

Curriculum Vitae
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School of Public Policy
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EDUCATION

Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
Ph.D. 1971
M.P.A., 1965

Harvard College
B.A., *magna cum laude*, Government; *phi beta kappa*, 1961

EXPERIENCE

University of Maryland, School of Public Policy, College Park 1987-present
Professor, 1987-
Saul I. Stern Professor of Civic Engagement, 2007-
Director, Program on International Security and Economic Policy, 2001-
Director, Ph.D. Program, 2001-2007
Senior Fellow, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM), 1999-
Acting Dean, 1994-1995
Director, CISSM, 1991-1999
Director, Maryland Seminar on U.S. Foreign Policymaking, 1987-1995
Director, Program on Public Policy and Private Enterprise, 1987-1994
Member, International Strategy Group, Office of International Affairs, 2000 -

Peterson Institute for International Economics, Washington, D.C. 1983-present
Visiting Fellow, 1987-
Senior Fellow, 1983-1987

International University of Japan April-July 1986
Visiting Professor

Carnegie Endowment on International Peace, Washington, D.C. 1977-1983
Senior Associate
Director, Project on Executive-Congressional Relations in Foreign Policy

Office of Management and Budget March-June 1977
Consultant on Reorganization of the Executive Office of the President

Brookings Institution 1972-1977
Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies
Research Associate

Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School Visiting Lecturer in Public and International Affairs	1971-1972
Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellow	1969-1970
U.S. Department of Agriculture Analyst, International Agricultural Development Service Acting Asia Coordinator, 1968-69	1967-1969
President's Task Force on Government Organization Staff Associate	1967
Senator Walter F. Mondale Assistant	1965-1967
Peace Corps, University of Nigeria Assistant Lecturer in Political Science	1961-1963

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

Who's Who in the World, 2007; **Who's Who in America**, various years

20th Anniversary Fulbright Lecturer, Beijing, Shanghai, and Gwangzhou, China, Spring 2001

The University of Maryland's Distinguished International Service Award, 1998

Gladys M. Kammerer Award (best book on US national policy), American Political Science Association, 1987

Fulbright Award for Binational Collaborative Research, Japan, 1985.

International Affairs Fellowship, Council on Foreign Relations, 1969-70

McConnell Fellow in International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, 1964-65

SERVICE AND OTHER POSITIONS

Chair, Board of Advisors, Program on International Policy Attitudes, 1992-

American Political Science Association, member, 1971-
Committee on International Programs, 2001-2003
Nominating Committee, 1994-1995
Helen Dwight Reid Award Committee, Chair, 1991-1992
Program Committee, 1984-1985
Publications Committee, 1982-1983

Council on Foreign Relations, elected member, 1970-
International Affairs Fellowship Selection Committee, 1994-
Task Force on Trade Expansion, 2001 [Report: *Building Support for More Trade*, issued October 2001]
Numerous Council study groups

National Academy of Public Administration, elected member, 1985-
Brownlow Prize Committee, 1989

Peterson Institute for International Economics, Trade Policy Study Group [Report: "Memo to the President and the 111th Congress re: A New Trade Policy for the United States," issued November 26, 2008].

The Century Foundation, Working Group on Strengthening the Federal Response to the Homeland Security Challenge, 2002

Atlantic Council of the United States, Working Group on Transatlantic Trade and Economic Issues, 2000-2001 [Report: *Changing Terms of Trade*, issued April 2001]

USAID Mission to Central Asia, Almaty, Kazakhstan, Consultant on Higher Education in Applied Economics, 1999-2000.

Eurasia and Soros Foundations, Almaty, Kazakhstan, Consultant on Public Policy Analysis, 1999

Twentieth Century Fund, Task Force on Government Organization for Foreign Policy, 1996-99

IREX and American Council of Learned Societies, Academic Advisory Committee for Central East Europe Curriculum Development Project, 1995-98

The Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Intelligence Policy, 1995-96 [Report: *In From The Cold*, issued June 1996]

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, U.S.-Japan Study Group [Report: *Changing U.S.-Japan Relations*, issued October 1995]

National Security Archive, Advisory Group, U.S.-Japan Relations Since 1960 Documentation Project, 1994-2000

Aspen Institute Congressional Conferences on International Trade and the U.S. Economy, Consultant and Rapporteur, 1994-96 [Reports issued August 1995 and May 1996]

Adviser, Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs, International Affairs Network Program for East-Central Europe, 1994-95.

Editorial Board, *Journal of Public Policy*, 1993-2002

Academic Advisor, *Secretary of State's Panel on El Salvador*, 1993.

Co-Director, 83rd American Assembly, "Public Engagement in U.S. Foreign Policy After the Cold War," Arden House, June 3-6, 1993.

University of Maryland and National Planning Association, Advisory Committee, Gateway Japan, 1992-98

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Institute for International Economics, Commission on Government Renewal [Report, *Memorandum to The President-Elect: Harnessing Process to Purpose*, issued November 1992]

Center for National Policy, Working Group on the National Security Act, 1991-92.

Chair, Salzburg Seminar on American Politics and the Foreign Policy Process, May 1990

Co-chair, Salzburg Seminar on American Politics and the Foreign Policy Process, August 1986 and August 1988.

National Research Council, Committee on Japan, 1988-92.

Japan Society, Public Affairs Advisory Committee, 1987-89.

Institute for International Economics and Japan Center for International Finance, United States-Japan Economic Policy Group, 1986-96.

Social Science Research Council, Committee on Foreign Policy Studies, 1986-91.

Ford Foundation Programs on International Affairs and International Human Rights, Mid-Decade Review Panel, 1986-87.

Chair, Foreign Policy Section, 1985 Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association

Japan-American Society of Washington, D.C., Trustee, 1983-89.

Director, Japan-U.S. Economic Relations Group, Study on Politics of Economic Disputes, 1980

Consultant on national security policymaking, Presidential Management Panel, National Academy of Public Administration, 1979-80

Consultant on Peace Corps reorganization, Office of Management and Budget, 1979

Co-Manager (with Alton Frye), Joint Discussion Group on Executive-Congressional Relations, Carnegie Endowment and Council on Foreign Relations, 1978-83

Coordinator, luncheon seminar series for Japanese correspondents based in Washington, 1977-85

Professorial Lecturer, Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, 1976-77

Consultant, U.S. Department of State, 1976

Consultant, Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, 1973-75

Senior Consultant, United Nations Association Policy Panel on "Foreign Policy Decision-Making: The New Dimensions," 1972-73

Consultant for Special Programs, American Foreign Service Association, 1970-71

PUBLICATIONS AND PAPERS

BOOKS

A. Books Authored

American Trade Politics, Institute for International Economics and The Twentieth Century Fund, 1986, Japanese edition by *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* press; second edition 1992; third edition 1995; fourth edition 2005, Chinese edition by China Market Press. (This book won the American Political Science Association's Gladys M. Kammerer Award in 1987 for the best book published on U.S. national policy. It won recognition in 2006 as the Institute's all time best seller, with more than 100,000 copies in print.)

Renewing Fast-Track Legislation, Institute for International Economics (Policy Analysis No. 50), September 1997.

The National Economic Council: A Work in Progress, Institute for International Economics (Policy Analysis No. 46), November 1996.

Making Foreign Economic Policy, Brookings Institution, 1980.

Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy: The Politics of Organizational Reform, Princeton University Press, 1972 and 1974.

B. Books Co-Authored

In The Shadow of the Oval Office: Profiles of the Presidents' National Security Advisers from JFK to George W. Bush (Simon and Schuster, forthcoming February 2009; co-authored with Ivo H. Daalder)

Protecting the American Homeland: A Preliminary Analysis, Brookings Institution, 2002, joint with six others. (Updated edition with new preface, 2003)

Misreading the Public: The Myth of a New Isolationism, Brookings Institution Press, 1999 (for the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland; co-authored with Steven Kull).

The New Politics of American Trade: Trade, Labor, and the Environment, Institute for International Economics (Policy Analysis No. 58), October 1999 (co-authored with Peter J. Balint).

Dollar Politics: Exchange Rate Policymaking in the United States, Institute for International Economics, September 1989 (co-authored with C. Randall Henning; Japanese edition by TBS Britannica).

Anti-Protection: Changing Forces in United States Trade Politics, Institute for International Economics (Policy Analysis No. 21), September 1987 (co-authored with John S. Odell; Japanese edition by *Japan Times* press).

Our Own Worst Enemy: The Unmaking of American Foreign Policy, Simon and Schuster, 1984 (co-authored with Leslie H. Gelb and Anthony Lake; Touchstone Paperback, 1985).

The Textile Wrangle: Conflict in Japanese-American Relations 1969-1971, Cornell University Press, 1979 (co-authored with Haruhiro Fukui and Hideo Sato; Japanese edition by *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* press).

Managing an Alliance: The Politics of U.S.-Japanese Relations, Brookings Institution, 1976 (co-authored with Hideo Sato, Priscilla Clapp and Haruhiro Fukui).

C. Books Co-Edited

Leadership Sharing in the New International System: Japan and the United States, University of Tsukuba, Japan: Special Research Project on the New International System, September 1996 (co-edited with Hideo Sato).

Beyond the Beltway: Engaging the Public in U.S. Foreign Policy, W. W. Norton and Company (for the American Assembly), 1994 (co-edited with Daniel Yankelovich).

Coping with U.S.-Japanese Economic Conflicts, Lexington Books, 1982 (co-edited with Hideo Sato; Japanese edition by *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* press).

D.. Chapters in Books

"US Trade Politics During the Doha Round," chap. 9 in Isabel Studer and Carol Wise, *Requiem or Revival? The Promise of North American Integration* (Brookings Institution Press, 2007).

"Continuity and Change in United States Trade Policy: 1980-2006," in Marcos Sawaya Jank and Simao Davi Silber, editors, *Comparative Trade Policies: Organizational Models and Performance*, (Sao Paulo, Brazil: Editora Singular, 2007), pp. 327-73.

"Constant Ends, Flexible Means: C. Fred Bergsten and the Quest for Open Trade," chap. 2 (pp. 15-37) in Michael Mussa, editor, *C.Fred Bergsten and the World Economy* (Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2006). Co-authored with Marcus Noland. (This is a *festschrift* volume published in honor of Bergsten.)

"Rules of Origin and US Trade Policy," pp. 173-87 in *The Origin of Goods: Rules of Origin in Preferential Trade Agreements* (Oxford University Press and Center for Economic Policy Research [CEPR], Oxford and London, 2006). Edited by Olivier Cadot, Antoni Esteveordal, Akiko Suwa and Thierry Verdier.

"The Political Economy of a Korea-U.S. FTA," Chapter V in Junkyu Lee and Hongshik Lee, *Feasibility and Economic Effects of a Korea-U.S. FTA*, Korea Institute of International Economic Policy (KIEP), 2006.

Executive-Congressional Collaboration for Trade Liberalization, or Games Legislators Play," in D. Nelson, editor, *The Political Economy of Policy Reform* (essays in honor of J. Michael Finger, Elsevier B.V., 2004), pp. 155-169.

"The United States and a Free Trade Area of the Americas: A Political-Economic Analysis," in *Integrating the Americas: FTAA and Beyond* (Harvard University: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2004), pp. 397-416, Antoni Esteveordal et al, editors.

"How National Security Advisers See Their Role," in *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick, editors, pp. 171-81 (co-authored with Ivo H. Daalder).

"The Dollar and US Trade Politics," presentation at Conference on The Dollar, Institute for International Economics, September 24, 2002, published in *Dollar Overvaluation and the World Economy* (Institute for International Economics, Special Report 16, February 2003), pp. 77-79.

"The Rise of Foreign Economic Policy in the United States and the Role of Organized Business," in *Dialogue on U.S.-Vietnamese Relations: Domestic Dimensions* (The Asia Foundation, 2003), p. 57-64, Jonathan R. Stromseth, Editor.

"Congress and Foreign Policy at Century's End: Requiem on Cooperation?" in Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, editors, *Congress Reconsidered*, 7th edition, (Congressional Quarterly Press, 2001), pp. 315-333.

"Foreword" to Susan Ariel Aaronson, *Taking Trade to the Streets: The LOST HISTORY of Public Efforts to Shape Globalization* (University of Michigan Press, 2001).

"The Reasonable Public and the Polarized Policy Process," in Anthony Lake and David Ochmanek, editors, *The Real and The Ideal: Essays on International Relations in Honor of Richard H. Ullman* (Rowman & Littlefield [for the Council on Foreign Relations], 2001), pp. 75-90.

"Trade Policy at a Crossroads," in Henry J. Aaron and Robert D. Reischauer, editors, *Setting National Priorities: The 2000 Election and Beyond* (Brookings Institution, 1999), pp. 73-95. (See also *Brookings Review*, Winter 1999, pp. 26-30.)

"Congress and Foreign Trade," in Robert A. Pastor and Rafael Fernandez de Castro, editors, *The Controversial Pivot: The U.S. Congress and North America* (Brookings Institution Press, 1998), pp. 121-46.

"Fast Track: Options for the Process," in Jeffrey J. Schott, editor, *Restarting Fast Track* (Institute for International Economics, April 1998), pp. 41-52.

"Constituencies, Congress, and US Trade Policy," in Alan V. Deardorff and Robert M. Stern, *Constituent Interests and U.S. Trade Policies* (University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 93-108.

"Foreign Economic Policymaking Under Bill Clinton," in James M. Scott, editor, *After the End: Making U.S. Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War World*, (Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 89-107.

"Political Change in the United States and Its Impact on U.S.-Japan Relations," in Chihiro Hosoya and Tomohita Shinoda, editors, *Redefining the Partnership: The United States and Japan in East Asia* (University Press of America, 1998), pp. 29-42.

"Trade Politics and Labor Issues: 1953-95," in Susan M. Collins, editor, *Imports, Exports, and the American Worker* (Brookings Institution, 1998), pp. 389-408.

"American Trade Politics in the Wake of the Uruguay Round," in Jeffrey J. Schott, editor, *The World Trading System: Challenges Ahead* (Institute for International Economics, 1996), pp. 115-24.

"US-Japan Leadership-Sharing on Economic Policy," in Hideo Sato and I. M. Destler, editors (in collaboration with David P. Rapkin), *Leadership Sharing in the New International System: Japan and the United States* (University of Tsukuba: Special Research Project on the New International System, September 1996), pp. 71-97.

"Delegating Trade Policy," in Paul E. Peterson, editor, *The President, Congress, and the Making of Foreign Policy* (Oklahoma University Press, 1994), pp. 228-45.

"Foreign Policy Making with the Economy at Center Stage," in Yankelovich and Destler, editors, *Beyond the Beltway*, 1994, pp. 27-43.

"A Government Divided: The Security Complex and the Economic Complex," in David A. Deese, editor, *The New Politics of American Foreign Policy* (St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 132-47.

"U.S. Policy Toward Japan" (co-authored with Michael Nacht), pp. 289-314 in *U.S. Foreign Policy: The Search for a New Role*, edited by Robert J. Art and Seyom Brown (Macmillan, 1993).

"Okinawa Reversion as a Turning Point in Postwar U.S.-Japan Relations," in *Commemorative Events for the Twentieth Anniversary of the Reversion of Okinawa, Seminar: Okinawa Reversion*, May 13-14, 1992, pp. 21-24.

"U. S. Trade Policy-making in the Eighties," in Alberto Alesina and Geoffrey Carliner, editors, *Politics and Economics in the Eighties* (University of Chicago Press [for the National Bureau of Economic Research], 1991), pp. 251-81.

"The Congressional Voice in Foreign Affairs," in Uwe Thaysen, Roger H. Davidson, and Robert Gerald Livingston, editors, *The U.S. Congress and the German Bundestag: Comparisons of Democratic Processes*, (Westview Press [for the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies], 1990), pp. 381-94. [German edition published in 1988 by *Westdeutscher Verlag*]

"Japan-U.S. Relations: The 1980s and Beyond," in Carl F. Holtfrerich, editor, *Economic and Strategic Issues in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1989), pp. 51-63.

"Managing the Washington Foreign Policy Process: Options for a New Administration," in David H. Popper, editor, *Adapting American Diplomacy to the Demands of the 1990s* (The American Academy of Diplomacy, 1989), pp. 111-21.

"United States Trade Policymaking in the Uruguay Round," in Henry R. Nau, editor, *Domestic Trade Politics and the Uruguay Round* (Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 191-207.

"Reagan and the World: An 'Awesome Stubbornness,'" in Charles O. Jones, editor, *The Reagan Legacy: Promise and Performance* (Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House, 1988), pp. 241-61.

"Staffing the White House for Foreign Policy," in Kenneth W. Thompson, editor, *Discourse on Policy-Making: American Foreign Policy* (University Press of America, 1987), pp. 31-49.

"Congress, Defense and the Foreign Policy Process: The AWACS Sale to Saudi Arabia," in Robert E. Hunter, Wayne L. Berman, and John F. Kennedy, eds., *Making Government Work: From White House to Congress* (Westview Press [for the Center for Strategic and International Studies], 1986), pp. 179-94.

"The Presidency and National Security Organization," in Norman A. Graebner, editor, *The National Security: Its Theory and Practice, 1945-1960* (Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 226-42.

"Executive-Congressional Conflict in Foreign Policy: Explaining It, Coping With It," in Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, third edition (Congressional Quarterly Press, 1985), pp. 343-64.

"State: A Department or 'Something More?'" in Duncan L. Clarke, editor, *United States Defense and Foreign Policy: Policy Coordination and Integration* (JAI Press, 1985), pp. 93-108.

"Congress" in Joseph S. Nye, Jr., editor, *The Making of America's Soviet Policy* (Yale University Press [for the Council on Foreign Relations], 1984), pp. 37-61.

"The Elusive Consensus: Congress and Central America," in Robert S. Leiken, editor, *Central America: Anatomy of Conflict*, (Pergamon International [for the Carnegie Endowment], 1984), pp. 319-35.

"The Evolution of Reagan Foreign Policy," in Fred I. Greenstein, ed., *The Reagan Presidency: An Early Assessment* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), pp. 117-58.

"How Not to Negotiate: Some Thoughts on Our Current Trade Flap with Japan," in U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee, *Government Decision-Making in Japan: Implications for the U.S.*, 1982, pp. 89-100.

"Locomotives on Different Tracks: Japanese-American Macro-Diplomacy, 1977-1979" (co-authored with Hisao Mitsuyu), in Destler and Sato, *Coping with U.S.-Japanese Economic Conflicts*, 1982, pp. 243-69.

"Reagan, Congress, and Foreign Policy in 1981," in Norman Ornstein, editor, *President and Congress: Assessing Reagan's First Year* (American Enterprise Institute, 1982), pp. 66-88. (See also *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 1982, pp. 3-15).

"National Security: The Rise of the Assistant," in Hugh Heclo and Lester M. Salamon, editors, *The Illusion of Presidential Government* (Westview Press [for the National Academy of Public Administration], 1981), pp. 263-85.

"Reorganization: When and How?" and "Implementing Reorganization," in Peter L. Szanton, ed., *Federal Reorganization: What Have We Learned?* (Chatham House, 1981), pp. 114-30 and 155-70.

"Trade Consensus; SALT Stalemate: Congress and Foreign Policy in the Seventies," in Thomas Mann and Norman Ornstein, eds., *The New Congress* (American Enterprise Institute, 1981), pp. 329-59.

"United States-Japanese Relations and the American Trade Initiative of 1977: Was This Trip Necessary?" in William J. Barnds, editor, *Japan and the United States: Challenges and Opportunities* (New York University Press [for the Council on Foreign Relations], 1979), pp. 190-230.

"United States Trade Policymaking During the 'Tokyo Round,'" in Michael Blaker, editor, *The Politics of Trade: U.S. and Japanese Policymaking for the GATT Negotiations* (East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1978).

"Country Expertise and U.S. Foreign Policymaking: The Case of Japan," in Morton A. Kaplan and Kinhide Mushakoji, eds., *Japan, American, and the Future World Order* (Paragon House, 1976).

REPORTS AND POLICY ANALYSES

American Trade Politics in 2007: Building Bipartisan Compromise, Policy Brief Number PB07-5, Peterson Institute for International Economics, May 2007

Free Trade Across the Pacific: The Political Economy of a Korea-US FTA, Report prepared for Korea Institute of International Economic Policy, October 23, 2005.

Assessing the Department of Homeland Security, Brookings Institution, July 2002 (co-authored with seven others).

"Promise and Problems: President Bush's Homeland Security Department," analysis for The Century Foundation, June 2002 (co-authored with Daalder).

"A New NSC for a New Administration," *Policy Brief*, Brookings Institution, November 2000 (co-authored with Daalder).

Oral History Roundtables on the National Security Council (co-moderator with Ivo H. Daalder):

The Clinton Administration National Security Council, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland and The Brookings Institution, September 27, 2000, Karla J. Nieting, Rapporteur

Arms Control Policy and the National Security Council, CISSM and Brookings, March 23, 2000; Karla J. Nieting, Rapporteur.

China Policy and the National Security Council, CISSM and Brookings, November 4, 1999, Josh Pollack and Shakira Edwards, Rapporteurs.

The Role of the National Security Adviser, CISSM and Brookings, October 25, 1999, Karla J. Nieting, Rapporteur.

The Bush Administration National Security Council, CISSM and Brookings, April 29, 1999; Karla J. Nieting, Rapporteur.

International Economic Policy and the National Security Council, CISSM and Brookings, February 11, 1999; Holly A. Plank, Rapporteur.

The Nixon Administration National Security Council, CISSM and Brookings, December 8, 1998; Josh Pollack, Rapporteur.

Education in Applied Economics in Central Asia: Problems and Opportunities, Report to US Agency for International Development/Central Asia, March 17, 2000.

The Foreign Policy Gap: How Policymakers Misread the Public, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, October 1997 (co-authored with Steven Kull and Clay Ramsey).

Maryland-Tsukuba Papers on U.S.-Japan Relations (co-edited with Hideo Sato), Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland:

"Has Conflict Passed Its Prime? Japanese and American Approaches to Trade and Economic Policy," by I. M. Destler, March 1997

"Interest Group Structure and Regime Change in Japan," by Yutaka Tsujinaka, November 1996

"Prospects for Global Leadership Sharing: The Economic Dimension," by Hideo Sato, October 1996;

"Prospects for Global Leadership Sharing: The Security Dimension," by Ivo H. Daalder, July 1996;

"The Participation of Japanese Military Forces in U.N. Peacekeeping Operations," by Milton Leitenberg, June 1996;

"Fiscal Externalities in U.S. and Japanese Budget Policies," by Allen Schick, March 1996; and

"Policy Causes of Japan-U.S. Economic Conflict," by Kenichi Ohno, February 1996.

Misreading the American Public on International Engagement: A Study of Policymakers' Perceptions and Public Attitudes, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, October 18, 1996 (co-authored with Steven Kull).

An Emerging Consensus: A Study of US Public Attitudes on America's Role in the World, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, July 10, 1996 (co-authored with Steven Kull).

Beyond the Framework Talks: Building a Mature U.S.-Japan Relationship, Final Report of the Maryland/Tsukuba Project, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, November 1994 (co-directed with Professor Hideo Sato, University of Tsukuba).

Japanese Investment and Technology Transfer: An Exploration of its Impact: Report of a Workshop, Committee on Japan, National Academy of Sciences, February 22, 1991.

"The Economic Policy Group and Short-Term Social Security Financing," an analysis prepared for the President's Reorganization Project, June 1977, and incorporated in that project's *Decision Analysis Report*.

"Developing Better Specialists and Executives--AGAIN? Obstacles to the Implementation of Personnel Reforms in the State Department," final report on a contract research study for the Department of State, August 1976.

ARTICLES

A. Academic and Analytic

"In the Shadow of the Oval Office: The Next National Security Adviser," with Ivo H. Daalder, *Foreign Affairs*, January-February 2009, pp. 114-29.

"Memo to the Next National Security Adviser: What You Need to Know About Your Job," with Daalder, *The American Interest*, Winter (Jan-Feb) 2009, pp. 27-31.

"A Job That Matters: What the President's National Security Adviser Must Do," with Daalder, *Public Policy: Advice to the New Administration* (School of Public Policy, University of Maryland, October 2008), pp. 6-7.

"The President's Man," *The National Interest*, Jan/Feb 2007, pp. 37-39, review essay on Andrew Preston, *The War Council: McGeorge Bundy, the NSC, and Vietnam*.

"The Power Brokers: An Uneven History of the National Security Council," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept-Oct 2005, pp. 155-60, review essay on David Rothkopf, *Running the World: The Inside Story of the National Security Council and the Architects of American Power*.

"Advisors, Czars and Councils: Organizing for Homeland Security," *The National Interest*, Summer 2002, pp. 66-78 (co-authored with Ivo H. Daalder)

"Behind America's Frontlines: Organizing to Protect the Homeland," *Brookings Review*, Summer 2002, pp. 17-19 (co-authored with Daalder).

"U.S. Trade Governance in the New Global Economy," *Brookings Trade Policy Forum 1999*, Susan Collins, editor, pp. 37-62.

"U.S. Approach to International Competition Policy," *Brookings Trade Policy Forum 1998*, Robert Z. Lawrence, editor, pp. 395-418.

"The Myth of the 'Electoral Lock,'" *Political Science and Politics*, September 1996, pp. 491-94. (See also "Update on the 'Electoral Lock' Myth," *PS*, March 1997, p. 7.)

"Many Constituencies Influence U.S. Foreign Policy-Making," in *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda*, An Electronic Journal of the U. S. Information Agency, May 1996, pp. 29-31.

"Foreign Policy and the Public: Will Leaders Catch the *Full* Message?" *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Winter/Spring 1996, pp. 265-70.

"Beyond Mutual Recrimination: Building a Solid U.S.-Japan Relationship in the 1990s," *International Security*, Winter 1990/91, pp. 92-119 (co-authored with Michael Nacht).

"Bush's Boys: International Economic Policymaking in the Bush Administration," *The International Economy*, March/April 1989, pp. 38-41.

"From Neglect to Activism: American Politics and the 1985 Plaza Accord," *Journal of Public Policy*, Volume 8, Parts 3/4: July-December 1988, pp. 317-33. (co-authored with C. Randall Henning).

"The Presidency: The Autonomy Problem," essay prepared for publication by Project '87, American Political Science Association and American Historical Association, July 1988.

"Protecting Congress or Protecting Trade?" *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1986, pp. 96-107.

"The Constitution and Foreign Affairs," *News for Teachers of Political Science*, Spring 1985, pp. 14 ff.

"Congress and Reagan's Foreign Policy," *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 1984, pp. 91-101 (co-authored with Eric R. Alterman).

"Dateline Washington: Life After the Veto," *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1983, pp. 181-86.

"Congress Swings [on Central American Policy]," *Foreign Service Journal*, July/August 1982, pp. 19-21, 38 (co-authored with Patricia Cohen).

"Dateline Washington: Congress as Boss?" *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1981, pp. 167-80.

"National Security Management: What Presidents Have Wrought," *Political Science Quarterly*, Winter 1980-81, pp. 573-88.

"United States Congress and the Tokyo Round: Lessons of a Success Story," *The World Economy*, June 1980, pp. 53-70 (co-authored with Thomas R. Graham).

"A Job That Doesn't Work," *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1980, pp. 80-88.

"Foreign Policy Begins at Home," *AEI Foreign Policy and Defense Review*, September-October 1980, pp. 8-11.

"Treaty Troubles: Versailles in Reverse," *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1978-79, pp. 45-65.

"United States Food Policy 1972-1976: Reconciling Domestic and International Objectives," *International Organization*, Summer 1978, pp. 617-53.

"Is History Repeating? The 1969-71 Textile Dispute and the Current Trade Crisis," *Chuo Koron*, April 1978 (in Japanese), pp. 86-99.

"Sato's Textile Diplomacy," two-article series in *Asahi Journal*, Tokyo, July 1 and 8, 1977 (in Japanese, co-authored with Haruhiro Fukui and Hideo Sato).

"National Security Advice to U.S. Presidents: Some Lessons from Thirty Years," *World Politics*, January 1977, pp. 143-76. (Brookings reprint 323.)

"Country Expertise and U.S. Foreign Policymaking: The Case of Japan," *Pacific Community*, July 1974, pp. 546-64. (Brookings reprint 298.)

"The Nixon System: A Further Look," *Foreign Service Journal*, February 1974, pp. 9-14, 28-29. (Brookings reprint 286.)

"Multiple Advocacy: Some Limits and Costs," *American Political Science Review*, September 1972, pp. 786-790.

"The Nixon NSC: Can One Man Do?" *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1971-72, pp. 28-40.

"State and Presidential Leadership," *Foreign Service Journal*, September 1971, pp. 26 ff.

"European Political Union: The Negotiations that Failed," *Public and International Affairs*, Spring 1965.

B. Op-Eds

"Korea-US FTA in Danger," *Korea Economic Daily*, July 12, 2007 [in Korean].

"Real and False Security," *The New London Day*, November 5, 2006 (co-authored with Chip Hauss).

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SELECTED LECTURES, TESTIMONY, AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

"Making America Fit for Globalization," *Viewpoints on Globalization* series, Baruch College, City University of New York, September 28, 2006.

"American Trade Politics and China," Barclay's FX Conference, London, November 18, 2005.

"Washington's Politics of Free Trade," Keynote Luncheon Address to VI Meeting of the Trade and Integration Regional Policy Dialogue, Inter-American Development Bank, October 6, 2005.

Lecturer on American trade politics and the Doha Round, Tokyo and Yokohama, Japan, July 2005

Lecturer on US foreign and trade policymaking, Rome, Florence and Catania, Italy, U.S. Department of State, 2004 and 2000

Participant, Invitation Program for U.S. Scholars on "Recent Changes in the Economic, Political, and Social Systems of Japan," Sponsored by Keizai Koho Center, *Keidanren*, Tokyo, Japan, October 2003

"The Politics and Economics of Fast-Track," Address to the Friends of the Global Interdependence Center, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, October 11, 2002.

Prepared Statement for Hearing, Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, Organizing for Homeland Security, April 11, 2002, joint with Ivo H. Daalder.

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Fulbright 20th Anniversary Distinguished Lecturer, Beijing, Guangzhou and Shanghai, China, March 2001.

"The Need for Fast-Track Authority," Testimony before the Subcommittee on Trade, House Committee on Ways and Means, September 30, 1997, in *Implementation of Fast Track Trade Authority*, Serial 105-65 (GPO, 1999), pp. 107-111, 128.

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"Renewing and Reforming 'Fast Track,'" Testimony before Joint House Hearing on Fast Track Issues, Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade and Rules Subcommittee on Rules and Organization of the House, Ways and Means Serial 104-22, May 17, 1995, pp. 232-37. Lecturer on US trade and foreign policymaking, United States Information Service, Venezuela, Chile and Mexico, June 1994

Lecturer on US-Japan economic relations, United States Information Service, Japan, March 1994

"The Department of State and Non-Geographic Issues," Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Operations, February 23, 1993.

Lecturer on United States foreign and trade policymaking, United States Information Service, Bulgaria, Germany and France, March 1992

Lecturer on United States trade policymaking, United States Information Service, Argentina and Mexico, June 1988

"The Presidency, the Congress, and International Trade," Rotunda lecture, University of Virginia, published in Kenneth W. Thompson, editor, *To Form or Preserve a Government: The Presidency, Congress, and Political Discourse* (University Press of America, 1987), pp. 65-82.

Lecturer on United States trade and foreign policymaking, United States Information Service programs in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China, May-July 1986

"The Constitution and Foreign Affairs: Power-Sharing in Practice," Summer course for university teachers of political science and history, American Political Science Association, July 1984

Lecturer on US foreign policymaking, United States Information Service, Jamaica, February 1981

Testimony on "The National Security Adviser: Role and Accountability," before Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, April 17, 1980.

"Trade Reorganization: Leading from Strength," Testimony before House Committee on Ways and Means, September 7, 1979.

Lecturer on legislative processes at seminar for legislative administrators, Enugu, Nigeria, sponsored by Nigerian Government and U.S. International Communications Agency, June 1979

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