

FRANCISCO O. MORA

U.S. Department of State

United States Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States (OAS), rank of Ambassador (January 2023-January 2025). As a Senate-confirmed ambassador, I represented the US government before the OAS and all entities of the Inter-American System. Engaged in diplomacy and policy-making on a diverse range of issues, including democracy, human rights, security and development – the key pillars of the OAS. Negotiated resolutions and other binding documents before the Permanent Council (particularly in the area of the environment and the defense of democracy) and led missions on behalf of the US government and the OAS to resolve disputes or crises in the hemisphere. The US Mission to the OAS has a staff of 17 foreign service and civil service employees. TS/SCI security clearance.

Led the initiative that resulted in the first increase in the institution's budget in more than a decade, and negotiated/pushed a series of reforms that contributed to the restructuring and modernizing of the organization, particularly as it relates to its governance. Managed a budget of approximately \$20 million in grants and other economic support funds focused on the promotion of democracy, human rights, environmental security, AI standardization, and integral development in the Americas.

United States National Summit Coordinator (July 2023-January 2025). Represented the United States and led the inter-agency process (coordinating US efforts) for the Summit of the Americas. The Summit is the premier forum where heads of state of the Americas meet every 3-4 years to negotiate and chart the hemispheric agenda. The Summit Coordinator leads US diplomatic initiatives in setting the agenda and planning for the participation of the US President at each of the Summits of the Americas.

Florida International University

Director, Kimberly Green Latin American and Caribbean Center, Green School of International and Public Affairs (June 2013 – July 2020). Led a multidisciplinary research and academic institution – one of 16 in the country dedicated to the study and research of Latin America and the Caribbean designated by the US Department of Education as a National Resource Center – with responsibilities for coordinating efforts across departments and programs at FIU.

Led a team of 12 staff members with an annual budget of about \$1million. In addition to raising funds (\$2.5 million) for naming-rights of the Center, we raised approximately \$8 million in government and private sector grants and contracts during my tenure as LACC director. Most of this funding was provided by the Department of Defense (US Southern Command), Department of Education, Department of State (International Narcotics) and the US Agency for International Development. The university's ties with the Department of Defense and other federal agencies in providing rigorous research and workshops deepened as a result of this support/engagement.

At the core of much of the center's funded research was supporting faculty in their work bridging scholarly and policy research. The strategic plan approved by the university dean, provost and president underscored the importance of having the center and its interdisciplinary research team be not just observers or commentators of the policy debate but a participant, helping to shape policies and advice policymakers.

Finally, LACC engaged in dozens of outreach activities a year with the local and national media as well as community organizations. Workshops, seminars, and capacity-building programs, often in partnership with public schools and non-governmental organizations, were organized throughout the year, mostly funded by the Department of Education and private sector partners. As a result of this work, FIU designated LACC a *Preeminent Research Program*, allowing it to receive additional research funds from the university.

Professor, Department of Politics and International Relations (June 2013 – present). Teach graduate and undergraduate seminars on the comparative politics and international relations of Latin America and the Caribbean. Advise Ph.D. students on the comprehensive exams and dissertation proposals and final product. Responsibilities also include an active research agenda; published works appear in scholarly outlets and public policy publications.

Research Scientist, Jack D. Gordon Institute for Public Policy (January 2025 – present). Member of a team involved in a government-funded research project developing new methodologies to study and forecast insecurity in Central America. Also, serve as peer reviewer for policy papers submitted to the Gordon Institute as part of its Policy Innovation paper series.

U.S. Department of Defense

Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Western Hemisphere Affairs (Apr 2009 – Jan 2013). As the principal advisor to the Assistant Secretary/HD&ASA (ASD), Under Secretary of Defense (P), and Secretary of Defense, as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (DASD) for Western Hemisphere Affairs, had primary responsibility for all policy matters of Defense interest pertaining to the countries of the Western Hemisphere. The duties included: (a) providing advice at the ASD and higher level on key strategy, planning, programming and budgeting and policy matters; (b) representing DoD at important policy meetings in the United States and throughout the Western Hemisphere (c) participating in the study, review, and adjustment of the strategies, concepts, programs, and budgets required to support Office of Secretary of Defense policy and program planning guidance; (d) providing the focal point for policy guidance and coordinating staff action on National Security and White House requests for research and analysis of a wide variety of politico-military-economic questions; (e) implementing a human capital strategy to enhance the quality and quantity of the team's work; (f) establishing and maintaining contacts at counterpart policy levels in the Department of State, Congress, National Security Council, Western Hemisphere Ministries of Defense, and Foreign Affairs, Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Military Departments, and other offices on matters of mutual concern; (f) developed and implemented a *Western Hemisphere Defense Policy/Strategy*. Senior Executive Service. Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Public Service; Department of Defense, January 2013. TS/SCI security clearance.

National Defense University – National War College

Professor (Jul 2004 – Apr 2009). Responsible for teaching national security strategy and Latin American studies to senior military and civilian personnel/leaders. Also responsible for designing core courses of the curriculum, specifically a revamped Global Security course. Advised the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Staff on Latin American security and defense policy issues and US policy toward the Americas.

Rhodes College

Department of International Studies: Associate Professor (May 2000 – June 2004); Assistant Professor, (Aug 1994 - May 2000); Chair (2000 – 2002), Senior Latin American Studies Research Fellow (2001 – 2004); Founding Chair, Latin American Studies Program (1996--2000); Rhodes College is a liberal arts institution in Memphis, TN. Taught and advised undergraduate students and founded the Latin American Studies Program at Rhodes. Served as faculty mentor to *Sigma Iota Rho* (honor society) and *Modus Vivendi* (peer-reviewed student journal of international studies. Tenured in 2000 and promoted to the rank of Associate Professor. Served as chair of the Department of International Studies with seven faculty members and two staff.

University of Miami

Visiting Associate Professor, Department of International Studies (Aug 2002-Jun 2003); Lecturer, History Department (Aug 1991 – May 1994); Distinguished Hispanic Scholar in International Studies (1990).

Miami Dade Community College

Adjunct Instructor, Social Science/International Relations Department, (Jan 1988 - May 1994). Faculty of the Year Award, 1991-1992.

EDUCATION**University of Miami, Ph.D. in International Affairs, 1993**

Dissertation: "The Political Economy of Peripheral States in the Post-Cold War Era: The Case of Paraguay."

University of Miami, M.A. in Inter-American Studies, 1989

The George Washington University, B.A. in International Affairs 1986 Four-year athletic scholarship, The George Washington University, 1982-1986.

Native English and Spanish speaker; Working Portuguese speaker

PUBLICATIONS

Books and Special Issues:

Back in the Spotlight: Special Report on Latin America's 21st Century Militaries, guest editor and contributor to special issue of Americas Quarterly, vol. 14, no. 1 (Winter 2020).

Neighborly Adversaries: Readings U.S.-Latin American Relations, 3rd edition (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006). Co-edited with Michael LaRosa. *Third edition* (Spring 2015).

Paraguay and the United States: Distant Allies (University of Georgia Press, 2007). Co-authored with Jerry Cooney.

Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policy (Rowman and Littlefield, 2003). Co-edited with Jeanne A.K. Hey

Cuba: Between Retrenchment and Change, guest editor and contributor to special issue in Problems of Post-Communism, vol. 48, no. 6 (November/December 2001).

Politica exterior del Paraguay: 1811-1989 (Asuncion: Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociologicos, 1993).

Journal Articles:

"United States Policy in the Hemisphere: Influencing the State and Beyond," PRISM: A Journal of the Center for Complex Operations, National Defense University vol. 5 no. 4 (2015). Co-authored with Brian Fonseca.

"The Top Seven Myths of U.S. Defense Policy toward the Americas," Military Review, vol. 90, no. 5 (September-October 2010). Co-authored with Nicholas Zimmerman. Republished in Spanish and Portuguese editions of journal.

"Strategic Implications of China's Evolving Relationship with Latin America," Security and Defense Studies Review, vol. 9, no 1&2 (2009).

"Hemispheric Security: A New Approach," Current History vol. 108 (February 2009).

"Cuba's Ministry of Interior: The FAR's Fifth Army," Bulletin of Latin American Research vol. 26, no. 2 (April 2007).

"Generations in the FAR General Officer Corps: Backgrounds, Experiences and Interests," Cuban Affairs, vol. 1, no. 2 (April 2006).

"Military Business: Explaining Support for Policy Change in China, Cuba, and Vietnam," Problems of Post-Communism, vol. 51, no. 6 (November-December 2004).

“Economic Reform and the Military: China, Cuba and Syria in Comparative Perspective,” International Journal of Comparative Sociology, vol. 44, no. 2 (2003). Co-authored with Quintan Wiktorowicz

“Explaining Latin American Economic Integration: The Case of Mercosur,” Review of International Political Economy vol. 9, no. 1 (March 2002). Co-authored with Karl Kaltenthaler.

“A Comparative Study of Civil-Military Relations in Cuba and China: The Effects of *Bingshang*,” Armed Forces and Society, vol. 28, no. 2 (Winter 2002).

“Paraguayan Democratization from Abroad: External Determinants of Regime Survival and Democratic Deepening,” South Eastern Latin Americanist (SELA), vol. 44, no 3 (Winter 2001).

“Sino-Latin American Relations: Sources and Consequences of Diplomatic and Economic Cooperation, 1977-1997,” Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, vol. 41, no. 2 (Summer 1999).

“US Arms Transfer Policy for Latin America: Lifting the Ban on Fighter Aircraft,” Airpower Journal, vol. 13, no. 1 (Spring 1999). Co-authored with Lt. Col. Tony Pala. Republished in Spanish and Portuguese editions of Airpower Journal.

“From Fidelismo to Raulismo: Civilian Control of the Military in Cuba,” Problems of Post-Communism, vol. 46, no. 2 (March-April 1999).

“Conceptual Debate in Post-Cold War US-Latin American Policy: Organizing Principle or ‘Eclecticism’,” International Affairs Review, vol. 8, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1999).

“Civil Society and Democratization in Comparative Perspective: Latin America and the Middle East,” Third World Quarterly vol. 19, no. 5 (December 1998). Co-authored with Mehran Kamrava. Re-published in Civil Society and Democracy: A Reader. Edited by Carolyn Elliot. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003.

“The Forgotten Relationship: United States-Paraguay Relations, 1937-1989,” Journal of Contemporary History, vol. 33, no. 3 (July 1998).

“From Dictatorship to Democracy: The US and Regime Change in Paraguay,” Bulletin of Latin American Research, vol. 17, no. 1 (December 1997).

“The PRC and Latin America: From Indifference to Engagement,” Asian Affairs, vol. 24, no. 1 (Spring 1997).

“Poder duro y poder blando: la influencia en las relaciones Estados Unidos-Paraguay,” Foro Internacional (Mexico City), vol. 35, no. 2 (April-June 1996).

“Victims of the Balloon Effect: Drug Trafficking and U.S. Policy in Brazil and the Southern Cone,” Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies, vol. 21, no. 2 (Summer 1996).

“El futuro de America Latina en la politica exterior estadounidense,” Colombia Internacional (Bogota), vol. 5, no. 1 (January-February 1995). Co-authored with Andres Franco

“Clinton y America Latina: negativista o positivista?” Propuestas Democraticas (Asuncion), vol. 1, no. 2 (April-June 1994). Co-authored with Andres Franco.

“Realismo e interdependencia en el cono sur: Perspectivas teoricas al estudio de las relaciones del Paraguay con sus vecinos,” Perspectiva Internacional Paraguaya (Asuncion) vol. 3, no. 5 (January-June 1991).

“Relaciones EEUU-Paraguay: conflicto y cooperacion,” Perspectiva Internacional Paraguaya (Asuncion), vol. 2, no. 3 (January-June 1990).

“Politica exterior del Paraguay: A la busqueda de la independencia y el desarrollo,” Revista Paraguaya de Sociologia (Asuncion), vol. 25, no. 73 (Sept.-December 1988).

Book Chapters:

“Migration from the Northern Triangle: The Citizen Security Dimension,” Addressing the Migration Challenge in the Northern Triangle: Analysis and Recommendations, edited by Daniel Restrepo. Study funded by Emerson Collective; Washington, DC 2020.

“Peruvian Military Culture,” Latin American and Caribbean Military Culture Series, FIU-SOUTHCOM Academic Partnership; Miami, FL October 2018. Co-authored with Brian Fonseca and Juan Carlos Liendo.

“Argentine Military Culture,” Latin American and Caribbean Military Culture Series, FIU-SOUTHCOM Academic Partnership; Miami, FL April 2017. Co-authored with Brian Fonseca and Pablo Atencio.

“The United States, China and Latin America: Taking Advantage of Globalization and Moving Beyond the Threat Matrix.” In China, the United States and the Future of Latin America: U.S.-China Relations, volume III (New York: New York University Press, 2017). Co-authored with Dan Restrepo.

“Cuba: Revolution in the Balance?” In Latin American Politics and Development, edited by Howard Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline, 9th edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2017). Co-authored with Brian Fonseca.

“Cuban Military Culture,” Latin American and Caribbean Military Culture Series, FIU-SOUTHCOM Academic Partnership; Miami, FL April 2016. Co-authored with Brian Fonseca and Brian Latell.

“Congress and Civil-Military Relations in Latin America and the Caribbean: Human Rights as a Vehicle.” In Congress and Civil-Military Relations, edited by David Auerswald and Colton Campbell (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014).

“Politics and the State: Understanding the Paradox and Challenges of Addressing Crime in Latin America and the Caribbean. In Latin America’s Changing Economies, Societies and

Politics: Opportunities and Challenges for the United States, edited by Shannon O'Neil (Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute 2014).

"Challenges of Collective Action in the Hemisphere." In Latin American Security: Canadian and International Perspectives, edited by Monique Greenwood Santos and Stephen J. Randall (Calgary: Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, 2013).

"Cuba: Revolution in the Balance?" In Latin American Politics and Development, edited by Howard Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline, 8th edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2013).

"International Relations: General and Hispanic Caribbean," Handbook of Latin American Studies vol. 65, edited by Hispanic Division-Library of Congress (Austin: University of Texas, 2010).

"International Relations: General and Hispanic Caribbean," Handbook of Latin American Studies vol. 63, edited by Hispanic Division-Library of Congress (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008).

"General Caribbean and Hispanic Caribbean," Handbook of Latin American Studies vol. 61, edited by Hispanic Division-Library of Congress (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006).

"Theoretical Challenge to Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policy Studies." In Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policies, edited by Frank O. Mora and Jeanne A.K. Hey (Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

"Paraguayan Foreign Policy: The Legacy of Authoritarianism." In Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policies, edited by Frank O. Mora and Jeanne A.K. Hey (Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

Paraguayan Foreign Policy: From the Stronato to the Democratic Transition." In Small States in World Politics: Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior, edited by Jeanne A.K. Hey (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003).

"Paraguay y el Sistema Interamericano: De Autoritarismo y Paralisis a Democracia y la Aplicacion de Resolucion 1080." In Sistema Interamericano y Democracia: Antecedentes y Perspectivas Futuras, eds. Arlene Tickner and Ruben Perina (Bogota: CEI-Ediciones Universidad de los Andes-Organizacion de Estados Americanos, 2000).

"Contentious Friends in the Western Hemisphere." In Neighborly Adversaries: U.S.-Latin American Relations, edited by Michael LaRosa and Frank O. Mora (Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999). Co-authored with Michael LaRosa.

"Neoliberalism in Latin America: 'Triumph' and Institutional Deficiencies" In Redefining the Third World, edited by Nana Poku and Lloyd Pettiford (London and New York: Macmillan/St. Martin's, 1998). Co-authored with Karl Kaltenthaler.

"Brazil and the Southern Cone." In Drug Trafficking Research in the Americas, edited by Bruce Bagley (Coral Gables: North-South Center Press, 1996).

“Paraguay and International Drug Trafficking.” In Drug Trafficking in the Americas, edited by Bruce Michael Bagley and William O. Walker III (Boulder: North-South Center Press, 1994).

“Politica exterior del Paraguay: a la búsqueda de la independencia y el desarrollo.” In Politica exterior y relaciones internacionales del Paraguay contemporaneo, edited by Jose Luis Simon (Asuncion: Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociologicos, 1990).

Periodicals:

“U.S. Threat to Leave the OAS Is a Win for Adversaries,” Americas Quarterly; 29 July 2025.

“U.S. Silence on Human Rights in Latin America Carries Substantial Risks.” Americas Quarterly; 21 May 2025.

“Transitional Justice and the Democratic Transition Framework for Venezuela,” Latin America Goes Global; 7 May 2020. Co-authored with Ofelia Riquezes.

“It’s not the 1970s Again for Latin America’s Militaries. Here’s Why,” Americas Quarterly, vol. 14, no. 1 (Winter 2020). Co-authored with Brian Fonseca.

“Stabilizing Venezuela: Scenarios and Option,” Contingency Planning Memorandum Update – Council on Foreign Relations; 14 June 2019.

“What a Military Intervention in Venezuela Would Look Like,” Foreign Affairs; 19 March 2019.

“Venezuela Isn’t Syria: Why the U.S. Shouldn’t Overreact to Putin’s Bluff,” CNN Opinion; 1 February 2019. Co-authored with David Kramer and Brian Fonseca.

“Don’t Focus on Regime Change in Venezuela,” Foreign Policy; 4 September 2018.

“Russia’s Assault on Latin America’s Democracies and Sovereignty,” Univision; 20 February 2018.

“Economic Sanctions: The Triumph of Hope over Experiences,” Latin America Goes Global; 5 January 2018.

“What Would a U.S. Intervention in Venezuela Look Like? Risky, Expensive and Counterproductive,” Foreign Affairs; 8 November 2017.

“Where Are the Florida Republicans,” The Hill; April 4, 2017.

“A Military Option in Venezuela is Not Really an Option for the US Military,” Latin America Goes Global; 24 August 2017.

“President-elect Trump’s U.S. Cuba Policy: Hoping I’m Wrong” Latin American Goes Global; 20 December 2016.

“The Intangibles of US-Latin American and Caribbean Policymaking,” Latin America Goes Global; 25 May 2016.

“The United States and Colombia: From Security Partners to Global Partners in Peace,” Issue Brief, Center for American Progress (February 2016). Co-authored with Dan Restrepo, Brian Fonseca and Jonathan Rosen.

“Crime X Terrorism,” Dialogo, Special Edition (2016), pp. 21-24. Co-authored with Brian Fonseca.

“What about Paraguay?” Latin America Goes Global; 11 September 2015.

“Experimenting with Marijuana Policy in Uruguay,” Latin America Goes Global; 25 June 2015. Co-authored with Jose Miguel Cruz.

“Determining and Gaining US Influence in Latin America,” Latin America Goes Global; 19 May 2015.

“Latin America’s High-Tech Warriors,” Americas Quarterly vol. 9, no 2 (Spring 2015). Co-authored with Brian Fonseca.

“Latin America: Is U.S. Influence Waning?” Miami Herald; May 1, 2013. Co-authored with Patrick Duddy.

“Politica de defensa para las Americas,” DEF (Buenos Aires, Argentina), vol. 5, no. 57 (May 2010). Co-authored with Nicholas Zimmerman.

“Young Blood: Continuity and Change within the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba,” Hemisphere, vol. 16 (Summer 2006).

“The FAR and Its Economic Role: From Civic to Technocrat-Soldier,” Occasional Paper Series; Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, University of Miami (June 2004).

“International Relations Summit: Western Hemisphere: Hispanic-Americans’ Backyard, Front Stoop and Wraparound Porch,” 2002 Issues Conference Policy Recommendations, Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute; Washington, DC.

“Bush’s Free Trade Stance Undermined by Farm and Steel Subsidies,” Commercial Appeal (Memphis), May 17, 2002.

“Paraguay,” Encyclopedia Britannica: Book of the Year 2002 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002).

“Paraguay,” Encyclopedia Britannica: Book of the Year 2001 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2001).

“Politica Exterior y Politica de Defensa: Condicionamientos Reciprocos en Paises Pequenos,” Working Paper no. 16, Centro Paraguayo para la Promocion de la Libertad Economica y de la Justicia Social (CEPRO); Asuncion, Paraguay, July 2001.

“Paraguay,” Encyclopedia Britannica: Book of the Year 2000 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2000).

"Hispanics in the South: An Opportunity Not a Threat," Commercial Appeal (Memphis), January 30, 2000: B4.

"Fast Track is Vital to U.S." Commercial Appeal (Memphis), September 11, 1997.

"It's Latin America, Stupid!" Latin Review of Books, vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 1996).

"The United States and Latin America," Contemporary Review, vol. 268, no. 1560 (January 1996).

"The Study of Democratization in Latin America," Proceedings of the Third Annual Latin American Studies Symposium, Birmingham-Southern College (April 1995).

"Why Latin America Matters," Latino Forum, vol. 1, no. 2 (June 1995).

"Revisiting South America's Backwater," Hemisphere, vol. 7, no. 1 (May 1995).

"Unknown Peacekeepers: The Surge in Latin American Participation in Peacekeeping," Journal of Latin American Affairs, vol. 1, no. 2 (Spring 1994). Co-authored with Lt. Col. Antonio L. Pala.

"Economic Embargoes: Way Stations to Nowhere," Commercial Appeal (Memphis), September 4, 1994: B6.

"Central America: Growth through Reform and Liberalization," Latin Finance, no. 5 (December 1993). Co-authored with Andres Franco.

"The Dirty Politics of Corruption Haunt Latin America's Democracies," North-South, Magazine of the Americas, vol. 2, no. 5 (February 1993). Co-authored with Jose Luis Simon.

"La paradoja triangular de Cuba," El Nuevo Herald (Miami), July 13, 1992.

"Un esfuerzo inutil y destructivo," Un Solo Pueblo, April-June 1992.

"Letting Go: Paraguay's Struggle to Bury Its Stronist Past," North-South, Magazine of the Americas, vol. 1, no. 3 (October 1991). Co-authored with Jose Luis Simon.

"Does the USSR Plan to Dump Cuba?" The Times of the Americas, vol. 35, no. 1 (January 9, 1991). Co-authored with Roberto Lozano.

"Hope and Optimism in Paraguay," The Times of the Americas, vol. 34, no. 18 (September 19, 1990).

"Deprive Castro of His Best Friend (us)," The Times of the Americas, vol. 34, no. 13 (July 11, 1990). Co-authored with Roberto Lozano.

"Democracy in Cuba? The Real Struggle Won't Begin Until After Castro Is Gone," The Times of the Americas, vol. 34, no. 7 (April 4, 1990). Co-authored with Roberto Lozano. Reprinted in Spanish, "Otras voces cubanas: Democracia para Cuba?" Un Solo Pueblo, January-March 1990.

Book Reviews:

Warfare in Latin America, vols. 2 (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007); published in Bulletin of Latin American Research, vol. 27, no. 1 (January 2009).

Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); published in American Political Science Review, vol. 96, no. 4 (December 2002).

Drug Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century: An International History (London: Routledge, 1999); published in Journal of Southern History, vol. 66, no. 3 (August 2000).

The Transition to Democracy in Paraguay, eds. Peter Lambert and Andrew Nickson (New York/London: St. Martin's Press/Macmillan, 1997); published in Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, vol. 40, no. 2 (Summer 1998).

Conference papers and speeches provided upon request.