#### Brief Resume

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Place of Birth: Bethlehem, Palestine

## Education

High School Diploma, 1964, College de La Salle, Bethlehem, Palestine.

G.C.E. "O" and "A" levels, 1964-1965, Brummana High School, Brummana, Lebanon.

B.A. in Philosophy, minor Social Sciences, 1969, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon.

Completed MA course work in Philosopy at The America University of Beirut, 1969 to 1971.

Ph.D. in Philosophy, September, 1976, State University of New York at Buffalo.

## Areas of Writing and Research Interest

Contemporary Western Philosophy, History of Philosophy, Islamic Philosophy, Current Islamist views on Democracy, Issues in Democratization and political transformation, Higher Education Development and Administration, Concepts of Civil Society, Societal Organization including the role of Non-Governmental Organizations.

# Academic and Administrative Experience

Dean of Graduate Studies, Birzeit University, May 1996 to September 2002 (Founding Dean).

Graduate Program in Democracy and Human Rights, Co-founder and member of Program Council, Birzeit University, 1998 to present.

Associate Professor of Philosophy, Birzeit University, 1983 to present; tenured.

Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Birzeit University, 1976 to 1983.

Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Birzeit University, 1993 to 1995.

Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Birzeit University, 1981 to 1985.

Chair, Department of Philosophy and Cultural Studies, Birzeit University, 1992

Chair, Department of Philosophy and Cultural Studies, 1977 to 1981.

Visiting Lecturer, D'Youville College, Buffalo, New York, Fall, 1975.

Instructor, State University of New York, Buffalo, New York, September 1973 to September 1976.

Data Processing Clerk, Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco,

California, 1972.

## Other Professional Experience

Coordinator, Research Unit, Al-Haq, Palestinian Organization for Human Rights, 1991 to 1992.

Co-Founder and Board Member, Muwatin, The Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy, 1989 to 2017.

General Director, Muwatin, the Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy, 1995 to 2017.

Board Member, The Jerusalem Center for Legal Aid, 1994 to 2013, (Chair, 1996).

Founding Member, Palestinian NGO Network, 1993.

Elected Member, Steering Committee, Palestinian NGO Network, 1993 to 2014; last elections held in February 2012.

Board Member, Palestinian Hydrology Group, 1996 to 2000.

Board Member, Teacher's Creativity Center, 1997 to 2000.

Editor in Chief, Parliamentary Horizons, (Arabic monthly documentary newsletter covering the work of the Palestinian Legislative Council), 1997 to 2016.

#### Publications

#### Books:

Before and After Arafat: Political Transformations During the Second Intifada. (Muwatin 2011, Arabic).

Co-editor, State Formation in Palestine, with M.Khan and I.Amundsen (London: Routledge, 2004). Book

based on results of 18 months research project on corruption and state formation in Palestine. Team composed of eight researchers.

Co-editor, After Oslo: New Realities, Old Problems (London: Pluto Press), 1998.

Editor, On the Democratic Option (Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies), 1994.

General Editor, Foundations of Democracy Series, Muwatin Publications, 1995 to 2015 (an educational series meant for use by beginning university students and the general public). Seven books have so far appeared in the series.

## Articles: English

"Does the Right of Return Entail a Conflict of Rights", In the process of being submitted for publication.

"Is a just and Lasting peace Possible?", <u>Mediterranean Politics</u> Journal, December 29,2015, Routledge: Taylor and Francis Publishers, (on line, printed version of Journal Spring 2016).

"Palestinian Civil Society Under the Oslo Process", <u>Perspectives</u>, H.Boell Foundation, Berlin, 2013.

"Interview with George Giacaman", Critical Studies in Terrorism, Vol. 5, Issue I, 2012.

"The Arab Revolutions in the Making and Palestine," <u>Perspectives</u>, H. Boell Foundation. Berlin, 2011.

"Graduate Studies at Birzeit University: Past, Present, and Future". Chapter in book on the development of Birzeit University, Birzeit, 2010.

"Islam, Palestine, and the World Order," <u>Jura Gentium: Journal of Philosophy of International Law and Global Politics</u>, vol. I, No. 1, 2005.

- "Ghazali on Miracles and Necessary Connection," (with R.Bahlul), Medieval Philosophy and Theology, (Cambridge University Press: Vol. 9, 2000).
- "From 'Revolution' to 'State'," in <u>Political Transitions in the Arab World</u>, R. Heacock ed., Part Three, (Birzeit: I. Abu-Lughod Institute for International Studies), 2002, pp. 119-125.
- "Perspectives on Civil Society in Palestine," in Proceedings of Conference held by the Welfare Association on Government-NGO relations, September, 2000.
- "Popular Movements and Democratic Transformation in Palestine," <a href="News From Within">News From Within</a>, Vol. XVI, No. 3.
- "In the Throes of Oslo: Palestinian Society, Civil Society, and the Future," in <u>After Oslo:New Realities,Old Problems</u>, G.Giacaman and D.J.Lonning eds. (London: Pluto Press), 1998, pp. 1-15.
- "Kafka on the West Bank,"  $\underline{\text{Harper's Magazine}}$ , February, 1995, (with Fateh Azzam).
- "Human Rights in the Throes of Politics," <u>Proceedings:</u> <u>International Conference on Human Rights</u>, Jerusalem: Law and Water Institute, 1993.
- "Tradition and Innovation: Two Muslim Views of Causal Relations," <a href="Philosophy and Culture">Philosophy and Culture</a>, Montreal: Editions Montmorency, 1986.
- "Ducasse's Critique of Hume and the Humean Tradition," <u>Proceedings</u> of the Charles S. Peirce Society, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1979.
- "Miller and James on Analysis and Determinism," <u>Journal of the History of Philosophy</u>, Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1978 (with E.H.Madden).

"The Relation Between Ideas and Material Existence in the Philosophy of Marx," <u>Discourse</u>, Summer, 1970, Philosophy Department, American University of Beirut, Lebanon).

#### Articles: Arabic

"What Will Come After 'The Deal of the Century'?", Journal of Palestine Studies, No.122, Spring 2020.

"Causation in History: The First Intifada as a Case Study", Chapter in Book: The First Intifada in Historical Perspective, Roger Heacock ed., Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies, 2020.

"What is the National Project Now?", Chapter in book, Jamil Hilal ed. <u>The National Project at a Critical Juncture</u>, Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies, 2020.

"Negative Social patterns and Their Effect on Palestinian Universities", Chapter in Book: <u>Issues in Higher Education in</u> Palestine, Muwatin Publications, 2019.

"Did the 'Deal of the Century' Fail?" Jadaliyya, December 8, 2018.

"The Effect of the Changes in the Middle East on the Palestinian Israeli Conflict", Shu'un Filistiniyyah Journal, No.267, Spring 2017.

"Ending the Split between Gaza and the West Bank is not the Priority Now", Shu'un Filistiniyyah Journal, No.261, Autumn, 2015.

"The 2014 War on Gaza: Lessons, and Future Dangers", <u>Journal of</u> Palestine Studies, No. 100, Autumn, 2014.

"Did the Palestinian Authority Outlive its Role?", Shu'un Filistiniyyah Journal, (Ramallah and Beirut, Lebanon), No.252, Spring 2013.

"Can Palestine Benefit from the Arab Revolutions?" Chapter in book, (Ramallah and Beirut, Lebanon), Institute for Palestine Studies), 2013.

"The Danger of 'Democracy' at the Beginning of a Revolution"  $\Delta l$ -Akhbar (Beirut, Lebanon), April 18, 2013.

"The Palestinian Authority, the Oslo Process, and Retrieving the Right to Self-Determination", Chapter in book, (Masarat, the Palestinian Center for Policy and Strategic Studies), Ramallah: 2013.

"The Crises of the Palestinian Political System", in Jamil Hilal ed. Palestine: Lessons of the Past, Challenges of the Present, and Strategies of the Future, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2012), pp. 135-156 (chapter in book).

"Diplomatic and Legal "resistance" is the only Option before the Palestinian Authority", <u>Journal of Palestine Studies</u>, Vol. 89, Winter, 2012.

"Before and After the Bid for Recognition at the UN: The Dilemma and the Future of the Palestinian Authority. Journal of Palestine Studies, Autumn, 2011.

"Is There a Need for the Left in Arab Society?" <u>Al-Adab Magazine</u>, Beirut: Lebanon, Vol 4-5, April, 2010.

"The Future of Fatah and the Two State Solution," <u>Journal of</u> Palestine Studies, Vol. 79, Summer 2009.

"Undermining the Palestinian Authority," <u>Al-Siyassa</u> <u>Al-Dawliyya</u>, Cairo: Egypt, Issue No. 176, April, 2009.

"Palestinians and the Three Dilemmas," <u>Journal of Palestine</u> <u>Studies</u>, Vol. 76, Autumn 2008.

"The Palestinian Political System and the Future of the Conflict," <u>Journal of Palestine Studies</u>, Vol. 73, Winter 2008.

"The New Palestinian Government and the Future," in <u>Journal of</u> Palestinian Politics, No. 2, Spring 2007.

"Fatah and Hamas: Conflict of Programs or Conflict over the Palestinian Authority?" Journal of Palestine Studies, No. 68,

Autumn, 2006.

"Elections for the Palestinian Legislative Council and Political Transformation in Palestine," <u>Journal of Palestine Studies</u>, (Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies), Vol. 64, January 2006.

"The Future of the Palestinian Political System after Arafat," <u>Journal of Palestine Studies</u> (Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies), Vol. 62, Spring 2005.

"An Evaluation of the Work of the Palestinian Legislative Council Since its Election in 1996", <u>Proceedings of the First Ramallah</u> Conference, (Ramallah: Panorama Publications, 2005).

"The Future of the Palestinian Political System and Prospects of a Political Process after Arafat", <u>Proceedings of the 2005 Annual Conference</u>, (Birzeit: I. Abu-Lughod Institute for International Studies, 2005).

"Reform Between Left and Right: Some Thoughts on the Islamic Left", in <u>The Islamic Left</u>, (Birzeit: I. Abu-Lughod Institute for International Studies), 2004.

"Palestinian Political Initiatives: A Critical Assessment."

<u>Proceedings of the Annual Conference</u> (Birzeit: I. Abu-Lughod Institute for International Studies), 2004.

"Critical Notes on R. Bahlul's 'From Jihad to Peaceful Co-Existence'", (Birzeit: I. Abu-Lughod Institute for International Studies), 2003, pp.43-50.

"Lessons from the Intifada," <u>Inter-Arab Dialogue on the Second Intifada</u>, M. Kassis ed. (Department of Philosophy and Cultural Studies, Birzeit University, and Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan, 2001).

"Mass Movements and Democratic Transition in Palestine," The

Palestinian's Women's Movement: Problematics of Democratic Transformation and Future Strategies, (Ramallah: Muwatin, The Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy, 2000).

"Palestinian Civil Society at the Present Juncture," <u>Al-Siyasah</u> Al-Al-Filistiniyya, Vol. 6, No. 24, Autumn, 1999.

"After the Crisis: Approaches for Rebuilding," in <u>Structural Transformations in Palestinian Political Life and Prospects for Change</u>, Ramallah: Muwatin Publications, 1999.

"On the Transition to Democracy: A Critique of the PLO Model," <u>Comparative Perspectives on the Transition to Democracy</u>, Ramallah: Muwatin Publications, 1998.

"What is Political Action?" <u>Pluralism and Democracy: The Crisis of Palestinian Political Parties</u>, Ramallah: Muwatin Publications, 1996.

"Civil Society and Authority," <u>Critical Papers on Palestinian</u> Democracy, Ramallah: Muwatin Publications, 1995.

"The Role of Dialogue in Democratic Education", <u>Developing the Concept of Civic Education and Democracy in Educational Institutions</u>, Ramallah: Teacher Creativity Center, 1995.

"Democracy at the Turn of the Century: Towards an Intellectual Map," in On the Democratic Option, G. Giacaman ed. (Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies) 1994, pp.15-53.

"What Agenda for Democracy?" Sawt Al-Watan, Cyprus, May 15, 1993.

"Palestinian Society in the West Bank and Gaza," Beirut: <u>Majallat Al-Dirasat Al-Filistiniyya</u>, No. V, Winter, 1991 (review article).

"Palestinian Intellectual Output in the West Bank and Gaza," Afaq Filistiniyya: The Birzeit Research Journal, No. VI, Summer, 1991.

# MA and Ph.D. Thesis Supervision:

Supervised 16 MA Theses at Birzeit University and outside reader for one Ph.D. thesis at the University of Denver, USA, April  $30^{\rm th}$ ,2012, and was a member of the Defense Committee. Also, was member of Defense Committees for 17 other MA theses at Birzeit University, and 5 MA theses at Al-Najah University and A-Quds University.

### Conferences and Other Contributions

Over ninety contributions to conferences, seminars, and workshops in Europe, the United States, Canada, Arab countries, and in the West Bank and Gaza; over two-hundred and fifty newspaper articles and book reviews in English and Arabic, some translated into several other languages.

Regular commentator for varied television and radio stations and newspapers, including BBC TV, BBC World Service Radio, the Washington Post, The Toronto Star, several Arab satellite stations, Al-Hahayt Newspaper of London and Beirut, The Daily Star, Al-Ayyam Newspaper, Jadaliyya Magazine, among several others.

# Membership of Professional Associations

American Philosophical Association Middle East Studies Association of North America International Society for Third-Sector Research