Conference entitled "The Dynamics of Electoral Authoritarianism," Centro de Investigacion y Docencia Economicas, Mexico City, 3 April 2004.*

"Suffering and Death on the Periphery of World Politics: The 'Invisibility' of the Congo War as an Example of Hegemony in International Relations," Presented at the 45th Annual Meeting of the ISA, Montreal, 17 March 2004.

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"The Democratic Experiments in Congo and Benin in Comparative Perspective." Presented at the 45th Annual Meeting of the ASA," Washington, DC, 6 December 2002.

"Debates on Uganda's Motives in the Congo War." Presented at the special conference entitled "Africa's Great Lakes Region 2002: Prospects for Peace," African Studies Program Annual Conference, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1 November 2002.*

"Structure, Agency, and Democratic Consolidation in Africa: An Examination of the Benin-Congo Dyad," Presented at the 98th Annual Meeting of the APSA, Boston, MA, 29 August 2002.

"The Curse of Riches: Petroleum Revenues and Political Development in the Republic of Congo." Presented at the 18th International Biennial Conference of the German African Studies Association, Hamburg, Germany, 15 May 2002.*

"The Neo-Colonial Context of Democratic Experiments in Africa: The Case of Congo-Brazzaville." Presented at the 44th Annual Meeting of the ASA, Houston, TX, 18 November 2001.

"The Collapse of the Multiparty Experiment in the Republic of Congo: A Thick Description." Presented at the Conference on Elites, Institutions, and the Fate of Africa's Democratic Experiments, Lawrence, KS, 6 October 2001.*

"The Collapse of the Multiparty Experiment in the Republic of Congo." Presented at the 42nd Annual Meeting of the ISA, Chicago, IL, 24 February 2001.

"Uganda's Intervention in the Congo War: Evidence and Explanations." Presented at the 43rd Annual Meeting of the ASA, Nashville, TN, 17 November 2000.

"Uganda's Intervention in Congo: A Thick Description." Presented at the special conference on Conflict and Peace-making in the Great Lakes Regions, Entebbe, Uganda, 10-12 July 2000.

"Rwanda: Tragic Land of Dual Nationalisms." Presented at the Annual Conference of the APSA, Atlanta, Georgia, 5 September 1999.

"Realism, Neo-Realism and Africa's International Relations In the Post Cold-War Era," Presented at the 40th Annual Meeting of the ISA, Washington, DC, 20 February 1999.

"The Prospects for State-Building in the Two Congos," Presented at the Conference on Crisis and Renewal in Africa: States, Markets, Law and Democracy, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, 14 November 1998.*

"International Aspects of the Civil War in Congo-Brazzaville," Presented at the School of Advanced International Studies Conference on Foreign Policy-making in Africa, April 1998.*

"The Benefits of Protecting the Status Quo: Rhetoric vs. Reality of French Policy in Africa." Presented at the 39th Annual Meeting of the ISA, Minneapolis, MN, 21 March 1998. (Also, Chair of Panel).

"Ethno-Regional Contestation and the Breakdown of Civil Peace in the Republic of Congo," Presented at the 40th Annual African Studies Assoc. Conf., Columbus, OH, 15 November 1997.

"Agents, Structures and the Course of Democracy in Congo." Presented at the International Studies Association-South Conference, Miami, FL, October, 1997.

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"Oil and Democratization in the Republic of the Congo," Presented at the 39th Annual ASA Conference, San Francisco, CA, 26 November 1996.

"What Price Empire? A Study of the Costs and Benefits of American Involvement in Zaire." Presented at the 37th Annual ISA Conference, San Diego, CA, 17 April 1996.

"The Anglophone-Francophone Rivalry and Rwanda's Crises," Presented at the 38th Annual Africa Studies Association Conference, Orlando, FL, 5 November 1995.

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"The Extractive State in Zaire," Presented at the 36th Annual ISA Conference, Chicago, IL, 24 February 1995.

"Political Culture and the Prospects for Democratization in Zaire," Presented at the 12th Annual Meeting of the Association of Third World Studies, Williamsburg, VA, October 1994.

"Ethnic Conflict as an Impediment to Democratization in Zaire," Presented to the 36th Annual Meeting of the ASA, Boston, MA, December 1993.

"Recent Events in Zambia and Congo: Underdevelopment, Economic Reform, and the Prospects for Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa," Presented to the 11th Annual Meeting of the Association of Third World Studies," Tacoma, WA, October 1993.

"The Judgment of Foreign Policy and the Complexity of Foreign Policy Goals," Presented at the 1993 Southwest Political Science Association Conference, New Orleans, LA, March 1993.

"The National Conference as an Instrument of Democratization in Africa," Presented at the 35th Annual Meeting of the ASA, Seattle, WA, November 1992

"Zaire After the Cold War, or *Kamanyola* Politics," Presented at the Tenth Annual Association of Third World Studies Conference, Gainesville, Florida, October 1992.

"Structural Adjustment and Political Change in the Republic of the Congo," Presented at the Ninth Annual Association of Third World Studies Conference, Philadelphia, PA, October 1991.

"The Emerging New International Orientation of Two Afro-Marxist States, Angola and Congo," Southern Political Science Association Conference, Atlanta, GA, 1990.

"The 1988 Angola-Namibia Peace Accords," ISA-South Conference, Memphis, TN, 1989.

* Invited Conference papers funded by hosts

Invited Presentations at Universities and Other Venues

"Institutions, Culture, and Fighting the Resource Curse in East Africa." Keynote address, presented at the Conference on "Avoiding the Resource Curse in East Africa," University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, 18 May 2016.

"Term Limits, Political Culture, and Democratization in Africa." Presented at a seminar entitled "Presidential Term Limits in Africa," U.S. Department of State, 13 March 2015.

"The Impact of War and Rivalry on State Development in Uganda." Presented to the faculty and graduate students of the Islamic University in Uganda, Kampala campus, 18 May 2013.

"Understanding Mass Violence During and After the Congo Wars: Continuities of a Culture of Violent Repression." Presented as a lecture in the Holocaust memorial Week lecture Series, Oregon State University, 5 May 2011.

"The Failure of the Democratic Experiment in Congo," U.S. Ambassador's Residence, 19 July 2010, and "Improving the Political Culture of Congo." United States Embassy, Brazzaville, Congo, 20 July 2010.

"The Epic of the Congolese Elections" [in Congo-Kinshasa]. University of Florida African Studies Program, 29 September 2006.

"The War in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the West's Response." Beloit College, WI, 8 November 2004.

"Globalization and the Prospects for Development in Africa." Presented at the Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU), Mbale, Uganda, 27 April 2000.

"Elections and U.S. Foreign Policy," and "Democratization and U.S. Foreign Policy," Presented at the Center for U.S. Studies, Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenburg, Wittenburg, Germany, 23 & 24 October 1996.

"Mobutu Sese Seko as a Non-Democratic Presidential Leader," Presented at the Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 30 June 1994.

"The U.S., the U.N. and the New World Order," Keynote Address at the Georgia Southern University Model United Nations Conference, Statesboro, GA, February 1993.

Courses Taught (at FIU unless otherwise noted)

Graduate courses:

- Conflict and Peacemaking in Africa*
- Comparative Approaches to Area Studies and Global Issues
- Approaches to Area Studies
- Seminar in African Development*
- International Relations Theory I*/International Relations Theory (Makerere University)
- Dynamics of International Relations in the 20th Century
- United States' Foreign Policy

Undergraduate courses:

- Inhabiting Other Lives, Honors College Year 2 courses
- Violence and Peacemaking in Africa (Liberal Studies seminar)*
- African Politics
- Departmental Honors Seminar: Advanced Writing in International Relations
- Theories of International Relations
- Foreign Policy Analysis (Makerere University)
- International Relations of Sub-Saharan Africa
- International Relations of the United States
- Issues and Problems in International Relations
- Ethical Problems and International Relations*/ Ethics and I.R. (Makerere Univ.)
- The Idea of Origins, Freshman Honors course, 1995-96 year
- Introduction to International Relations

* These courses developed as new courses at Florida International University

Graduate Mentoring as Major Professor for Doctoral Students:

- Chris Brown (Ph.D., Summer 2009), Assistant Professor, Georgia Southern Unviersity
- Bertin Kouadio (Ph.D., Fall 2009), Ivorian Foreign Ministry; previously, Wilson College
- Angela Gapa (Ph.D., Fall 2013), Assistant Professor, Cal-State Chico
- Yukari Ito (Ph.D., Spring 2015), private business consulting
- Serena Cruz (Ph.D., Fall 2015), Cligendael (Netherlands); GHES fellow, Uganda (2017)
- David Suarez (Ph.D., Fall 2016), private business in Miami, FL
- Fiacre Bienvenu (Ph.D., Summer 2018), Term Appointment, Wooster College (Ohio)
- Zachary Karazsia (Ph.D., Spring 2019), Term Appointment, Georgia Southern
- Yonas Mulat (ABD, Fall 2014)
- Cliff Ubba Kodero (ABD, Summer 2019)

Selected M.A. Students Mentored as Major Professor (By Thesis Only)

- Justin Smith (M.A., Summer 2007)
- Henrietta Williams (M.A., Summer 2002)
- Sekou Camara (M.A., Spring 2000)

Conferences and Workshops Organized

"Conflict and Political Violence," Nairobi, Kenya, 20-31 July 2015, co-organized with Pamela Mbabazi, Kennedy Mkutu, and Beth Whitaker. Budget: \$320,000, funded by the American Political Science Association, and featuring 26 participants (doctoral students and Ph.D.s).

"The Wars of the Democratic Republic of Congo: Human Survival and Social Change Amidst Devastation," FIU, 24-25 March 2011. Budget: \$10,000, funded by FIU's School for International and Public Affairs, African and African Diaspora Studies program, and others.

"Image Politics: China's Engagement with the Global South," FIU, 30 March 2007, coorganized with Paul A. Kowert. Budget: \$8000, funded by the Broad Educational Series, the Gordon Institute, Institute for Asian Studies, and the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office.

"Conflict and Peace-Making in the Great Lakes Region," Entebbe, Uganda, 10-12 July 2000. Conference featured 24 presenters and 8 discussants. Budget: \$29,000, funded by the American Center, Kampala.

Colloquium on Democratization and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, featuring seven speakers, FIU, March 1993. Budget: \$1000, funded by FIU's Grad. Prog. in Inter. Studies.

Service Appointments/Assignments at Florida International University

University:

- Steering Committee, Chairs' Advisory Council, Fall 2018-Spring 2020
- Faculty Senate and FS Steering Committee, Fall 2014-Fall 2015
- Member, Search and Screen Committee for Dean of the University Graduate School
- Member, Institutional Review Board, Fall 2010-Fall 2013
- Quality Enhancement Program (Global Learning) Implementation Committee, 2007-2008
- Provost's Taskforce on the Role of Chairs, Summer 2007-Spring 2008
- G-51 Preparation committee for August 2005 and April 2006 meetings
- Faculty Senate, 1996-1997, 2000-2001, and 2008-2010
- Access and Equity Committee, Fall 1997-Spring 1999 (2 years)
- Committee on the Status of Women, Fall 1994-Spring 1996 (2 years)

College of Arts and Sciences:

- College Steering Committee, Fall 2008—Summer 2010
- Working Group on an International School, 2004-05 and 2005-06 (twelve meetings)
- Teaching Incentive Program Awards Recommendation Committee, Spring 1997
- Arts and Sciences Curriculum Committee, Fall 1992--Summer 1996
- Grad. Prog. in Inter. Studies Admissions/Advisory Committees, Spring 1992--Fall 1994

Department (selected):

• Personnel Committee, 2015-2016

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- Chair, Search and Screen Committee, IR positions, 2012-2013 and 2013-2014 (3 hires total)
- Chairperson of the International Relations Department, August 2002 to December 2008
- Departmental Transition Committee, Summer 2008
- Interim Director of Graduate Programs, 2000-01 academic year
- Coordinator, Departmental Internship Program, Spring 1997--Spring 1999
- International Relations Club Adviser, Fall 1993--Fall 1998
- Chair, Ad Hoc Committee on Departmental Advising, Fall 1995--Fall 1996
- Search and Screen Committee (2 positions), International Relations, Fall 1993

Departmental Achievements during tenure as Chairperson (August 2002-December 2008)

Staffing and Faculty Development:

- Recruited 9 tenure-track or permanent faculty members
- Oversaw tenure and/or promotion of seven faculty members
- Hired 5 Visiting Faculty members for multi-year terms
- Recruited visiting scholars from Algeria, Brazil, Britain, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Germany, Haiti, Poland, Russia, Singapore, Spain, South Africa, and South Korea to teach courses in the Department (not including doctoral students)
- Four faculty members retired and gained Emeritus status

Student Affairs, Enrollments, Majors, and Graduates:

- Launched Departmental Honor's Track
- Established local Chapter of National Honor's Society (Sigma Iota Rho)
- Enrollments increased by 92 percent over seven years (second most in the College)
- Undergraduate majors increased from 330 (spring 2002) to 567 (spring 2007)
- Increased total degrees awarded from 79 (AY 2001-02) to 195 (AY 2007-2008)

Funding, Space, and Administration:

- Increased Graduate assistantships from 13 to 22
- Launched fund-raising initiative and recruited Development Associate
- Won a one-third increase in space for the faculty
- Oversaw 2002-2003 Program Review process, culminating in May 2003
- Instituted new Department rules and procedures in 6 different areas

Service as a Peer Reviewer

Journals:

- Africa Today (2002, 2006)
- African Affairs (2006)
- African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review (2012, 2014)
- African Security (2007, 2011)
- African Studies Quarterly (2001)
- African Studies Review (1999, 2001, 2006, 2018)

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- American Journal of Political Science (2015)
- American Political Science Review (2011, 2014)
- Canadian Journal of African Studies (2013)
- Comparative Political Studies (2003)
- *Comparative Politics* (2000, 2002, 2003, 2010)
- Global Society (1999)
- International Journal of African Historical Studies (2014)
- International Politics (1999)
- Journal of Cold War Studies (2006)
- Journal of Conflict Resolution (2013)
- Journal of Modern African Studies (2002, 2015)
- Journal of Third World Studies (1994, 1995, 1996, 2018)
- *Review of International Studies* (2008)
- Security Dialogue (2003)
- Southeastern Political Review (1995, 1996)
- TransAfrica Forum (1997)

Presses:

- Fountain Publishers, Uganda (2000)
- International Peace Academy/ Lynne Rienner Press (2005)
- Kent State University Press (2013)
- Lynne Rienner (2011)
- St. Martin's/ Worth publishers (1998)
- Westview Press (2000)
- Zed books (2014)

Other Professional Service

- Editorial Board, African Conflict and Peace-Building Review, 2010-Present
- Vice-Chair, African Politics Conference Group (elected office), 2007-2009 (APCG is a section of the APSA, the ISA, and the ASA)
- Member, Advisory Board, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, Georgia Southern University, 2002-2007 (two meetings per year)
- Team member, International Foundation for Electoral Systems mission to Congo-Brazzaville, March-April 2001

Study, Teaching, and Research Abroad

- Lectures and doctoral student recruitment, Accra and Kumasi, Ghana, May 2018
- Lectures and Conference at University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, May 2016
- APSA Workshop on Conflict and Peacemaking, Nairobi, Kenya, July 2015
- Fulbright specialist award, Mbarara Uganda, May-June 2014
- FIU African and African Diaspora Studies grant for Kampala, Uganda, May-June 2013
- Independent Research, Congo-Brazzaville, February-March 2012
- Independent Research, DRC and Congo-Brazzaville, July 2010
- Independent Research, Congo-Brazzaville, May-June 2002
- Member, IFES mission, Brazzaville, March-April, 2001
- Fulbright Research Scholar/Lecturer, Makerere University, September 1999-July 2000
- Research, Congo-Brazzaville, Sponsored Research Grant, May-June 1997
- Harare, Zimbabwe, C.I.E.E. Exchange Program, June 1994
- Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville, FIU Faculty Research Scholar, May-June 1994
- Internship, U.S. Department of State, U.S. Embassy, Brazzaville, Congo, June-August 1990
- French Language Student, Laval University, Quebec, Canada, June-August 1989
- French Language Student, Caen, France, June-August 1985

Fellowships/Grants Awarded

- APSA Africa Workshop Grant, 2015 (\$320,000)
- Fulbright Specialist award, Mbarara University of Science and Technology, 2014
- Competitive Sabbatical Award for 2011-2012 year, spring 2011
- Understanding Contemporary Islam grant from CIES (Fulbright), 2004
- Competitive Sabbatical Award for 2001-2002 year, Spring 2001
- Fulbright Lecturing/Research Award, Makerere University, Uganda, 1999-2000
- West Africa Research Association Summer Grant, 1999 (Declined)
- FIU Provost Office Award for Summer Research, Summer 1999
- FIU Division of Sponsored Research Travel Grant, Summer 1997
- FIU College of Arts and Sciences Faculty Development Grant, Summer 1994
- Institute for the Study of World Politics Fellow, 1990-91
- Eisenhower Foundation Fellow, 1989-90
- Earhart Foundation Fellow, 1988-89
- Teaching Assistantship, University of Virginia, 1987-1990 (Kenneth Thompson and others)
- Research Assistantship, University of Virginia, 1986-1987 (for Inis Claude)
- Dorman Fellowship, GA Southern University, 1984-1985
- Bell Honors Program Fellowship, 1982-86

Honors and Awards

- FIU Operational Excellence Award, for outstanding service as chairperson, January 2007
- FIU University Faculty Advising Award, Spring 1999
- State of Florida Teaching Incentive Program Award, FIU, Spring 1996
- *Omicron Delta Kappa* (national leadership honor society), 1990
- Outstanding Political Science Student, Georgia Southern University, 1986
- Presidential Scholar, Georgia Southern University, 1982-86

Current Memberships

- American Political Science Association, 1990—
- Association of Third World Studies, Life Member, 1990-
- African Studies Association, Life Member, 1991—
- International Studies Association, 1993—
- Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Francophone (GRAF), 1996-
- African Politics Conference Group, 2004—
- Central Africa Studies Association, 2007—

References

Dr. Thomas Breslin, Professor Department of Politics & International Relations Florida International University 305-348-2304 breslint@fiu.edu

Dr. Paul Kowert, Associate Professor Department of Political Science University of Massachusetts-Boston 617-287-6942 paul.kowert@umb.edu

Dr. Leonardo Villalon, Dean U.F. International Center Professor of Political Science University of Florida 352-273-1536

Dr. Beth Whitaker, Associate Professor Department of Political Science University of North Carolina-Charlotte