

**Contact  
Information**

**Professor Emeritus**  
**University of California, San Diego**  
**School of Global Policy and Strategy (GPS)**  
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**Education**

Ph.D., Political Science: Stanford University, 1973  
 M.A., Political Science: Stanford University, 1965  
 B.A., Political Science: Brooklyn College of CUNY, 1964

**Languages Spoken**

English  
 Japanese

**Professional  
Employment  
Background**

**March 2015 to the present:** Professor Emeritus, School of Global Policy and Strategy (formerly School of International Relations and Pacific Studies), University of California San Diego, USA

**September 1995 – March 2015:** Professor, School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California, San Diego, California, USA  
 Adjunct Professor: Department of Political Science

**September 1986 - August 1995:** Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA

**September, 1970 - August, 1986:** Professor (1982), Associate Professor (1975 with tenure), Assistant Professor (1973), Lecturer (1970-1972), Department of Political Science, Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington, USA

**Visiting  
Researcher/Scholar  
Positions in Japan**

Waseda University 2015  
 Meiji Gakuin University 2013  
 Tokyo University, Japan, 2000, 1999; 1983; 1978  
 Keio University, Japan, 1985  
 Japan Center for Michigan Universities, Japan, 1995  
 Kyoto University, Japan, 1974-1975  
 Sophia University, Japan, 1969-1970

**Visiting  
Researcher/Scholar  
Positions Not In  
Japan**

Sapienza University of Rome, Italy  
 Researcher, September-December, 2014  
 University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany  
 Researcher, October 2012  
 University of Warwick, Coventry, U.K.  
 Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, U.K.:  
 2004, 2008.  
 University of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI, USA  
 Japan-focused Executive M.B.A. Program, College of Business  
 Administration, 1991-1996, 1998 (Teaching position - summers)  
 University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada,  
 Department of Political Science (Teaching Position 1984-1986)  
 Harvard University, 1978-1979

## Grants, Honors, and Awards

**Order of the Rising Sun [(旭日章, Kyokujitsu-shō) , Third Class with Gold Leaves and Neck Ribbon from the Emperor of Japan for professional achievements. April 29, 2018 announcement.**

<https://gps.ucsd.edu/news-events/news/ellis-krauss-receives-order-of-the-rising-sun.html>

The Order of the Rising Sun is the equivalent of the Order of the British Empire in the U.K. There are six classes currently. Third class is often the highest level given to ordinary citizens, as First Class is usually given to royalty and statesmen/stateswomen, such as to Sir John Major and Ambassador Caroline Kennedy, and Second Class is awarded for achievements such as winning the Nobel Prize in Literature, for example to Kazuo Ishiguro, or top jurists such as Lady Arden of Heswall, and to politicians, top scientists, and high-ranking military officers.

Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Fellowship, 6 weeks at Waseda University, Tokyo, 2015

Harvard University Program on U.S.-Japan Relations' Distinguished Visitor and the Reischauer Institute's Japan Forum speaker (April 2015). Only one such award given each year.

Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo-Oxford University Press award for the best article in their journal, *Social Science Japan* in 2014 for "Choosing Cabinets: Electoral System and Cabinet Appointments in Japan" See publications below. Shared award with coauthors Robert Pekkanen and Benjamin Nyblade.

University of Sapienza, Rome Visiting Researcher Fellowship for 3 months at the University (September-December, 2014).

Harold White/Japan Fellowship, National Library of Australia 12 week Fellowship for research at the Library (August 2012-November 2012). Declined for family reasons.

National Science Foundation 3-year Award (July 1, 2008-June 30, 2011), extended later, for \$482,591 for "Collaborative Research: Electoral Systems and Party Personnel: The Consequences of Reform and Non-Reform," with Matthew Shugart, UCSD (third Co-PI is Robert Pekkanen at University of Washington with separate budget).

The National Science Foundation is the equivalent of the UKRI (U.K. Research and Innovation) that encompasses all 7 U.K. Research Councils)

Japan Foundation Short-Term Research Fellowship for study of "The Changing Role of Japan's Prime Minister," September 28-November 1, 2008.

Nippon Foundation's publication of "100 Books for Understanding Contemporary Japan" (2008), representing two of the 22 books on Politics and Government.

Two authored or edited books ([Broadcasting Politics in Japan: NHK and Television News](#) and [Media and Politics in Japan](#)) were included.

Conference Project Funding : “Managing the American Medusa in Global and Regional Political Economy: The U.S.-Japan Relationship in Comparative Perspective” [With Verena Blechinger, Free University of Berlin and Christopher Hughes, U. of Warwick] awarded by The University of Warwick, January, 2005-March 31, 2006. UK£12, 730. [approx., US\$ 24,000.]

Pacific Rim Research Program, University of California, research grant of \$17,000. for two-years of travel and research funds on “The Comparative Effects of Electoral Reform in Two Pacific Rim Parliamentary Democracies: Japan and New Zealand,” July, 2004-December, 2006.

Northeast Asia Council, Association for Asian Studies, grant of Yen 200,000 for short-term travel to Japan for research on LDP response to electoral reform, June 17-June 30, 2004.

Chosen as member of the October 2003 “U.S. Knowledge Leaders” tour to Tokyo to interact with Japanese private sector, government, and cultural elites, sponsored by the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations’ Keizai Kōhō Center.

Co-Recipient (with T.J. Pempel), two-year grant from the Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission to lead a conference project on “Beyond Bilateralism: U.S. and Japanese Cooperation and Conflict in Multilateral Asia,” 2000-2002.

Abe Fellowship for research on “Japan in APEC: Multilateralism and U.S.-Japan Relations,” nine months over the period July 1998 to June 2000.

National Endowment for the Humanities, Summer Seminar for College Teachers award to direct seminar on "The Democratic Experience in Japan," July-August, 1994.

Distinguished Lecturer, Association for Asian Studies, 1992-1993.

Woodrow Wilson Center Fellowship for 4-months (March-June, 1992) for research in residence at the Center on NHK television news and the state in postwar Japan

Swedish-America Bicentennial Study Grant for research in Sweden on center-local relations and industrial policy in Japan and Sweden, spring, 1988 [taken spring, 1989].

Postdoctoral Research grant, American Council of Learned Societies-Social Science Research Council, for research on NHK television news and politics in Japan, 1985

Senior Fulbright grant for research in Tokyo: politics in postwar Japan, 1983.

Grant, American Council of Learned Societies-Social Science Research Council, 1978-1979.

HEW/Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Abroad Award, Summer, 1978.

National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar Award, Summer, 1976.

Japan Foundation Professional Research Fellowship, 1974-1975

Grant, American Council of Learned Societies-Social Science Research Council, 1975

University of Pittsburgh: 7 internal grant awards

Western Washington University: 6 internal grants and awards

**Publications:  
Authored and  
Edited Books**

\*Refereed by  
Anonymous Reviewers

*\*Party Personnel Strategies: Electoral Systems & Parliamentary Committee Assignments* [co-authored with Matthew S. Shugart, Matthew E. Bergman, Cory L. Struthers, and Robert J. Pekkanen]. Oxford University Press, 2021.

*\*Reluctant Warriors, Conflicted Allies: Germany, Japan and their U.S. Alliance Dilemma* [Co-authored with Thomas Berger, Kerstin Lukner, Hanns Maull, and Alexandra Sakaki],  
Brookings Institution Press, 2019.

*\*The Rise and Fall of Japan's LDP: Political Party Organizations as Historical Institutions* [co-authored with Robert Pekkanen]. Cornell University Press, 2010.

*\*Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.-Japan Relations in the New Asia-Pacific* [co-edited with T.J. Pempel]. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004].

*\*Broadcasting Politics in Japan: NHK and Television News* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); 278pp.

Translated into Japanese by Gotō Jumpei with a new introduction by the author and published in Japanese as *NHK vs. Nihon Seiji*  
Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shimpōsha, 2006.

*\*Media and Politics in Japan* [co-edited with Susan J. Pharr]. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996; 389pp. (also in paperback edition).

*\*Democracy in Japan* [co-edited with Takeshi Ishida]. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989; 354 pp. (also in paperback edition).

*\*Conflict in Japan* [co-edited with Thomas P. Rohlen and Patricia G. Steinhoff]. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984; 416 pp. (also in paperback edition).

*\*Political Opposition and Local Politics in Japan* [co-edited with Kurt Steiner and Scott C. Flanagan]. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980; 486pp.(also in paperback).

*\*Japanese Radicals Revisited: Student Protest in Postwar Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974; 192 pp

**Publications:  
Articles in Journals**

\*Refereed by

Anonymous Reviewer

\*“The Party Personnel Datasets: Advancing Comparative Research in Party Behavior and Legislative Organization Across Electoral Systems,” [co-authors, Matthew E. Bergman, Cory L. Struthers, Matthew S. Shugart, Robert J. Pekkanen], *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, (December, 2021).

\*Germany, Japan, and the Fate of International Order” (coauthor: Hanns W. Maull), *Survival*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (May, 2020). pp. 159-178.

“Double Trouble for Japan’s Dual Hedge on China and the US,” [coauthor: Brad Glosserman], *Global Asia*, Vol. 16, No. 3 ((September 2021)

“Japan’s New Prime Minister: Reform or Return to Past Form?” [co-author: Brad Glosserman] *Global Asia*, Vol.15 No.4 (December 2020)

“Sound and Fury: Does Abe’s Constitutional Revision Really Matter?” *Global Asia*, Vol. 13, No. 4, (December 2018). [Abbreviated version also appeared as “Japan’s constitutional revision debate isn’t asking the right questions,” *East Asia Forum*, 19 February 2019]

“Shinzo Abe and a More Assertive Japan: Will he defy expectations again?” *Global Asia*, Vol. 13, No. 3, (September 2018).

“Japan, the United States, and a Changed Pacific: Obama’s “pivot to Asia” has been matched by Japan’s own pivot to America.,” *Woodrow Wilson Quarterly* (Winter 2016). Published online March 3 2016:  
<http://wilsonquarterly.com/quarterly/the-post-obama-world/japan-the-united-states-and-a-changed-pacific/>

\* “Choosing Cabinets: Electoral System and Cabinet Appointments in Japan,” [coauthors: Robert Pekkanen, Benjamin Nyblade]. *Social Science Japan Journal*, Volume 17 No. 1 Winter 2014; Winner of the annual prize for best article).

\* "When Do Interest Groups Contact Bureaucrats Rather than Politicians? Evidence on Fire Alarms and Smoke Detectors from Japan" [coauthors: Michio Muramatsu, Ethan Scheiner, and Robert Pekkanen]. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, lead article\_Vol 14, No. 3 (September 2013, pp. 283-304.

\* “Crisis Management, LDP, and DPJ style,” *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Special Issue 02 (June 2013), pp. 177-199.

\*"Over-nominating Candidates, Undermining the Party: The Collective Action Problem under SNTV in Japan" [coauthors: Kuniaki Nemoto, Robert Pekkanen] *Party Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 5 (2014), pp. 740-50. (accepted for publication May 2012).

\* “Reverse Contamination: Burning and Building Bridges in Mixed Member Systems, [coauthors: Kuniaki Nemoto and Robert Pekkanen], *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 6 (June 2012), pp. 747-773; published online November 16, 2011).

\* “Legislative Organization in MMP: The Case of New Zealand,” [coauthors: Kuniaki Nemoto, Robert Pekkanen, Nigel Roberts], *Party Politics*, (Vol. 18, No. 4 2012, pp. 503-521; published online March 2011).

- \*"The Rise and Fall of Japan's LDP," [coauthor: Robert Pekkanen] lead article in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (February, 2010), pp. 5-15.
- \*"Who Lobbies Whom? Special Interest Politics under Alternative Electoral Systems," [coauthor: Megumi Naoi]. *The American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (October 2009), pp. 874-892.
- \* "Policy Dissension and Party Discipline: The July 2005 Vote on Postal Privatization in Japan," [co-authors: Kuniaki Nemoto and Robert Pekkanen]. *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol 38 (July 2008), pp. 499-525.
- Ellis S. Krauss [co-author: Christopher W. Hughes] "Japan's New Security Policy" *Survival*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (Summer 2007), pp. 157-176
- \* Co-editor journal special issue: "Managing the American MedUSA: Political Economy Alliance Perspectives," [co-editors: Christopher Hughes, Verena Blechinger] *The Pacific Review*, vol. 20, no. 3, 2007
- \* "Electoral Incentives in Mixed Member Systems: Party, Posts, and Zombie Politicians in Japan" [co-authors: Robert Pekkanen and Benjamin Nyblade], *American Political Science Review*, 100, No. 2 (May, 2006), pp. 183-193.
- \* "Japan's 'Coalition of the Willing' on Security Policies" [co-author Robert Pekkanen], *Orbis*, Volume 49, Number 3 (Summer 2005), pp. 429-444.
- \*"Presidentialization' in Japan? The Prime Minister, Media and Elections in Japan" [co-author: Benjamin Nyblade], *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 35, no. 2 (April, 2005), pp. 357-368.
- \* "Explaining Party Adaptation to Electoral Reform: The Discreet Charm of the LDP?" [co-author: Robert Pekkanen], lead article in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Winter, 2004), pp. 1-34.
- \*Guest editor [co-editor: Nobuhiro Hiwatari] special issue on "Japan's New Diplomatic Initiatives" of *The Pacific Review*, Vol .16, No. 3 (2003).
- \*"The U.S., Japan, and Trade Policy: From Bilateralism to Regional Multilateralism to Regionalism" *The Pacific Review*, Vol .16, No. 3 (2003), pp. 309-331.
- \*"The Press and Reform in Japan" [coauthor: Priscilla Lambert], *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, Volume 7, No. 1 (Winter, 2002), pp. 57-78.
- \*"Japan, the US, and the emergence of multilateralism in Asia," *The Pacific Review*, Vol 13, No. 3 (September, 2000), pp. 473-494.
- "Breaking the Boys' Club: Reforming the Japanese Press," *Harvard Asia Pacific Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer, 1999), pp. 50-53.
- \*"Changing Television News and Politics in Japan," lead article in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (August, 1998), 663-692.
- "Seigi no sensō: Amerika ni okeru dai-niji sekai taisen no kioku" [Remembering the "Just War": World War II in the American Memory],

*NHK hōsō kenkyū to chōsa* [NHK Broadcast Research and Surveys], mVol. 46, No. 12 (December, 1996), pp. 34-47 [with Akiko Hashimoto].

\*"Balance and Objectivity in Newspaper Coverage of U.S.-Japan Frictions" [coauthor: Stanley Budner], *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXXV., No. 4 (April, 1995), pp. 336-356.

"Varieties of Television News: Explaining Japanese and American Coverage of the Other," *Studies of Broadcasting* [Tokyo: NHK], No. 31 (1995), pp. 47-67.

"Normative Approaches to Economic and Trade Issues," *Moral Education III* (New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, 1993), pp. 63-83.

"Political Economy: Politics and Industrial Policy," invited instructional unit for American Political Science Association project on Japanese Politics, PS: Political Science and Politics (March, 1992)

\*"Ideology, Interests, and the American Executive: Toward a Theory of Foreign Competition and Manufacturing Trade Policy"[co-author Simon Reich], *International Organization* Vol. 46, No. 4 (Autumn, 1992), pp. 857-897 [

\*"Comparing Japanese and American Administrative Elites," *British Journal of Political Science*, (April, 1991) [with Joel D. Aberbach, Michio Muramatsu, and Bert A. Rockman].

"Leadership in Japan," in *Focus on Asian Studies*, IV., 2 (Winter, 1985), pp. 12-17.

\*"Bureaucrats and Politicians in Policymaking: The Case of Japan," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 78, No. 1 (March, 1984), pp. 126-148 [with Michio Muramatsu].

\*"Japan in 1983: Altering the Status Quo?" *Asian Survey*, (January, 1984), pp. 81-99.

\*"Political Socialization of U.S. and Japanese Adults: The Impact of Adult Roles on College Leftism," *Comparative Political Studies*, XIII, 1 (April, 1980), pp. 3-32 [with James M. Fendrich].

\*"The Urban Strategy and Policy of the Japan Communist Party: Kyoto," *Studies in Comparative Communism*, XII, 4 (Winter, 1979), pp. 322-350. [

"Conflict in Postwar Japan," *Social Science Research Council Items*, Vol. 32, 2 (June, 1978), pp. 21-26 [with Thomas Rohlen and Patricia G. Steinhoff].

"The Adult Political Identification and Behavior of Former Student Activists: A Comparative Study of Japanese and White and Black Americans," *The Japan Interpreter* XI, 3 (Winter, 1977), pp. 313-336 [with James M. Fendrich].

**Publications:  
Articles in Books**

\*Refereed by  
Anonymous Reviewer

\*“Japan-US Relations: The Most Important Bilateral Relationship in the World,” in Robert J. Pekkanen and Saadia M. Pekkanen, *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Politics* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 811-831.

“NHK-The Changing and Unchanging Politics of Semi-Independence” in *Press Freedom in Contemporary Japan* 1st Edition, ed. Jeff Kingston (London and NY: Routledge, 2017)

\*“Unraveling the Abe Conundrum in Foreign Policy: The Mystery of ‘The Dog That Didn’t Bark,’” (*Chapter 18*) in Robert J. Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed, and Ethan Scheiner, eds, *Japan Decides 2014: The Japanese General Election* (London and N.Y.: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2015), pp. 226-240).

"Japan: Partial Presidentialization of Parties" (coauthor: Robert Pekkanen) (*chapter 11*) In Gianluca Passarelli (ed.) *The Presidentialization of Political Parties. Organizations, Institutions, and Leaders*, (London, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2015), pp. 196-214.

\*Building a Party: Candidate Recruitment in the Democratic Party of Japan 1996–2012 [coauthors: Daniel M. Smith and Robert J. Pekkanen], *Japan under the DPJ: The Politics of Transition and Governance*. . Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center and Brookings Institution, 2013.

“Profiles in discouragement: prime ministerial leadership in post-war Japan,” [co-author Robert Pekkanen], in Ludger Helms, ed., *Poor Leadership and Bad Governance: Reassessing Presidents and Prime Ministers in North America, Europe, and Japan* (Cheltenham, UK, and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2012), pp. 173-194).

“The Domestic Politics of Japan’s Regional Foreign Economic Policies” [co-author Megumi Naoi], in Vinod K. Aggarwal and Seungjoo Lee, eds. *Trade Policy in the Asia-Pacific: The Role of Ideas, Interests, and Domestic Institutions* (New York: Springer, 2011), pp. 49-69.

\* “Reforming the Liberal Democratic Party,” co-author Robert Pekkanen], in Sherry L. Martin and Gill Steel, eds., *Democratic Reform in Japan: Assessing the Impact* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner, 2008), pp. 11-37.

“The Prime Minister, Cabinet, and Policymaking: The Changing ‘Core Executive’ and ‘Presidentialization’ in Japan. In Muramatsu Michio, editor, *The Core Executive and the Civil Service System in Comparative Perspective* (Kizu, Japan: The International Institute for the Advancement of Science, 2007).

“Japan and North America: the vital and variable relationship,” [co-author Benjamin Nyblade], in Ellis Krauss and Benjamin Nyblade, eds. *Japan and North America, Volume I: First Contacts to the Pacific War* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), pp. 1-23.

\* “The U.S. and Japan in APEC’s EVSL Negotiations: Regional Multilateralism and Trade” 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), pp. 272-295

\* "The U.S.-Japan Relationship: "Beyond Bilateralism" toward "Divided Dependence" (coauthor T.J. Pempel), 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), pp. 296-327.

\* "Doing Media Research in Japan," in Theodore C. Bestor, Patricia G. Steinhoff, and Victoria Lyon Bestor, eds., *Doing Fieldwork in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), pp. 205-225.

\*\*"Japan: News and Politics in a Media-Saturated Society," in Richard Gunther and Anthony Mughan, eds., *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 266-302.

\* "Local Politics in Japan: Welcoming the Third Wave," in Sheila Smith, ed., *Local Voices, National Issues: The Impact of Local Initiative in Japanese Policymaking* (University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp. 1-8.

"Nihon no shushō: kako, genzai, mirai" [Japan's Prime Minister: Past, Present, Future] in Mizuguchi Norito, Kitahara Tetsuya, and Mabuchi Masaru, eds., *Henka o dô setsumei suru ka: gyōseihehen [How to Explain Change: Administration]* (Tokyo: Kizensha, 2000), pp. 51-84.

"Japan: The Paradox of Success," in Johan P. Olsen and B. Guy Peters, eds., *Lessons from Experience: Experiential Learning in Administrative Reforms in Eight Democracies* (Oslo and Boston: Scandinavian University Press, 1996), pp. 214-242 [with Michio Muramatsu].

\*\*"Portraying the State in Japan: NHK Television News and Politics," \*\*"Mass Media Coverage of U.S.-Japan Friction", \*\*"Media and Politics in Japan" 3 articles in Susan J. Pharr and Ellis S. Krauss, eds., *Mass Media and Politics in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996)

\*\*"Japan," chapter in *Comparative Governance*, ed., W. Phillips Shively (New York: McGraw Hill, 1995); Revised edition of article: 1997, 2002.

"Japan: divided bureaucracy in a unified regime," in Jon Pierre, ed, *Bureaucracy in the Modern State* (London: Edward Elgar Ltd., 1995)

"The Structure of Mass Media and U.S.-Japan Friction," in Eichi Shindo and F. Quei Quo, eds., *Beyond Friction: Japan-U.S. Relations in a New World* (Burnaby, B.C.: Simon Fraser University Press, 1995), pp. 159-190.

\*\*"U.S. and Japanese Negotiations on Construction and Semiconductors: Building Friction and Relation-chips," in Peter Evans, Harold Jacobson, and Robert Putnam, eds. *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics* (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1993).

\*\*"Targeting Resources to Promote Industrial Change: Sweden, Japan, and the United States," [with Jon Pierre, University of Göteborg]. chapter in *Political Institutions and Their Consequences*, ed. Bert Rockman and Kent Weaver. (Washington, D.C.: The [Brookings Institution, 1993), PP. 151-186.

"Negotiations to Open Japan's Construction Markets to U.S. Firms," ed. Robert S. Walters, *Talking Trade: U.S. Policy in International Perspective* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 78-104.

"Built-in Impediments: The Political Economy of the U.S.-Japan Construction Dispute," [with Isobel Coles] in Kozo Yamamura, ed. *Japan's Economic Structure: Should It Change?* (Seattle: Society for Japanese Studies, 1990), pp. 333-358.

\*"The Dominant Party and Social Coalitions in Japan," [with Michio Muramatsu], pp. 282-305

\*"The Decline of Dominant Parties: Parliamentary Politics in Sweden and Japan in the 1970s," [with Jon Pierre], pp. 226-259.

The above two articles in T.J. Pempel, ed., *Uncommon Democracies: The Politics of One-Party Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

\*"Democracy in Japan: Issues and Questions" [with T. Ishida], pp. 3-16.  
and "Politics and the Policymaking Process," pp. 39-64,  
and "Japanese Democracy in Perspective" [with T. Ishida], pp. 327-339.

These three articles in *Democracy in Japan* [co-edited with Takeshi Ishida]. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989.

\*"The 1960s Student Movement in Japan: A Retrospective," in Gail Lee Bernstein and Haruhiro Fukui, ed., *The Japanese and the World: Essays on Japanese History and Politics in Honor of Takeshi Ishida* (Macmillan, 1988)

\* "The Conservative Policy Line and the Development of Patterned Pluralism," in K. Yamamura and Y. Yasuba, eds. *The Political Economy of Japan: The Domestic Transformation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), [with Michio Muramatsu], pp. 516-554.

"Japanese Political Economy Today: The Patterned Pluralist Model," in Daniel I. Okimoto and Thomas P. Rohlen, eds., *Inside the Japanese System: Readings on Contemporary Society and Political Economy* (Stanford University Press, 1988), pp. 208-210.

\* "Conflict in the Diet: Toward the Institutionalization of Conflict Management in Parliamentary Politics," pp. 243-293;

\* "Conflict: An Approach to the Study of Japan," [with Thomas Rohlen and Patricia G. Steinhoff], pp. 243-293;

\* "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Postwar Japan," [with Thomas Rohlen and Patricia G. Steinhoff], pp. 377-397;

All 3 articles above: Ellis S. Krauss, Thomas P. Rohlen, and Patricia G. Steinhoff, eds. *Conflict in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984).

"Protest and Social Change: A Commentary," in George DeVos, ed. *Institutions for Change in Japanese Society*, Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1984, pp. 166-172.

"Japanese Parties and Parliament: Changing Leadership Roles and Role Conflicts," in Terry E. MacDougall, ed., *Political Leadership in Modern Japan*, Michigan Papers in Japanese Studies, No.1 (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, Michigan, 1982), pp. 93-114.

\* "Opposition in Power: The Development and Maintenance of Leftist Government in Kyoto Prefecture," pp. 383-424; and

\* "Citizens' Movements: The Growth and Impact of Environmental Protest in Japan," [with Bradford L. Simcock], pp. 187-227; and  
 \* "The Partisan Politicization of Local Government: Causes and Consequences," [with Kurt Steiner and Scott C. Flanagan], pp. 427-469.  
 Above three articles in Kurt Steiner, Ellis S. Krauss, and Scott C. Flanagan, eds. *Political Opposition and Local Politics in Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

### **Publications: Monographs**

\*Refereed by  
Anonymous Reviewer

"Japanese Students of the 1960s Generation," in Louis Kriesberg, ed., *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change*. Vol. 1. (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1978), pp. 231-255 [with James M. Fendrich].

Ellis Krauss and Benjamin Nyblade, eds. *Japan and North America, Volume I: First Contacts to the Pacific War and Volume II: The Postwar* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 390pp. [Reprint Volumes of previously published articles selected by the editors]

\*Japan's Democracy: How Much Change? Washington, D.C.:The Foreign Policy Association Headline Series No. 305 Winter, 1995, pp. 1-70.

"Competition among Japan, the U.S., and Europe over High-Definition Television." *Case in Studies in International Negotiation: Pew Charitable Trusts*, 1992; 44pp.

"Under Construction: U.S.-Japan Negotiations over the Opening of 'Public Works' Construction Projects to Bidding by American Firms." *Case in Studies in International Negotiations: Pew Charitable Trusts*, 1989.

"After Nakasone: Selecting Japan's New Leader," *Asia Society Media Briefing* (New York: The Asia Society, September, 1987).

### **Publications: Notes, Reviews, Published Interviews**

Review essay of Go Itoh, *Alliance in Anxiety: Détente and the Sino-American Japanese Triangle* (New York: Routledge, 2003) and Reinhard Drifte, *Japan's Security Relations with China since 1989: From Balancing to Bandwagoning?* (London: Nissan Institute/Routledge Curzon, 2003). In *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2004), pp. 564-570.

Testimony and Prepared Statement at the "China as an Emerging Regional and Technology Power: Implications for U.S. Economic and Security Interests," before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission of the One Hundred Eighth Congress, Second Session, February 12-13, 2004, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 2004, pp. 173-183; pp. 190-215.

Review of Inoguchi Takashi, *Global Change: A Japanese Perspective* (Palgrave, 2001) in *International Studies Review* Vol. 4, No. 3 (Fall, 2002).

Review essay of Phil Hammond, ed., *Cultural Difference, Media Memories: Anglo-American Images of Japan* (London: Cassell, 1997). *Journal of Japanese Studies* (Winter, 1999).

Review essay of Jung Bock Lee, *The Political Character of the Japanese Press* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1985), *Journal of Japanese Studies* (Winter, 1988).

Review Essay of J. Victor Koschmann, *Authority and the Individual in Japan* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1978), *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1981).

"Leftist Parties and Movements in Italy and Japan: An Experimental Comparative Course" (Note), *Studies in Comparative Communism*, XII, 2 & 3 (Summer/Autumn, 1980), 267 -277.

"Kôdô Jôhō Shakai to Hôsô: Kurausu Kyôju ni Kiku" [The Advanced Information Society and Broadcasting: Listening to Professor Krauss], *Hôsô Kenkyû to Chôsa* [Broadcasting Research and Surveys] (Tokyo: NHK), (November, 1984), [with T. Tsukawa]. Article based on interview

***Selected Professional Presentations, 2012-present only; not already published:***

Presentation on Political vs. Administrative Reform in Bureaucrat-Politician Relations in Japan in Japan, University of Gothenburg, Sweden 2022

Presentation on "Reluctant Warriors, Conflicted Allies: Germany, Japan, and the International Security Order." Yale University, October 12, 2018.

Presentation on "A Large data cross-national project and domestic politics in Japan:" to the Japan Association of Electoral Studies (JAES) in Kumamoto, Japan, May 14-19, 2015.

Presentation on "The Yoshida Doctrine, Abe's Foreign Policies, and the 2014 Election: Abe, the Public, and Japan's National Interests" to a faculty-student audience at Tokyo University, April 20, 2015.

Presentation on "The Abenigma?: The Mysteries of Japan's Foreign Policies under Prime Minister Abe," Reischauer Institute, Harvard University, April 3, 2015.

Also presented as Keynote Address at the Initiation of the Organization for Regional and International Studies, Waseda University on May 26, 2015

Presentation on "Abe's Political Challenges: Myths and Realities" to a Symposium on Prime Minister Abe and Japanese Politics, National Sun-Yat Sen University, Kaohsiung City, Taiwan, November 2, 2013.

Also presented to a Faculty-graduate student seminar at Institute of Social Science, Tokyo University, October 15, 2013

Presentation on Building a Party: Candidate Recruitment in the Democratic Party of Japan, 1996-2012 to Gakushuin University, Japan workshop on "Candidate Selection in Japan," March 18, 2013.

Presentations on "What's Wrong with Japan? It's the Politics!" at the Foreign Press Center, Paris, University of Warwick, U.K. and University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany October-November, 2012.

Presentation to panel on "The DPJ: Assessing the first two years in theory and practice," at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, March 11-15, 2012, Toronto, Canada [co-authors: Daniel Smith and Robert Pekkanen]

Paper: “Building a Party: Candidate Recruitment in the Democratic Party of Japan”

Presentation to panel on “Leadership and Policy Change in Era of Complexity,” at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 3-6, 2009, Toronto, Canada. Paper: “Leadership Responses to Institutional Change in Japan”

**Presentations on  
Research To  
Faculty/Graduate  
student  
Seminars,1990-  
(alphabetical)**

Australia Defence Forces Academy, 2006  
Australia National University, 2000, 2006  
Claremont-McKenna College 2006, 2005  
Columbia University, 2002, 1987.  
Concordia College, 1993.  
Copenhagen Business School, 2004  
University of California, Berkeley, 1992.  
University of Central Florida, 1993.  
University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany 2012  
Duke University, 2008  
University of Edinburgh, U.K., 2001  
University of Exeter, U.K. 2009  
Harvard University, 2015, 2010, 2002, 1999, 1996, 1993.  
German Institute for Japanese Studies, Tokyo 2013  
Indiana University and Hudson Institute, 1992.  
University of Michigan, 2008, 1992; 1984  
Middlebury College, 2002.  
Morehouse State, 1993.  
University of Pennsylvania, 1996  
Portland State University, 2002.  
School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins, 2004  
University of Southern California, 1988.  
Southwestern University, 2006  
Stanford University, 2003, 2002, 2000.  
University of Sydney, 2000.  
Tokyo University, Institute of Social Science, 1999, 1995.  
Ursinus College, 1988.  
University of Virginia, 1992  
Western Washington University 2008  
Waseda University Japan, 2013  
Woodrow Wilson Center, 2002

**Article, Citations,  
and Interviews in  
the Mass Media**

Interviewed on live television about Japan’s election results and the future, on “Cable News Asia,” Singapore television station, November 1, 2021.

Interviewed on live television about Japan’s ruling party’s leadership selection race, on “Cable News Asia,” Singapore television station, September 29, 2021.  
Interview (KPBS) and article (NPR.org) about the President Biden’s summit with Japan’s prime minister, April 15, 2021

Interviewed about the U.S.-Japan military alliance on “Japan on the Record” December 18, 2020

Interview (KPBS) and article (NPR.org) about Japan’s Prime Minister and academic freedoms, November 11, 2020.

Interviewed on my book Reluctant Warriors, Conflicted Allies: Germany, Japan and their U.S. Alliance Dilemma Japan Forum for Innovation and Technology, UCSD, October 18, 2020

Interview (KPBS) and article (NPR.org) about Japan's Vaccination minister and prime ministerial candidate, National Public Radio, September 24, 2021

Testimony and Prepared Statement at the "China as an Emerging Regional and Technology Power: Implications for U.S. Economic and Security Interests," before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission of the One Hundred Eighth Congress, Second Session, February 12-13, 2004, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 2004, pp. 173-183; pp. 190-215.

**Articles, citations/quotes, and reviews of my books also have appeared in:**

Nikkei Asia, November 9, 2020 [with Brad Glosserman]

Asahi Shinbun, January 14, 2007, p. 11

Nihon Keizai Shinbun, January 7, 2007, p. 21

The Washington Times, July 9, 2004, p.

Stars and Stripes, November 23, 2003

Time Magazine, November, 10, 2003, p. 29.

Sankei Shinbun, October 22, 2003, p. 18.

Japan Times, October 22, 2003, p. 16

The Washington Times, August 4, 2000, p. A15

**Service to the Profession**

Member, Advisory Board, Journal of Japanese Studies, 1992-1995 and 2001-2013.

Faculty Mentor, Global Network of Research Training in Modern Japanese Studies, Wortley Hall, Sheffield, UK, March 21-25, 2009.

Member, Social Science Research Council, Japan Advisory Board, 2005-2007.

External Reviewer, East Asian Studies program, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, 2008, 2005, 2002.

External Reviewer, the School of East Asian Studies, University of Sheffield, U.K., 2003.

Member, American Advisory Board, The Japan Foundation, 2002-2006. Author of invited Report on the state of Japan Political Science in the U.S. to the Japan Foundation, 2003.

Member, Editorial Board, The Pacific Review, 2001-

Member, Advisory Board, Asian Survey, 1997-

Member, Executive Committee, Japan Politics Research Group, 1998-

Member, [Faculty Hiring] Screening Committee, Hiroshima Peace Institute, Japan, 2000-

Member, Evaluation Committee of the East Asian Program, University of Washington, February, 2001

Instructor, Japan Studies Association Summer Seminar 2002 for small college and community college faculty, and graduate students, Honolulu, HI June, 2002.

Member, Northeast Asia Council, Association for Asian Studies, 1996-1998

Member, National Coordinating Committee for Japanese Libraries, 1994-96; 1997-98.

Member, Gabriel A. Almond Award Committee, American Political Science Association, to select best dissertation in field of comparative politics, 1994

Chair, Program Committee, 1990-1991, Association for Asian Studies; also Program Committee member responsible for Japan, 1988-89, 1989-90.

Advisory Committee, Project on Newspaper Coverage of Selected Areas of Friction in the Japan-United States Relationship (1990-1), and also for Project on Television Coverage of U.S.-Japan Relationship (1991-4); both for Mansfield Center for Pacific Affairs.

Member, Discipline Screening Committee for Fulbright Scholar Awards in Political Science, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 1984-86.

Member, Joint Committee on Japanese Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies-Social Science Research Council, 1975-1979.

**Confidential  
Manuscript  
Reviewer**

*Japanese Journal of Political Science* 2011;  
*Journal of East Asian Studies* 2013; 2011;  
*International Studies Quarterly*, 2007;  
*Asian Survey*, 2007;  
*World Politics*, 2006;  
*American Political Science Review*, 2005, 2003, 1994, 1990,  
*International Organization*, 1997; 1996; 1994; 1992;  
*Comparative Political Studies*, 1995, 1994, 1986, 1985, 1984, 1982;  
*Comparative Politics*, 1993, 1992, 1989, 1984;  
*Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 2001;  
*Journal of Japanese Studies*, 2011, 2010; 1999, 1995, 1994, 1993, 1992, 1989,  
1988, 1987, 1985, 1982, 1981, 1980;  
*Pacific Review*, 2002;  
*Pacific Affairs*, 1995,  
*Princeton University Press*, 1997;  
*Governance*, 1996, 1993;  
*Journal of Public Policy*, 1999;  
*Political Science Quarterly*, 1999.

**Tenure and  
Promotion  
Reviewer**

University of California, Irvine (Political Science), 2008;  
Rutgers University (Political Science), 2008.  
Kennedy School, Harvard University, 2007.  
American University 2007.  
University of California, Irvine (Political Science) 2005, 2002;  
University of California, Davis (Political Science) 2005;  
University of California, Santa Barbara (Political Science) 2002;

University of Washington (Political Science) 2002;  
 University of Maryland (Political Science) 2001;  
 Thunderbird School of Management (1998);  
 McGill University, 1998;  
 University of California, Berkeley (Political Science), 1995;  
 University of Virginia (Government), 1995;  
 Indiana University (East Asian Cultures and Political Science), 1995;  
 Pomona College (Political Science), 2004;  
 Purdue University (Political Science), 1995;  
 Boston College (Political Science), 1995;  
 University of Wisconsin-Madison (Political Science), 2004, 1993;  
 University of California, San Diego (Sociology), 1993;  
 Harvard School of Public Health (1992);  
 Ohio State University (Political Science), 1992;  
 University of Oregon (Anthropology, 1992

**Teaching  
 Competence Areas**

Japanese Politics (graduate and undergraduate)  
 Politics of U.S.-Japan Relations and Japan's Foreign Policy (graduate and undergraduate)  
 Japan and the U.S. in Asia (graduate)

**Service to the  
 University of  
 California, San  
 Diego, School of  
 Global Policy and  
 Strategy**

**(formerly School of  
 International Relations  
 and Pacific Studies)**

IR/PS representative to the Representative Assembly, UCSD Academic Senate, 2003-5, 2011-2012  
 Faculty Recruitment Committee Member Korea Position Search, 2004-5; 2005-6  
 Director of the International Career Associates [Executive Education] Program, Winter, 1997-Spring, 2001  
 Member, Dean's Search Committee, IR/PS, 2001  
 Chair, Dean's Search Committee, IR/PS, 1998.  
 Member, Admissions Committee, 2007-8; 2005-6.  
 Coordinator of the Council on East Asian Studies and Director of the National Resource Center in Asian Studies, 1996-1997  
 IR/PS Master of Pacific and International Affairs Admissions Committee (2005-6;2003-4; 2002-3; 1996-7)  
 IR/PS Track Coordinator for Japan, 2002-.  
 IR/PS Research Program Committee, 1997-98, 1998-99.  
 Chair, Library Committee, IR/PS, 1996-1997;  
 Foreign Language Committee, IR/PS, 1996