

## CURRICULUM VITAE

T. J. Pempel

### **OFFICE ADDRESS:**

214 Barrows Hall  
University of California, Berkeley  
Berkeley, CA 94720  
510-642-4688

### **HOME ADDRESS:**

1496 Olympus Avenue  
Berkeley, CA 94708  
510-845-4410

### **FULL TIME TENURE TRACK POSITIONS HELD:**

#### **University of California, Berkeley**

Director, Institute of East Asian Studies, 2001-2007  
Professor of Political Science, 2001-present  
Il Han New Chair of Asian Studies 2001-2007  
Jack M. Forcey Chair in Political Science, 2011-present

#### **University of Washington, Seattle**

Boeing Professor of International Studies, Jackson School of International Studies,  
1995-2001

#### **University of Wisconsin, Madison**

Glen B. and Cleone Orr Hawkins Professor of Political Science, 1993-1995  
Chair, East Asian Studies Program, 1993-1995

#### **University of Colorado**

Professor, Department of Political Science, 1991-93  
Director, Center for Comparative Politics, 1991-93

#### **Cornell University**

Professor, Department of Government, 1981-1991  
Director, China-Japan Program, 1980-1985  
Adjunct Professor, Johnson School of Management, 1984-1991  
Associate Professor, Department of Government, 1977-1981  
Assistant Professor, Department of Government, 1972-1977

### **VISITING POSITIONS:**

#### **University of Hawaii**

Visiting Professor, 1989

#### **Kyoto University**

Visiting Professor/Researcher, 1986

#### **Tokyo University**

Visiting Researcher, 1975-1976

#### **Tsukuba University**

Visiting Professor/Researcher, 1994

#### **Max Planck Institute**

Visiting Researcher, Summer 1998; Fall, Winter 1999

#### **Yonsei University**

Visiting Professor, Summer, 2009

**Australian National University**

Visiting Scholar, Summer, 2009

**Graduate Research Institute for Public Policy, (GRIPS), Tokyo Japan**

Visiting Scholar, Spring, 2013

**Nanyang Technological University**

NTUC Distinguished Visiting Professor of Political Economy, Aug-Sept. 2013

**EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND:**

Columbia University, B.S., 1966

Columbia University, M.A., 1969

Columbia University, Certificate of the East Asian Institute, 1969

University of Michigan, Survey Research Center, 1968

Columbia University, Ph.D., 1972

**ACADEMIC AWARDS/HONORS:**Graduation cum laude with honors in government, Columbia University, 1966,

Phi Beta Kappa

Association for Asian Studies, Distinguished Lecturer, 1998

Harvard University, Distinguished Lecturer, Reischauer Center for Japanese Studies, 2010

University of Washington, Griffith and Patricia Way Lecture, 2011

Princeton University, Henry Wendt Distinguished Lecturer in Asian Studies, 2013

Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, NTUC Distinguished Visiting Professor of  
Political Economy 2013-14

Yale University, John Whitney Hall lecture, 2016

**MAJOR FELLOWSHIPS/RESEARCH GRANTS:**

Leopold Schepp Foundation Fellowship, 1964-1965

National Defense Foreign Language (Japanese), 1965

Columbia University Fellowship, 1965-1966

New York State Teaching Fellowship, 1966-1967

University of Michigan, Survey Research Center Award, 1968

Herbert H. Lehman Fellowship, 1967-1970

Fulbright-Hays Fellowship, Japan, 1970-1971

Cornell University, China-Japan Program Summer Research Award, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1976

Cornell University, Science, Technology and Society Award, 1973

National Science Foundation, Research Grant for a Technology Assessment 1974-77 (one of  
five principal investigators)Office of Education, Development Grant for Graduate Training Program in Comparative Public  
Policy, 1975-77 (one of three Principal investigators)

Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Grant, Japan, 1975-1976

National Endowment for the Humanities, 1975-1978

Social Science Research Council, Planning Grant for research on Japanese Interest Groups,  
1977-1978

Ford Foundation Grant, Comparative Public Policy, 1979-1981

Henry Luce Foundation Grant, Economic Basis of International Relations in Northeast Asia, 1979-1981  
 Department of Education, National Resource Center Grant for China-Japan Program, 1981-1983, 1983-1985  
 Social Science Research Council, Grant for research on one-party dominant democracies, 1984, 1985  
 Japan Foundation, Grant for research on contemporary Japanese politics and changing coalitions, 1985-1986  
 Association for Asian Studies, Northeast Asian Council, travel grant to Japan, 1992, 2007-08  
 World Bank, Grant for a project on Japanese bureaucracy and economic development, 1992  
 Henry Jackson Foundation, Co-Principal in grant for Changing Political Economy of Asia, 1997-1998  
 Abe Fellowship, Center for Global Partnership, Financial Liberalization and Social Equality, 1999-2000  
 Japan U.S. Friendship Commission, Beyond Bilateralism: The U.S.-Japan Relationship in the New Asia-Pacific, 2000-2002  
 Japan U.S. Friendship Commission, Beyond Bilateralism: The U.S.-Japan Relationship in the New Asia-Pacific, 2003-2004  
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan, for 3-year-project titled "East Asia in Transition", 2004-2007  
 East Asian Institute, Korea University, Fellowship for project on Peace, Governance and Development in East Asia, 2007-08  
 University of California, COR Bridging Grant for Retraining in International Relations, 2007-2008  
 John D. and Katherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Principal Investigator, 2 year grant for collaborative project on Security Architecture in Northeast Asia, 2009-2011.  
 Japan International Cooperation Agency, 3 year grant for a project on "East Asia in Two Financial Crises" 2009-2013

### **MILITARY EXPERIENCE:**

U.S. Marine Corps, 1960-1964; honorably discharged as corporal

### **ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE:**

Director, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2001-2006  
 Director, East Asia Program, University of Wisconsin, 1993-95  
 Director, Center for Comparative Politics, University of Colorado, 1991-93  
 Executive Committee, University of Colorado, 1991-93  
 Director, China-Japan Program, Cornell University, 1980-1985  
 Multiple Internal and External Committees, list supplied upon request

### **EDITORIAL/CONSULTATIVE EXPERIENCE:**

English Translation Editor, K.B.S., Bibliography of Higher Education and the Student Problem in Japan (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1972)  
 English Translation Editor, Ministry of Education, Educational Standards in Japan (Tokyo: Ministry of Finance Press, 1973)

English Translation Editor, Research Documents on Comparative Higher Education, Hiroshima University, 1976  
 Associate, Columbia University Seminar on Modern East Asia: Japan, 1972-1982  
 Contract Consultant, U.S. Department of State, 1976-2004  
 Series Co-editor, Policy and Politics in Industrial State, Temple University Press. (eight book series)  
 Consultant, Multinational Strategies, 1981  
 Contract Consultant, U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, 1982-1983  
 Speaker, United States Information Service, Bangkok, Thailand, 1989  
 Participant, Seminar XXI, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1991, 1992  
 Participant, Defense Intelligence College Workshop on Asian Politics, 1993  
 Consultant, Pacem Production, Video Production, Asia's Economic Crisis, 1999-  
 Visiting Committee, Harvard University, Asian Studies, 2004  
 Visiting Committee, University of Toronto, Center for Asian Studies, 2005  
 Editorial Advisory Board, Palgrave series on East Asian Political Economy  
 University of Malaysia, Department of Political Science, International Evaluator,, 2014-present

### **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE:**

Japan Society Consultant, 1972  
 Social Science Research Council,  
     Committee on Research Grants for Japan, 1973-1976  
     Joint Committee for Japanese Studies, 1978-1983  
     Chair, Joint Committee for Japanese Studies, 1994-1996  
     Advisory Committee to the President, 1996-1998  
 Editorial Board, China-Japan Research Papers (Cornell), 1973-1983  
 Contributing Editor, The Japan Interpreter, 1975-1979  
 Center for International Exchange of Scholars (Fulbright Commission)  
     Committee on Trade Policy, 1983  
     Political Science Committee, 1987-1990 (Chair 1988-1990)  
 American Political Science Association,  
     Program Committee, Chair of Section on Comparative Industrial Societies, 1987  
     Chair, Committee on International Exchange, 1994-1996  
     Chair, Gabriel Almond Award Committee, best thesis in Comparative Politics, 1997-1998  
 American Advisory Committee, The Japan Foundation, 1996-; Chair, 2000-2006  
 Association of American University Presses, Hiromi Arisawa Prize Committee, 1990; Chair, 1998  
 Member, U.S. delegation to Japan Political Science Association Annual Meeting, October, 1990;  
     November, 1993  
 Member, Pacific Council on International Policy, 2002-  
 Member, Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD), 2003-  
 American Committee, Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP)  
     Chair, Research Group on Northeast Asian Security, 2004-2007  
 Advisor, National Bureau of Asian Research Forum on Japan, 2004-  
 Editorial Board, Journal of Public Policy  
 Editorial Board, Asian Survey  
 Editorial Board, The Pacific Review  
 Editorial Board, Journal of Japanese Studies  
 Editorial Board, World Politics, 2005-2008  
 Editorial Board, Korean Journal of Public Policy

Editorial Board, Journal of East Asian Studies  
 Editorial Board, The American Asian Review  
 Editorial Board, "Studies on Modern Japan," Series, Lexington Books  
 Editorial Board, National Bureau of Asian Research Forum  
 Editorial Board, Asia Policy  
 Editorial Board, Taiwan Journal of Democracy  
 Editorial Board, The Chinese Journal of International Politics  
 Editorial Board, Pacific Focus  
 Editorial Board, The Japanese Political Economy  
 Board of Advisors, Japanese Politics Research Group, 1999-2003  
 Board of Advisors, SSJ Forum, Tokyo University  
 Board of Advisors, Pacific Council, Task Force on Japan  
 Board of Trustees, Directors, Executive Board, Member, Japan Society of Northern California  
 Presidentially-appointed Commissioner, U.S.-Japan Friendship Commission, 2011-present  
 U.S. Japan Bridging Foundation, Executive Committee, 2013-present  
 Editorial Board, China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies, 2015-present

### **PUBLICATIONS:**

#### **BOOKS:**

Bibliography of Comparative Public Policy in Britain, West Germany, Japan and France (Hayward, California: American Society on Public Administration, 1976), (with Douglas Ashford and Peter Katzenstein)

Policymaking in Contemporary Japan (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), editor, author of three chapters

Comparative Public Policy--A Cross National Bibliography (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978) (with Douglas Ashford and Peter Katzenstein)

Patterns of Japanese Policymaking (Boulder: Westview, 1978)

Policy and Politics in Japan: Creative Conservatism (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981)

Trading Technology: Europe and Japan in the Middle East (New York: Praeger, 1986) (with Thomas Ilgen)

Uncommon Democracies: The Politics of One Party Dominance (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990) editor, author of two chapters

Democracias Diferentes--Los Regimenes con un Partido Dominante (Mexico City: Fonda de Cultura, 1991)

The Japanese Civil Service and Economic Development: Catalysts of Change (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) co-editor with Michio Muramatsu and Kozo Yamamura; co-author of Introduction and one chapter; Oxford University Press

Regime Shift: Comparative Dynamics of the Japanese Political Economy (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), a book in the series on Comparative Political Economy, edited by Peter J. Katzenstein, (Korean Translation, 2001; Chinese Translation, 2011)

The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), in the series on Comparative Political Economy, edited by Peter J. Katzenstein

Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.-Japan Relations in the New Asia Pacific (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), a book in the series Contemporary Issues in Asia and the Pacific, edited by Muthiah Alagappa, co-editor with Ellis S. Krauss and contributor.

Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 2004), a book in the series on Comparative Political Economy, edited by Peter J. Katzenstein. Editor and contributor.

Nihon no Koto Kyoiku Seisaku [Policymaking in Japanese Higher Education] (Tokyo, Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppanbu, 2004) -- Translation into Japanese of earlier book by the same title.

Political Economy of Northeast Asian Regionalism: Political Conflict and Economic Integration (Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar, 2008), co-editor with Jehoon Park and Gerard Roland.

Crisis as Catalyst: Asia's Dynamic Political Economy (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008), co-editor with Andrew MacIntyre and John Ravenhill.

Regionalism, Economic Integration and Security in Asia: A Political Economy Approach (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011) co-editor with Jehoon Park and Heungchong Kim.

Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Architecture and Beyond. (London: Routledge, 2012) co-editor with Chung-min Lee.

The Economic-Security Nexus in Northeast Asia (London: Routledge, 2012)

Japan in Crisis: What Will It Take for Japan to Rise Again? (Seoul, Asan Institute, 2012) Co-editor with Yongshik Bong

Asian Responses to the Global Financial Crisis: The Impact of Regionalism and the Role of the G-20 (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2012) co-editor with Jehoon Park and Geng Xiao.

Two Crises, Different Outcomes: East Asia and Global Finance (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2015), co-editor with Keiichi Tsunekawa

#### **ARTICLES IN ANONYMOUSLY REFEREED JOURNALS:**

"The Politics of Enrollment Expansion in Japanese Universities," Journal of Asian Studies (Vol.33, No.1, November 1973)

"The Bureaucratization of Policymaking in Postwar Japan," American Journal of Political Science (Vol.18, No.4, November 1974)

"The Dilemma of Parliamentary Opposition in Japan," Polity (September 1975)

"Japanese Foreign Economic Policy: The Domestic Bases for International Behaviors," International Organization (Vol.31, No.4, Autumn 1977)

"The Unbundling of 'Japan, Inc.': The Changing Dynamics of Japanese Policy Formation," Journal of Japanese Studies (Vol.13, No.2, Special Issue 1987)

"The Trade Imbalance Isn't The Problem," Cornell International Law Journal (Vol.22, No.3, 1989)

"Roundtable Discussion," Cornell International Law Journal (Vol.22, No.3, 1989)

"From Trade to Technology: Japan's Reassessment of Military Policies," Jerusalem Journal of International Relations (Vol.12, No. 4, December 1990)

"Nihon to Sueden--Shihon Shugi no Seijiteki Ryokyoku," Leviathan (in Japanese) (Vol. 9, 1991)

"Of Dragons and Development," Journal of Public Policy (Vol.12, No.1, 1993)

"Gulliver in Lilliput: Japan and Asian Economic Regionalism," World Policy Journal (Vol.13, No.4, Winter 1996/1997)

"Regime Shift: Japanese Politics in a Changing World Economy," Journal of Japanese Studies (Vol.23, No.2, Summer 1997)

"Structural Gaiatsu: International Finance and Political Change in Japan," Comparative Political Studies (December 1999)

"International Finance and Asian Regionalism," The Pacific Review (Vol.13, No.1, 2000)

"Tokyo's Little Italy," The International Economy (May/June 2000)

"Undone by Success," Issues and Studies 40, 1 (March 2004): 73-81

"Alternative Capitalisms Confront New Pressures to Conform," Socio-Economic Review Vol. 3, No. 3, (2005)

"Politics and Personalities," in Roundtable on Richard J. Samuel's *Machiavelli's Children: Leaders and Their Legacies in Italy and Japan*, Journal of East Asian Studies Vol. 6, (2006) 1-7.

"Japan Rethinks Its Security: The U.S., Asian Regionalism, or Some Kind of Mix?" Kyoto Journal of Law and Politics, 3: 1 (November, 2006): 3-24.

"The Race to Connect East Asia: An Unending Steeplechase," Asian Economic Policy Review 1 (2006): 239-254.

“Northeast Asian Economic Integration: A Region in Flux,” Asia-Pacific Review 14, 2 (November 2007): 45-61.

“U.S. Views of Japan’s Asian and European Relations,” *Special Issue on "EU-Japan Relations* Studia Diplomatica 4 (Summer 2008).

“How Bush Bungled Asia: How Unilateralism, Militarism, and Economic Abdication Have Weakened the U.S. Across Asia,” The Pacific Review 25, 5 (2008).

“The ‘Unbungling of East Asia,’” Global Asia, 3, 4 (Winter, 2008).

“Unbungling East Asia,” Special Roundtable : Advising the New President, Asia Policy 7 (January, 2009).

“Reducing Security Tensions in Northeast Asia: Lessons from Economics and Institutions,” Journal of Northeast Asia Development, 11 (December, 2009): 1-21.

“Soft Balancing, Hedging, and Institutional Darwinism: The Economic-Security Nexus and East Asian Regionalism,” Journal of East Asian Studies 10 (2010), 209–238.

“Between Pork and Productivity: The Collapse of the Liberal Democratic Party,” Journal of Japanese Studies 36:2 (2010): 227-254.

“More “Pax” – Less “Americana”: Security in the Asia-Pacific,” International Relations of the Asia-Pacific 10:3 (2010).

“Global Financial Regulations: G-2 or G-20?” Journal of Northeast Asian Development 12 (2010): 93-107.

“The Legacy of Chalmers Johnson,” The Pacific Review 24:1 (March 2011): 9-14.

“Japan’s Search for the Sweet Spot: International Cooperation and Regional Security in Northeast Asia,” Orbis, 55:2 (Spring, 2011): 255-273.

“Beyond Bilateralism: The United States and Regionalism,” Journal of Northeast Asian Development. Vol. 13 (December, 2011): 43-63.

“The 2012 United States Elections and the Implications for East Asia,” The Pacific Review (2013). 26, 2: 115-127.

“CJK Economic Trilateralism: The Prospects and Perils of a New FTA, The Japanese Perspective,” in Korea Economic Institute, Joint U.S.-Korea Academic Studies, Vol. 24 (2013): 167-181.

"Japanese political studies: where are we? How did we get here? Where are we going?" Japan Forum, May 2014, with Michio Muramatsu, 1-23.

“Domestic Drivers of Northeast Asian Relations, International Journal of Korean Unification Studies, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2014): 65-95



"Roundtable: studying Asian and comparative regionalism through Amitav Acharya's work"  
Anja Jetschke; Amitav Acharya; Philippe De Lombaerde; Hiro Katsumata; T.J. Pempel  
International Relations of the Asia-Pacific 2015

"Back to the Future: Japan's Search for a Meaningful New Role in the Emerging Regional Order,"  
Asian Perspective Vol. 39 (2015): 361-380.

"Thucydides [Clap] Trap: US-China Relations in a Changing Asia-Pacific," Global Asia Vol. 10,  
no. 4 (Winter 2015): 88-93

"Alliances and the Future Asia-Pacific Order," Global Asia, Vol. 11, no. 1 (Spring, 2016): 24-27.

### **ARTICLES/CHAPTERS IN BOOKS:**

(Starred items in books subject to anonymous review)

"The Political Rise of the Military in Japan and Argentina in the 1930s," Andrew Cordier (ed.)  
Columbia University Essays in International Affairs Vol. III (New York: Columbia University Press,  
1968)

"Soto kara no Me--Nihon no Kyoiku to Bunka," Nan no tame no Kyoikuka? Nagai Michio (ed.)  
(Tokyo: Tokyo Keizai Shimposha, 1971)

"Evaluating Japan's Mass Higher Education," Japan Quarterly XVIII, 4 (October 1971)

"Japan's Nuclear Allergy," Current History (April 1975)

"Nihon no Gyosei to Kyoiku," Jichi Kenshuu (October 1976)

"Land Mobile Communication in Japan: Technical Development and Issues of International Trade,"  
Working Paper, Program on Science, Technology and Society (Cornell University, 1976); revised  
version in Communications for a Mobile Society (1978)

\*"Patterns of Policymaking: Higher Education," in Pempel, Policymaking in Contemporary Japan  
(UK: Cornell University Press, 1977)

\*"Japanese Foreign Economic Policy: The Domestic Bases for International Behavior," Peter J.  
Katzenstein (ed.) Between Power and Plenty (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978); 2nd  
printing 1980

"Corporatism without Labor?: The Japanese Anomaly", in: Philippe Schmitter and Gerhard  
Lehmbruch (eds.), Trends Towards Corporatist Intermediation (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1979):  
231-70. With Keichi Tsunekawa.

"Land Mobile Communication in Japan: Technical Development and International Trade," Raymond  
Bowers et al.(eds.) Communications for a Mobile Society (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978)

\*"Political Parties and Social Change: The Japanese Experience," Louis Maisel and Joseph Cooper (ed.) The Development of Political Parties: Patterns of Evolution (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979), with Keiichi Tsunekawa (Japanese edition published in 1984)

"Coping With the Crisis: Revitalizing Higher Education," Higher Education for the 1980s (Hiroshima University, 1980)

"Kiki e no Taio -- 1980 nendai ni okeru Koto Kyoiku no Saisei," Daigaku Ronshu (September 1981)

"The National Bureaucracy," Gen Itasaka (ed.) Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan (Cambridge: Kodansha, 1982)

\*"Organizing for Efficiency: The Higher Civil Service in Japan," Ezra Sulieman and Carlos Alba (eds.) Bureaucracy and Policy Making (London: Holmes and Meier, 1984)

"Nihon no Gaiko Seisaku no Naiseiteki Kiso," Yasunori Sone and Tadao Tomita (eds.) Sekai Seiji no Naka no Nihon Seiji (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1983)

"Rodo naki Koporatizumuka," Yamaguchi Yasushi (ed.) Gendai Koporatizumu (Tokyo: Kitakusha, 1984)

"U.S. - Asian Trade and the American Economy," The Asia Society (1984)

Reprint of "The Politics of Enrollment Expansion in Japanese Universities," Susan L. Shirk (ed.) The Challenge of China and Japan (New York: Praeger, 1985)

"U.S.-Asian Trade and the American Economy," The Asia Society: Media Briefing (1985); (reprinted in abbreviated version in Focus on Asian Studies (Vol.5, No.2, Winter 1986)

\*"The Baby Target: 'Reform' of the Japanese Bureaucracy under the American Occupation," in Robert Ward and Yoshikazu Sakamoto (eds.) Democratizing Japan (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987)

"Senryoka ni okeru Kanryosei no 'Kaikaku'" Sakamoto Yoshikazu and R.F. Ward (eds.) Nihon Senryo no Kenkyu (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1987)

"The Japanese Challenge: A New Capitalism," Alfred Phaller (ed.) Der Kampf umden Wohlstand von Morgen (Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1986)

"Doing Business in Japan," Cornell Enterprise (Spring 1986)

\*"Uneasy Towards Autonomy: Parliament and Parliamentarians in Japan," Ezra Suleiman (ed.) Parliament and Parliamentarians in Democratic Politics (London: Holmes and Meier, 1986)

\*"Japan's Creative Conservatism: Continuity Under Challenge," Francis G. Castles (ed.) Comparative History of Public Policy (Cambridge: 1989)

\*"The Structuring of Japanese Democracy," Takeshi Ishida and Ellis Krauss (eds.) Democracy in Japan (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989)

\*"Exclusionary Democracy: The Post Authoritarian Experience," Sidney Tarrow (ed.) Theory and Experience (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989)

"Japan's Political Institutions and the Decision making Process," Harry H. Kendall and Clara Joewono (eds.) Japan, ASEAN, and the United States (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1991)

"Japan and Sweden: Polarities of 'Responsible Capitalism'," Dankwart A. Rustow and Kenneth P. Erickson (eds.) Comparative Political Dynamics: Global Research Perspectives (New York: Harper and Row, 1991)

"Too Late for Just Free Trade, Japan," Washington Post--Outlook (December 29, 1991)

"Japanese Democracy and Political Culture: A Comparative Perspective," PS (March 1992)

Reprinted in Christian Soe (ed.) Comparative Politics: Annual Edition, '93/94 (Guilford, CN: Dushkin, 1993)

"Political Parties and Representation: The Case of Japan," PS (March 1992)

"Bureaucracy in Japan," PS (March 1992)

"Restructuring Social Coalitions" State, Society and Regime," in Rolf Torstendahl (ed.) State Theory and State History (London: Sage, 1992)

"Bureaucracy in Japan," Myron L. Cohen (ed.) Columbia Project on Asian in the Core Curriculum: Case Studies in the Social Sciences (Armonk, MD: Sharpe, 1992)

"Political Parties and Representation: the Case of Japan," in Myron L. Cohen (ed.) Japan's Foreign Policy After the Cold War: Coping With Change (Armonk, M.E. Sharpe, 1993)

\*"Occupational Welfare and the Japanese Experience," Michael Shalev (ed.) Occupational Welfare and the Welfare State in Comparative Perspective (London: Plenum Press, 1993) (with Toshimitsu Shinkawa).

"The National Bureaucracy," Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia (Kodansha, 1993)

"Japanese Democracy: A Comparative Perspective," Craig Garby and Mary Bullock (eds.) Japan: A New Kind of Superpower" (Woodrow Wilson Press Center and Johns Hopkins Press, 1993)

"The Japanese Civil Service and Economic Development : A Proactive Civil Service," in Hyung-ki Kim, Nishio Muramatsu, T.J. Pempel and Kozo Yamamura (eds.) The Japanese Civil Service and Economic Development (Oxford University Press, 1995)

"The Evolution of the Civil Service Before World War II," Kim et al. (eds.) The Japanese Civil Service and Economic Development (Oxford University Press, 1995) with Michio Muramatsu "Japan's Changing Political Economy," in NBR Analysis (Vol.4, No.5, National Bureau of Analysis)

"Civil Service Reform in Japan," Occasional Paper World Bank Conference on Civil Service Reform in Latin America and the Caribbean (Washington DC: World Bank, 1995)

"The Japanese Bureaucracy and Economic Development: Structuring a Proactive Civil Service," Occasional Paper World Bank, Economic Development Institute (with Michio Muramatsu)

"Managing a Multiauthor Research Project in Comparative Politics," PS: Political Science and Politics (Vol.24, No.4, December 1993) (with Kent Weaver, Nancy N. Davidson, Sidney Verba and Keith G. Banting)

"The Evolution of the Japanese Civil Service Before World War II," Occasional Paper World Bank, Economic Development Institute ( with Michio Muramatsu)

\*"Trans-Pacific Torii: Japan and the Emerging Asian Regionalism," Peter Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraiishi (eds.) Network Power: Japan in Asia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997)

"Unsteady Anticipation: Reflection on the Future of Japan's Political Economy," Hideo Sato and I.M. Destler (eds.) Leadership Sharing in the New International System: Japan and the United States (University of Tsukuba, 1996)

"Yuragu Yosoku--Nihon no Seiji Keizai no Hendo ni tsuite," Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai (ed.) Nijuisseiki no Nihon, Ajia, Sekai (Tokyo: Kokusai Shoin, 1998)

"Contemporary Japanese Athletics: Window on the Cultural Roots of Nationalism-Internationalism," Sepp Linhart (ed.) Japanese Culture as Seen Through its Leisure (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998)

\*"The Developmental Regime in a Changing Worlds Economy," Meredith Woo-Cumings (ed.) The Developmental State in Historical Perspective (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999)

"Toward the Italianization of Japan," Japan Times (July 22, 1998)

"Japan Politics: Interregnum," Nikko Capital Trends (Vol.3, No.8, July 1998)

"Japan's Search for a New Path," Current History (December 1998)

\*"Unsteady Anticipation: Reflection on the Future of Japan's Political Economy," John A. Hall and T.V. Paul (eds.) International Order an the Future of World Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

\*"The Enticement of Corporatism: The Appeal of Japan," Dennis L. MacNamara (ed.) Corporatism and Korean Capitalism (London: Routledge, 1999)

\*"Introduction," T.J. Pempel (ed.) The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999)

\*"Regional Rise, Regional Demise," in Ibid.

\*"Conclusion," in Ibid.

"Japan: Capital Movements and Asian Regionalism," Japan-Southeast Asia Relations (International Conference on Japanese Studies, National University of Singapore, 1999)

"Democratization and Globalization: A Comparative Study of Japan, South Korean and Taiwan," Chung-in Moon and Jongryn Mo (eds.) Democratization and Globalization in Korea: Assessments and Prospects (Yonsei University Press, 2000)

"Forward" Herman Gilomee and Charles Simkins (eds.) The Awkward Embrace: One-Party Dominance and Democracy (Johannesburg: Tafelberg, 2000)

"Kozoteki Gaiatsu," Mizoguchi Norito, Kitamura Hiroshi and Kume Ikuo (eds.) Henka o Do Setsumei Suruka? (Tokyo: Bokutakusha, 2000)

"Regime Shift: Japanese Politics in a Changing World Economy," Arthur M. Melzer, Jerry Weinberger and M. Richard Zinman (eds.) Politics at the Turn of the Century (Oxford, Roman and Littlefield, 2001)

"Japanese Domestic Politics and Asian Regionalism," S. Javed Maswood (ed.) Japan and East Asian Regionalism (Oxford, Routledge, 2001)

"Stymied at the Crossroads: Japan in a Regime Shift," Friederike Bosse und Patrick Kollner (Ersg.) Reformen in Japan (Hamburg, Germany, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Asienkunde, 2001)

"Labor Exclusion and Privatized Welfare: Two Keys to Asia Capitalist Development," Evelyne Huber (ed.) Models of Capitalism: Lessons for Latin America (Penn State Press, 2002)

"Tekiôka Teitaika--Nihon no Jirema," [Adapt or Stagnate? The Japanese Dilemma] NPO Genron (April 2003) pp.51-60

\*"Challenges to Bilateralism: Changing Foes, Capital Flows, and Complex Forums," in Ellis S. Krauss and T.J. Pempel (eds.) Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.-Japan Relations in the New Asia Pacific (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003)

"The Changing Character of Japan's Economic Linkages with Southeast Asia" Trends in Southeast Asia Series 13 (2003)

"The Future of U.S.-Japan Economic Relations," NBR Special Report #5 Japan, the United States and East Asia (March 2004) pp. 15-23

\*"Introduction: Emerging Webs of Regional Connectedness" in T.J. Pempel (ed.) Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004)

\*"Conclusion: Tentativeness and Tensions in the Construction of an Asian Region" in T.J. Pempel (ed.) Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 2004)

"East Asia: Emerging Webs of Regional Connectedness," Security Cooperation in East Asia (Peking University Press, 2004).

“Japan and the Asian Region: Competition or Cooperation with China?” 2004 Occasional Paper: Prospects for the Virtual State COE Program, Invention of Policy Systems in Advanced Countries (University of Tokyo COE Program, 2004).

\*“Revisiting the Japanese Economic Model,” in Saadia M. Pekkanen and Kellee S. Tsai (eds.) Japan and China in the World Political Economy (London: Routledge, 2005)

\*“Japan: A New Move Toward Bilateral Trade Agreements” in Vinod K. Aggarwal and Shujiro Urata (eds.) Bilateral Trade Agreements in the Asia-Pacific: Origins, Evolution, and Implications (New York: Routledge, 2006) with Shujiro Urata.

\*“A Decade of Political Torpor: When Political Logic Trumps Economic Rationality” in Peter J. Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraishi (eds.) Beyond Japan: The Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006)

\*“Japanese Strategy under Koizumi,” in Gilbert Rozman, Kazuhiko Togo and Joseph P. Ferguson (eds.) Japanese Strategic Thought Toward Asia (New York: Palgrave, 2007)

\*“The Pendulum Swings Toward a Rising Sun,” Asia Policy 4 (July 2007): 188-191.

“A China e o Emergente Regionalismo Asiático,” China Conferencia Nacional de politica Externa e Politica Internacional—III (Brazilia, Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2008) pp. 267-288.

\*“Firebreak: East Asia Institutionalizes Its Finances,” in Martina Timmermann and Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, (eds.) Institutionalizing Northeast Asia: Making the Impossible Possible? (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2008).

\*“Learning to Lose is for Losers: The Japanese LDP’s Reform Struggle,” in Joseph Wong and Edward Friedman (eds.) Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems: Learning to Lose.(London: Routledge, 2008)

““Korean Studies in the United States: A Comparative Perspective From Berkeley,” in Seung Ham Yang, Yeon Sik Choi, Jong Kun Choi (eds.) Korean Studies in the World: Democracy, Peace, Prosperity, and Culture (Seoul, Jimoondang, 2008): 1-20.

\*“Japan: Divided Government; Diminished Resources,” in Ashley Tellis and Mercy Kuo (eds.) Strategic Asia 2007-2008: What the Next President Should Know About Asia (Washington: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2008).

“Toward Northeast Asian Regionalism: The Current State of Play,” in Jehoon Park et al. The Political Economy of Northeast Asian Regionalism. (London: Palgrave): 11-29.

\*“East Asia in the Wake of the Financial Crisis” in Crisis as Catalyst: East Asia’s Dynamic Political Economy (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2008): 1-24 (with Andrew MacIntyre and John Ravenhill)

\*“Restructuring Regional Ties,” in Crisis as Catalyst: East Asia’s Dynamic Political Economy (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2008): 164-182.

\*"Conclusion. The Political Economy of East Asia: Directions for the Next Decade," Crisis as Catalyst: East Asia's Dynamic Political Economy (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2008): 271-292 (with Andrew MacIntyre and John Ravenhill).

"Northeast Asian Economic Integration: Inventory Checking and New Directions," in Peace and Prosperity in Northeast Asia: Exploring the European Experience Vol. 2 ed. Jeju Peace Institute and East Asia Foundation. (Seoul: JPI Press): 15-35

"Beyond Bilateral Approaches: Regionalizing the Japan-Korea Tensions," Korea Economic Institute, Shifting Strategic and Diplomatic Relations with the Koreas Joint U.S.-Korea Academic Studies, 2009

"Japanese Foreign Policy: Balancing off Asia, Europe and the United States," International House of Japan Bulletin 29, 1, 2009. (in English and in Japanese)

"U.S.-Japan Relations: Japan Should Rebalance Policy Priorities," Japan Spotlight January/February, 2009.

"Japan and ASEAN: How a Decade of Torpor has Kept the Lead Goose from Laying ASEAN's Golden Eggs," Lee Poh Ping and Md. Nasrudin Md. Akhir (eds) Japanese Relations with ASEAN since the Fukuda Doctrine. (Department of East Asian Studies, University of Malaya, 2009): 1-26.

"Amerika wa Ajia ni Kaiki suruka? [Should America Return to Asia?] in Watanabe Akio (ed.) Ajia Taiheiyōto atarashii Chiiki Shugi no Tankai [The Asia Pacific and the Development of a New Regionalism]. (Tokyo, Chikuma Shōbō, 2010): 339-356.

"Chiikika sure Hatten Shikokei Kokka [Regionalization of the Developmental State] in Magara Hideko (ed.) Demokurashii to Akauntabiriti [Democracy and Accountability] (Tokyo: Fukuosha, 2010): 58-100,

\*Japan and the Two Koreas: The Foreign-Policy Power of Domestic Politics," in Marie Soderberg, (ed.) Changing Power Relations in Northeast Asia: Implications for Relations Between Japan and South Korea. London: Routledge. 2011: 35-76.

"Japan: Dealing with Global Forces: Multilateralism, Regionalism, Bilateralism," in Dag Harald Claes and Carl Henrik Knutsen (eds.) Governing the Global Economy: Politics, Institutions, and Economic Development (London: Routledge, 2011): 204-222.

"Reducing Security Tensions in Northeast Asia: Lessons from Economics and Institutions," in Jeehoon Park, T.J. Pempel and Heungchong Kim (eds.) Regionalism, Economic Integration and Security in Asia: A Political Economy Approach (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011): 102-118.

"Between Pork and Productivity: Upending the Japanese Model of Capitalism," in Masanobu Ido (ed.) Varieties of Capitalism, Types of Democracy and Globalization, London, Routledge, 2012.

"CJK Economic Trilateralism: The Japanese Perspective," in KEI, Joint U.S.-Korea Academic Studies Vol. 24 (2014)

“Commercial Space versus Security Space: the Complex Institutions of Northeast Asia,” in Key-Young Son and Yong-Wook Lee (eds.) China’s Rise and Regional Integration in East Asia: Hegemony or Community? (London: Routledge, 2014) 115-140.

“Introduction: Crises, Corrections and Challenges,” “Conclusion: Toward a Second East Asian Miracle?” and “Two Crises, Two Responses,” 3 chapters in Pempel and Tsunekawa (eds.) Two Crises, Different Outcomes: East Asia and Global Finance. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2014)

“Why Japan’s Self Defense is so Politicized,” East Asia Forum July 1, 2014.  
<http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2014/09/02/why-japans-collective-self-defence-is-so-politicised>

“Avoiding Land Mines on the Road to a New East Asian Order,” Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security: International Conference. \_\_\_\_\_ Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, September, 2014: 188-125.

### **REVIEWS:**

Nagai Michio, Kindaika to Kyoiku (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan, 1969) and Nagai Michio, Daigaku no Kanousei (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1969) in The Japan Interpreter (Spring 1971)

Nagai Michio, Higher Education in Japan (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1971) in Comparative Education Review (June 1972)

George Z. F. Bereday and Shigeo Masui, American Education Thorough Japanese Eyes (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1973) in Monumenta Nipponica (Vol.29, No.2, Summer 1974)

Bradley M. Richardson, The Political Culture of Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) in The Japan Interpreter (Summer 1974)

F.C. Langdon, Japan's Foreign Policy (Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press, 1973) in Journal of Asian Studies (Vol.34, No.1, November 1974)

Ezra F. Vogel (ed.) Multinationalism Japanese Organization and Decision-Making (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) in The Japan Interpreter (Autumn 1975)

John C. Campbell, Contemporary Japanese Budget Politics (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) in Journal of Asian Studies (Vol.37, No.4, August 1978)

Terutomo Ozawa, Multinationalism Japanese Style (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979) in Political Science Quarterly (Vol.95, No.2, Summer 1980)

Roger Benjamin and Kan Ori, Tradition and Change in Post-Industrial Japan (New York: Praeger, 1981) in Journal of Asian Studies (Vol.41, No.4, August 1982)

Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982) in Political Science Quarterly (Vol.97, No.4, Winter 1982-1983)



Thomas K. McCraw, America versus Japan (Boston, Harvard Business School Press 1986) in Journal of Asian Studies (Vol.46, No.4, February 1988)

Sheldon Garon, The State and Labor in Modern Japan (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1987) in Asian Thought and Society (December 1988)

George Tsebelis, Nested Games (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990) in Comparative Political Studies (Vol.24, No.1, April 1991)

John Owen Haley, Authority Without Power: Law and the Japanese Paradox (New York, Oxford University Press, 1991) and Takako Kishima, Political Life in Japan: Democracy in a Reversible World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) in American Political Science Review (Vol.86, No.4, December 1992)

Masumi Junnosuke, Contemporary Politics in Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996) in The American Political Science Review (March 1996)

Steven F. Vogel, Freer markets: More Rules (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996) in Comparative Political Studies (Summer 1997)

Minoru Nakano, The Policy-Making Process in Contemporary Japan (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997) and Bradley Ricahrdson, Japanese Democracy: Power, Coordination, and Performance (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) in The American Political Science Review (December 1997)

Banno Junji (ed.) Political Economy of Japanese Society 2 vols. For Social Science Journal of Japan (December 1999)

Ray Christensen, The End of LDP Hegemony: Party Cooperation in Japan (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000) Journal of Asian Studies (Vol.60, No.1, February 2001)

Jonathon W. Moses, Open States in the Global Economy: The Political Economy of Small-State Macroeconomic Management (Houndmills [England]: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000) Comparative Political Studies (Vol.34, No.4, May 2001)

J.A.A. Stockwin, Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Japan (Routledge 2003), in Japan Forum 16:1 (2004).

Aurelia George Mulgan, Japan's Failed Revolution: Koizumi and the Politics of Economic Reform (Asia Pacific Press 2003), in Journal of Japanese Studies 30:1 (2004).

Robert Wade, Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, special review issue of I&S Issue Focus Vol. 40, No. 1 (March 2004).

“Roundtable Discussion of Richard J. Samuels’s *Machiavelli’s Children: Leaders and Their Legacies in Italy and Japan*.” Journal of East Asian Studies 6 (2006): 1-29. (with Sheldon Garon, Junko Kato, Yves Tiberghien, and Richard J. Samuels).

William Grimes, Currency and Contest in East Asia: The Great Power Politics of Financial Regionalism (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2009) in Journal of Japanese Studies 36, 1 (Winter, 2009).

Kent Calder and Min Ye The Making of Northeast Asia. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010) in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific 12, 1 (2012).

Patricia Maclaughlin, The People's Post Office: The History and Politics of the Japanese Postal System, 1871-2010 (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2012) in Perspectives on Politics, 12, 1 (March, 2014).

### **OTHER:**

"Higher Educational Policymaking in Postwar Japan," (Research Note) Newsletter of Research on Japanese Politics (1974)

"Comparative Policy Studies at Cornell," European Studies Newsletter (December 1975) with Douglas Ashford and Peter Katzenstein

Japan 1980 Briefing Book (New York, N.Y.: December, 1980) prepared for The Conference Board

Asian Technology Transfer to the Middle East prepared for The Office of Technology Assessment, 1983

"Regime Shift: Japanese Politics in a Changing World Economy" in Australia-Japan Research Centre (ANU) The politics of economic reform in Japan, Pacific Economic Papers No 270, August 1997.

"The US and Japan: Beyond Bilateralism" Keizai Koho Center, Japan Economic Currents, 44 (May 2004).

"Current Status and Challenges of an East Asian Community," Japan Institute of International Affairs (ed.) "Building An East Asian Community," Tokyo, JIIA, 2010.

### **COURSES TAUGHT:**

### **GRADUATE:**

Field Seminar in Comparative Politics  
Seminar in Comparative Public Policy in Advanced Industrial States  
The Politics of Productivity: Germany and Japan  
The State and Social Coalitions  
Political Modernization and the Japanese Experience  
Political Economy of Japan  
Comparative Political Economy

Asian Regionalism  
International Relations of the Asia-Pacific

**UNDERGRADUATE:**

Politics of Contemporary Japan  
Business and labor in Politics  
Politics of Industrialized Societies  
Public Policy in Advanced Democracies  
Political Economy of Developing Countries  
American Policy Toward East Asia  
Dismantling Developmentalism