

VITA

STEVE ELLNER

Wikipedia entry: Steve Ellner (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Steve_Ellner)

Education

Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont, BA in Latin American. History, 1968.

Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven, Connecticut, MA in Latin American History, 1971 (Average: 4.0).

University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, Ph.D. in Latin American History, 1979 (Average: 3.8).

Fellowships and Awards

Organization of American States (OAS), August 1975-October 1976 - covered travel and living expenses in Venezuela to carry out field work for Ph.D. dissertation.

Howard Heinz Endowment Fund (Universidad of Pittsburgh) in 1988 covered field work expenses for book length study on organized labor in Venezuela, 1958-1991.

Programa de Promoción del Investigador (PPI) of CONICIT - granted in 1991 for three years. Placed at second of three levels. Renewed in 1994 at the third level and again in 1998. In 2002 and 2007 placed at fourth level.

Premio al Mejor Trabajo Científico de la Universidad de Oriente en el área de Ciencias Sociales. Award for the outstanding publication in the UDO in the area of Social Sciences, 2000.

“University Academia Productivity Prize” (first place). Granted by the CDCHT of the Consejo Nacional de Universidades, 2004.

Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Professorship. Latin American Center of Duke

University, Spring semester 2005.

Professional Experience

Universidad de Oriente (UDO), Puerto La Cruz, Venezuela, from September 1977 until 2003. Headed Catedra of General Economic History. In 1982 received tenure; in 1983 was promoted to Associate Professor and in 1986 to Full Professor. In 1983 was elected member of the School's governing council. Since 1988 has taught the following seminars in the Senior Thesis Program: "Problemática Económica Latinoamericana," "Sindicalismo y Fuerza Laboral," "Descentralización y Reforma del Estado" and "Globalismo y el Estado Venezolano." In 2000 he taught "Historia Socio-Economica Venezolana" in the graduate program of the UDO-Sucre. 1993-1995 held the position of Director of the Research Center of Administrative and Economic Science" (CICAE) of the UDO. Since 1992 has been member of the UDO's Research Commission. In 1998 names member of Social Science Commission of PPI and 2000 named member of Appeal Commission of PPI; 2004 named member of the directory of the PPI. 2004 named member of the Social Science and Humanities Commission of FONACIT.

Visiting Scholar-Professor, Tulane University at the Center for Inter-American Policy and Research. Fall semester 2015.

Visiting Professor, Australian National University, Center for Latin American Studies (taught Latin American History: Conquest and Colonization), Second semester 2013.

Visiting Fellow. Australian National University, Center for Latin American Studies, August, 2011.

Johns Hopkins University, Department of Latin American Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Taught "Third Wave Democracy in Latin America, 1980-2012." Spring, 2012.

Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA), Taught

“Populism and the Left in Latin America: From Perón to Chávez.” Spring, 2011

Universidad de Buenos Aires. Visiting Professor in Latin American history, Autumn 2010.

Duke University. Mellon Visiting Professor in Latin American Studies Department, Spring 2005.

Georgetown University. Visiting Professor in Latin American Studies Department, Autumn 2004.

Universidad Central de Venezuela. 1994-2006 taught in the graduate program of the Law and Political Science Faculty. These seminars include “Historia de Sindicalismo” in the Law School and “Descentralización y Reforma del Estado,” “Democracia en América Latina” and “Los Partidos Políticos en América Latina” in the doctoral program of Political Science.

St. John Fisher College (New York). Visiting Professor, Spring Semester of 2001, taught “World Politics” and “International Relations.”

Universidad de los Andes (Mérida, Venezuela). Visiting Professor, Fall, 2008, taught the seminar “Political Parties and Social Movements in Twentieth Century Venezuela” in the Master’s program in History.

1998-2000: belonged to the Social Science Commission of the PPI Foundation (Programa Promoción del Investigador) which forms part of the Ministry of Science and Technology.

2003-2004: member of the social science commission of Fondo Nacional de Ciencias, Tecnología e innovación (FONACIT) of the Ministry of Science and Technology.

2004: named to the national directorate of the PPI

University of New Haven, taught World History I, 1986.

University of New Mexico, taught U.S., European and Latin American history (all 3-credit courses) in a special Freshman program which emphasized English skills, mostly to minority group students, 1972-1975.

Boards of Journals

Latin American Perspectives: Participating Editor (2014-)

Science and Society: Advisory Board member (2015-)

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Los partidos políticos y su disputa por el control del movimiento sindical en Venezuela, 1936-1948. Universidad Católica "Andrés Bello", 1980.

Venezuela's Movimiento al Socialismo: From Guerrilla Defeat to Electoral Politics. Duke University Press, 1988 [Received favorable reviews in twelve journals in the U.S. and England].

De la derrota guerrillera a la política innovadora: el Movimiento al Socialismo. [expanded and updated] Monte Avila Editores, 1992.

Organized Labor in Venezuela, 1958-1991: Behavior and Concerns in a Democratic Setting. Scholarly Resources, 1993 [Received favorable reviews in seven journals in the U.S. and England].

The Latin American Left: From the Fall of Allende to Perestroika. Edited by Steve Ellner and Barry Carr. Westview, 1993.

El sindicalismo en Venezuela en el contexto democrático, 1958-1994. Editorial Tropykos, Caracas, 1995.

Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era: Class, Polarization and Conflict. Edited by Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger. Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2003.

La política venezolana en la época de Chávez: Clase, polarización y conflicto. Editores: Steve Ellner y Daniel Hellinger. Editorial Nueva Sociedad, Caracas, 2003.

“Venezuelan Exceptionalism Revisited.” Coeditor of Issues 141 and 142 of *Latin American Perspectives*, March and May 2005.

Neoliberalismo y Anti-Neoliberalismo en América Latina: El debate sobre estrategias. Editorial Tropykos, Caracas, 2006.

Venezuela: Hugo Chávez and the Decline of an “Exceptional” Democracy.” Editors: Steve Ellner and Miguel Tinker Salas. Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.

Rethinking Venezuelan Politics: Class, Polarization and the Chávez Phenomenon. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2008.

El fenómeno Chávez: sus orígenes y su impacto. Editorial Tropykos and Centro Nacional de Historia, Caracas, 2011.

Latin America’s Radical Left in Power: Complexities and Challenges in the Twenty-First Century. Editor of issue 190 of *Latin American Perspectives*, May 2013.

Latin America’s Radical Left: Challenges and Complexities of Political Power in the Twenty-First Century. Editor. Rowman and Littlefield, 2014.

El fenómeno Chávez: sus orígenes y su impacto (hasta 2013). Second edition. Centro Rómulo Gallegos (CELARG) and Centro Nacional de Historia, Caracas, 2014.

Monographs

Generational Identification and Political Fragmentation in Venezuelan Politics in the Late 1960s. Monograph Series “Latin American Issues,” Number 7 (University of Akron-Allegheny), 1989.

The Venezuelan Petroleum Corporation and the Debate over Government Policy

in Basic Industry. Published as Occasional Paper Number 47 by the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Glasgow, 1987. Published in Spanish by *Tierra Firme*, number 23 (July-September, 1988), Caracas.

Los trabajadores petroleros y el movimiento obrero en Venezuela, Universidad de Oriente, 1992.

El movimiento sindical venezolano, Serie 24 de *Historia Para Todos*, Publicado por Historiadores, Sociedad Civil Caracas, 1997.

Book Chapters

"Populism in Venezuela, 1935-1948" in *Latin American Populism in Comparative Perspective*, University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

"Education Policy" in *Venezuela: The Democratic Experience*, Praeger Publishers, 1986.

"The Labor Movement in Venezuela," in *Latin American Labor Organizations*, Greenwood Press, 1987.

"La influencia política y los lazos partidistas del sindicalismo venezolano," in *Las relaciones de trabajo en los noventa: desafíos y propuestas*, ILDIS, Caracas, 1990.

"Venezuela," in *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944-1948*, (edited by Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough), Cambridge University Press, 1992. Published in Spanish in *Tierra Firme*, number 38.

"Welfare, Oil Workers and the Labour Movement in Venezuela", in *Welfare, Poverty and Development in Latin America*. Macmillan, 1993. Published in Spanish by the Universidad de Oriente.

"Introduction", in *The Latin American Left: From the Fall of Allende to Perestroika*, Westview, 1993.

"The Venezuelan Left: From Years of Prosperity to Economic Crisis", in *The Latin American Left: From the Fall of Allende to Perestroika*, Westview, 1993.

"El populismo en Venezuela, 1935-1948: Betancourt y Acción Democrática" in *El populismo en América Latina*," Edited by Carlos Vilas, Consejo Nacional de Cultura (México), 1995 (pp. 419-434).

"The Heyday of Radical Populism in Venezuela and its Aftermath," *Populism in Latin America*, edited by Michael Conniff, University of Alabama Press, 1999.

"Introduction: The Search for Explanations." *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era: Class, Polarization and Conflict*. Edited by Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger. Lynne Rienner: Boulder, 2003.

"Organized Labor and the Challenge of Chavismo". *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era: Class, Polarization and Conflict*. Edited by Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger. Lynne Rienner: Boulder, 2003.

"Conclusions The Democratic and Authoritarian Directions of the Chavista Movement". *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era: Class, Polarization and Conflict*. Edited by Steve Ellner y Daniel Hellinger. Lynne Rienner: Boulder, 2003.

"Caracas: Incomplete Empowerment Amidst Geopolitical Feudalism," by Steve Ellner and David Myers in *Capital Cities in Latin America*, Lynne Rienner: Boulder, CO, 2002.

"Conclusión: Perspectivas democrática y non democrática del movimiento chavista," *La política venezolana en la época de Chávez: clases, polarización y conflicto*, edited by Steve Ellner and David Hellinger. Caracas: Nueva Sociedad, 2003.

"Introducción: en la búsqueda de explicaciones." *La política venezolana en la época de Chávez: clases, polarización y conflicto*, edited by Steve Ellner and David Hellinger. Caracas: Nueva Sociedad, 2003.

"El sindicalismo frente al desafío del chavismo" *La política venezolana en la época de Chávez: clases, polarización y conflicto*, edited by Steve Ellner and David Hellinger. Caracas: Nueva Sociedad, 2003.

“Venezuela: A “Model” Democracy in Crisis.” *Latin America: Its problems and Its Promise* (fourth edition), edited by Jan Knippers Black. Westview Press, 2005.

“Experiencias Recientes de la Democracia en América Latina”, páginas 73-98 en *Debate sobre la democracia en América*, compilador José María Cadenas. Universidad Central de Venezuela, 2006.

“Venezuela: Defying Globalization’s Logic,” páginas 93-104 en *Dispatches from Latinamerica: On the Frontlines Against Neoliberalism*. Editores: Vijay Prashad y Teo Ballvé. Cambridge, Massachusetts: South End Press, 2006.

“Introduction: New Perspectives and the Chávez Phenomenon” (co-author) in *Venezuela: Hugo Chávez and the Decline of an “Exceptional” Democracy.*” Edited by Steve Ellner and Miguel Tinker Salas. Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.

“Trade Union Autonomy and the Emergence of a New Labor Movement in Venezuela” in *Venezuela: Hugo Chávez and the Decline of an “Exceptional” Democracy.*” Edited by Steve Ellner y Miguel Tinker Salas. Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.

“El dilema de la profundización de la revolución bolivariana en la etapa actual.” *Ideas para debatir el socialismo del siglo XXI*. Edited by Margarita López Maya. Caracas: Alfa, 2007.

“The Hugo Chávez Phenomenon: Anti-imperialism from Above or Radical Democracy from Below?” *Empire and Dissent: The United States and Latin America*. Edited by Fred Rosen. Duke University Press, 2008.

“Las reformas neoliberales y la crisis política venezolana, 1989-1999: antecedentes de la llegada de Hugo Chávez al poder” in *Diez años de revolución en Venezuela: Historia, balance y perspectivas (1999-2009)*. Mario Ayala and Pablo Quintero (compiladores). Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2009.

“La transformación del movimiento sindical y la sociedad civil en Venezuela: Revolución o paralelismo?” in *Venezuela en retrospectiva: los pasos hacia el régimen chavista*, (pp. 203-224), edited by José Pedro Zúquete and Gunther

Maihold, 2007.

Le Venezuela au-dela du mythe: Chávez, la démocratie, le changement social. Compiled by Olivier Compagnon, Julie Rebofier and Sandrine Revef. Editions de l'Atelier, 2009 (France).

“Venezuela: A “Model” Democracy in Crisis.” *Latin America: Its problems and Its Promise* (fifth edition) [revised chapter], edited by Jan Knippers Black. Westview Press, 2010.

"The Heyday of Radical Populism in Venezuela and its Reappearance," *Populism in Latin America*, second edition, edited by Michael Conniff, University of Alabama Press, 2012.

“Introduction: Complexities of the Twenty-First Century Radical Left in Power.” *Latin America’s Radical Left: Challenges and Complexities of Political Power in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Steve Ellner. Rowman and Littlefield, 2014.

“Social and Political Diversity and the Democratic Road to Change in Venezuela.” *Latin America’s Radical Left: Challenges and Complexities of Political Power in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Steve Ellner. Rowman and Littlefield, 2014.

“Concluding Observations: The Twenty-First Century Radical Left and the Latin American Road to Change.” *Latin America’s Radical Left: Challenges and Complexities of Political Power in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Steve Ellner. Rowman and Littlefield, 2014.

“La influencia de los valores del pasado sobre la construcción del socialismo: una lectura crítica de *The Socialist Alternative* de Michael Lebowitz.” *El siglo XX venezolano: análisis y proyección histórica de una centuria*. Caracas, Centro Rómulo Gallegos (Celarg), 2014.

“Social and Political Diversity and Anti-Neoliberalism in Venezuela” in *Where is Latin America Going?* [published in Japanese], Chapter 9, pages 187-205, published by Minerva Shobo, 2017.

“Conflicting Currents Within the Pro-Chavez Labor Movement and the Dynamics of Decision Making.” *Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America I*, edited by Eduardo Silva and Federico Rossi, University of Pittsburg Press, 2018.

Journal Articles

"Venezuelan Political Parties in the Era of the Popular Front, 1936-1945," in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, May 1979.

"La rivalidad sindical al traluz de la convención nacional de trabajadores de 1944," in *Nueva Política* (Caracas), April - September, 1978.

"Political Party Dynamics and the Outbreak of Guerrilla Warfare in Venezuela" in *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, Autumn, 1980.

"Factionalism in the Venezuelan Communist Movement, 1937-1948", in *Science and Society*, Spring, 1981.

"The Venezuelan Political Party System and its Influence on Economic Decision Making at the Local Level", in *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, Winter, 1982.

"Venezuelans Reflect on the Meaning of 23 de enero," in *Latin American Research Review*, Number 1 of 1985.

"Inter-Party Agreement and Rivalry in Venezuela", in *Studies in Comparative International Development*. Winter 1984-1985 [Published in Spanish in *Politeia* (Caracas), no. 12 (1988), pp. 161-192].

"Visión retrospectiva del 23 de enero" *Tierra Firme*, October-December, 1986.

"MAS Party in Venezuela", in *Latin American Perspectives*. Spring, 1986.

"Rivalidad interpartidista en Venezuela," *Politeia* 12 (1988), pp. 161-192.

“The Latin American Left since Allende: Perspectives and New Directions,” *Latin American Research Review*, no. 2 , 1989.

"Organized Labor's Political Influence and Party Ties in Venezuela: Acción

Democrática and its Labor Leadership" *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Spring, 1989.

"Venezuela: No Exception," *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, May 1989.

"Viraje en la izquierda: nuevos rumbos, nuevas perspectivas," *Nueva Sociedad*, número 101.

"The Deepening of Democracy: Decentralization and the Electoral Process in Venezuela," in *Journal of InterAmerican Studies and Worlds Affairs*, Winter 1993-94.

"Venezuela: The Treasure of Estado Bolívar," *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, 1992

"Two Conceptual Approaches to Latin American Social Movements from the Perspective of Activists and Scholars: A Review Essay," in *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Fall 1994.

"Venezuelan Revisionist Political History, 1908-1958: New Motives and Criteria for Analyzing the Past," in *Latin American Research Review*, no. 2, 1995.

"Left Parties in Regional Power", *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, July-August, 1995.

"Political Party Factionalism and the Deepening of Democracy in Venezuela," in *Latin American Perspectives*, June 1996.

"Democracia y tendencias internas en los partidos políticos en Venezuela," *Nueva Sociedad*, July 1996.

"La historia política revisionista venezolana, 1908-1958: nuevos motivos y criterios para analizar el pasado" published in two parts in *Tierra Firme*, nos. 58 and 59, 1997.

"Recent Venezuelan Political Studies: A Return to Third World Realities," in *Latin American Research Review*, 32, no. 2, 1997.

"El apogeo del populismo radical en Venezuela y sus consecuencias," *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, Jan.-March, 1997.

"Privatización: Mas alla de lo previsto," *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, October-December 1997.

"The Politics of Privatization in Venezuela" *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, November-December 1997

"Izquierda y política en la agenda neoliberal venezolana," *Nueva Sociedad*, September-October 1998.

"Comandante Chávez Leads Venezuela's Presidential Race" *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, July-August, 1998.

"Obstacles to the Consolidation of the Venezuelan Neighborhood Movement: National and Local Cleavages." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, February 1999.

"Estudios políticos de Venezuela: un regreso a las realidades del tercer mundo" *Politeia*, number 22, 1999.

"The Impact of Privatization on Labor in Venezuela: Radical Reorganization or Moderate Adjustment?" *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol. 13, 1999.

"El impacto de la privatización sobre la fuerza laboral en Venezuela: Reorganización radical o ajuste moderado?" *Politeia*, volume 25, 2000.

"Obstáculos a la consolidación del movimiento vecinal venezolano: la brecha entre lo nacional y lo local," *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales* Jan.-March 1999.

"The Assault on Benefits in Venezuela", *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, January-February 1999.

"Polarized Politics in Chávez's Venezuela," *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, May-June 2000.

“Optimistic and Pessimistic Evaluations of Latin American Democracy in “Post-Consolidation” Literature,” *Latin American Politics and Society*, Spring, 2001.

“The Radical Potential of Chavismo in Venezuela: The First Year-and-a-Half in Power,” *Latin American Perspectives*, September 2001.

“Chávez’s Venezuela”, *Jahrbuch Lateinamerika - Heharren auf Demokratie: Analysen und Berichte*. Vol. 25, 2001.

“The Radical Thesis on Globalization: The Case of Venezuela’s Hugo Chávez.” *Latin American Perspectives*, Nov. 2002.

“Literatura reciente sobre la democracia latinoamericana,” *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2002, pp.133-152.

“Chavismo at the Crossroads: Hardliners, Moderates, and a Regime Under Attack.” *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, May-June 2002.

“The Remarkable Fall and Rise of Hugo Chávez.” *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, July-August 2002.

“Venezuelas kurzester Putsch. Hintergrunde und Folgen der Absetzung und Wiedereinsetzung von Hugo Chavez” [coauthor], pages 221-231. *Lateinamerika: Religion und Macht* [German]. Volume 26, 2002.

“The Contrasting Variants of the Populism of Hugo Chávez and Alberto Fujimori.” *Journal of Latin American Studies*. February 2003.

“The Tenuous Credentials of Latin American Democracy in the Age of Neoliberalism.” *Rethinking Marxism*. Vol. 14, number 3, 2002.

“Venezuela imprevisible: Populismo radical y globalización” *Nueva Sociedad*, Jan.-Feb. 2003.

“Tendencias recientes en el movimiento laboral venezolano: autonomía vs. control político.” *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*. Sept.-Dec. 2003.

“Leftist Goals and the Debate over Anti-Neoliberal Strategy in Latin América” *Science and Society*. Spring, 2004.

“Respuestas al debilitamiento del Estado y la sociedad venezolano en la época de Hugo Chávez.” *Política* (Universidad de Chile, Santiago), Autumn 2004.

“Hugo Chávez Frias y Alberto Fujimori: Un análisis comparativo de dos variantes de populismo” *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, 1, 2004.

“Revolutionary and Non-Revolutionary Paths of Radical Populism: Directions of the *Chavista* Movement in Venezuela.” *Science & Society*. April 2005.

“The Venezuelan Exceptionalism Thesis: Separating Myth and Reality” (co-authored with Miguel Tinker Salas) in *Latin American Perspectives*, March 2005.

“The Emergence of a New Trade Unionism in Venezuela with Vestiges of the Past” *Latin American Perspectives*, March 2005.

“Introduction: New Perspectives on Politics and Society” (co-authored with Miguel Tinker Salas) *Latin American Perspectives*, May 2005.

“Globalization, Macroeconomic Policies, and Latin American Democracy”. *Latin American Politics and Society*. Spring, 2006.

“Die drei anti-neoliberalen Strategien Lateinamerikas”. *Das Argument* 262 “Links-Regierungen unterm Neoliberalismus”. 2005, pp. 496-505.

“Venezuela: Defying Globalization’s Logic.” *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, Sept.-Oct. 2005.

“The Defensive Strategy on the Left in Latin America: Objective and Subjective Conditions in the Age of Globalization.” *Science & Society*. July 2006.

“Las estrategias ‘desde arriba’ y ‘desde abajo’ del movimiento de Hugo Chávez.” *Revista Cuadernos del CENDES*. May-August 2006.

“Toward a ‘Multipolar World’: Using Oil Diplomacy to Sever Venezuela’s

Dependence. *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, September-October 2007, Vol. 40, No. 5.

“Las tensiones entre la base y la dirigencia en las filas del chavismo” in *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales* (April 2008).

“A ‘Revolutionary Process’ Unfolds: In the Absence of a Well-Defined Plan” in *ReVISTA: Harvard Review of Latin America* (Fall 2008).

“A New Model with Rough Edges: Venezuela’s Community Councils” in *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, May-June, 2009.

“La política exterior del gobierno de Chávez: la retórica chavista y los asuntos sustanciales” in *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, no. 1, January-April 2009.

“Hugo Chávez’s First Decade in Office: Breakthroughs and Shortcomings” in *Latin American Perspectives*, Volume 37 Issue 1, January, 2010.

“The Perennial Debate over Socialist Goals Played out in Venezuela” in *Science & Society*, Vol. 74, No. 1, January 2010.

“Conflicting Priorities and Goals within the Movement of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela” in *Quarterly Bulletin of Third World Studies*. Vol. 50, No. 1, 2010.

“Chávez Pushes the Limits: Radicalization and Discontent in Venezuela in *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, July-August, 2010.

“La primera década del gobierno de Hugo Chávez: logros y desaciertos.” *Cuadernos de Cendes*, August 2010.

“El debate histórico sobre las metas socialistas: el caso venezolano.” *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, January-May 2011.

“The Rightward Drift of a Latin American Social Democrat”[book review essay of *Leftovers: Tales of the Latin American Left* edited by Jorge G. Castañeda and Marco A. Morales] *Science and Society*, July 2011.

“Venezuela’s Social Based Democratic Model: Innovations and Limitations.”
Journal of Latin America Studies. August 2011.

“Does the Process of Change in Venezuela Resemble a “Permanent Revolution?””
in *Dialectical Anthropology*, no. 35, 2011.

“Lo que queda de la izquierda: Relatos de las izquierdas latinoamericanas” [book
review essay of book co-edited by Jorge Castañeda]. *Cuadernos del Cendes*
(volumen 28, number 78), 2011.

“The Distinguishing Features of Latin America’s New Left in Power: The Chávez,
Morales, and Correa Governments” in *Latin American Perspectives*. January,
2012.

“El Modelo de la democracia social radical en Venezuela: Innovaciones y
limitaciones,” *Cuadernos del CENDES*, 2012.

“Latin American Unity Takes Center Stage at Cartagena Summit,” *NACLA: Report
on the Americas*, Summer 2012.

“Complexities of the Socialist Alternative” (Review Essay of *Socialist Alternative*
by Michael Lebowitz). *Science and Society*, April 2012.

“Las características distintivas de la nueva izquierda latinoamericana en el poder:
los gobiernos de Chávez, Morales y Correa,” *Revista Venezolana de Economía y
Ciencias Sociales*, January-April 2013.

“What Accounts for Chávez’s Successes?” *NACLA: Report on the Americas*,
Spring, 2013.

“Social and Political Diversity and the Democratic Road to Change in Venezuela,”
Latin American Perspectives, May 2013.

“Latin America’s Radical Left in Power: Complexities and Challenges in the
Twenty-First Century,” *Latin American Perspectives*, May 2013.

“Just How Radical is President Nicolás Maduro?” *NACLA: Report on the*

Americas, Summer 2013.

“Las complejidades de la izquierda radical latinoamericana en el poder: experiencias y desafíos en el siglo XXI,” *Cuadernos del Cendes*, September-December 2013.

“Chavistas Debate the Pace of Change.” *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, Spring 2014.

“The Contradictions Captured in Claudio Katz’s Analysis: Latin America at a Crossroads,” *Latin American Perspectives*, July 2015.

“The Clash of Political Paradigms in Twenty-First Century Latin America and the Response of Area-Study Journals,” *Latin American Perspectives*, July 2016.

“Showdown in Venezuela”, *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, pp. 111-114, Summer 2016.

“Venezuela’s National Dialogue: Disaggregating Key Issues” *LASA Forum*, Winter, 2017, Volume 48, no. 1.

“David Laibman’s Synthesis Approach to Long-Standing Issues of Debate: Review Essay of Passion and Patience: Society, History and Vision.” *Science and Society* July 2017, vol. 81, no 3.

“Implications of Marxist State Theory and How they Play Out in Venezuela.” *Historical Materialism*, volume 25, no 2, 2017.

Short Journal Articles

"Leonardo Ruiz Pineda: Acción Democrática's Guerrillero for Liberty," in *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*, August 1980.

"The Communist Party of Venezuela and the Coming Electoral Challenge," in *The Journal of Communist Studies*, March 1988.

“Testimonial” in “Celebrating 40 Years of Latin American Perspectives,” *Latin*

American Perspectives, November 2013.

Book Reviews

Journal of Developing Areas, Octubre 1978. Review of Venezuela's Oil, by Rómulo Betancourt.

Studies in Comparative International Development, Spring 1980. Review of *Democracia y golpe militar en América Latina*, Interviews by Alfredo Peña.

Hispanic American Historical Review, November 1979. Review of 3 books of interviews by Alfredo Peña.

Hispanic American Historical Review, May 1982. Review of *Del garibaldismo estudiantil a la izquierda criolla* by Arturo Sosa A. and Eloi Lengrand.

The Historian, February 1983. Review of The Model Country, by Milton Vanger.

The Americas. Review of *Latin America: The Hopeful Option*, by Eduardo Frei.

Hispanic American Historical Review, February 1982. Review of two books on October 18, 1945.

Journal of Latin American Studies, May 1982. Review of *Political Attitudes in Venezuela*, by Enrique Baloyra y John Martz.

Hispanic American Historical Review, February 1984. Review of *Historia de la Venezuela política contemporánea*, by Juan Bautista Fuenmayor.

Studies in Comparative International Development, Spring 1984. Review of *Cry of the People*, by Penny Lernoux.

Journal of Developing Areas, July 1984. Review of two books on the oil industry in the Third World.

Journal of Developing Areas, July 1985. Review of two books on Nicaragua.

Hispanic American Historical Review, May 1985. Review of two books on

Venezuelan organized labor by Hector Lucena and Julio Godio.

Hispanic American Historical Review, August 1987. Review of *Hegemonía y alternativas políticas en América Latina*, coordinated by Julio Labastida Martín del Campo.

Tierra Firme, 1988. Review of Hemerografía obrero-artesanal, 1846-1937, by Morella Barreto.

Journal of Developing Areas, July 1987. Review of Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia, by Charles Bergquist.

Science and Society, Autumn 1988. Review of The Comintern in Latin America, by Manuel Caballero.

Tierra Firme, Review of book on labor relations edited by Fernando Caleiro.

Journal of Developing Areas, October 1988. Review of Postimperialism: International Capitalism and Development in the Late Twentieth Century, various editors.

Journal of Developing Areas, October 1990. Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements, edited by Susan Eckstein.

Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Summer 1990. Review of Labor Autonomy and the State in Latin America, edited by Edward Epstein.

Journal of Developing Areas, April 1991. Review of Democracy in Developing Countries. Edited by Larry Diamond, Juan Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset.

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“Neoliberalismo y Antineoliberalismo en América Latina”. Coloquio Facultad de Derecho, UCV. July 2006.

“Venezuela under Hugo Chávez: From Antineoliberalismo to the Outlines of a New Economic Model” (Keynote speaker). Symposium: “Reinventing Venezuela”. University of California (Berkeley), November 18, 2006.

“Las corrientes en conflicto en la Unión Nacional de Trabajadores”. LVI Congress of ASOVAC, November 2006, Cumaná.

“A New Left in Latin America”, Left Forum, New York, March 2007.

“Populismo, pluralismo y modernización”, Universidad Simón Bolívar and the Goethe-Institut. Seminar title: “El Dorado político: Populismos en Latinoamérica y Europa.” Caracas, May 2007.

“The Populist Heritage of the Venezuelan Government and Movement of Hugo Chavez,” conference at the University of Tel Aviv titled “Populismo y Estado en América Latina del Siglo XX: The State in Latin American Populism.” Tel Aviv, June 2007.

“The Diverse Models of Chavismo and their Performance on Political, Economic, and Social Fronts” at the conference “The Performance of Leftist Governments in Latin America” University of Texas, March 2008.

“The Chávez Movement’s Top-Down and Grassroots Approaches” at Latin American Studies Association congress, June 2009, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

“La democracia que sobrevivirá en América Latina” at the conference “Cambios, Desafíos y Crisis de Nuestro Tiempo,” October 2009, Boston, EEUU.

“Conflicting Models within the Movement of Hugo Chávez in the Context of the Current Economic Downturn” at the Beijing Forum, November 2009, University of Peiking, Beijing, China.

“Long Standing Debate over Social Movements and Programs in Venezuela.” Gwangju, South Korea, May 28, 2010.

“Social and Political Diversity and Democratic Strategies in Venezuela”. Keynote speech at the conference “Venezuela en su Bicentenario,” University of Toronto, October, 21, 2011.

“Venezuela’s Bottom-Up Participation: Advances and Downsides,” paper presented at Congress of Latin American Studies Association, May 2012, San Francisco.

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“Las características distintivas de los gobiernos de Hugo Chávez, Evo Morales y Rafael Correa” IX Scientific Congress, Universidad de Oriente, Cumaná (Venezuela), November 5-9, 2012.

“Historia de Venezuela: Continuidades y Rupturas en la Teirra de Simón Bolívar.” International Congress of University of Cologne (Germany), “Venezuela después de Hugo Chávez.” April 20-21, 2013.

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“Diversity and Conflict in the Chavista Movement in Venezuela,” La Trobe University “Venezuela: Past, Present and Future.” Melbourne, Australia, November 2, 2013.

“Left Governments and Protest Movements in Latin America,” symposium organized by Latin America Social Forum. November 9, 2013, Sydney, Australia.

"Competing Labor Movement Factions and the United Socialist Party of Venezuela," LASA, Chicago, May 21-24, 2014.

"Domingo Alberto Rangel y el surgimiento del Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria" in symposium "La razón extremista. Homenaje a Domingo Alberto Rangel", CELARG, Caracas, December 3-4, 2014.

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“The Clash of Political Paradigms in Twenty-First Century Latin America and the Response of Area Study Journals” at the panel “Latin American Studies Journals at a Critical Juncture” (27 de mayo) at the congress of the Latin American Studies Association, May 2015, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

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“La crisis de los gobiernos progresistas en América Latina”, presentation on social movements, Universidad de San Marcos, Lima, June 2017.

“El gobierno de Nicolás Maduro: Desafíos apremiantes en el terreno político, económico y social.” Conference “Los contratiempos de la izquierda progresista y el auge de la derecha en Europa del Sur y América Latina,” Universidad Autónoma de Puebla (México), September 4, 2017.

Invited Speaker

“Recent Challenges to Venezuela’s Political Stability,” California State University-Chico, September 29, 1992.

“Rafael Caldera and Venezuela’s Electoral System,” Auburn University, Alabama, March 9, 1994.

“Globalism and its Impact on Latin America”. August 1998. World Fellowship (New Hampshire).

Yale University “Venezuela’s New Bolivariana Constitution.” January 2000.

“Venezuela’s Hugo Chávez: Neopopulist or Radical Democrat?”. University of Connecticut, March 2000.

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“Venezuela in Crisis: Hugo Chavez and the Evolution of an Oil Giant” Duke University, March 2002.

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“The April Coup and Recent Venezuelan Developments”, Clark University, Worcester, Massachussets, September 2002.

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“Antineoliberalism in Venezuela and its Implications for the Labor Movement”. University of Washington (Seattle), May 3, 2007.

“El socialismo del siglo XX-XXI al debate” Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y “Sociales – UCV, 23 de mayo de 2007.

“Las Perspectivas de América Latina en el contexto de la crisis económica” Universidad de Anáhuac Mayab, Mérida, Yucatán, México, March 2009.

“The Emerging Model of Venezuelan Government of Hguo Chávez,” University of Ohio, April 2, 2009.

“Changes in Venezuela under Hugo Chávez: Will the New Model Replace Oil Dependence?” University of Oklahoma, September 24, 2009.

“Is the Movement of Venezuela’s Hugo Chávez Running out of Steam?” Pomona College (California), March 11, 2010.

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“Venezuela’s Foreign Policy: Third-World Strategy or Megalomania?” Australian National University (Canberra). August 4, 2011.

Venezuela's Radical Social-Based Democracy Model and Latin American Populism” Australian National University (Canberra). August 5, 2011.

“Venezuela Today: The Revolucion and Its Future,” New York University, April 29, 2011.

“El fenómeno Chávez: sus orígenes y su impacto,” Universidad Nacional Experimental Politécnica de la Fuerza Armada Nacional. Caracas, May 27 2011.

“Post-Chávez Venezuela: Will the ‘Process of Change’ Continue?” Center for Latin American Studies, Australian National University. Canberra, Australia, October 3, 2013.

“Simón Bolívar and the Legacy of Latin American Unity,” Center for Latin American Studies, Australian National University. Canberra, Australia, October 24, 2013.

“Tensions and Contradictions in Post-Chávez Venezuela,” University of Sydney. Sydney, Australia, November 8, 2013.

Book presentation of *El fenómeno Chávez: sus orígenes y su impacto, hasta 2013*, Centro Rómulo Gallegos (CELARG), Caracas, August 12, 2014.

“Post-Chávez Venezuela: Where is it Headed?” talk at Union College, Schenectady, New York, June 3, 2015.

“Challenges in Post-Chávez Venezuela: Is the Process of Change in Danger?” James Connolly Forum, Troy, New York, June 4, 2015.

“What has Happened to Latin America’s Twenty-First Century Leftist Governments?” talk at Gettysburg College (Pennsylvania), October 27, 2016.

“What has Happened to Latin America’s pro- Leftist Governments?” talk at Pomona College (California), March 21, 2017.

“The Right-Wing Pushback in Latin America,” talk at World Fellowship (Conway, New Hampshire), August 19-20, 2017.

“The Pluses and Minuses of Twenty-First Century Socialism in Venezuela,” Catholic University Eichstätt-Ingolstadt (KU), Germany. December 13, 2017.