

Brendan O'Leary, CV

Lauder Professor of Political Science &
Director of the Solomon Asch Center for the Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict
University of Pennsylvania

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Personal information

Irish and European Union citizen (undergoing permanent residency in the USA).

Hill/Sunday's Well School, Cork, and various schools in Kaduna, Nigeria.

Professional Career

University of Pennsylvania (2002-)
2003- Lauder Professor of Political Science
2002-3 Stanley I. Sheerr Endowed Term Chair in the Social Sciences
2002- Director of the Solomon Asch Center for the Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict

London School of Economics & Political Science (1983-2003)

2000-2001 Academic Governor (elected)
1998-2001 Chair of the Government Dept
1996-2002 Professor of Political Science
1992-1996 Reader in Political Science
1990-1992 Senior Lecturer in Political Science
1989-1990 Lecturer B in Public Administration
1988: Tenure Granted
1985-1988 Lecturer in Public Administration

Education

London School of Economics & Political Science.

PhD: The Asiatic Mode of Production: Oriental Despotism, Historical Materialism, and Indian Historiography. 1988. Winner of the Robert McKenzie Memorial Prize.

Examiners: Profs. Ernest Gellner (Cambridge) and Nicos Mouzelis (LSE).

Oxford University, Keble College.

BA: Philosophy, Politics and Economics, First Class Honors, 1981.

Winner Open Scholarship, 1977-81.

St MacNissi's College, Northern Ireland.

3 GCE A Levels, 1976. Winner of the Joint Association of Classical Teachers Prize for First Place in Ancient History.

11 GCE O Levels, 1973-5.

Primary Schools

Multiple: including Eden, Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, Kirkistown, Cloughy, Co. Down, Strawberry

Prizes and Certificates

Robert McKenzie Memorial Prize, PhD (1988).
European Consortium for Political Research Summer School on Data Analysis, Essex University (1982).
Open scholarship, Keble College, Oxford University (1977-1981).
Production Management Course, N.I. Manpower Services (1977).
Winner, Queen's University Belfast/ Northern Bank Northern Ireland Schools Debating Competition (Pairs, 1975).
Winner, Best Individual Speaker, Irish Times / Trinity College, Dublin University, All-Ireland Schools Debating Competition (1975).

Teaching experience

PhD Supervision and examining

PhD examinable courses at Penn:
National and Ethnic Conflict Regulation, 2002-
Learning to be an Academic, 2003-
Federal Failures and Successes, 2005-
Theses: Supervised 25 completed PhDs at the LSE 1986-2003.

PhD Examiner at Universities of London, Oxford, National University of Ireland, Queen's University, Belfast, University of Toronto.

MSc Teaching

LSE: Program Convenor Comparative Politics, (1994-8).
Comparative Politics Courses: National and Ethnic Conflict Regulation, States, Democracy and Democratization, Nations, Nationalism, & National Self-Determination, Government and Politics of Ireland.
Public Policy Courses: Comparative Administrative Systems, Theories of the State and Policy-Making Administrative Theories, Organization Theory

BSc Teaching

Courses at Penn: Power-Sharing (Ben Franklin Seminar) 2005-, National and Ethnic Conflict Regulation 2005-. National and Ethnic Conflict in

Great Britain and Ireland, 2004, National, Ethnic and Communal Conflict, 2003, Introduction to Political Science 2003, Nationalism and National Self-Determination, 2002

Courses at LSE: Introduction to Political Analysis, Nations and Nationalism, Voters, Parties and Electoral Systems, Modern Politics and Government with special reference to the UK, Comparative Political Analysis, Comparative Public Administration

Impact on Teaching: My publications have been used as university reading materials in courses on ethnic conflict in a number of countries, *inter alia* the United States (including Yale; Princeton; U. of California; Virginia Tech; SUNY; Washington State, U Penn), Canada (including U. of Toronto and U of British Columbia), Great Britain (including LSE; Oxford; Warwick; Birkbeck; Keele; Teeside; Surrey; Stirling), Ireland (including Trinity College Dublin; University College Dublin; Queen's Univ. Belfast; Univ. of Ulster), as well as in universities in Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Hungary, Bosnia, Croatia, South Africa, and Singapore.

Administrative experience

Director (Political Science) of the Solomon Asch Center for the Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict, 2002-

Academic Governor (elected), Member of Governing Council of LSE, 2000-1.

Convenor (Head or Chair in the American sense) of the Government Department, LSE, elected 1998-2001, responsible for academic leadership in research, appointments, mentoring, personnel planning, and the budget.

Suntory and Toyota Centre for International Economics and Related Disciplines, LSE, Planning Committee (1995-); co-responsible for allocation of grants and holding officers of STICERD to account.

Academic Staff Development Officer, LSE (1992-95): development of programs for tenure-track staff as researchers, teachers and administrators.

Committees, LSE: Standing Sub-Committee on Appointments, Information Systems and Planning Information Technology, Publications, Undergraduate Studies and Accommodation

Erasmus Programs: Coordinator for MSc and BSc programs in the Government Department.

Professional memberships

American Political Science Association
Association for the Study of Nationalities
International Political Science Association
Irish Political Studies Association

Extended visits to other Universities

Visiting Professor, University of Pennsylvania, (2001-2).

Visiting Professor, University of Western Ontario, Canada (1995-96).

Visitor, Universities of Western Ontario and Waterloo, Canada (1994).

Visiting Research Scholar, University of Uppsala, Sweden (1991).

Visiting Lecturer sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, to visit eight universities and colleges (1991).

Major external academic work

Advisory Council of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, (1999-2001).

External Examiner: at University College Dublin (1997-9); University of Edinburgh (1997-9); and Dublin City University (1994-7).

Editorial board memberships

Ethnic and Racial Studies, Editorial Board and Committee, 1989-97

International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations, International Advisory Board, 2003-

Irish Information Partnership, 1989-91.

JEMIE (Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe), International Editorial Board, 2002-

Journal of Ethnopolitics, International Editorial Board, 2001-

Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Editorial Advisory Board, 2005-

Nations and Nationalism, International Advisory Board, 1994-2003

Peace and Conflict Studies Editorial Advisory Board, 2002-

Journal editor

Public Administration, Jt. Editor, 1988-89.

LSE Quarterly, Co-editor, 1988-89.

Politics, Commissioning Editor & Editorial Board, 1985-88.

External advisory work

International constitutional advisor to the Kurdistan National Assembly and Government, responsible for advising on constitutional reconstruction of Iraq and Kurdistan (2004-), with special responsibility for federal arrangements and electoral laws, resident in Hewler, Kurdistan, Jan-June 2004, resident in Iraq and an advisor to Kurdistan in the drafting of Iraq's permanent constitution (summer 2005).

Trustee Board member of International Alert (London), (2005-)

Consultant to Department of International Development (UK), responsible for advising on the management of coalition governments, KwaZulu Natal, Republic of South Africa (2000-1).

Consultant to EU-UN project on Reconstructing Somalia (1995-), specific responsibility for sections on power-sharing, federalism, human rights, and electoral systems.

Co-drafter of Constitutional Charter for the State of Puntland.

Political Advisor to Dr Marjorie Mowlam MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, and to Kevin McNamara MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (1988-95).

Irish peace process activities: Policy advisor to the British Labour Party (1988-1995); Informal advisor to Americans promoting peace in Ireland (1993-); Author of multiple constitutional and policy memoranda to Parties and Governments (1994-); submission to Patten Commission, meeting with Mr Patten, testimony on Patten Report to the Helsinki Commission before the US House of Representatives (1998-2000); Guest at the White House (March 17 1998, May 24-26 1995, March 17 1994); Occasional participant in the British-Irish Association (1990-).

Broadcasting and journalism

Regular broadcaster for BBC Radio 4's Analysis (1992-2001), highlights include being Presenter, Co-presenter and co-author of eight radio documentaries: Fair Cops, Peace in our Time?, The Hand of History?, Bringing Rights Back Home, Splitting the State?, Breaking the Logjam (nominated for a Sony Prize), Renewing the Peace Process?, Beyond the Cease-fire, The Fate of Nations, A Place Apart?

Regular broadcaster on British, Irish, American, European, and Japanese networks, especially on topics in British and Irish politics, including the following networks: UK: BBC (all units), ITN, Channel 4, BSkyB and multiple local stations; Ireland: RTE and local stations; USA: ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Voice of America, NPR; Other international: ABC (Aus), CBC (Can), NHK and multiple European networks.

Regular op-ed writer for Irish, British and American newspapers, including the

Financial Times (London)
Fortnight (Belfast)
Globe & Mail (Canada)
Guardian (London)
IISol-24Ore (Italy)
Independent (London)
Irish Independent (Dublin)
Irish News (Belfast)
Irish Times (Dublin)
Los Angeles Times
Pennsylvania Gazette
Philadelphia Inquirer
Scotsman (Edinburgh)
Sunday Business Post (Dublin)
Sunday Press (Dublin)
Sunday Tribune (Dublin)
Washington Times

Guardian Celebrity Scholar, June 18 1996.

Organized design and commissioning of a UMS opinion poll for Newsnight BBC2, May 1996 (with Geoffrey Evans).

Investigator and co-presenter of 'Northern Ireland', The Big Picture Show, October Films, Channel 4, July 1992.

Current Research activities

Power-sharing systems, especially in consociations and pluralist federations.
Nationalism; national and ethnic conflict-regulation; national self-determination.
National, ethnic and communal violence.
Democracy, democratization and electoral systems.
Iraq's constitutional process.
Editor-in-Chief, Routledge's Encyclopedia of Ethnic Conflicts.

Recent Research Grants/Fellowships

McGill University – for conference on Comparing Ireland & Finland
MacArthur Grant – for Conference on Managing Ethnic Conflicts in Africa
Rockefeller Foundation residential fellowship Bellagio, Italy, September-October 2002, to draft monograph.
United States Institute of Peace, award with Professor John McGarry to complete research for a book on national and ethnic conflict regulation.
United States Social Science Research Council, joint holder of grant supervised by Professor Ian S. Lustick of University of Pennsylvania, for program on 'Rightsizing the State: The Politics of Moving Boundaries'.

PUBLICATIONS

Books/Collections

1. 2006 in press (with Marianne Heiberg and John Tirman (eds.)) *Terror, Insurgency and the State*: (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
2. 2005 (with John McGarry and Khaled Salih) (eds.) *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
3. 2004. (with John McGarry) *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
4. 2001. (with Ian S. Lustick and Tom Callaghy) editors. *Right-Sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 429.
5. 1999. (with John McGarry). *Policing Northern Ireland: Proposals for a New Start*. pp. 146 (Belfast: Blackstaff Press).
6. 1996 / 1993. (with John McGarry). *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland*. London & Atlantic Heights, N.J.: Athlone, pp 358. Second and updated edition: 1996. [Short-listed for the Ewart-Biggs Memorial prize 1994, and commended by the judges], 3rd edition under preparation.
7. 1995. (with John McGarry). *Explaining Northern Ireland: Broken Images*. Oxford, England, Cambridge, Mass: Basil Blackwell, pp. 533. Reprinted twice. 2nd edition under preparation.
8. 1995. (with John McGarry), editors. *State of Truce: Northern Ireland after Twenty-Five Years of War*. Special Issue of Ethnic and Racial Studies. 18, 4, pp. 166.
9. 1993. (with Tom Lyne, Jim Marshall, and Bob Rowthorn). *Northern Ireland: Sharing Authority*. London: Institute of Public Policy Research, pp.155.
10. 1993. (with John McGarry), editors. *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation: Case Studies of Protracted Ethnic Conflicts*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 321.
11. 1990. (with Patrick Dunleavy and R.A.W. Rhodes), editors. *Prime Minister, Cabinet, and Core Executive*. Public Administration. 68, 1, pp. 140.
12. 1990. (with John McGarry), editors. *The Future of Northern Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 376. Foreword by Arend Lijphart.
13. 1990. editor. *Jack Watson's World History Since 1945*. London: John Murray, pp. 545.
14. 1989. *The Asiatic Mode of Production*. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, pp. 394. Foreword by Ernest Gellner. [Selected as one of 202 central works of sociology in the 20th

century in the digest Schlüsselwerke der Soziologie, eds. S. Papcke & G.W. Oesterdiekhoff (eds.) (Berlin: Westdesutscher Verlag, 2001, pp. 372-4)]

15. 1987. (with Patrick Dunleavy). *Theories of the State: The Politics of Liberal Democracy*. London and New York: Macmillan and Meredith Press, pp. 382. Reprinted 8 times. [Chinese Translation: 1994. Taiwan: Wu Nan Book Company Ltd.]; [Lithuanian translation 1999: Vilnius, Eugrimas] [Hungarian translation 2003]; [Romanian translation in progress]; Arabic translation in progress.

Books in preparation/under contract

1. *Encyclopedia of Ethnic Conflicts* (Routledge), Editor-in-Chief.
2. (with John McGarry) *Understanding Northern Ireland: From Antagonism to Consociation*, 2006 (Routledge).
3. (with John McGarry) *Explaining Northern Ireland* 2nd edition, 2006 (Blackwell)
4. (with John McGarry). *How States Manage Nations*, (project funded by USIP).
5. *The Belfast Agreement: The Second Peace by Ordeal* (Oxford University Press).
6. *National Self-Determination* (Oxford University Press).

Articles in Journals

1. 2006 (with John McGarry). 'Consociational Theory, Northern Ireland's Conflict and its Agreement: 1. What Consociationalists Can Learn from Northern Ireland', *Government & Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics*, 41, 1: 43-63.
2. 2006 (with John McGarry). 'Consociational Theory, Northern Ireland's Conflict and its Agreement: 2. What Critics of Consociation Can Learn from Northern Ireland', *Government & Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics*, 41, 2:
3. 2005. 'Mission Accomplished? Looking Back at the IRA', *Field Day Review* (March-April), 1,1: 216-46.
4. 2005. (with Bernard Grofman and Jorgen Elklit), 'Divisor Methods for Sequential Portfolio Allocation in Multi-Party Executive Bodies: Evidence from Northern Ireland and Denmark', *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (January), pp. 198-211.
5. 2004. (with John McGarry). 'Stabilizing the Northern Ireland Agreement', *Political Quarterly*, 75, 3 (July-September), 213-225.

6. O'Leary B. 2003. 'Consociation: Refining the Theory and a Defense'. *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations* 3: 693-755
7. 2003. 'Engagements in Comparative Politics: Kant, Machiavelli, the Webbs & Us'. *APSA-CP Newsletter* 14: 19—22
8. 2003. 'Status Quo Patriotism', *New Left Review*, 2nd series, 23 (Sept-Oct), 100-4.
9. 2002. 'In Praise of Empires Past: Myths and Method of Kedourie's Nationalism', *New Left Review* 2nd series, 18 (Nov-Dec), 106-30
10. 2002. (with Paul Mitchell and Geoffrey Evans) 'The 2001 Elections in Northern Ireland: Moderating 'Extremists' and the Squeezing of the Moderates', *Representation*, 39, 1: 23-36.
11. 2001. 'The Protection of Human Rights under the Belfast Agreement', *Political Quarterly* 72 (3 (July-September)): 353-65.
12. 2001. (with Paul Mitchell and Geoffrey Evans) 'Northern Ireland: Flanking Extremists Bite the Moderates and Emerge in Their Clothes.' *Parliamentary Affairs* 54(4): 725-742.
13. 2001. 'An Iron Law of Nationalism and Federation? A (neo-Diceyan) theory of the Necessity of a Federal Staatsvolk, and of Consociational Rescue. The 5th Ernest Gellner Memorial Lecture'. *Nations and Nationalism* 7 (3): 273-96.
14. 2000. (with Geoffrey Evans) 'Northern Irish Voters and the British-Irish Agreement: Foundations of a Stable Consociational Settlement?' *Political Quarterly*, 71, 1 (January-March), 78-101.
15. 1999. 'The Nature of the Agreement'. *Fordham Journal of International Law* 22, 4:1628-67.
16. 1999. 'The Nature of the British-Irish Agreement' *New Left Review* 233: 66-96.
17. 1999. 'The 1998 British-Irish Agreement: Consociation Plus' *Scottish Affairs* No. 26, 1-22 (Winter).
18. 1998. 'The Implications for Political Accommodation in Northern Ireland of Reforming the Electoral System for the Westminster Parliament', *Representation*, 35, 2-3: 106-113
19. 1997. 'The Conservative Stewardship of Northern Ireland 1979-97: Sound-Bottomed Contradictions or Slow Learning?' *Political Studies* 45, 4: 663-76
20. 1997. (with Geoffrey Evans). 'The 1997 Westminster Election in Northern Ireland: La Fin de Siècle, The Twilight of the Second Protestant Ascendancy and Sinn Féin's Second Coming' *Parliamentary Affairs*, 50, 4: 672-80.
21. 1997. 'On the Nature of Nationalism: A Critical Appraisal of Ernest Gellner's Writings on Nationalism'. *British Journal of Political Science* 27 (2): 191-222.
22. 1997. (with Geoffrey Evans). 'Frameworked Futures: Intransigence and Flexibility in the Northern Ireland Elections of May 30 1996'. *Irish Political Studies*, 12, pp. 23-47.
23. 1997. (with Geoffrey Evans). 'Intransigence and Inflexibility on the Way to Two Forums. The Elections to the Northern Ireland Peace Forum May 1996 and Public Opinion'. *Representation* 34, 3-4: 208-18
24. 1996. (editor of) 'Symposium on David Miller's On Nationality', *Nations and Nationalism*, 2, (3), including item below,
25. 1996. 'Insufficiently liberal and insufficiently nationalist'. *Nations and Nationalism* 2 (3): 444-452.
26. 1996. (with John McGarry). 'Proving our Points on Northern Ireland (and giving reading lessons to Dr Dixon)'. *Irish Political Studies* 11: 142-154.
27. 1995. 'Afterword: What is framed in the Framework Documents?' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18 (4): 862-72.
28. 1995. 'Introduction: Reflections on a Cold Peace'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18 (4): 695-714.
29. 1995. (with John McGarry). 'Five Fallacies: Northern Ireland and the Liabilities of Liberalism'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18 (4): 837-61.
30. 1994. (with John McGarry). 'The Political Regulation of National and Ethnic Conflict'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 47 (1): 94-115.
31. 1993. 'Affairs, Partner Swapping and Spring Tides: The Irish General Election of 1992'. *West European Politics* 16 (3).
32. 1992. 'Public Opinion and Northern Irish Futures'. *Political Quarterly* 63 (2): 143-70.
33. 1992. 'What are Public Lawyers For?' *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 12 (3): 404-18.
34. 1991. 'An Taoiseach. The Irish Prime Minister'. *West European Politics* 14 (2): 131-62.
35. 1990. 'Solving Northern Ireland?' *Contemporary Record* 4 (1 & 2): 19-22 & 8-11.
36. 1990. (with Patrick Dunleavy and George Jones). 'Prime Ministers and the Commons: Patterns of Behavior, 1868 to 1987'. *Public Administration* 68 (1): 123-40.
37. 1990. (with John McGarry). 'Northern Ireland's Future: What is to be done?' *Conflict Quarterly* 10 (2): 42-62.
38. 1990. (with John Peterson). 'Further Europeanization and Realignment. The Irish

- General Election of June 1989'. *West European Politics* 13 (1): 124-36.
39. 1990. 'Setting the Record Straight: A Comment on Cahill's Country Report on Ireland'. *Governance* 3 (1): 98-104.
 40. 1989. 'The Limits to Coercive Consociationalism in Northern Ireland'. *Political Studies* 37 (4): 452-68.
 41. 1987. 'The Anglo-Irish Agreement: Folly or Statecraft?' *West European Politics* 10 (1): 5-32.
 42. 1987. 'British Farce, French Drama, and Tales of Two Cities: Reorganizations of Paris and London Governments, 1957-86'. *Public Administration* 65 (4): 367-89.
 43. 1987. 'The Odyssey of Jon Elster'. *Government & Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics* 22 (4): 48-98.
 44. 1987. 'Towards Europeanization and Realignment? The Irish General Election, February 1987'. *West European Politics* 10 (3): 455-65.
 45. 1987. 'Why was the GLC abolished?' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 11 (2): 193-217.
 46. 1985. 'Is There a Radical Public Administration?' *Public Administration* 63 (3): 345-52.
 47. 1985. 'Explaining Northern Ireland: A Brief Study Guide'. *Politics* 5 (1): 35-41.

Chapters in Books

1. 2006. (with John Tirman), "Introduction: Thinking About Terrorism, Insurgency and States" in Marianne Heiberg, Brendan O'Leary and John Tirman (eds.) *Terror, Insurgency and the State* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
2. 2006 "The IRA" in Marianne Heiberg, Brendan O'Leary and John Tirman (eds.) *Terror, Insurgency and the State* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
3. 2006. (with Andrew Silke), "Conclusion. Understanding & Ending Persistent Conflicts: Bridging Research and Policy" in Marianne Heiberg, Brendan O'Leary and John Tirman (eds.) *Terror, Insurgency and the State* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
4. 2006. (with John McGarry), "Stabilizing Northern Ireland's Agreement", in R. Osborne, C. Knox and P. Carmichael (eds.) *Devolution and Constitutional Change in Northern Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
5. 2005. "Foreword: The Realism of Power-Sharing", to Michael Kerr's *Imposing Power-Sharing: Conflict and Co-existence in the Lebanon* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
6. 2005. 'Debating Consociation: Normative and Explanatory Arguments'. In *From Power-Sharing to Democracy: Post-Conflict Institutions in Ethnically Divided Societies*, edited by S. J. R. Noel. Toronto: McGill-Queens University Press.
7. 2005, (with John McGarry), "Federation as a Method of Ethnic Conflict-Regulation", In *From Power-Sharing to Democracy: Post-Conflict Institutions in Ethnically Divided Societies*, edited by S. J. R. Noel. Toronto: McGill-Queens University Press.
8. 2005. (with Khaled Salih). 'The Denial, Resurrection and Affirmation of Kurdistan', in Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry and Khaled Salih (eds.) *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 3-43.
9. 2005. 'Power-Sharing, Pluralist Federation and Federacy in Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry and Khaled Salih (eds.) *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 47-91.
10. 2005. 'Negotiating a Federation in Iraq' (with Karna Ekland and Paul R. Williams) in Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry and Khaled Salih (eds.) *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 116-42.
11. 2005. "Afterword", in Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry and Khaled Salih (eds.) *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
12. in press: 'Conceptual Prologue: Two Emergent Types of Complex Power-Sharing Settlements', in Marc Weller (ed) Title to be fixed, Volume 2, Carnegie-ECMI Project on Resolving Self-Determination Disputes.
13. in press. 'Complex Power-Sharing in Northern Ireland', in Marc Weller (ed) Title to be fixed, Volume 1, Carnegie-ECMI Project on Resolving Self-Determination Disputes.
14. 2004. 'Political Science', in *The Routledge Social Science Encyclopedia* 3 (eds.) Adam and Jessica Kuper (London: Routledge)
15. 2004. 'Consociation', in *The Routledge Social Science Encyclopedia* 3 (eds.) Adam and Jessica Kuper (London: Routledge)
16. 2004. 'Partition', in *The Routledge Social Science Encyclopedia* 3 (eds.) Adam and Jessica Kuper (London: Routledge, 2004)
17. 2004. 'The State', in *The Routledge Social Science Encyclopedia* 3 (eds.) Adam and Jessica Kuper (London: Routledge)
18. 2004. The Anglo-Irish Agreement: Folly or Statecraft? In *The Northern Ireland Conflict:*

- Consociational Engagements*, J. McGarry and B. O'Leary. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 62-96.
19. 2004. The Conservative Stewardship of Northern Ireland: Sound-bottomed Contradictions or Slow Learning? In *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements*, J. McGarry and B. O'Leary. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 194-216.
 20. 2004. The Labour Government and Northern Ireland, 1974-9. In *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements*, J. McGarry and B. O'Leary. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 194-216.
 21. 2004. The Limits to Coercive Consociationalism in Northern Ireland. In *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements*, J. McGarry and B. O'Leary. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 97-131.
 22. 2004. The Nature of the Agreement. In *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements*, J. McGarry and B. O'Leary. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 260-93.
 23. 2004. The Protection of Rights under the Belfast Agreement. In *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements*, J. McGarry and B. O'Leary. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 352-70.
 24. 2004. (With John McGarry) Introduction: Consociational Theory and Northern Ireland. In *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements*, J. McGarry and B. O'Leary. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1-61
 25. 2004. Five Fallacies: Northern Ireland and the Liabilities of Liberalism. In *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements*, J. McGarry and B. O'Leary. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 167-93
 26. 2004. Northern Ireland. *New Labour, Old Labour*. Ed. Kevin Hickson and Seldon, Anthony. London, Routledge: 240-259.
 27. 2003. 'What States Can Do with Nations: An Iron Law of Nationalism and Federation', in John A. Hall, John Ikenberry, and T.V. Paul (eds.) *The Nation-State in Question* (Princeton University Press, chapter 2).
 28. (with John McGarry) 'Five Fallacies: Northern Ireland and the Liabilities of Liberalism', in J. Stone and D. Rutledge (eds.) *Race and Ethnicity in Global Society*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 171-86.
 29. 2002. 'Federations and the Management of Nations: Agreements and Arguments with Walker Connor and Ernest Gellner, In Daniele Conversi (ed.) *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), pp. 153-83.
 30. 2002. 'The Belfast Agreement and the British-Irish Agreement: Consociation, Confederal Institutions, a Federacy, and a Peace Process', in *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*, (ed.) A. Reynolds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 293-356.
 31. 2002. 'The Belfast Agreement: The Making, Management and Mismanagement of a Complex Consociation', in Colin Hay (ed.) *British Politics Today* (Oxford: Polity Press), pp. 259-305.
 32. 2001. 'Introduction', In Brendan O'Leary, Ian Lustick and Tom Callaghy, editors. *Right-Sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 1-14.
 33. 2001. 'The Elements of Right-Sizing and Right-Peopling the State', In Brendan O'Leary, Ian Lustick and Tom Callaghy, editors. *Right-Sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 15-73.
 34. 2001. 'Comparative Political Science and the British-Irish Agreement', in John McGarry (ed.) *Northern Ireland and the Divided World: Post-Agreement Northern Ireland in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 53-88.
 35. 2001. 'The Belfast Agreement and the Labour Government: Handling and Mishandling History's Hand', in Seldon, Anthony (ed.) *The Blair Effect* (London: Little, Brown), pp. 448-487.
 36. 2001. 'Instrumentalist Theories of Nationalism'. In Leoussi Athena S. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, (London: Transaction Publishers), pp. 148-53.
 37. 2001. 'Nationalism and Ethnicity: Research Agendas on Theories of Their Sources and of Their Regulation' in Chirot, Daniel and Seligman, Martin (eds). *Ethnopolitical Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solutions* (Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association Press), 37-48.
 38. 2001. The Character of the 1998 Agreement: Results and Prospects, in Rick Wilford (ed.) *Aspects of the Belfast Agreement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 49-83.
 39. 2000. L'accord britanniicoirlandès del 1998, I el plus del consensualisme, in Montserrat Guibernau (ed.) *Nacionalisme: Debats I dilemes per a un nou mil·lenni* (Barcelona: ECSA), pp. 203-28.
 40. 2000. 'Foreword' to Michael McGrath's *The Price of Faith: The Catholic Church and*

- Catholic Schools in Northern Ireland* (Dublin & Portland, Irish Academic Press), xiii-xix.
41. 2000. Quali armi contro i nazionalisme, in (ed) Marco Moussasanet, *Dueemila: Verso una società aperta, 2. Politica, migrazioni, guerra e pace, religione* (Milano: Il Sole 24 Ore), 221-4.
 42. 2000. The Limits to Coercive Consociationalism in Northern Ireland. In *United Kingdom: The International Library of Politics and Comparative Government*, ed. R. A. W. Rhodes. Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing, pp. 475-502 .
 43. 1999. (with Robert Hazell). A Rolling Programme of Devolution: Slippery Slope or Safeguard of the Union? In Robert Hazell (ed.) *Constitutional Futures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 21-46.
 44. 1998. Ernest Gellner's diagnoses of nationalism: a critical overview, or, what is living and what is dead in Ernest Gellner's philosophy of nationalism? In *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*, ed. John A Hall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 40-92.
 45. 1997. (with Geoffrey Evans). 'The 1997 Westminster Election in Northern Ireland: La Fin de Siècle, The Twilight of the Second Protestant Ascendancy and Sinn Féin's Second Coming'. In *Britain Votes 1997* Oxford: Oxford University Press (eds.) Pippa Norris and Neil Gavin, pp 164-172.
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1. 2005. "A Letter to Europeans", published Politikwissen, and the Kurdistan Regional Government's web-site Aug. 21 (http://www.politikwissen.de/expertenforum/exp_oleary205.html), (<http://web.krg.org/>)
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7. 1991. 'Előadás Erdélyben'. *Pro Minoritate* 2-3.
8. 1991. 'Érdély Észak-Irorszag'. *Világ* September.
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Reports and Consultancies

1. Draft Charter of Rights and Principles for National, Ethnic, Linguistic and Religious Minorities (for Ministry of Human Rights, Kurdistan Regional Government), 2004.
2. "Building Inclusive States", Background paper for the UNDP's *The Human Development Report 2004: Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World*, (New York: United Nations Development Programme).
3. "Questions and Answers about Coalition Government" (Report for Kwa-Zulu Natal Parliament, supported by Department for International Development, UK), 2001.
4. "A Draft Constitutional Charter for the State of Puntland. Report for United Nations" (UNDOS). May 1998. (with M. Guadagni, U Matteo and J. Murray).
5. Ioan Lewis, James Mayall, John Barker, Teddy Brett, Peter Dawson, Patrick McAuslan, Brendan O'Leary and Karin Von Hippel. August 1995. *Decentralized Political Structures for Somalia*. London School of Economics, August. Report for UNDOS and the European Union.

Academic reviews / review articles, encyclopedia articles, op-eds and magazine articles

Over 60 reviews or review articles in academic journals and newspapers.

Over 100 encyclopedia articles in *The Social Science Encyclopedia 2*, *The Social Science Encyclopedia 3*, *The Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Human Thought*, *World Book Encyclopedia*, *The Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, and the *Guinness Encyclopedia*.

Over 80 op-eds in newspapers listed above on page 3.

Significant external public lectures, presentations, addresses and conference activities

1. 'Keynote Address: Partition', Conference of the Irish-British Cross-Border Association, Armagh, January 2006.
2. 'Twenty Propositions on Political Violence and Terrorism', presented at Oslo, Norway, Nov. 2005, Norwegian Mission to the UN, October 2005, Chatham House, London, October 2005, European Commission, 2005, UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, October 2005
3. 'The Negotiation of a Federation in Baghdad', inaugural lecture for the Center on Multi-Level Governance, London, Ontario, Canada, November 2005.
4. 'How the US May be Lucky in Iraq', BBC Lecture, London, September 2005.
5. 'The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq', presented at Chatham House, London, June 2005, University of Chicago, April 2005, MIT, April 2005, Bowdoin, April 2005, Princeton, April 2005, ASN Conference, Columbia University, April 2005, Brookings Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington D.C. September 2004, University of Pennsylvania European Alumni, London, September 2004.
6. 'The IRA', USIP_SSRC joint conference, presented at Washington D.C. September 2005, and October 2004, and Cuenca, Spain, SSRC-NUPI conference.
7. "The Transitional Administrative Law", Address at the Aweza Club, Erbil, Kurdistan, March 17th 2004, reported in *Khebat* (Hewler, Kurdistan), April 8 2004.
8. Multi-national Federalism, Power-Sharing, Federacy & the Kurds of Iraq. Presented at Workshop on Autonomy Arrangements and Internal Territorial Conflict, Oslo, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dec 2003.
9. Keynote Address, 'Multi-national federalism, Federacy, Power-sharing & The Kurds of Iraq', Conference on Multi-Nationalism, Power-Sharing and the Kurds in a New Iraq, Carfitz Foundation Conference Center, Washington D.C., September 12 2003.
10. (with John McGarry) 2003. *Federalism, Conflict-Regulation and National and Ethnic Power-Sharing*. Paper read at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-31 2003, at Philadelphia,

11. 'Consociational Theory: Refinements and a Defense', Free University of Berlin, May 23rd 2003
12. 'The Past and Future of Irish Nationalism', Re-imagining Ireland Conference, University of Virginia, May 11th 2003.
13. 'Partition', Political Science department, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 1 2003
14. 'Multiculturalism and Consociation', East-West Common Ground Conference, Hawaii, February 2003.
15. Keynote Address, *The Future of Iraqi Kurdistan: 10 Years On*, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, December 2002.
16. Keynote address, 'Consociation', Power-Sharing, University of Western Ontario, Canada, November 2002.
17. 'Five Unpopular Theses on Terrorism', conference of the US Social Science Research Council and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Amsterdam, June 17-18 2002.
18. Participant in 'Conference on the NI Peace Process', US Dept. of State & National Intelligence Council, Meridian International Center, Washington D.C., April 22 2002.
19. Elie Kedourie's Nationalism: Lamentations for Lost Empires and Assaulting Heresy, paper presented at the international colloquium, National Identities and National Movements in European History, Universities of Ghent-Leuven, March 16-18, 2002, and presented at the American Political Science Association Conference, Boston, Sept. 2002.
20. Co-organizer of a joint conference of the Solomon Asch Center, the American Psychological Association and the FBI National Academy, 'Countering Terrorism: Integrating Theory and Practice', Quantico, Virginia, USA, Feb 28th 2002.
21. 'Partition', Paper presented at a Conference on Partition, University of Notre Dame, December 2001.
22. Symposium, 'Responding to Terrorism', University of Pennsylvania, September 13 2001, in *Almanac*, 18, 4, pp. 4-5, and also published on www.opendemocracy.net
23. Human Rights in a Consociational, Confederal and Double Protection System, SDLP Conference on Human Rights, Belfast, February 28 2001
24. The Past, Present and Future of Policing in Northern Ireland, Address to the Pat Finucane Centre, Derry, January 27th 2001. <http://www.serve.com/pfc/brendolearybs1.htm>
25. Nationalism and Federalism, address to the Merriam Symposium: 'Can the World Cope? The Challenge of Ethnopolitical Conflict', University of Pennsylvania, November 29 2000.
26. The Belfast Agreement: Is the Darkest Hour Just Before the Dawn? Beatty Memorial Lecture, McGill University, Montreal, November 2nd 2000.
27. Nationalism and Federalism: A Theory of the Necessity of a Staatsvolk, McGill University, Montreal, November 1st 2000.
28. Why failing fully to implement the Patten Report matters, testimony to the US House of Representatives and the OSCE, Washington DC, September 22 2000.
29. An Iron Law of Nationalism and Federalism, Nordic House, Torshavn, Faeroe Islands, August 23rd 2000.
30. The State of the Agreement, Federation of Irish Societies, Birmingham, June 24th 2000.
31. The Patten Report and its Implementation? Catalan Police Academy, Barcelona, June 13th - 16th, 2000.
32. The Patten Report needs to be Saved from the current Police Bill, Address to the Friends of Ireland, Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons, Westminster, June 5th 2000.
33. An Iron Law of Nationalism and Federation? A (neo-Diceyan) Theory of the Necessity of a Federal Staatsvolk, and of consociational Rescue, the 5th Ernest Gellner Memorial Lecture, Public Lecture, LSE, May 24th 2000 <http://www.fathom.com/index.jhtml> (see also 'Nations and Federations').
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35. Response to Lord Hurd, address to the Constitution Unit's Conference on The Future of the House of Lords. Church House, Westminster, March 8 2000, published in Conference Papers: The Future of the House of Lords (London: The Constitution Unit and Royal Commission on Reform of the House of Lords), April, pp. 31-4.
36. The Nature of the British Irish Agreement and the Role of Some 3rd Parties, address to the Conference on International Dispute Resolution: Lessons from Northern Ireland, Jerusalem, February 29-March 1, 2000.
37. 'The British-Irish Agreement of 1998: Results and Prospects' Constitutional Design 2000, University of Notre Dame, December 9, 1999.
38. The Future Policing of Northern Ireland, University of Limerick, October 2, 1999.
39. Northern Ireland Conference, Centre for Research into Elections and Social Trends, Queen's University Belfast, June 22, 1999.
40. Human Rights Conference, Northern Ireland Office, Stormont, Belfast, June 16, 1999.
41. Northern Ireland Peace Agreement Lecture, Dartmouth College, USA, June 1, 1999.
42. British-Irish Agreement Manchester University, May 19, 1999.
43. British-Irish Agreement Nuffield College, Oxford University, May 18, 1999.
44. Human Rights and the Northern Ireland Peace Agreement: Problems and Prospects, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, May 8, 1999.
45. The Political Economics of Secession Conference, Eurasia Project funded by the Ford Foundation, Barcelona, Spain, January 14-15, 1999.
46. The Double Protection of Rights – The Novelty of the British-Irish Agreement 1998, Sampol Comparative Politics Conference on Human Rights in Modern Democracies, University of Bergen, October 21, 1998.
47. The Nature of the Agreement, 9th John Whyte Memorial lecture, Queen's University Belfast, November 26 1998.
48. Consociation Plus: the Nature of the 1998 Agreement, public lecture delivered at LSE, May 7, Queen's University Belfast, May 14, University of Edinburgh, June 17 1998, Dartmouth College, USA, July 30 1998, Department of Comparative Politics, Bergen Norway, October 22 1998.
49. Theories of Nationalism and Its Regulation, Conference on the Causes of Ethnopolitical Warfare, Joint Meeting of the American Psychological Association and the Canadian Psychological Association, INCORE, Derry, June 30 1998.
50. Nationalism and Its Regulation, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, Conference on Understanding Nationalism, 4-6 December 1997
51. Elements of a General Theory of Right-Sizing the State, paper to the SSRC (USA) sponsored conference on 'Rightsizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders', New York, May 16-18 1997.
52. The Treatment of National and Ethnic Minorities in the UK, Address to a (formally banned) Conference organized by the Kurdish Institute (Paris), in Ankara, Turkey, sponsored by the Danielle Mitterrand Foundation and the Olaf Palme Foundation, May 1997 - conference of European MEPs, academics and human rights specialists on finding a peaceful and democratic resolution for the Kurdish Question.
53. Electoral Systems and Political Institutions, European Union sponsored Conference on Somalia, Kenya, June 19-22 1996, Naivasha, Kenya.
54. The Irish Peace Process, Nuffield College Oxford, January 1997, Cambridge Irish Studies Group, Queen's College, University of Cambridge, March 5 1996 and University of Salford, February 21 1996.
55. Parities and Disparities of Esteem in Ireland: The Treatment of National and Religious Minorities, North and South, Past, Present and Future, British Academy conference on Ireland: North and South, Nuffield College, Oxford, December 1996.
56. Meeting Somalis: Consulting on a Country's Constitutional Future, Address to UWO Political Economy Seminar Group, London, Canada, January 1996.
57. Ernest Gellner's Theory of Nationalism, University of Notre Dame, USA, December 1995, Queen's University, Belfast, May 1996.

58. Explaining Political Violence and Its Current Termination in Northern Ireland, Trinity College, Hartford Connecticut, USA, October 1995; Duke University, USA, November 1995.
59. State Repression and Ethnic Insecurity, Keynote Address to the Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, England, UK, March 1995.
60. Explaining Political Violence and Its Current Termination in Northern Ireland, University of Cornell, USA, March 1995.
61. The Framework Documents, University of North London, London, England, UK, March 1995.
62. Resolving Northern Ireland? Grinnell College, USA, University of Cornell, University of Notre Dame, USA, March 1995.
63. Three Prophecies and Three Predictions, Public Address to the Irish Association, Dublin, Ireland, October 1994.
64. Determining Our Selves: On the Norm of National Self-Determination, International Political Science Association, Berlin, Germany, August 1994.
65. Regulating National and Ethnic Conflict, University College Dublin, Ireland, January 1994.
66. Ernest Gellner's Theory of Nationalism, Political Economy Seminar, University of Western Ontario, March 1994.
67. On the Opsahl Report, National Peace Council, London, November 1993.
68. The Case for Sharing Authority, book launch at the Institute of Public Policy Research, October 1993.
69. The Political Management of Multi-Ethnic Conflict, University of Perugia, Italy, September 1992.
70. The Future of Multi-Ethnic States and a Taxonomy of Modes of Regulating Ethnic Conflict, Human Rights Centre, University of Essex, England, UK, April 1992.
71. Interpreting Northern Ireland, Public Lecture, Irish Association, Belfast, Northern Ireland, UK, October 1991
72. The Results of the JRRT poll in Great Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, British-Irish Association, Cambridge, England, UK, September 1991.
73. Nine Ways of Regulating Ethnic Conflict, Fides Summer School, Transylvania, Romania, July 1991.
74. Modes of Regulating Ethnic Conflict, University of Uppsala, Sweden, March 1991.
75. Explaining Northern Ireland - public lecture delivered at Huron College, King's College and University of Western Ontario, the University of Alberta, the University of Calgary, York (Toronto) University, St Francis Xavier University Antigonish, and Newfoundland (Canada, February 1991).
76. The Fall of Margaret Thatcher- public lecture delivered at the Universities of Western Ontario, Alberta and Calgary (Canada, February 1991).
77. An Taoiseach: The Irish Prime Minister, Political Studies Association of Ireland, Cork, October 1990.
78. The Limits to Hegemonic Control: British and Irish State- and Nation-Building Failure in Northern Ireland, 1920-1972, European Consortium for Political Research, Paris, April 1989.
79. 'British Policy on Northern Ireland since Hillsborough, Joint Convention of British International Studies Association and the International Studies Association, London, March 29-April 2 1989.
80. The Limits to Bureaucracy, International Institute for Administrative Sciences, Budapest Hungary, August 30-September 2, 1988.
81. The Limits to Coercive Consociationalism, Institute for Advanced Legal Studies, University of London, April 1988.
82. The Abolition of Metropolitan Governments, a Press and Television Conference at the Barcelona Metropolitan Corporation, December 1987.
83. Theories of Decentralization, Hellenic Agency for Local Development and Local Government, Athens, November 1986.
84. Tales of Two Cities, London-Paris Group, Maison Française, Oxford, September 1986.
85. The Death of London Metropolitan Government', London-Paris Group, University of Paris 2, January 1985.
86. The GLC, Tolstoy, and Nietzsche, Urban Politics Group, Political Studies Association, London, July 1984.

SAMPLES OF REVIEWS on PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq, U Pennsylvania Press, 2005 (with John McGarry and Khaled Salih)

Professor L. Carl Brown, Princeton University, writes in **Foreign Affairs** that the book "adds up to a strong pitch for a viable Kurdistan within an Iraq federal state – or even an independent Kurdistan if the several contending forces in Iraq will not accept federalism. Much has happened since mid-2004 when this book went to press [but] the analysis and prescription presented here remain relevant", Nov/Dec 2005.

Professor Gregory P. Nowell, State University of New York, "This collection of essays is a core resource for anyone with a serious interest in Iraq and the U.S. military ... a good representation of the major issues confronting Kurdistan, Iraq, and their neighbors as of spring 2004... Notwithstanding my reservations, these essays deepened my knowledge of this critical subject area, and I learned even where I disagreed. I recommend the book as a whole and strongly recommend the excellent essays authored by Brendan O'Leary and Peter Galbraith", **Publius: the Journal of Federalism**, 2005.

Robert Olson, University of Kentucky, "When more than one hundred London-based diplomats, politicians, journalists, and international affairs analysts turn out for a discussion of a book, one knows that the book is timely and has something to say about pressing current international affairs and about its topic's potential for impacting regional and international geopolitical alignments. This is what happened on 31 May 2005 at Chatham House, a British think tank associated closely with the United Kingdom's Foreign Ministry. The book discussed was *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq*, edited by Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry, and Khaled Salih. O'Leary is a noted international authority on various types of governmental arrangements, such as federations, confederations, and plurifederations.... The principal theoretical projection of the book is in chapters 2 and 4, written or co-authored by O'Leary.... *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* well deserves the prestigious turnout it produced at Chatham House, **Mediterranean Quarterly**: Fall 2005."

Professor Tim Dunne, University of Exeter, writes in the **Times Higher Education Supplement** 07 June 2005: "[an] outstanding collection" which "illustrates[s] the virtue of academic engagement with current predicaments."

"the first detailed scholarly study of the kind of federation that would best serve the interests of the Kurds and the other peoples of Iraq...Highly recommended", **Choice**, November 2005.

The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements, Oxford 2004, with John McGarry

Professor Jennifer Todd of University College Dublin, writes: "McGarry and O'Leary are undoubtedly the best technicians of consociational institutional design and they write with verve and robustness. They come to clear conclusions. They do not like ambiguity – and if these are sometimes proven wrong, they revise them... It is simply the best book on institutional design in Northern Ireland going and the authors know it". **Field Day** (Dublin) Summer 2005, pp. **

Richard Bourke of Queen Mary, University of London writes: 'For anyone with a serious interest in Northern Irish politics, it is certainly an obligatory read. It offers a convenient overview of the thinking of two of the leading academic defenders of 'power-sharing arrangements' in general, and of the 1998 Belfast Agreement in particular. Moreover, throughout these essays, the authors emphasise the extent to which Northern Ireland is a key resource for comparative political study. Cyprus, Lebanon, Kashmir, Kurdistan, Sri Lanka, Nagorno-Karabach and Kosovo are just some of the troubled political societies that are invoked by McGarry and O'Leary as potentially benefiting from comparison with the case of Northern Ireland. And since these chapters together amply justify that claim, it is fair to say

that the book as a whole will repay attention not only from those concerned with Northern Irish politics per se, but from those with an interest in the wider issues of conflict, secession and 'ethnic' struggle generally... *The Northern Ireland Conflict* is nonetheless a timely, spirited and consistently argued compilation of articles which earnestly seeks to marry the virtues of comparative political science with political theory. Its particular achievement is that it presents a highly professional account of the applications of consociational theory to Northern Irish politics' in **Political Quarterly** *** 2005.

Richard Haesly, of California State University, describes the authors as 'world-renowned experts', and the book as 'magisterial' and 'indispensable', and as demonstrating 'extremely detailed and careful thinking about the myriad intricacies surrounding the ongoing conflict in Northern Ireland, as well as what this case can tell us about consociational democracy as a potential solution for societies wracked by seemingly intractable social divisions', **Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism: Vol 5, No.1 2005: 55-7**

Right-sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders, Oxford, 2001. With Ian. S. Lustick and Thomas Callaghy.

"This book with its two frameworks in an attempted synthesis, one by O'Leary focused on ethno-nationalism and the other by Lustick... must be evaluated as a new creative set of propositions of much value in the quest for solutions for states with inflamed borders", Prof. Ralph Premdas, **Nations and Nationalism**, (2002) 8, 4: 565, 568

Policing Northern Ireland: Proposals for a New Start, Blackstaff, 1999. With John McGarry.

Barry White, journalist, "an imaginative blueprint [for police reform]...it would be surprising if the commissioners [the Independent Commission on Policing] did not adopt at least a few of the proposals in [this] timely book", **Belfast Telegraph**, 10 April 1999.

Barry White of the **Belfast Telegraph** writing after the publication of the Patten Report on police reform, which was published five months after *Policing Northern Ireland*: "What really surprised me was the number of times Patten refers to a book by two academics, John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, *Policing Northern Ireland*. Its summary makes 10 points, most of which find their way into the report in some form'. "Patten...finding the gems in the detail", September 18, 1999.

Jim Cusack, "This book could be said to come at a crucial point", Irish Times, 17 April 1999. '[Police reform] is one of the key questions in the North, and this looks like a reasonable and workmanlike effort at answering it to everyone's satisfaction", **Books Ireland**, May 1999

Paul Bew of Queen's University, Belfast: "In this thoughtful work, John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary discuss reasoned proposals to help create impartial, decentralized, demilitarized and democratically accountable policing services... Some of these ideas are worthy of very serious consideration", **Times Literary Supplement**, July 30, 1999, p.27.

Fintan O'Toole, journalist and writer, "lucid and insightful", **Irish Times**, May 9, 2000.

Darach MacDonald, "cogent, logical and well-documented...essential reading", **Ireland on Sunday**, 4 April 1999.

Professor Adrian Guelke of Queen's University Belfast writes in the **Canadian Journal of Political Science** (June, 2000), 'This short book by two of the best-known and most respected academics in the field of Irish political studies has already fulfilled what many would consider its primary purpose: influencing the report of the commission on the reform of policing set up under the Good Friday Agreement'.

Explaining Northern Ireland, Basil Blackwell, 1995. With John McGarry.

ADVANCE REVIEWS:

Prof. Arend Lijphart, Univ. Of California, San Diego (and President of the American Political Science Association, 1995-96) writes: 'The authors are experts not only on Northern Ireland but on ethnic conflict in many other countries. The comparative perspective that they bring to their treatment of Northern Ireland gives it extraordinary depth and insight. It is a stimulating analysis not only for Northern Ireland buffs, but for anyone interested in the roots of ethnic conflict - the world's number-one problem in the 1990s and probably in the twenty-first century, too'.

Prof. Seamus Deane of Notre Dame University writes: '*Explaining Northern Ireland* lives up to its title. It is the most effective and intelligent analysis we have of the crisis itself, of its attendant discourses, of its possible resolution. This book deals astringently with much of the propaganda, melodrama and lies that have surrounded the Northern Ireland problem. It should be recommended reading for all those genuinely interested in finding a solution that is rational, humane and enduring. It is also a model of the kind of analysis that such conflicts need if they are ever to be understood or resolved'.

Prof. Ian Lustick of the Univ. of Pennsylvania writes: 'In *Explaining Northern Ireland* McGarry and O'Leary strip away the misconceptions, dogmas and stereotypes that have stood in the way of so many efforts to understand and resolve the fate of this region. The authors write with wit and wisdom. This is a must-read book for anyone who has despaired of peace in Northern Ireland or who believes it is right around the corner'.

Prof. Michael Keating of the Univ. Of Western Ontario writes: 'This is a trenchant analyse and critique of the arguments around the Northern Ireland conflict. McGarry and O'Leary slice their way through the tangle of argument, prejudice, history and propaganda which surround the issue, while avoiding the traps into which so many others have fallen. They present a merciless critique of reductionist interpretations of the Northern Ireland issue from all parts of the political spectrum, continually bringing us back to the facts on the ground. This will be essential reading for anyone wishing to understand this tangled question'.

POST-PUBLICATION REVIEWS:

Professor Terry Eagleton of Oxford University describes *Explaining Northern Ireland* as an 'eminently judicious, splendidly level-headed study...[McGarry and O'Leary's] lucidity, thoroughness and formidable powers of analysis have put every student of the topic in their debt', **New Left Review**, Fall, 1995: 130-136.

Professor Adrian Guelke of Queen's University, Belfast writes: 'This is the most important book to have been published on the Northern Ireland problem since the publication in 1990 of John Whyte's magisterial survey of literature on the conflict, *Interpreting Northern Ireland*... Attention to empirical details is combined with incisive analysis, an attractive feature of which are its many flashes of wit... A mark of their command of the Northern Ireland problem, as well as of the soundness of their judgement, is that despite writing in a cautiously optimistic vein at an optimistic time, the recent breakdown in the peace process has in no way undermined their analysis'...

Dr Feargal Cochrane of Queen's University, Belfast describes *Explaining Northern Ireland* as being 'colourful, challenging and vigorous... extremely well written and accessible to both academic and general readerships...[and its deconstruction of Irish nationalism as being] well structured, intelligent, and reasoned, rather than reductionist, polemical and emotional', **Irish Political Studies**, 1996, 183-84.

Professor Keith Jeffery of the Univ. Of Ulster writes that *Explaining Northern Ireland* is a 'valuable addition to the canon of works on Northern Ireland' and describes the commentary as 'relentlessly incisive', **Times Literary Supplement**, Sept. 29 1995.

Dr Chris Gilligan of Univ. of Salford writes: 'Explaining Northern Ireland is methodical, measured, academic... [it] will undoubtedly become a core

text for undergraduate and postgraduate courses on contemporary Northern Irish politics', **Political Studies**, 44, 2, 1996: 360.

Prof. Robert McKim of the University of Illinois writes 'The deepest and most insightful analysis I have found [on Northern Ireland] is provided by John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary in Explaining Northern Ireland', in R. McKim and Jeff McMahan eds., **The Morality of Nationalism** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997: 273).

Dr. Jonathan Tonge of the University of Salford writes 'an outstanding scholarly work is provided by McGarry and O'Leary (1995). This goes further than the seminal study by Whyte (1990) in proposing solutions. The Politics of Antagonism (1996), by the same authors, is also an essential read, in Bill Jones et al **Politics UK** (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001:651).

A State of Truce: Northern Ireland after Twenty-Five Years of War, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 1995, Special Issue. (edited with John McGarry)

Dan Keohane (Senior Lecturer, Keele Univ.) writes that 'Readers of this special issue...will gain valuable insight into important changes in Ireland since the start of the present troubles [and that it] illuminates admirably many aspects of the conflict', **Times Higher Education Supplement** Feb. 24, 1996: 38.

The Politics Of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland, Athlone, 1993; 1996 2nd edition. With John McGarry.

Prof. Henry Patterson of the Univ. of Ulster writes: 'This book seems set to establish them [the two authors] as significant influences, not only on the way Northern Ireland is taught in universities but on that small circle of politicians and civil servants involved in the formation of London's policies towards the region', **Fortnight**, March, 1993: 47.

Prof. W. Harvey Cox writes of The Politics of Antagonism: 'Books like this show political science at its most necessary', **Parliamentary Affairs**, Vol. 47, 1, Jan. 1994: 144-45.

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