Stanford

Harold Trinkunas

Deputy Director, FSI - CISAC

Curriculum Vitae available Online

Bio

BIO

Harold Trinkunas is the Deputy Director of and a Senior Research Scholar at the Center for International Security and Cooperation at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. Prior to arriving at Stanford, Dr. Trinkunas served as the Charles W. Robinson Chair and senior fellow and director of the Latin America Initiative in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution. His research focuses on issues related to foreign policy, governance, and security, particularly in Latin America. Trinkunas has written on emerging powers and the international order, ungoverned spaces, terrorism financing, borders, and armed non-state actors.

Trinkunas co-authored Militants, Criminals and Warlords: The Challenge of Local Governance in an Age of Disorder (Brookings Institution Press, 2017), Aspirational Power: Brazil's Long Road to Global Influence (Brookings Institution Press, 2016) and authored Crafting Civilian Control of the Military in Venezuela (University of North Carolina Press, 2005). He co-edited and contributed to Three Tweets to Midnight: The Effects of the Global Information Ecosystem on the Risk of Nuclear Conflict (Hoover Institution Press, 2020); American Crossings: Border Politics in the Western Hemisphere (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty (Stanford University Press, 2010), Global Politics of Defense Reform (Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), and Terrorism Financing and State Responses (Stanford University Press, 2007).

Dr. Trinkunas has also previously served as an associate professor and chair of the Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. He received his doctorate in political science from Stanford University in 1999. He was born in Maracaibo, Venezuela.

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

- Deputy Director, FSI - CISAC

ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

- Deputy DIrector, Center for International Security and Cooperation, (2016- present)

PROGRAM AFFILIATIONS

- Program in International Relations

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

- Ph.D., Stanford University , Political Science (1999)
- M.A., Stanford University , Political Science (1993)
- B.S., University of Pennsylvania , Economics (1991)
- B.A., University of Pennsylvania , Political Science (1991)

LINKS

- CISAC Profile: https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/people/harold-trinkunas

Teaching

COURSES

2026-27

- Interschool Honors Program in International Security Studies: IIS 199 (Spr)

2025-26

- Interschool Honors Program in International Security Studies: IIS 198 (Spr)
- Interschool Honors Program in International Security Studies: IIS 199 (Aut, Win, Spr)

2024-25

- Interschool Honors Program in International Security Studies: IIS 198 (Spr)
- Interschool Honors Program in International Security Studies: IIS 199 (Win, Spr)

2023-24

- International Security in a Changing World: INTNLREL 114S, POLISCI 114S (Win)
- Interschool Honors Program in International Security Studies: IIS 199 (Aut, Win, Spr)

STANFORD ADVISEES

Postdoctoral Research Mentor

Kevin Bustamante, Sitara Noor, Xunchao Zhang

Publications

PUBLICATIONS

- **Introduction: Emerging Technologies and the Future of Strategic Stability** *Texas National Security Review*
  Trinkunas, H., Lin, H.
  2026; 9 (2): 8-18
- **Civilian control of the armed forces in Latin America** *GOVERNING THE MILITARY*
  Trinkunas, H.
  edited by Solar, C.
  2024: 26-43
- **Human vs. Machine: Behavioral Differences between Expert Humans and Language Models in Wargame Simulations**
  Lamparth, M., Corso, A., Ganz, J., Mastro, O., Schneider, J., Trinkunas, H., Association for the Advancement of Artificial Intelligence
  ASSOC COMPUTING MACHINERY.2024: 807-817
- **Human vs. Machine: Behavioral Differences between Expert Humans and Language Models in Wargame Simulations**
  Lamparth, M., Corso, A., Ganz, J., Mastro, O. S., Schneider, J., Trinkunas, H.
  2024: 807-817
- **The Oxford Handbook of Peaceful Change in International Relations**
  Wivel, A., Emmers, R.
  edited by Paul, T., Larson, D., Trinkunas, H.
  Oxford University Press.2022
- **The transformation of the Venezuelan Bolivarian armed forces under Chavez and Maduro** *ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS, 2 EDITION*

Trinkunas, H. A.
edited by Matei, F. C., Halladay, C., Bruneau, T. C.
2022: 38-49

- **Recognition of armed non-state actors: what we have learned and what lies ahead** *ARMED NON-STATE ACTORS AND THE POLITICS OF RECOGNITION*
  Trinkunas, H.
  edited by Geis, A., Clement, M., Pfeifer, H.
  2021: 257-269
- **Three Tweets to Midnight: The Effects of the Global Information Ecosystem on the Risk of Nuclear Conflict**
  edited by Trinkunas, H. A., Lin, H. S., Loehrke, B.
  Hoover Institution Press.2020
- **Financing Terrorism** *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*
  Trinkunas, H.
  Oxford University Press.2019: 478–493
- **Conditions of military contestation in populist Latin America** *DEMOCRATIZATION*
  Kuehn, D., Trinkunas, H.
  2017; 24 (5): 859–80
- **UNGASS 2016 in Comparative Perspective: Improving the Prospects for Success** *Journal for Drug Policy Analysis*
  Felbab-Brown, V., Trinkunas, H.
  2017; 10 (1)
- **Militants, Criminals and Warlords: The Challenge of Local Governance in an Age of Disorder**
  Felbab-Brown, V., Trinkunas, H., Hamid, S.
  Brookings Institution Press.2017
- **Aspirational Power: Brazil on the Long Road to Global Influence**
  Trinkunas, H., Mares, D.
  Brookings Press.2016
- **American Crossings: Border Politics in the Western Hemisphere**
  edited by Jaskoski, M., Sotomayor, A., Trinkunas, H.
  John Hopkins University Press.2015
- **Re-examining Rivalry, Trade, and Conflict in Latin America: The Colombia-Venezuela Case** *American Crossings: Border Politics in the Western Hemisphere*
  Trinkunas, H. A.
  Johns Hopkins University Press.2015
- **Alternative Governance in Latin America** *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*
  Trinkunas, H. A., Clunan, A.
  Routledge.2015
- **Better Than You Think: Reframing Inter-American Relations** *Pensamiento Propio*
  Feinberg, R., Miller, E., Trinkunas, H.
  2014: 263-296
- **Reordering Regional Security in Latin America** *Journal of International Affairs*
  Trinkunas, H.
  2013; 66 (2)
- **LATIN AMERICA'S GROWING SECURITY GAP** *JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY*
  Pion-Berlin, D., Trinkunas, H.
  2011; 22 (1): 39–53
- **The Logic of Venezuelan Foreign Policy during the Chávez Period** *Venezuela's Petro Diplomacy: Hugo Chávez's Foreign Policy*

Trinkunas, H.
edited by Clem, R., Maingot, A.
University Press of Florida.2011: 16–31

- **Civilian Praetorianism and Military Shirking During Constitutional Crises in Latin America** *COMPARATIVE POLITICS*
  Pion-Berlin, D., Trinkunas, H.
  2010; 42 (4): 395-+
- **Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty**
  edited by Clunan, A., Trinkunas, H.
  Stanford University Press.2010
- **Alternative Governance and Security** *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Governance in an Era of Softened Sovereignty*
  Clunan, A., Trinkunas, H.
  Stanford University Press.2010: 275–293
- **Conceptualizing Ungoverned Spaces: Territorial Statehood, Contested Authority, and Softened Sovereignty** *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Governance in an Era of Softened Sovereignty*
  Clunan, A., Trinkunas, H.
  Stanford University Press.2010: 17–33
- **Las Fuerzas Armadas Bolivarianas en los Tiempos de Chávez: ¿desde el papel protagónico a la subordinación revolucionaria?** *Influencias y resistencias: militares y poder en América Latina*
  Trinkunas, H.
  edited by Aguero, F., Fuentes, C.
  FLACSO-Ed. Catalonia.2009: 81–106
- **INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRACY PROMOTION AND ITS IMPACT ON CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS** *GLOBAL POLITICS OF DEFENSE REFORM*
  Bruneau, T., Trinkunas, H.
  edited by Bruneau, T., Trinkunas, H.
  2008: 49–67
- **The Militarization of Energy Security: the Case of Venezuela** *Energy Security and Global Politics: the Militarization of Resource Management*
  Trinkunas, H.
  edited by Moran, D., Russell, J.
  Palgrave Macmillan.2008: 175–187
- **GLOBAL TRENDS AND THEIR IMPACT ON CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS** *GLOBAL POLITICS OF DEFENSE REFORM*
  Bruneau, T., Trinkunas, H.
  edited by Bruneau, T., Trinkunas, H.
  2008: 3–19
- **Global Politics of Defense Reform** *GLOBAL POLITICS OF DEFENSE REFORM*
  edited by Bruneau, T., Trinkunas, H.
  2008: 1–298
- **Attention deficits - Why politicians ignore defense policy in Latin America** *LATIN AMERICAN RESEARCH REVIEW*
  Pion-Berlin, D., Trinkunas, H.
  2007; 42 (3): 76–100
- **Terrorist Financing: Explaining Government Responses** *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*
  Giraldo, J., Trinkunas, H.
  Stanford University Press.2007: 282–296
- **The Political Economy of Terrorism Financing** *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*
  Giraldo, J., Trinkunas, H.
  Stanford University Press.2007: 7–20
- **Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective**

edited by Giraldo, J., Trinkunas, H.
Stanford University Press.2007

- **Democratization as a Global Phenomenon and its Impact on Civil-Military Relations** *Democratization*
  Bruneau, T., Trinkunas, H.
  2006; 13 (5): 776-790
- **Assessing Potential Proliferation Networks in Latin America: 2006-2016** *Nonproliferation Review*
  Trinkunas, H.
  2006; 13 (3): 617-625
- **Democratization, social crisis and the impact of military domestic roles in Latin America** *JOURNAL OF POLITICAL & MILITARY SOCIOLOGY*
  Pion-Berlin, D., Trinkunas, H.
  2005; 33 (1): 5–24
- **Crafting Civilian Control of the Military in Venezuela: A Comparative Perspective**
  Trinkunas, H.
  University of North Carolina Press.2005
- **Remilitarization of Venezuelan Politics** *Armed Actors: Organised Violence and State Actors in Latin America*
  Trinkunas, H.
  edited by Koonings, K., Krujit, D.
  Zed Books.2004: 106–126
- **The Military: From Marginalization to Center Stage** *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*
  Trinkunas, H., Myers, D.
  edited by McCoy, J.
  Johns Hopkins University Press.2004: 50–70
- **Regime Type and Regional Security in Latin America: Towards a Balance of Identity Theory** *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century*
  Barletta, M., Trinkunas, H.
  edited by Paul, T., Wirtz, J., Formann, M.
  Stnaford University Press.2004: 334–356
- **The Re-emergence of the Venezuelan Armed Forces as a Political Actor** *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*
  Trinkunas, H.
  2002; 8 (2): 165-172
- **The crisis in Venezuelan civilmilitary relations: From Punto Fijo to the fifth republic** *LATIN AMERICAN RESEARCH REVIEW*
  Trinkunas, H. A.
  2002; 37 (1): 41–76
- **Crafting Civilian Control of the Armed Forces** *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*
  Trinkunas, H.
  2000; 43 (3): 77-109