

Curriculum Vitae

Donald L Horowitz

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Education

Ph.D. Harvard University 1968
M.A. Harvard University 1965
LL.M. Harvard University 1962
LL.B. Syracuse University 1961
A.B. Syracuse University 1959

Professional Experience / Employment History

Duke University

James B. Duke Chair, 1994-present
Charles S. Murphy Chair, 1988-1993
Professor, 1980-present

Harvard University

Professorial Lecturer, School of Advanced International Studies, 1976-1981
Research Associate, Center for International Affairs, 1967-1969

Smithsonian Institution

Senior Fellow, Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies, 1975-1981

The Brookings Institution

Research Associate, 1972-1975

George Washington University

Lecturer, 1972-1973

Council on Foreign Relations and Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Fellow, 1971-1972

Civil Division, Appellate Section

Attorney, Department of Justice, 1969-1971

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Law Clerk to Hon. Joseph S. Lord, III, Chief United States District Judge, 1965-1966

Visiting Positions

Fulbright Senior Specialist and Distinguished Visiting Fellow, IKMAS (Institute of Malaysian and International Studies), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002

Carnegie Scholar, Carnegie Mellon, 2001-2002

Centennial Professor, London School of Economics, 2001

Distinguished Visitor, London School of Economics, Suntory and Toyota Centre for International Economics and Related Disciplines, 1998-2000

(one month each spring)

Visiting Scholar, University of Canterbury School of Law, Christchurch, New Zealand, Winter 1995-1996

Visiting Professor, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Spring 1991

Rockefeller Foundation Residency, Bellagio Study Center, Lake Como, Italy, Summer 1990

Visiting Fellow, Wolfson College, Cambridge University, 1988

Visiting Professor and Charles J. Merriam Scholar, University of Chicago Law School, Autumn 1988

Visiting Fellow and Research Associate, University of Malaya, 1984

Awards, Honors, and Distinctions

Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Migration Distinguished Scholar Award, International Studies Association, December, 2009

President, American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy, 2007-2010; Vice-President, 2004-, 2007

Vice-President, American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy, 2004-

Torkel Opsahl Memorial Lecturer, Queen's University, Belfast, 2000

Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award, Tufts University, August, 2001

Maines Visitor and Lecturer, Centre for Public Law, University of Cambridge, 2000

Louis Brownlow Prize of the National Academy of Public Administration for the best book in public administration, *The Courts and Social Policy*, 1997

Predoctoral and Postdoctoral Fellowships, National Science Foundation, 1996-1968

Sondermann Lecturer, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado, 1994

Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1993

Finalist, Herskovits Award, African Studies Association, 1992

Ralph J. Bunche Award of the American Political Science Association, 1992

Maurice Webb Memorial Lecturer, Natal University, 1989

Outstanding Academic Book, *Choice Magazine*, 1987

National Humanities Center Fellowship, 1984

National Humanities Center Fellowship, 1984

Guggenheim Fellowship, 1980-1981

Guggenheim Fellowship, 1980-1981

McDonald-Currie Memorial Lecturer, McGill University, Montreal, 1980

Finalist, C. Wright Mills Book Award of the Society of the Study of Social Problems, 1978

Social Science Research Council Fellowship, 1977

Social Science Research Council Fellowship, 1977

Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship, 1976

Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship, 1976

Council on Foreign Relations Fellowship, 1971-1972

Woodrow Wilson Center Fellowship, 1971-1972

Council on Foreign Relations Fellowship, 1971-1972

Woodrow Wilson Center Fellowship, 1971-1972

National Science Foundation Predoctoral and Postdoctoral Fellowships, 1966-1968

Harvard University Graduate Fellowship, 1963-1965

Professional Service

Dept Officer

Dissertation Committee, Department Chair, 2002 - present

Papers Refereed

Multiple Papers Refereed for Multiple Journals, 2010 - present

Multiple papers refereed for multiple journals; also several book manuscripts for several publishers.

Member, Advisory Committee for the Iraq Electoral Legal Framework, 2009 - present

Kenyan Draft Constitution: Chicago Working Group for the International Development Law Organization, November, 2009 - February, 2010

Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Democracy Promotion, 2006 -2008

U.S. National Security Council, 2007

Moroccan autonomy plan for the Western Sahara

Other

Member, Advisory Board, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 2005 - present

Member, Listings:, 2005 - present

Who's Who in America Who's Who in American Education Who's Who in American Law International Authors and Writers Who's Who Dictionary of International Biography Who's Who in the 21st Century

Member, International Board, Ethnopolitics, 2004 - present

Member, International Editorial Board, Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe, 2002 - present

Member, Society for Comparative Research, 2001

International Consultant, Cyprus (PRIO in Nicosia), 2001

Member, Southeast Asia Law Society, 1999-present

Member, International Advisory Board, Center for Development Research, University of Bonn, Germany, 1999-present

Member, Board of Arbitrators, National Association of Securities Dealers Regulation, Inc., 1998-present

Member, Panel of Arbitrators, China International Economic and Trade Arbitration Commission (CIETACO), Beijing, 1997-present

Member, Advisory Board, International Encyclopedia of Racial and Ethnic Relations, 1996-present

Member, Advisory Board of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, 1995-present

International Consultant, The Hague, problems of federalism and state structure in post-Soviet states, January 1995

International Consultant, Northern Ireland, Northern Ireland Office: plans for re-democratization, May 1995

International Consultant, Republic of Ireland, Ministry of Foreign Affairs: developments in Northern Ireland, June 1995

Member, Mediation Panel, U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina, 1994-present

Member, International Editorial Board, Nations and Nationalism, 1994-present

Member, Research Council of the International Forum for Democratic Studies, 1994-present

International Consultant, Romania, Presidency and Police: prevention of violence against Gypsies, 1994

International Consultant, The Hague, CSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities: issues in Eastern Europe, October 1994

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of Democracy, 1993-present

International Consultant, Russia, Minister of Nationalities: nationality policy, 1993

International Consultant, Tatarstan, Presidency: federalism, electoral systems, 1993

External Examiner, Faculty of Law, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1992

Member, Advisory Board, Series on Constitutionalism and Democracy, University Press of Virginia, 1992-present

Member, Council on Ethnic Accord, Project on Ethnic Relations [in Eastern Europe], 1991-present

Member, Editorial Board, Public Interest Law Review, 1988-present

Member, Editorial Board, Law and Contemporary Problems, 1983-84, 1989-present

Consultant, General Counsel, U.S. Department of Transportation, 1980

International Consultant, Nigeria, Delegation to Constituent Assembly: presidential electoral system, 1978

Member, Bars of New York, the District of Columbia, the United States Supreme Court, and the United States Court of Appeals for various circuits, present
 Order of the Coif, present
 Member, Program Committee for the 1989 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, present
 International consultant, Taiwan, Commission on Reform, Office of the President: constitutional revision, December 2004
 International Consultant, Malaysia, Universiti Kebangsaan: plans for research universities, June-July 2002
 External Assessor, Department of Syariah and Law, Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya, 1999-2002, 2005-2008
 Member, Board of Directors, Project on Ethnic Relations, 1999-2004
 Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences Strategic Planning Committee on Studies and Projects, 1998-1999
 International Consultant, Indonesia, National Democratic Institute: proposed electoral and political parties laws, August 1998-February 1999
 International Consultant, Bosnia, three-person International Advisory Board for the High Representative: electoral law, November 1998-1999
 Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences Membership Committee for Political Science, 1997-1998
 Member, Advisory Council, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1994-1998
 International Consultant, Fiji, Constitution Review Commission: electoral systems and other constitutional arrangements, December 1995-February 1996
 Chair, Advisory Board, Ethnicity Program, Woodrow Wilson Center, 1992-1995
 Member, Panel of Arbitrators, American Arbitration Association: Labor and Commercial Panels, 1973-1995
 External Examiner, Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya, 1990-1993
 Member, Arbitration Panel, U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina, 1985-1993
 Member, Board of Directors, Adjudication Center, 1984-1992
 Co-Chair, American Academy-Ecole Normale Supérieure French-American Ethnicity Project, 1988-1991
 Chair, American Academy of Arts and Sciences Planning Group on Ethnicity, 1984-1989
 Chair, North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1985-1988
 Member, National Science Foundation Review Panel on AID Entrepreneurship Project, 1982-1986
including field evaluation in Malawi, 1985-86
 Member, Council on the Role of the Courts, a Study Group of Lawyers, Judges, and Social Scientists under the auspices of the Department of Justice, 1978-1984
 Principal Consultant, Ethnic Issues in Asia and Africa, The Ford Foundation, 1977-1982
 Member, Editorial Board, Ethnicity, 1974-1982

Selected Recent Invited Talks

"How Indonesia Became a Constitutional Democracy", George Washington University Comparative Politics Workshop, October 12, 2010
"The Challenge of Democratic Transition and Constitutional Design in Kyrgyzstan", National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, D.C., April 23, 2010
"Indonesia's Path to Constitutional Democracy", Donovan lecture at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, April 05, 2010

"Conciliatory Institutions and Constitutional Process in Indonesia", Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, March 26, 2010

"Islam, International Law and the Prospects for a Democratic Iraq", Whittier Law School, Costa Mesa, CA, March 24, 2010

"Indonesia's Path to Constitutional Democracy", George Washington University Law School, March 05, 2010

"Constitutional Design for Severely Divided Societies", Georgetown University Political Science Department, March 03, 2010

"Indonesia's Path to Constitutional Democracy", UCLA Law School's Human Rights Colloquium, February 18, 2010

"Universal Values, Cultural Differences, and the Future of Democracy: A Celebration of the Life and Thought of Samuel P. Huntington", National Endowment for Democracy forum, March 10, 2009

"An Inside Job: How Indonesia Became a Constitutional Democracy", University of Hawaii, January 20, 2009

"Constitutional Design, Ethnicity, and Democracy", *"Constitution Making: A Process Filled with Constraint"*, *"Conciliatory Institutions and Constitutional Processes in Post Conflict States"* and *"The Many Uses of Federalism in De"*, Shih Ming-Teh Lectures at National Taiwan University, March 24, 25, 26, 2008

"Constitutional Design for Severely Divided Societies", Universiti Utara Malaysia, July 31, 2008

"The Unrealized Potential of Federalization", Central European University in Budapest, October 10, 2007

"The U.S. Constitution: Experience for Thailand", Law Faculty of Chulalongkorn University in Thailand, August 01, 2007

"If Not Democracy, Then What? Ethnicity, Religion, and Politics in the Middle East", Pew-Hudson Capitol Hill series for senior Senate and House staffers, April 30, 2007

"The Rule of Law in Factionalized Societies", Academia Sinica in Taiwan, March 27, 2007

"Federalism and Ethnic Conflict", Center for American Progress in Washington, D.C., March 22, 2007

"The Iraq Constitution and the Rule of Law", "Politics, Law, and Economics" Lecture Series, March 20, 2007

"Electoral Systems and Democracy: What Have We Learned?", National Endowment for Democracy, October 25, 2006

"Electoral Systems and Constitutional Design", Series on Constitutional Design, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel, February 26, 2006

Constitutional Design for Severely Divided Societies, University of California, Davis, Center for History, Society and Culture, 7 January 2004

State-Building in Iraq and Afghanistan: What Is the Proper US Role?, Wake Forest University, 12 November 2003

Constitutional Design for Severely Divided Societies, Diplomatic Academy of Austria, Vienna, 15 October 2003

Constitutional Design for Severely Divided Societies, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 13 October 2003

Constitutional Design for Severely Divided Societies, Rutgers University, 28 April 2003

Maines Visitor and Lecturer, Centre for Public Law, University of Cambridge, 2000

Torkel Opsahl Memorial Lecturer, Queen's University, Belfast, 2000

Dondermann Lecturer, Colorado College, Colorado Spring, Colorado, 1994

Maurice Webb Memorial Lecturer, Natal University, 1989

McDonald-Currie Memorial Lecturer, McGill University, Montreal, 1980

Publications

Books

1. *Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Perspectives from Research and Policy-Making*, edited by Donald L. Horowitz (2002).
2. D.L. Horowitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot* (2001), Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
3. *Immigrants in Two Democracies: French and American Experience*, edited by Donald L. Horowitz (1992), New York: New York University Press.
4. D.L. Horowitz, *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society* (1991), Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
5. D.L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (1985), Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (reissued with a new preface, 2000..).
6. D.L. Horowitz, *Coup Theories and Officers' Motives: Sri Lanka in Comparative Perspective* (1980), Princeton: Princeton University Press.
7. D.L. Horowitz, *The Courts and Social Policy* (1977), Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.
8. D.L. Horowitz, *The Jurocracy: Government Lawyers, Agency Programs, and Judicial Decisions* (1977), Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath & Co..

Monographs

1. D.L. Horowitz, *The Helping Professions and the Hurting Conflicts*, East Lansing: Michigan State University Center for Advanced Study of International Development, Distinguished Speaker Series, monograph no. 10 (1992).
2. D.L. Horowitz, *Community Conflict: Policy and Possibilities*, Centre for Conflict Studies, University of Ulster, Coleraine, Monograph Series, number one (1990) (also translated into Romanian..).

Chapters in Books

1. D.L. Horowitz, *Some Realism About Constitutional Engineering*, in *Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Towards a New Realism*, edited by Andreas Wimmer, et al (2004), pp. 245-57, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
2. D.L. Horowitz, *Structure and Strategy in Ethnic Conflict: A Few Steps Toward Synthesis*, in *Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics, 1998*, edited by Boris Pleskovic and Joseph E. Stiglitz (1999), pp. 345-70, Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
3. D.L. Horowitz, *The Cracked Foundations of the Right to Secede and Their Implications for Partition*, in *Volume on Partition*, edited by Andrew Bacevich (2002).
4. D.L. Horowitz, *Constitutional Courts: Opportunities and Pitfalls*, in *Towards a New Constitution in Afghanistan*, edited by Barnett Rubin (2003), Maiwand.
5. D.L. Horowitz, *Constitutional Courts: Opportunities and Pitfalls*, in *Towards a New Constitution in Afghanistan*, edited by Barnett Rubin (2003), Kabul: Maiwand (in English, Pushto, and Persian, Uzbek translations, 2004..).
6. D.L. Horowitz, *The Primordialists*, in *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World: Walker, Connor and the Theory of Nationalism*, edited by Daniele Conversi (2002), London: Routledge.
7. D.L. Horowitz, *Constitutional Design: Proposals Versus Processes*, in *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*, edited by Andrew Reynolds (2002), pp. 15-36, Oxford University Press.

8. D.L. Horowitz, *Domesticating Foreign Ideas in the Adoption of New Institutions: Evidence from Fiji and Indonesia*, in *Sovereignty Under Challenge*, edited by John D. Montgomery (2002), pp. 197-220, New Brunswick: Transaction.
9. D.L. Horowitz, *Eating Leftovers: Making Peace from Scraps off the Negotiating Table*, in *Conflict and Cooperation*, edited by Günther Baechler and Andreas Wengers (2002), pp. 293-309, Zurich: NZZ Publishing.
10. D.L. Horowitz, *Constitutional Design and the Problem of Adoption: Proposals Versus Processes*, in *Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy in the Late Twentieth Century*, edited by Andrew Reynolds (2001), Oxford University Press.
11. D.L. Horowitz, *The Northern Ireland Agreement: Consociational, Maximalist, and Risky*, in *Northern Ireland and the Divided World*, edited by Clarendon: Oxford University Press (2001), pp. 89-108.
12. D.L. Horowitz, *The Indonesian Electoral and Political Parties Laws: An Assessment*, in *The Democratic Transition in Indonesia*, edited by William Liddle (2001), Jakarta: Mizan.
13. D.L. Horowitz, *Group Loyalty and Ethnic Violence*, in *Violent Conflict in the 21st Century*, edited by Charles Hermann et. al. (1999), pp. 89-110, Chicago: Midwest Center of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
14. D.L. Horowitz, *Structure and Strategy in Ethnic Conflict: A Few Steps Toward Synthesis*, in *Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics, 1998*, edited by Boris Pleskovic and Joseph E. Stiglitz (1999), pp. 345-70, Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
15. D.L. Horowitz, *Encouraging Electoral Accommodation in Divided Societies*, in *Electoral Systems in Divided Societies: the Fiji Constitution Review (1997)*, pp. 21-37, Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
16. D.L. Horowitz, *Ethnic and Nationalist Conflicts*, in *World Security, 2d ed.*, edited by Michael Klare (1993), New York: St. Martin's Press.
17. D.L. Horowitz, *Conflict and the Incentives to Political Accommodation*, in *Northern Ireland and the Politics of Reconciliation*, edited by Dermor Keogh and Michael H. Haltzel (1993), Cambridge and Washington, D.C.: Cambridge University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
18. D.L. Horowitz, *How to Begin Thinking Comparatively About Soviet Ethnic Problems*, in *Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities: History and Comparison in the Study of the USSR (1992)*, New York: Columbia University Press.
19. *Immigration and Group Relations in France and America*, in *Immigrants in Two Democracies: French and American Experience*, edited by Donald L. Horowitz, coeditor (1992), pp. 3-35, New York: New York University Press.
20. D.L. Horowitz, *Irredentas and Secessions: Adjacent Phenomena, Neglected Connections*, in *Irredentism and International Politics*, edited by Naomi Chazan (1991), Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
21. D.L. Horowitz, *Existe-t-il un modèle européen d'intégration?*, in *L'intégration des minorités immigrées en Europe*, edited by Didier Lapeyronnie, vol. 1 (1991), pp. 183-86, Paris: Agence pour le Développement des Relations Interculturelles.
22. D.L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Conflict Management for Policy-Makers*, in *Conflict and Peace-Making in Multiethnic Societies*, edited by Joseph V. Montville and Hans Binnendijk (1990), Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.
23. D.L. Horowitz, *Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management*, in *Conflict and Peace-Making in Multiethnic Societies*, edited by Joseph V. Montville and Hans Binnendijk (1990), Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.
24. D.L. Horowitz, *The Constitution and the Art of Compromise*, in *The New Federalist Papers*, edited by J. Jackson Barlow et al. (1988).
25. D.L. Horowitz, *The Voting Rights Act*, in *The New Federalist Papers*, edited by J. Jackson Barlow et al. (1988).

26. D.L. Horowitz, *Conflict and Accommodation: Mexican Americans in the Cosmopolis*, in *Mexican Americans in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Walker Connor (1985), pp. 58-103, Washington: The Urban Institute Press.
27. D.L. Horowitz, *Racial Violence in the United States*, in *Ethnic Pluralism and Public Policy: Achieving Equality in the United States and Britain*, edited by Nathan Glazer and Ken Young (1983), pp. 187-211, London: Heinemann (abridged in the *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (December 1983)..).
28. D.L. Horowitz, *Foreward*, in *Protection of Ethnic Minorities: Comparative Perspectives* (1981), New York: Pergamon Press.
29. D.L. Horowitz, *Overcoming Barriers to the Use of Social Research in the Courts*, in *The Use/Misuse/Non-use of Applied Social Research in the Courts*, edited by Michael Saks and Charles Baron (1980), pp. 148-54, Cambridge: Abt Books.
30. D.L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Identity*, in *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (1975), pp. 111-40, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
31. D.L. Horowitz, *Multiracial Politics in the New States: Toward a Theory of Conflict*, in *Issues in Comparative Issues*, edited by Robert J. Jackson and Michael B. Stein (1971), pp. 164-80, New York: St. Martin's Press.

Journal Articles

1. D.L. Horowitz, *Getting to No: Obstacles on the Road to Middle East Peace*, *The American Interest*, September – October 2010. (2010).
2. D.L. Horowitz, *Will Kymlicka's Multicultural Odysseys: Prudential and Moral Issues*, *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 38, no. 1 (January 2010). (2010).
3. D.L. Horowitz, *The Federalist Abroad in the World*, in a new edition of *The Federalist*, edited by Ian Shapiro (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp 502-532. (2009).
4. D.L. Horowitz, *A Federal Constituency for Belgium: Right Idea, Inadequate Method*, in Kris Deschouwer and Philippe Van Parijs, eds., *Electoral Engineering for a Stalled Federation* (Brussels: Re-Bel e-book, 2009) (2009).
5. D.L. Horowitz, *Conciliatory Institutions and Constitutional Processes in Post-Conflict States*, *William & Mary Law Review*, Vol. 49, no. 4 (March 2008), pp. 1213-1248 (also translated into Chinese) (2008).
6. D.L. Horowitz, *The Many Uses of Federalism*, *Drake Law Review*, Vol. 55, no. 4 (2007) (2007).
7. D.L. Horowitz, *Where Have All the Parties Gone?*, *Fraenkel and Grofman on the Alternative Vote* Yet Again, @ *Public Choice*, Vol. 133, no. 1-2 (October 2007), pp.13-23 (2007).
8. D.L. Horowitz, *Approaches to Inter-ethnic Accommodation: A Comparative Perspective*, in Abdul Rahman Embong, editor, *Rethinking Ethnicity and Nation-Building: Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Fiji in Comparative Perspective* (Kajang, Malaysia: Malaysian Social Science Association, 2007), pp. 20-37. (2007).
9. D.L. Horowitz, *Three Ways to Make a Constitution*, in Chung-Ii Wu and Yu-Shan Wu, editors, *Constitutional Reform: Background, Process and Impact* (Taipei: Wunan Press, 2006), pp. 15-28 (in Chinese) (2006).
10. D.L. Horowitz, *Constitutional Courts: A Primer for Decision Makers*, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 17, no. 4 (October 2006), pp. 125-37 (2006).
11. D.L. Horowitz, *Strategy Takes a Holiday*, *Fraenkel and Grofman on the Alternative Vote*, @ *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 39, no. 5 (June 2006), pp. 652-62 (2006).
12. D.L. Horowitz, *Constitution-Making: A Process Filled With Constraint*, *Review of Constitutional Studies*, Vol. 12, no. 1 (2006), pp. 1-17 (2006).

13. D.L. Horowitz, *Various articles, on legal institutions and on ethnic relations* (2005) (New Republic, Commentary, the Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, Le Monde, the New Leader, Africa Update, Development Digest, Problèmes Politiques et Sociaux (Paris), and the Wall Street Journal.).
14. D.L. Horowitz, *The Alternative Vote and Interethnic Moderation: A Reply to Fraenkel and Grofman*, Public Choice, vol. 121 no. 3-4 (October, 2004), pp. 507-16.
15. D.L. Horowitz, *Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers*, Journal of Democracy, vol. 14 no. 4 (October, 2003), pp. 115-27.
16. D.L. Horowitz, *Foreward: Compared to What?*, Duke Journal of Comparative & International Law, vol. 13 (October, 2003), pp. 1-6.
17. D.L. Horowitz, *The Cracked Foundations of the Right to Secede*, Journal of Democracy, vol. 14 no. 2 (April, 2003), pp. 5-17.
18. D.L. Horowitz, *A Right to Secede?*, Secession and Self-Determination, NOMOS, vol. 45 (2003), pp. 50-76.
19. D.L. Horowitz, *The Research University: A State of Mind*, Akademika no. 61 (July, 2002), pp. 129-134.
20. D.L. Horowitz, *Explaining the Northern Ireland Agreement: The Sources of an Unlikely Constitutional Consensus*, British Journal of Political Science (2001).
21. D.L. Horowitz, *Constitutional Design: An Oxymoron?"* NOMOS, Designing Democratic Institutions, vol. 42 (2000), pp. 253-84 (and Democratic Culture, Vol. 3 (2002), pp. 117-47.).
22. D.L. Horowitz, *"Provisional Pessimism: A Repl to Van Parijs"* NOMOS, Designing Democratic Institutions, vol. 42 (2000), pp. 321-28.
23. D.L. Horowitz, *The Constitutional Logic of State Disintegration, A Review of Robert M. Hayden*, in Blueprints for a House Divided: The Constitutional Logic of the Yugoslav Conflict (1999), Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (East European Constitutional Review, Vol. 9, no. 3 (Summer 2000), pp. 105-07.).
24. D.L. Horowitz, *Self-Determination: Politics, Philosophy, and Law*, NOMOS, Ethnicity and Group Rights, vol. 39 (1997), pp. 421-63 (reprinted in Margaret Moore, editor, National Self-Determination and Secession (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).).
25. D.L. Horowitz, *The Qur'an and the Common Law: Islamic Law Reform and the Theory of Legal Change*, in two parts in American Journal of Comparative Law, vol. 42 no. 2 and 3 (Spring and Summer 1994), pp. 233-93(Part I); 543-80(Part II).
26. D.L. Horowitz, *Democracy in Divided Societies*, Journal of Democracy, vol. 4 no. 4 (October, 1993), pp. 18-38.
27. D.L. Horowitz, *A Harvest of Hostility: Ethnic Conflict and Self-Determination After the Cold War*, Defense Intelligence Journal, vol. 1 no. 2 (Fall, 1992), pp. 137-63.
28. D.L. Horowitz, *Democracy, Presidential and Parliamentary*, Journal of Democracy, vol. 1 no. 4 (Fall, 1990), pp. 73-79.
29. *Public Policy in Developing Countries: Policy Sciences*, edited by Donald L. Horowitz, vol. 22 no. 3-4 (November, 1989).
30. D.L. Horowitz, *Cause and Consequence in Public Policy Theory: Ethnic Policy and System Transformation in Malaysia*, Policy Sciences, vol. 22 no. 3-4 (November, 1989), pp. 249-87.
31. D.L. Horowitz, *Is There a Third-World Policy Process?*, Policy Sciences, vol. 22 no. 3-4 (November, 1989), pp. 197-212.
32. D.L. Horowitz, *Incentives and Behavior in the Ethnic Politics of Sri Lanka and Malaysia*, Third World Quarterly, vol. 11 no. 4 (October, 1989), pp. 18-35.
33. D.L. Horowitz, *Immigration and Ethnicity in Europe and America*, Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales, vol. 5 no. 1 (2èné trimestre 1989), pp. 47-61.

34. D.L. Horowitz, *Is the Presidency Failing?*, *The Public Interest*, vol. 88 (Summer, 1987), pp. 3-27.
35. D.L. Horowitz, *Justification and Excuse in the Program of the Criminal Law*, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, vol. 49 no. 3 (Summer, 1986), pp. 109-26.
36. *Federal Regulation of Work from Recruitment to Retirement*, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, edited by Donald L. Horowitz, vol. 49 no. 2 (Spring, 1986).
37. D.L. Horowitz, *Foreward: The Deprivation of Labor Relations Law*, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, vol. 49 no. 4 (Autumn 1986), pp. 1-8.
38. D.L. Horowitz, *Decreeing Organizational Change: Judicial Supervision of Public Institutions*, *Duke Law Journal*, vol. 1983 no. 6 (December, 1983), pp. 1265-1307.
39. D.L. Horowitz, *The Judiciary: Umpire or Empire?*, *Law and Human Behavior*, vol. 6 no. 2 (September, 1982), pp. 129-43.
40. D.L. Horowitz, *Patterns of Ethnic Separatism*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 23 no. 2 (April, 1981), pp. 65-95.
41. D.L. Horowitz, *About-Face in Africa: The Return to Civilian Rule Nigeria*, *Yale Review*, vol. 68 no. 2 (December, 1978), pp. 192-206.
42. D.L. Horowitz, *Civil-Military Relations in a Multiethnic Society: The Case of Sri Lanka (Ceylon)*, *Asian Affairs*, vol. 3 no. 1 (Fall, 1978), pp. 157-69.
43. D.L. Horowitz, *Cultural Movements and Ethnic Change*, *The Annals*, vol. 433 (September, 1977), pp. 6-16.
44. D.L. Horowitz, *The Courts as Guardians of the Public Interest*, *Public Administration Review*, vol. 37 no. 2 (March-April 1977), pp. 148-54.
45. D.L. Horowitz, *Color Differentiation in the American Systems of Slavery*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 3 no. 3 (Winter, 1973), pp. 509-41.
46. D.L. Horowitz, *Direct, Displaced, and Cumulative Ethnic Aggression*, *Comparative Politics*, vol. 6 no. 1 (October, 1973), pp. 1-16.
47. D.L. Horowitz, *Three Dimensions of Ethnic Politics*, *World Politics*, vol. 23 no. 2 (January, 1971), pp. 232-44.

Papers Published

1. D.L. Horowitz, *Constitutional Design, Ethnicity, and Democracy*, three lectures published in English and Chinese by National Taiwan University, 2008. (2008).
2. D.L. Horowitz, *The Worldwide Resurgence of Ethnicity*, U.S. International Communication Agency Emerging Issues series no. 78-F-125 (June, 1978).

Papers Accepted

1. D.L. Horowitz, *Kosovo's Many Explosive Tons of Cure* (September 1999).
2. D.L. Horowitz, *Territorial Aspects of Ethnicity: Secession and the Right of Self-Determination* (November, 1992) (published in Romanian and in Russian: Bucharest and Moscow, 1993..).
3. D.L. Horowitz, *Research on Ethnicity* (August, 1991), a Report of a Meeting at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.
4. D.L. Horowitz, *Ethnicity and Development: Policies to Deal With Ethnic Conflict in Developing Countries* (March, 1981), a Report to the Agency for International Development.
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