



**Brendan O'Leary, CV**  
Lauder Professor of Political Science &  
Director of the Penn Program in Ethnic Conflict  
University of Pennsylvania  
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### **Personal information**

Irish and European Union citizen  
Permanent resident of the USA

### **Professional Career**

#### **University of Pennsylvania (2002-)**

2003- Lauder Professor of Political Science  
2002-3 Stanley I. Sheerr Endowed Term Chair in the Social Sciences  
2007- Director of the University of Pennsylvania Program in Ethnic Conflict  
2002-7 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 (Convenor) of the Government Dept (elected)  
1996-2002 Professor of Political Science  
1992-1996 Reader in Political Science  
1990-1992 Senior Lecturer in Political Science  
1988 Tenure Granted  
1985-1990 Lecturer in Public Administration

### **Education**

#### **London School of Economics & Political Science, Great Britain**

PhD: The Asiatic Mode of Production: Oriental Despotism, Historical Materialism, and Indian Historiography. 1988.  
Winner of the Robert McKenzie Memorial Prize. Thesis published as a book.  
Examiners: Profs. Ernest Gellner (Cambridge) and Nicos Mouzelis (LSE).

#### **Oxford University, Keble College, Great Britain**

BA: Philosophy, Politics and Economics, First Class Honors, 1981.  
Winner Open Scholarship, 1977-81.  
President of the JCR (elected).

#### **St MacNissi's College, Co. Antrim, Northern Ireland**

3 GCE Advanced Levels, 1976. Winner of the Joint Association of Classical Teachers Prize for 1st Place in Ancient History.  
11 GCE Ordinary Level, 1973-5.

#### **Primary Schools**

Multiple: including In Ireland Eden, Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, Kirkistown, Cloughey, Co. Down, Strawberry Hill/Sunday's Well School, Cork, and various primary schools in Kaduna, Nigeria.

## **Prizes & 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, 2003-4  
Federal Failures and Successes, 2005-; Genocide and Ethnic Expulsion, 2006-; The Politics of Contemporary Iraq, 2006-  
Theses: Supervised 25 completed PhDs at the LSE 1986-2003; Committee Chair and Member for 2 completed PhD dissertations at U Penn. Currently chairing the committee of 2 students at U Penn, and Committee member for 2 more.  
PhD Examiner at the Universities of Oxford, London, National University of Ireland, Queen's University Belfast, University of Toronto, McGill University.

### **MA/MSc Teaching**

LSE: Program Convenor Comparative Politics,(1994-8).  
Comparative Politics Courses: National & 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

### **BA/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

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, Queens, 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 of the University of Pennsylvania Program in Ethnic Conflict, 2007-  
Director of the Solomon Asch Center for the Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict, 2002-7.  
Academic Governor (elected), Member of Governing Council of LSE, 2000-1.  
Convenor (Head or Chair) 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, Penn: Penn Humanities Forum, Multiple Political Science Search Committees, SAS Undergraduate Education Committee, Fels Institute Advisory Committee, Provost's Committee to advise on international speakers  
LSE: Standing Sub-Committee on Appointments, Information Systems and Planning Information Technology, Publications, Undergraduate Studies and Accommodation  
EU 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, International Studies 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**

Appointments Panel for the President of the University of Kurdistan-Hewler 2009

Member of the International Social Sciences and Historical Research Board of Ireland (2007-9)

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**

DEMOCRATIYA, Editorial Advisory Board, 2007-; 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, now 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-; PENN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 2007-; MINORITY RESEARCH NETWORK, Erasmus University of Rotterdam, International Advisory Board Member

## **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 Kurdistan Regional Government, intermittently between 2004 and 2009: responsible for advising on constitutional reconstruction of Iraq and Kurdistan (2004-), with special responsibility for federal arrangements and electoral laws, an advisor to the KRG in the drafting of the Transitional Administrative Law (2004), the making of Iraq's permanent constitution (summer 2005); and subsequently advising on power-sharing arrangements, electoral laws, Kurdistan's draft regional constitution, and the rights of nationalities and religious communities.

Member of The Kurdish Political Studies Initiative Advisory Board, at the University of Central Florida, Orlando (2009-).

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

Consultant to Department of International Development (UK), responsible for advising on power-sharing, coalition formation and electoral systems, Nepal (2007)

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, Somalia.

IRISH PEACE PROCESS ACTIVITIES: 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 (1987-1996/7), advising on all matters affecting constitutional politics, and proposed power-sharing arrangements. Policy advisor to the British Labour Party (1987-8-1996-7); 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 US White House (March 17 1998, May 24-26 1995, March 17 1994); Occasional participant in the British-Irish Association (1990-).

## **Broadcasting and journalism**

One of the subjects of Royal Irish Academy and Yellow Asylum Films documentary series "THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING IRISH" (broadcast as "The Irish Mind" in the United States), directed by Alan Gilsean 2008.

Regular broadcaster for BBC Radio 4's Analysis program (1992-2000), highlights include being a presenter and writer of 10 radio documentaries.

Regular broadcaster on British, Irish, American, European, and Japanese networks, especially on British, Irish and Iraqi 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 writer of op-eds and articles writer for newspapers and magazines, including DISSENT (New York), FINANCIAL TIMES (London), FORTNIGHT (Belfast), GLOBE & MAIL (Canada), GUARDIAN (London), IL SOL-24 ORE (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

Co-presenter of Iraq 2020, for NEWSNIGHT, BBC 2, London, March 19 2007.

Witness and submitter of evidence for the Iraq Commission, CHANNEL 4, June & July 2007.

Organized design and commissioning of a UMS opinion poll for NEWSNIGHT BBC 2, May 1996 (with Geoffrey Evans).

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

GUARDIAN Celebrity Scholar, June 18 1996.

## **Current Research interests**

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. Constitutional design debates. Iraq's constitutional process. Irish peace process. Theocracies.

## **Recent Grants/Fellowships**

Sawyer-Mellon funded Seminar Series (\$120, 000), seminar on Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places, hosted at the University of Pennsylvania, 2007-2008. The grant included two doctoral fellowships and one postdoctoral fellowship.

McGill University – for conference on "Size Matters: Homogeneity, heterogeneity, Economic Performance and Civil War", April 2006

MacArthur Grant – for Conference on Managing Ethnic Conflicts in Africa, at the Asch Center, February 2006

Rockefeller Foundation Residential Fellowship Bellagio, Italy, September-October 2002.

United States Institute of Peace, award with Professor John McGarry to complete research for a book on national and ethnic conflict regulation.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Authored and Co-authored Books

1. 2009 HOW TO GET OUT OF IRAQ, WITH INTEGRITY. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press)
2. 2009 being completed (with John McGarry) UNDERSTANDING NORTHERN IRELAND: COLONIALISM, CONTROL AND CONSOCIATION. (London: Routledge)
3. 2004. (with John McGarry) THE NORTHERN IRELAND CONFLICT: CONSOCIATIONAL ENGAGEMENTS (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 434.
4. 1999. (with John McGarry). POLICING NORTHERN IRELAND: PROPOSALS FOR A NEW START. pp. 146 (Belfast: Blackstaff Press).
5. 1995. (with John McGarry). EXPLAINING NORTHERN IRELAND: BROKEN IMAGES. Oxford, England, Cambridge, Mass: Basil Blackwell, pp. 533. Reprinted twice. 2nd edition under preparation.
6. 1993. (with Tom Lyne, Jim Marshall, and Bob Rowthorn). NORTHERN IRELAND: SHARING AUTHORITY. London: Institute of Public Policy Research, pp.155.
7. 1989. THE ASIATIC MODE OF PRODUCTION: ORIENTAL DESPOTISM, HISTORICAL MATERIALISM, AND INDIAN HISTORY. 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: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001, pp. 372-4)]
8. 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, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Romanian and Arabic translations].

### Edited and Co-edited Books

9. 2009. In press. THE KURDISTAN REGION: INVEST IN THE FUTURE. AN OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE KURDISTAN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT (London & Washington, D.C.: Newsdesk Publications, 2<sup>nd</sup> and wholly new edition)
10. 2008. Editor. THE KURDISTAN REGION: INVEST IN THE FUTURE. AN OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE KURDISTAN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT (London & Washington, D.C.: Newsdesk Publications)
11. 2007 (with Marianne Heiberg and John Tirman (eds.) TERROR, INSURGENCY AND THE STATE: ENDING PROTRACTED CONFLICTS (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 499.
12. 2005 (with John McGarry and Khaled Salih) (eds.) THE FUTURE OF KURDISTAN IN IRAQ (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 355.
13. 2001. (with Ian S. Lustick and Tom Callaghy) editors. RIGHT-SIZING THE STATE: THE POLITICS OF MOVING BORDERS (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 429.
14. 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].
15. 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.
16. 1993. (with John McGarry), editors. THE POLITICS OF ETHNIC CONFLICT REGULATION: CASE STUDIES OF PROTRACTED ETHNIC CONFLICTS. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 321.
17. 1990. (with Patrick Dunleavy and R.A.W. Rhodes), editors. PRIME MINISTER, CABINET, AND CORE EXECUTIVE. *Public Administration*. 68, 1, pp. 140.
18. 1990. (with) John McGarry, editors. THE FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 376. Foreword by Arend Lijphart.
19. 1990. editor. JACK WATSON'S WORLD HISTORY SINCE 1945. London: John Murray, pp. 545.

### Series Editor: National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

1. 2007. Hughes, James. CHECHNYA: FROM NATIONALISM TO JIHAD. Series Edited by B. O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
2. 2009. Lemarchand, Rene. THE DYNAMICS OF VIOLENCE IN CENTRAL AFRICA. Series Edited by B. O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
3. 2009 in press. Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, CRISIS IN KIRKUK : THE ETHNOPOLITICS OF CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE. Series Edited by B. O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

### Books in preparation/under contract

1. expected 2010 (with Joanne McEvoy), POWER-SHARING IN DEEPLY DIVIDED PLACES (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press)
2. expected 2010 (with Tristan Mabry and John McGarry) (eds.) DIVIDED NATIONS AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press)
3. expected 2010 (with John McGarry) EXPLAINING NORTHERN IRELAND 2nd edition, 2009 (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 Academic Journals

1. 2009. (with Paul Mitchell and Geoffrey Evans), 'Extremist Outbidding In Ethnic Party Systems Is Not Inevitable: Tribune Parties in Northern Ireland', *Political Studies*. 72, 2 (June), pp. 397-421.
2. 2009. (with John McGarry). "Must Pluri-National Federations Fail?" *Ethnopolitics* (Special Issue on Federalism, Regional Autonomy and Conflict), 8 (1): 5-26.
3. 2008. "A Long March: Paul Bew and Ireland's Nations." *Dublin Review of Books* (5, Spring)
4. 2007. "Analyzing Partition: Definition and Explanation." *Political Geography* 26(8): 886-908
5. 2007. (with John McGarry) "Iraq's Constitution of 2005: Liberal Consociation as Political Prescription", *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 5( 4). Special Issue, 'Constitutionalism in Divided Societies' (Sujit Choudhry, guest editor).
6. 2007. "Iraq's Future 101. The Failings of the Baker-Hamilton Report", *Strategic Insights* VI, (2 (March)). <http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2007/Mar/o%27learyMar07.asp>, also "On the Baker-Hamilton Report", *Democratiya*, 8, Spring, 2007, <http://www.democratiya.com>
7. 2007. "Cuttlefish, Cholesterol and Saoirse: Review Article on Richard English, Irish Freedom: The History of Nationalism in Ireland", *Field Day Review*, 3: March-April, 3: 187-204.
8. 2006. "Liberalism, Multiculturalism, Danish Cartoons, Islamist Fraud, and the Rights of the Ungodly", *International Migration*, 44 (5): 22-33.
9. 2006 (with John McGarry). "Consociational Theory, Northern Ireland's Conflict and its Agreement: Part 1. What Consociationalists Can Learn from Northern Ireland", *Government & Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics*, 41, 1: 43-63.
10. 2006 (with John McGarry). "Consociational Theory, Northern Ireland's Conflict and its Agreement: Part 2. What Critics of Consociation Can Learn from Northern Ireland", *Government & Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics*, 41, 2: 249-277.
11. 2005. "Mission Accomplished? Looking Back at the IRA", *Field Day Review* (March-April), 1,1: 216-46.
12. 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.
13. 2004. (with John McGarry). "Stabilizing the Northern Ireland Agreement", *Political Quarterly*, 75, 3 (July-September), 213-225.
14. 2003. "Consociation: Refining the Theory and a Defense". *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations* 3: 693-755.
15. 2003. "Engagements in Comparative Politics: Kant, Machiavelli, the Webbs & Us". *APSA-CP Newsletter* 14: 19-22.
16. 2003. "Status Quo Patriotism", *New Left Review*, 2nd series, 23 (Sept-Oct), 100-4.
17. 2002. "In Praise of Empires Past: Myths and Method of Kedourie's Nationalism", *New Left Review* 2nd series, 18 (Nov-Dec), 106-30.
18. 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.

19. 2001. "The Protection of Human Rights under the Belfast Agreement", *Political Quarterly* 72 (3 (July-September)): 353-65.
20. 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.
21. 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.
22. 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.
23. 1999. "The Nature of the Agreement". *Fordham Journal of International Law* 22, 4:1628-67.
24. 1999. "The Nature of the British-Irish Agreement" *New Left Review* 233: 66-96.
25. 1999. "The 1998 British-Irish Agreement: Power-Sharing Plus" *Scottish Affairs* No. 26, 1-22 (Winter).
26. 1998. "The Implications for Political Accommodation in Northern Ireland of Reforming the Electoral System for the Westminster Parliament", *Representation*, 35, 2-3: 106-113.
27. 1998. "Lessons for Academic Stalkers." *Political Studies*:796-8.
28. 1998. "The Northern Ireland Assembly," *Monitor: The Constitution Unit Bulletin*, 3 May: 2-4
29. 1997. "The Conservative Stewardship of Northern Ireland 1979-97: Sound-Bottomed Contradictions or Slow Learning?" *Political Studies* 45, 4: 663-76.
30. 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.
31. 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.
32. 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.
33. 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.
34. 1996. (editor of) "Symposium on David Miller's On Nationality", *Nations and Nationalism*, 2, (3), including item below,
35. 1996. "Insufficiently liberal and insufficiently nationalist". *Nations and Nationalism* 2 (3): 444-452.
36. 1996. (with John McGarry). "Proving our Points on Northern Ireland (and giving reading lessons to Dr Dixon)". *Irish Political Studies* 11: 142-154.
37. 1995. "Afterword: What is framed in the Framework Documents?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18 (4): 862-72.
38. 1995. "Introduction: Reflections on a Cold Peace". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18 (4): 695-714.
39. 1995. (with John McGarry). "Five Fallacies: Northern Ireland and the Liabilities of Liberalism". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18 (4): 837-61.
40. 1994. (with John McGarry). "The Political Regulation of National and Ethnic Conflict". *Parliamentary Affairs* 47 (1): 94-115.
41. 1993. "Affairs, Partner Swapping and Spring Tides: The Irish General Election of 1992". *West European Politics* 16 (3).
42. 1992. "Public Opinion and Northern Irish Futures". *Political Quarterly* 63 (2): 143-70.
43. 1992. "What are Public Lawyers For?" *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 12 (3): 404-18.
44. 1991. "An Taoiseach. The Irish Prime Minister". *West European Politics* 14 (2): 131-62.
45. 1990. "Solving Northern Ireland?" *Contemporary Record* 4 (1 & 2): 19-22 & 8-11.
46. 1990. (with Patrick Dunleavy and George Jones). "Prime Ministers and the Commons: Patterns of Behavior, 1868 to 1987". *Public Administration* 68 (1): 123-40.
47. 1990. (with John McGarry). "Northern Ireland's Future: What is to be done?" *Conflict Quarterly* 10 (2): 42-62.
48. 1990. (with John Peterson). "Further Europeanization and Realignment. The Irish General Election of June 1989". *West European Politics* 13 (1): 124-36.
49. 1990. "Setting the Record Straight: A Comment on Cahill's Country Report on Ireland". *Governance* 3 (1): 98-104.
50. 1989. "The Limits to Coercive Consociationalism in Northern Ireland". *Political Studies* 37 (4): 452-68.
51. 1987. "The Anglo-Irish Agreement: Folly or Statecraft?" *West European Politics* 10 (1): 5-32.
52. 1987. "British Farce, French Drama, and Tales of Two Cities: Reorganizations of Paris and London Governments, 1957-86". *Public Administration* 65 (4): 367-89.
53. 1987. "The Odyssey of Jon Elster". *Government & Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics* 22 (4): 48-98.
54. 1987. "Towards Europeanization and Realignment? The Irish General Election, February 1987". *West European Politics* 10 (3): 455-65.
55. 1987. "Why was the GLC abolished?" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 11 (2): 193-217.
56. 1985. "Is There a Radical Public Administration?" *Public Administration* 63 (3): 345-52.
57. 1985. "Explaining Northern Ireland: A Brief Study Guide". *Politics* 5 (1): 35-41.

## Chapters in Books

1. 2009. "Theocracy and the Separation of Powers," in Mario Ferrero and Ronald Wintrobe, (eds.), *The Political Economy of Theocracy*. London and New York: Palgrave. Chapter 1. pp. 9-30.
2. 2009. (with John McGarry) "Part 1. Argument. Power-Shared after the Deaths of Thousands", in Rupert Taylor, ed., *Consociational Theory: McGarry-O'Leary and the Northern Ireland Conflict*. London: Routledge. Chapter 1. pp. 13-84.
3. 2009. (with John McGarry) "Part III. Response: Under Friendly and Less Friendly Fire", in Rupert Taylor ed., *Consociational Theory: McGarry-O'Leary and the Northern Ireland Conflict*. London: Routledge. Chapter 18. pp. 331-388
4. 2008. (with John McGarry) "Consociational Theory and Peace Agreements in Pluri-National Places: Northern Ireland and Other Cases", in Guy Ben-Porat ed., *The Failure of the Middle East Peace Process*. London: Palgrave. Chapter 3. pp. 70-96
5. 2008. (with John McGarry) "Consociation and its Critics: Northern Ireland after the Belfast Agreement", in Sujit Choudhry, ed., *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 13. pp. 369-408.
6. 2008. (with John McGarry) "Iraq's Constitution of 2005: Liberal Consociation as Political Prescription", in Sujit Choudhry, ed., *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 12. pp. 342-68.
7. 2008. (with John McGarry and Richard Simeon). "Integration or Accommodation? The Enduring Debate in Conflict Regulation", in Sujit Choudhry, ed., *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2. pp. 41-88.
8. 2008. (with John McGarry). "Framing the Debate: Integration or Accommodation?", in R. Panossian, B. Berman, and A. Liscott, eds., *Governing Diversity: Democratic Solutions in Multicultural Societies*. Toronto and Montreal: EDG & Rights and Democracy. pp. 19-29.
9. 2008. "Overcoming a Terrible Past: Kurdistan and its People" in *The Kurdistan Region: Invest in the Future. An Official Publication of the Kurdistan Region.*, B. O'Leary ed. London and Washington D.C.: Newsdesk Publications, 42-5.
10. 2008. "The Kurdistan Regional Government" in *The Kurdistan Region: Invest in the Future. An Official Publication of the Kurdistan Region.*, B. O'Leary ed. London and Washington D.C.: Newsdesk Publications, 36-41.
11. 2008. "Looking to the Future: Interview with Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani" in *The Kurdistan Region: Invest in the Future. An Official Publication of the Kurdistan Region.*, B. O'Leary ed. London and Washington D.C.: Newsdesk Publications, 46-9.
12. 2008. "Future Challenges: Kirkuk" in *The Kurdistan Region: Invest in the Future. An Official Publication of the Kurdistan Region.*, B. O'Leary ed. London and Washington D.C.: Newsdesk Publications, 110-115.
13. 2008. "The Logics of Power-Sharing, Consociation and Pluralist Federations ", in Marc Weller, Barbara Metzger and Niall Johnson (eds) *Settling Self-Determination Disputes: Complex Power-Sharing in Theory and Practice* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: Dordrecht), Chapter 3, pp. 47-58.
14. 2008. "Complex Power-Sharing in and over Northern Ireland: A Self-Determination Agreement, a Treaty, a Consociation, a Federacy, Matching Confederal Institutions, Inter-Governmentalism and a Peace Process ", in Marc Weller, Barbara Metzger and Niall Johnson (eds) *Settling Self-Determination Disputes: Complex Power-Sharing in Theory and Practice* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: Dordrecht), Chapter 4, pp. 61-124.
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85. 1998. (With Christopher McCrudden and John McGarry). "The Dance of the Ministries: Explaining the Agreement Part 2." *Sunday Business Post*, April 26.
86. 1998. (With Christopher McCrudden and John McGarry). "Answering Some Big Questions. Explaining the Agreement, Part 1." *Sunday Business Post*, April 19.
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89. 2005. (With John McGarry) "Iraq's Election Kingmakers." *Globe and Mail*. December.

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91. 1988. (With Lorelei Watson) "Metrocide - How London and Barcelona Suffered a Similar Fate." *Local Government Chronicle*, 16-8.

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1. 2000. "Radio documentary: 'Peace in Our Time?'" In *Analysis*. UK: BBC Radio 4.
2. 2000. "Radio documentary: 'Fair Cops'." In *Analysis*. UK: BBC Radio 4.
3. 1998. "Radio documentary: 'The Hand of History?'" In *Analysis*. UK: BBC Radio 4.
4. 1997. "Radio documentary: 'Splitting the State?'" In *Analysis*. UK: BBC Radio 4.
5. 1997. "Radio documentary: 'Bringing Rights Back Home'." In *Analysis*. UK: BBC Radio 4.
6. 1996. "Radio documentary: 'Renewing the Peace Process?'" In *Analysis*. UK: BBC Radio 4.
7. 1996. "Radio documentary: 'Breaking the Logjam'." In *Analysis*. UK: BBC Radio 4.
8. 1994. "Radio documentary: 'The Fate of Nations'." In *Analysis*. UK: BBC Radio 4.
9. 1994. "Radio documentary: 'Beyond the Cease-fire'." In *Analysis*. UK: BBC Radio 4.
10. 1992. "Radio documentary: 'A Place Apart?'" In *Analysis*. UK: BBC Radio 4.

### Public lectures, presentations, addresses and conference activities

1. Panel on my "How To Get Out of Iraq With Integrity", Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, April 24 2009 (Reviewers Peter Rutland, Alon Ben-Meier and Stefan Wolff)
2. Public Lecture, 'How To Get Out of Iraq With Integrity', The University of Central Florida (The Kurdish Series), February 10, 2009.
3. Lecture, 'How To Get Out of Iraq With Integrity', Pennsylvania Association of Senior and Retired Faculty, Philadelphia, January 2009.
4. 'Keynote Address: How To Get Out of Iraq With Integrity', Political Studies Association of Ireland, Annual Conference, National University of Ireland: University College Galway, October 2008.
5. 'Reflections from Northern Ireland and Iraq', Public Address to Penn Alumni, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, June 26 2008.
6. 'Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places', presentation to Policy Network, Foresight Russia, 19-20 June 2008, Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Moscow. A symposium organized by the Alfred Herrhausen Society, the International Forum of Deutsche Bank, in partnership with the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy and Policy Network.
7. 'Kirkuk and the Disputed Territories', Public Lecture at the University of Exeter, Great Britain, May 28 2008.
8. 'Lessons for Export?', Presentation to The Mitchell Conference, 'Moving on From Conflict: Lessons from Northern Ireland', Queen's University Belfast, 22-23 May 2008
9. 'Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places', Suntory-Toyota Public Lecture, London School of Economics & Political Science, May 19 2008.
10. 'Article 140', presentation at a Conference organized by the Washington Kurdish Institute and the Penn Program in Ethnic Conflict, International Relations Room, Congress, Washington D.C., May 9 2008.
11. "The Return of the Soldier," presentation to "Freud, Franklin, and Beyond: An Interdisciplinary Forum on Mental Health and Society" sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania and the Psychoanalytical Center of Philadelphia, April 2008.
12. Speaker in Panel on "Understanding Ethnic Conflict and Identity-Based Atrocities", in the Program in Holocaust and Human Rights Studies Conference on "The Responsibility to Protect: A Framework for Confronting Identity-based Atrocities", March 10 2008, Cardozo School of Law, New York, NY
13. "Nationalities, Oil, and Land: Kirkuk and the Disputed Territories", Lecture Address to the conference on "The Kurds in International Affairs", Chatham House, London, December 19 2007, the text of the presentation is available at <http://www.krg.org/articles/detail.asp?smap=02010100&lngnr=12&asnr=&anr=22056&rnr=223>. [Revised version of text will be in an edited volume of the Royal Institute of International Affairs]
14. "Transformations in Ireland", Keynote Address to the Irish Association Annual Conference, Cross Border People: Southerners in the North; Northerners in the South", Ramada Hotel, Shaw's Bridge, November 9 2007. [The text will be published in an edited volume organized by the Association]
15. "Thinking about Coalition Governments: Comparative and European perspectives," Keynote lecture delivered at Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal, August 23 2007, and subsequently presented to civil society, media and politicians at meetings in Kathmandu.
16. 'Work for not Against Iraq's Constitution', Submission to the Iraq Commission, London, June 2007, also broadcast interview [http://www.channel4.com/news/microsites/I/the\\_iraq\\_commission/submissions.html](http://www.channel4.com/news/microsites/I/the_iraq_commission/submissions.html)
17. "The Separation of Powers in a Theocracy", paper presented to the Conference on the Political Economy of Theocracy, Antwerp, Belgium, June 2007.
18. "The Future of Iraq. Colloquium", Eastern Sociological Association, Philadelphia, March 17 2007.
19. "Pluralist Federations and Iraq", The Thrower Symposium: The New Federalism, Plural Governance in a Decentered World, Emory School of Law. Emory University, Atlanta, Feb 23, 2007.
20. "Travel and Engagements", Penn Humanities Forum, April 5 2007.
21. 'The Baker-Hamilton Report', The Solomon Asch Center, University of Pennsylvania, January 2007.
22. 'Democracy and Federalism', and "Summing Up", Conference on The Constitution of Iraq: One Year On, University of Pennsylvania Law School and the National Constitution Center, in co-operation with the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton, Oct. 12 2006.



23. Conference presentations on Kurdistan and Iraq for various branches of the United States Government, Washington D.C., Mar. 2006, Nov. 2006, Dec. 2006, Jan. 2007.
24. 'Managing Hard-liners', University of California at Irvine, November 2006.
25. Political Violence and Terrorism, University of Minnesota Law School, Nov. 2006.
26. 'Democracy and Federalism', and 'Summing Up', Conference on the Constitution of Iraq: One Year on, University of Pennsylvania Law School and the National Constitution Center, in co-operation with the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton, Oct 12 2006.
27. 'In Defense of Iraq's Constitution', Hecklers, BBC Radio broadcast, London, August 2006.
28. 'Arrangements for Managing Oil and Other Natural Resources in the 2005 Constitution', Conference hosted by the Department Foreign Affairs, Canada, "Iraq: Preventing Another Generation of Conflict", May 11-12, 2006, Ottawa.
29. 'Keynote Address: Partitions and their History', Conference of the Irish-British Cross-Border Association, Armagh, Ireland, January 19 2006.
30. '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
31. 'The Negotiation of a Federation in Baghdad', inaugural lecture for the Center on Multi-Level Governance, London, Ontario, Canada, November 2005.
32. 'The Future of Kurdistan,' presented at Swarthmore College, September 2005.
33. 'How the US May be Lucky in Iraq', BBC Lecture, London, September 2005.
34. '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.
35. 'The IRA', USIP\_SSRC joint conference, presented at Washington D.C. September 2005, and October 2004, and Cuenca, Spain, SSRC-NUPI conference.
36. "The Transitional Administrative Law", Address at the Aweza Club, Erbil, Kurdistan, March 17th 2004, reported in Khebat (Hewler, Kurdistan), April 8 2004.
37. 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.
38. 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.
39. (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.
40. 'Consociational Theory: Refinements and a Defense', Free University of Berlin, May 23rd 2003.
41. 'The Past and Future of Irish Nationalism', Re-imagining Ireland Conference, University of Virginia, May 11th 2003.
42. 'Partition', Political Science department, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 1 2003.
43. 'Federalism and Multinationalism', presentation at conference on Federalism and Multinationalism, University of Hull, UK, April 2003.
44. "The European Union, Federalism and Nationalism", public lecture at The University of Iceland, sponsored by the University and the Embassy of the United Kingdom. March 2003.
45. 'Multiculturalism and Consociation', East-West Common Ground Conference, Hawaii, February 2003.
46. Keynote Address, *The Future of Iraqi Kurdistan: 10 Years On*, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, December 2002.
47. Keynote address, 'Consociation', Power-Sharing, University of Western Ontario, Canada, November 2002.
48. '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.
49. Participant in 'Conference on the NI Peace Process', US Dept. of State & National Intelligence Council, Meridian International Center, Washington D.C., April 22 2002.
50. 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.
51. 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.
52. 'Partition', Paper presented at a Conference on Partition, University of Notre Dame, December 2001.
53. Symposium, 'Responding to Terrorism', University of Pennsylvania, September 13 2001, in Almanac, 18, 4, pp. 4-5, and also published on [www.opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net)
54. Human Rights in a Consociational, Confederal and Double Protection System, SDLP Conference on Human Rights, Belfast, February 28 2001.
55. 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>
56. Nationalism and Federalism, address to the Merriam Symposium: 'Can the World Cope? The Challenge of Ethnopolitical Conflict', University of Pennsylvania, November 29 2000.
57. The Belfast Agreement: Is the Darkest Hour Just Before the Dawn? Beatty Memorial Lecture, McGill University, Montreal, November 2nd 2000.
58. Nationalism and Federalism: A Theory of the Necessity of a Staatsvolk, McGill University, Montreal, November 1st 2000.

59. Why failing fully to implement the Patten Report matters, testimony to the US House of Representatives and the OSCE, Washington DC, September 22 2000.
60. An Iron Law of Nationalism and Federalism, Nordic House, Torshavn, Faeroe Islands, August 23rd 2000.
61. The State of the Agreement, Federation of Irish Societies, Birmingham, June 24th 2000.
62. The Patten Report and its Implementation? Catalan Police Academy, Barcelona, June 13th - 16th, 2000.
63. 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.
64. 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').
65. The British-Irish Agreement, address to the 10th Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism, LSE, March 24th 2000.
66. 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.
67. 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, Ministry of Justice: National Center for Mediation and Dispute Resolution, Jerusalem, February 29-March 2, 2000.
68. 'The British-Irish Agreement of 1998: Results and Prospects' Constitutional Design 2000, University of Notre Dame, December 9, 1999.
69. The Future Policing of Northern Ireland, University of Limerick, October 2, 1999.
70. Northern Ireland Conference, Centre for Research into Elections and Social Trends, Queen's University Belfast, June 22, 1999.
71. Human Rights Conference, Northern Ireland Office, Stormont, Belfast, June 16, 1999.
72. Northern Ireland Peace Agreement Lecture, Dartmouth College, USA, June 1, 1999.
73. British-Irish Agreement Manchester University, May 19, 1999.
74. British-Irish Agreement Nuffield College, Oxford University, May 18, 1999.
75. Human Rights and the Northern Ireland Peace Agreement: Problems and Prospects, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, May 8, 1999.
76. The Political Economics of Secession Conference, Eurasia Project funded by the Ford Foundation, Barcelona, Spain, January 14-15, 1999.
77. 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.
78. The Nature of the Agreement, 9th John Whyte Memorial lecture, Queen's University Belfast, November 26 1998.
79. 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.
80. 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.
81. Nationalism and Its Regulation, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, Conference on Understanding Nationalism, 4-6 December 1997.
82. 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.
83. 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.
84. Electoral Systems and Political Institutions, European Union sponsored Conference on Somalia, Kenya, June 19-22 1996, Naivasha, Kenya.
85. 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.
86. 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.
87. Meeting Somalis: Consulting on a Country's Constitutional Future, Address to UWO Political Economy Seminar Group, London, Canada, January 1996.
88. Ernest Gellner's Theory of Nationalism, University of Notre Dame, USA, December 1995, Queen's University, Belfast, May 1996.
89. Explaining Political Violence and Its Current Termination in Northern Ireland, Trinity College, Hartford Connecticut, USA, October 1995; Duke University, USA, November 1995.
90. 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.
91. Explaining Political Violence and Its Current Termination in Northern Ireland, University of Cornell, USA, March 1995.
92. The Framework Documents, University of North London, London, England, UK, March 1995.
93. Resolving Northern Ireland? Grinnell College, USA, University of Cornell, University of Notre Dame, USA, March 1995.
94. Three Prophecies and Three Predictions, Public Address to the Irish Association, Dublin, Ireland, October 1994.

95. Determining Our Selves: On the Norm of National Self-Determination, International Political Science Association, Berlin, Germany, August 1994.
96. Regulating National and Ethnic Conflict, University College Dublin, Ireland, January 1994.
97. Ernest Gellner's Theory of Nationalism, Political Economy Seminar, University of Western Ontario, March 1994.
98. On the Opsahl Report, National Peace Council, London, November 1993.
99. The Case for Sharing Authority, book launch at the Institute of Public Policy Research, October 1993.
100. The Political Management of Multi-Ethnic Conflict, University of Perugia, Italy, September 1992.
101. 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.
102. Interpreting Northern Ireland, Public Lecture, Irish Association, Belfast, Northern Ireland, UK, October 1991.
103. The Results of the JRRT poll in Great Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, British-Irish Association, Cambridge, England, UK, September 1991.
104. Nine Ways of Regulating Ethnic Conflict, Fides Summer School, Transylvania, Romania, July 1991.
105. Modes of Regulating Ethnic Conflict, University of Uppsala, Sweden, March 1991.
106. 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).
107. The Fall of Margaret Thatcher, public lecture delivered at the Universities of Western Ontario, Alberta and Calgary (Canada, February 1991).
108. An Taoiseach: The Irish Prime Minister, Political Studies Association of Ireland, Cork, October 1990.
109. 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.
110. '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.
111. The Limits to Bureaucracy, International Institute for Administrative Sciences, Budapest Hungary, August 30-September 2, 1988.
112. The Limits to Coercive Consociationalism, Institute for Advanced Legal Studies, University of London, April 1988.
113. The Abolition of Metropolitan Governments, a Press and Television Conference at the Barcelona Metropolitan Corporation, December 1987.
114. Theories of Decentralization, Hellenic Agency for Local Development and Local Government, Athens, November 1986.
115. Tales of Two Cities, London-Paris Group, Maison Française, Oxford, September 1986.
116. The Death of London Metropolitan Government', London-Paris Group, University of Paris 2, January 1985.
117. The GLC, Tolstoy, and Nietzsche, Urban Politics Group, Political Studies Association, London, July 1984.

## SAMPLES OF REVIEWS of PUBLICATIONS

HOW TO GET OUT OF IRAQ WITH INTEGRITY, U PENNSYLVANIA PRESS, 2009

"Brendan O'Leary asks all Americans, whether they supported or opposed the Iraq war, to think very carefully about getting out. His tough-minded argument for withdrawal and his sober and wise design for an honorable exit deserve our closest attention", Professor Michael Walzer, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

"This passionate and perceptive book should be required reading for the new Administration", Martin Woolcott, Foreign Correspondent, *The Guardian*.

TERROR, INSURGENCY, AND THE STATE: ENDING PROTRACTED CONFLICTS, U Pennsylvania Press, 2007 (with Marianne Heiberg and John Tirman)

"...excellent volume..." Professor Ian Roxborough, DEMOCRATIYA

"This is an important collection of case study examinations of major insurgencies. It examines longstanding insurgencies in Spain, Colombia, Indonesia, Lebanon, Israel, Ireland, Sri Lanka, Peru, Turkey, and Nepal. The authors wisely choose not to include a treatment of al Qaeda because the literature on that insurgency is burgeoning, perhaps to the neglect of the insurgencies treated in this volume that also use terrorism for political purposes. The scholarship of the expert researchers who contributed to this volume is particularly noteworthy because the book benefits from years of firsthand field research. The contributors rightly judge that 'labeling the insurgent organization on which they report simply as 'terrorist' blocks understanding and intelligent policy.' The book's individual chapters give superb background information, including the history, ideology, political goals, organization, membership recruitment, leadership, sources of support, tactics, and operations of varied insurgent movements. Included are insightful critical analyses of government counterinsurgency efforts. These case studies provide excellent substantive foundations for comparative analysis. The authors make numerous realistic and constructive recommendations for policy makers trying to mitigate or end persistent insurgencies and their concomitant terrorist attacks on civilians.

Summing Up: Highly Recommended. Graduate students through practitioners" - R.L. Russell, National Defense University, **Choice: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries**

**THE FUTURE OF KURDISTAN IN IRAQ**, 2005, paperback issued in 2006.

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 "illustrate[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.

"essays on types of federation present an excellent primer for Iraq's constitutional debates", Michael Rudin, **Middle East Quarterly**, Spring, 2006 [This author accuses us of antipathy toward Turkey]

"Students of nationalism and ethnicity will appreciate its contextualization of ongoing debates regarding civic and ethnic nationalism and constitutional design in divided societies. This volume is valuable to a variety of interests", Theodore McLaughlin, LSE, **Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism**, 6, 1, 2006, pp. 105-7.

"This is a timely collection... a very useful and well-organized compilation of essays, the contents of which have in no way been overtaken by events since publication...", Robert Brenton Betts, University of Balamand, Lebanon, **Middle East Policy Council Journal**, xiii (Winter), 2006: Number 4.

**THE NORTHERN IRELAND CONFLICT: CONSOCIATIONAL ENGAGEMENTS**, Oxford University Press 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. 255-7.

"Impressive array of scholarly work generated by John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary.... above all, rigorous, strategic, and persuasive," Aaron Edwards, 'Review Article: Interpreting the Conflict in Northern Ireland,' **Ethnopolitics** 6(1): 137-44.

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**.

Chapter in J. McGarry (ed.) **Northern Ireland and the Divided World 2001**.

"John McGarry and a distinguished group of comparativists have produced a volume important not only for scholars interested in the study of Northern Ireland but also for those concerned with ethnic conflict and nationalism generally.... In an insightful analysis of the 1998 agreement, Brendan O'Leary emphasizes the need for a consociational and confederal settlement in such circumstances as the Northern Ireland conflict. He argues that one significant flaw in the agreement is the British Parliament's capacity to override its provisions, as it did in temporarily suspending the Northern Irish Assembly in the year 2000. O'Leary also takes issue with Arend Lijphart's work on the optimal electoral mechanisms within consociational frameworks", David. E. Schmidt, Northeastern University, **American Political Science Review** (2002), 96: 857-858.

"O'Leary's analysis of the Agreement is a major strength of this volume ... His conclusion is both straightforward and convincing..", Prof. Sumantra Bose, **Nations and Nationalism**, (2002) 8, 4: 565.

• Chapter in Pippa Norris (ed.) **Britain Votes 2001**.

"But the chapter on Northern Ireland – by Mitchell, O'Leary and Evans – is excellent, providing substantial insights into the events in the one part of the country where major changes took place, and which have significant implications", Prof. Ron Johnston, **Party Politics**, 8 (September 2002).

**RIGHT-SIZING THE STATE: THE POLITICS OF MOVING BORDERS**, Oxford, 2001. (ed. 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, "coherent, 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'.

• Chapter on Gellner in J.A. Hall (ed.) **The State of the Nation** (1998).

"the most comprehensive examination of Gellner's theory itself is offered by Brendan O'Leary", Prof. Margaret Canovan, **American Political Science Review**, 1999, Dec.

"Brendan O'Leary presents a magisterial critique in a fifty page paper. ....This masterful essay, which every sociologist should read, is followed by several focused critiques". Pradeep Bandyopadhyay, **Canadian Journal of Sociology Online** January - February 2000.

"The reader will probably find that Brendan O'Leary's chapter provides an excellent, overall discussion of Gellner's approach to nationalism". Josep R. Llobera, **The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute**, 5, 4: 662.

**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 analysis 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 judgment, 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.

Prof. R.K. Carty (Univ. Of British Columbia) writes: 'In this thorough, balanced and careful book, O'Leary and McGarry provide an excellent scholarly account of the politics of Northern Ireland...anyone wanting an explanatory introduction to ethnic conflict in Northern Ireland ought to be directed to this book', **Canadian Journal of Political Science**, 1994, XXVII, 2: 32.

Prof. William Hazleton of Miami Univ. Ohio, says 'O'Leary and McGarry marshal an impressive array of evidence in support of their 'analytical' history.....The impact of the statistical charts, maps, and diagrams is truly staggering', **British Politics Group Newsletter**, Winter 1995, p.11.

Professor Arthur Aughey of the Univ. Of Ulster writes: 'intellectually impressive...sharp and unsentimental, informed and critical. This book should be read and thought about', **Irish Political Studies**, 1994.

Conor Ryan writes: 'meticulous and scholarly...a valuable contribution to an important debate', **Tribune**

Prof. Adrian Guelke writes: 'covers an enormous amount of ground...an intelligently argued, lucidly written, and thoroughly worthwhile contribution to understanding Northern Ireland', **International Affairs**, 69, No. 3. (Jul., 1993), pp. 599-600.

Prof. Paul Power, Univ. Of Cincinnati writes: 'a much needed political science evaluation', **Irish Literary Supplement**, 1994.

Prof. Paul Arthur of the Univ. Of Ulster writes; 'rich in information and judgement...remarkably accurate...should be required reading on advanced undergraduate lists', **Public Administration**, 1994.

Prof. Lawrence McBride, Illinois State University, writes "a carefully worded and reasoned text", in **American Historical Review**, October 1995, p. 1256.

**THE POLITICS OF ETHNIC CONFLICT REGULATION**, Routledge 1993. (ed.) With John McGarry.

William Gutteridge describes this as 'useful and remarkably comprehensive', **Conflict Bulletin**, Spring, 1994.

Prof. Duncan Morrow sees it as: 'a valuable collection of essays on a wide range of national and ethnic conflict... a useful and readable introduction for all those interested in ethnic conflict,' **Fortnight**, Feb. 1995: 43.

Prof. Robert Cormack of Queen's Univ., Belfast, describes it as 'an excellent textbook for the study of ethnic conflict...The [editors'] introduction would be essential reading for any course on ethnic conflict', **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, 19, 1, Jan. 1996: 207-08.

**NORTHERN IRELAND: SHARING AUTHORITY**, 1993. With Jim Marshall, Bob Rowthorn and Thomas Lyne.

Prof. Duncan Morrow, **Irish Political Studies** 1994, pp. 184-5 writes, 'The authors, important social democratic thinkers with a long record of interest in Ireland, have invested considerable collective intellectual energy in their comprehensive and complex proposal for shared authority... As an exercise in constitution-making, the plan is ingenious and largely convincing... What the authors have conclusively proved is that the complexities of condominium government are not unresolvable at the level of intellectual endeavour'.

Dr. Feargal Cochrane, Shared Thinking, **Fortnight**, November, pp. 26-7, writes 'this courageous and seductive treatise is one of the most important publications since the introduction of direct rule [in 1972]'.

**THE FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND**, Oxford University Press, 1990. With John McGarry.

Prof. Peter Mair of the Univ. of Leiden writes: 'This is an extremely worthwhile book, and McGarry and O'Leary are to be unreservedly congratulated for it', **Irish Political Studies**, 1991: 112-14.

Merlyn Rees, former Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, 1974-77, writes: 'I congratulate the editors for this valuable edition', **LSE Magazine**, Spring, 1991.

Paul King writes: '[the editors] are to be highly praised for their efforts', **Canadian Journal of Irish Studies**, July 1992: 222.

Prof. Tom Gallagher writes: 'This is an incisive and well organised study', **West European Politics**, Oct. 1991: 213.

Prof. Moxon-Browne of Queen's University Belfast writes that the book offers 'a mine of well presented information... for any serious student of Northern Ireland politics', **International Affairs**, July, 1991.

Prof. Adrian Guelke of the Univ. of the Witwatersrand writes 'This is a most useful collection, especially for academics and students studying the Northern Ireland conflict, and it will deservedly find its way on to any serious reading list', **Fortnight**, April 1991.

Prof. W. Harvey Cox writes 'This will be a most valuable tool for the Student and Teacher', **Parliamentary Affairs**, Fall, 1991: 414.

Prof. Neil Collins of the Univ. of Ulster writes: 'McGarry and O'Leary are to be congratulated for a most lucid presentation of the possibilities for progress in Northern Ireland'.

Prof. John Darby of the Univ. of Ulster writes that the book: 'is a thoughtful and positive addition to discussion on possible solutions to the conflict', **The Irish Review**, Spring, 1991.

Andrew Wilson of Loyola University, Chicago describes it as 'an important resource for all those concerned with the political future of [Northern Ireland] and for those interested in the general problems of nationalism, regionalism, and ethnicity', **Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism**, XXI, 1-2, 1994: 123.

**THE ASIATIC MODE OF PRODUCTION**, Blackwell 1989

Professor Ernest Gellner, University of Cambridge, wrote in the Preface of "this powerful, incisive and definitive study... Dr. O'Leary's book provides a superb and authoritative guide both to the logic and the history of the discussion, and it must, as such, be very warmly welcomed. "



Dr. T.V. Sathyamurthy, York University, wrote, *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 30.3. 1990 writes 'Brendan O'Leary has written a comprehensive treatise on the AMP ... In chapter six, the author demolishes Wittfogel's work on 'Oriental despotism' with sanguinary gusto ... splendid scholarship'.

Dr. Ellen Hazelkorn, *Irish Political Studies*, 1990, pp. 121-2 writes 'a cogently argued textual exegesis... An esoteric subject matter by the author's own admission, this book is both stimulating and rewarding... Brendan O'Leary's book will be the definitive guide'.

Professor John A Rapp, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 50, 1, February 1991, pp. 118-9 writes "a brilliantly researched and well-written book... What is so impressive about O'Leary's scholarship is that he criticized the limits of Wittfogel's and Marx's analysis, based not only on the current historical evidence, but on a more thorough reading of the sources they themselves consulted!"

Professor Ian Roxborough, SUNY, *Sociology*, vol. 24, 4, Nov 1990, pp. 744-5 writes "This is a remarkable and impressive work of scholarship and erudition. Most importantly, the argument is presented clearly, with razor-sharp logic".

Professor Eero Loone, *Studia Philosophica*, II (38), Tartu (Department of Philosophy, 1995), pp. 88-95 writes in his review article "O'Leary, Marx and Asia" "Marx provides us with an obvious counterexample to the generalization that all German academic writing is dull. In this respect, Brendan O'Leary is comparable to Karl Marx. O'Leary combines passion with academic study, and academic study profits from O'Leary's style of writing... O'Leary has succeeded in combining admirable clarity of writing with a natural ability to communicate his feelings ... A major virtue of the book under review is the introduction of solid scholarship into an area which has been for too long prone to sectarian disputes".

P. W. Klein, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1991, XXXIV, 4, pp. 365-6, writes "one cannot help being impressed by the sharp analytical wit ... employed in his unrelenting and cool endeavours to get at the crux of the matters at issue".

**THEORIES OF THE STATE: THE POLITICS OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY**, 1987. With Patrick Dunleavy.

Professor R. Fincer, *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, 7, 1989: 119-21 writes 'an admirable text... thorough, conscientiously well-organized and presented'.

Dr Mike Campbell, *Critical Social Policy*, 21, Spring 1988, 104-7 writes 'Each of these chapters provides a very systematic, clear, lucid and, largely, accurate account of the different approaches, together with their major merits, and deficiencies. It is also the first time that all these approaches are to be found covered in one text in such an extended fashion. It is also a valuable contribution of the book that each approach is examined largely without polemic'.

'*Theories of the State* is the type of text that undergraduates reading social sciences (or simply taking one of them as an option) have been crying out for.' Dino Joannides, *West European Politics*, 1989, 12, 1., p. 211.

'The authors' contribution is an outstanding one and deserves to be read in detail... Dunleavy & O'Leary's work is an important contribution to the Social Sciences', Dr. Gil Shildo, *Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics*, 2, 3, 1988, pp. 254-5.

Professor John Dunn, University of Cambridge, *Government and Opposition*, 22, 4, 1987, 516-21 writes 'Dunleavy and O'Leary present a careful textbook treatment, very much in the modern social science idiom, of the politics of capitalist democracies...most of what they say is sensible and some of it quite deftly put'.

Professor Peter Jones, Newcastle University, *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, pp. 216-7 writes 'It aims to give 'the most compelling and clearest account possible' of each of the five theories, and it succeeds to a remarkable degree in achieving that aim.'

Professor Martin Harrop, Newcastle University, *Political Studies*, xxxvi, 1, March, 1988, pp. 195-6 writes 'This book lays out the options in impressive style.'