

OMAR M. DAJANI

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EMPLOYMENT

Professor of Law, University of the Pacific, McGeorge School of Law

Sacramento, California, November 2003 to present.

- Courses: Constitutional Law, Contracts, International Negotiation, Public International Law, Foreign Investment & Development, Immigration & Nationality, United Nations Law and Practice.
- Leadership positions: Co-Director, Global Center for Business & Development. Elected Chair of Faculty Advisory Committee, 2018-19 & 2011-12. Chair, Faculty Recruitment Committee, 2021-22; 2015-16. Chair, Career Opportunities Committee 2010-11.

Visiting Professor of Law, The American University in Cairo

Cairo Egypt, Fall Semester 2008.

- Courses: International Investment Law; The United Nations and the Question of Palestine.

Visiting Professor of Law, University of California, Hastings College of the Law

San Francisco, California, August 2007-April 2008.

- Courses: Contracts, Public International Law, The United Nations System.

Political Officer, Office of the United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process (UNSCO)

Jerusalem, September 2001 to March 2003.

- Prepared Security Council briefings and draft resolutions on Middle East issues for UN Special Coordinator and Secretary-General.
- Helped develop peace-building initiatives; participated in Quartet consultations regarding Middle East Road Map in Paris, London, Washington, D.C.
- Helped to coordinate international effort to support Palestinian legal and political reform; represented the UN in donor groups supporting Palestinian elections, rule of law development, and civil society mobilization.
- Liaised with Palestinian ministers and legislators and with representatives from broad range of political parties and civil society organizations throughout West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- Analyzed and reported on political developments in Palestinian Territories and Israel.

Legal Adviser, Palestinian Negotiations Support Unit

Ramallah, Palestinian Territories, September 1999 to June 2001.

- Provided legal advice and support to Palestinian negotiating team in peace talks with Israel; participated in negotiation rounds at Camp David and Taba, among others.
- Prepared draft agreements for talks on borders, security, trade, and financial issues.
- Managed work program of international team of legal and policy experts to develop and draft Palestinian proposals.
- Represented Palestinian negotiating team in meetings with third party governments and intergovernmental organizations.
- Testified before UN Human Rights Commission regarding applicability of international humanitarian law to Palestinian Territories and prepared written submissions to Mitchell Fact-Finding Committee.

Associate, Sidley & Austin

Washington, D.C., November 1998 to September 1999 and July-August 1996.

- Helped prepare merits and *amicus* briefs for constitutional, trade, and white-collar criminal cases in United States Supreme Court.

- Defended health care corporation in *qui tam* suits and federal fraud investigations.
- Assisted World Bank in compiling evidence against contractors accused of corrupt practices.
- Secured thousands of dollars in back payments from Social Security Administration for disabled pro bono client.

Law Clerk, Judge Dorothy Nelson, U.S. Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit

Pasadena, California, August 1997 to August 1998.

Prepared analytical memoranda and preliminary drafts of opinions on wide range of federal and state law issues, including interpretation of U.S.-U.K. extradition treaty and constitutionality of U.S. anti-terrorism legislation.

Legal Intern, Washington Legal Clinic for the Homeless

Washington, D.C., August 1995.

Assisted indigent clients seeking shelter and public assistance.

Summer Associate, Steptoe & Johnson

Washington, D.C., June-July 1995.

Prepared memoranda in employment discrimination, product liability, and commercial law cases.

Legal Intern, Immigration Clinic, Yale Legal Services

New Haven, Connecticut, September 1994 to June 1995.

Represented immigrants seeking political asylum in the United States.

Intern, United Nations Centre for Human Rights

Geneva, Switzerland, Summer 1994.

- Prepared profile of nascent Palestinian legal and political institutions for police force human rights training program.
- Drafted recommendations for incorporating quality control into UN assistance programs.

Assistant Account Executive, Leo Burnett Advertising

Chicago, Illinois, October 1991 to April 1993.

Worked on national multi-media advertising campaigns for consumer product accounts.

Intern, United States House of Representatives

Washington, D.C., Summer 1989.

Prepared briefs for Congresswoman Mary Rose O'Kear for hearings on U.S. aid to Lebanon.

Consultancies Economic Cooperation Foundation

Tel Aviv, Israel (April-October 2021)

Contributed to study exploring potential contours of Israeli-Palestinian confederation. Wrote chapter regarding dissolution of the confederation and offered comments regarding other chapters.

European Council on Foreign Relations

Ramallah, Palestinian Territories (December 2016; June 2017)

Co-convened gathering of international and local human rights organizations operating in Palestine/Israel to coordinate strategy on 50th anniversary of Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory. Co-authored report urging reorientation of European Middle East policy.

Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (NOREF)

Ramallah, Palestinian Territories (August 2013 to August 2014)

Preparing papers outlining policy options for international engagement with the Middle East peace process.

Palestine Liberation Organization, Negotiations Support Unit

Ramallah, Palestinian Territories, June 2003-2011 (occasional).

Provide occasional advice and support to Palestinian negotiating team with respect to Middle East peace process.

Queens College Center for Racial, Ethnic, & Religious Understanding

New York, USA, 2007-2011 (occasional).

Provide occasional advice regarding development of courses on Middle East history & conflict resolution; lecture to course participants.

Center for Humanitarian Dialogue

Mindanao & Manila, Philippines, May 2010.

Member of international advisory group providing advice to Moro Islamic Liberation Front and Government of the Republic of the Philippines regarding Mindanao peace process. Participated in Negotiators Forum convened by Philippine government.

Al Mustakbal Foundation for Strategic & Policy Studies

Ramallah, Palestinian Territories, 2006-2008.

- Reviewed & edited report on legal & institutional structure of Palestinian state (financed by UK DFID).
- Reviewed & contributed to study on enhancing accountability of Palestinian public institutions (financed by Center for International Private Enterprise).
- Served as lead author of study on strategies for facilitating access of Palestinian agricultural goods to global markets (financed by US AID).
- Served as lead author of study on reforming Palestinian business legislation (financed by US State Department).

Experts Forum on Planning Considerations for International Involvement in Resolving the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.

Cambridge, UK. 2004.

Served as rapporteur for multilateral forum examining peacekeeping options for Middle East conflict.

EDUCATION

Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut. Juris Doctor, February 1997.

General Director, Lowenstein International Human Rights Law Project. Teaching Assistant, Procedure I (Prof. Owen Fiss). Intern, Immigration Clinic. Editor, Yale Journal of International Law. Teacher, Street Law Program. Coker Fellow, 1995-96. Schell Center Fellow, 1994.

Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Bachelor of Arts (Honors), June 1991.

Majors: American Studies and Middle Eastern and Asian History. Graduated with distinction and departmental honors; GPA 3.86/4.0; Dean's List all terms; Phi Beta Kappa; Sargent Award for Academic Excellence.

PUBLICATIONS

Scholarly

Publications

FEDERALISM AND DECENTRALIZATION IN THE CONTEMPORARY MIDDLE EAST (ed., with Ash Bāli) (forthcoming 2022, Cambridge University Press).

Rethinking Oslo: How Europe can Promote Peace between Israel and Palestine (with Hugh Lovatt), in EPHRAIM LAVIE, YAEL RONEN AND HENRY FISHMAN (EDS) *THE OSLO PEACE PROCESS: A TWENTY-FIVE YEARS PERSPECTIVE* 549-564 (Carmel 2019).

Israel's Creeping Annexation, 111 AJIL Unbound 51-56 (2017),
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-journal-of-international-law/article/israels-creeping-annexation/6C18D4A2686DBFDBD54FC0F5EC5FD12A>.

Divorce without Separation: Reimagining the 2-State Solution, 15 ETHNOPOLITICS 366 (2016),
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-journal-of-international-law/article/israels-creeping-annexation/6C18D4A2686DBFDBD54FC0F5EC5FD12A>.

Majority problems: Minoritarian regimes and the threat of democracy, 38 ETHNIC & RACIAL STUDIES 2516 (2015), reprinted in WILL KYMLICKA & EVA PFOESTL (EDS.), MINORITY POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA: THE PROSPECTS FOR TRANSFORMATIVE CHANGE (2016),
<http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/nV5DsCU9JBjYBxdSjBSa/full>.

Responding to Ethnic and Religious Conflict in the New Arab Order: The Promise and Limits of Rights, 17 UCLA J. INT'L L. & FOR. AFF. 29 (2013).

Contractualism in the Law of Treaties, 34 MICH. J. INT'L L. 1 (2012).

Disproportionality & Deterrence: The Dabija Doctrine under International Law, in PALESTINE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW: NEW APPROACHES (Bir Zeit U. Press 2011) (with Nicholas Gibson).

The Importance of the Goldstone Report, 104 AM. SOC'Y INT'L L. PROC. 73 (2011).

"No Security Without Law": Prospects for Implementing a Rights-Based Approach in Palestinian-Israeli Security Negotiations, in MICHAEL LYNK, SUSAN AKRAM, MICHAEL DUMPER & IAIN SCOBIE, EDS., INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT: A RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH (London: Routledge, 2011).

Forty Years Without Resolve: Tracing the Influence of Security Council Resolution 242 on the Middle East Peace Process, 37 J. PALESTINE STUD. 24 (2007).

Shadow or Shade: The Roles of International Law in Palestinian-Israeli Peace Talks, 32 YALE J. INT'L L. 61 (2007), reprinted in VICTOR KATTAN, ED., THE PALESTINE QUESTION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW (London: British Society of International and Comparative Law, 2008).

Preparing for the Inevitable Negotiation, 35 J. PALESTINE STUD. 39 (2006).

Surviving Opportunities: Palestinian Negotiating Behavior in Peace Talks with Israel, in ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATING STYLES: A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2005).

Understanding Barriers to Peace: A Palestinian Response, 20 NEGOTIATION J. 401 (2004).

Stalled Between Seasons: The International Legal Status of Palestine During the Interim Period, 26 DENVER J. OF INT'L LAW & POL'Y 27 (1997), reprinted in VICTOR KATTAN, ED., THE PALESTINE QUESTION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW (London: British Society of International and Comparative Law, 2008).

Published Reports

The Holy Land Confederation as a Facilitator for a Two-State Solution (Yossi Beilin & Hiba Hussein, eds.).

Rethinking Oslo: How Europe Can Promote Peace in Israel-Palestine (with Hugh Lovatt) (European Council on Foreign Relations, 2017),
https://www.ecfr.eu/publications/summary/rethinking_oslo_how_europe_can_promote_peace_in_israel_palestine_7219.

Past the Point of No Return? A Rights-Based Framework for International Engagement in Israel/Palestine (with Hiba Hussein) (Oslo: NOREF, 2014) <http://www.peacebuilding.no/Regions/Middle-East-and-North->

[Africa/Israel-Palestine/Publications/Past-the-point-of-no-return-A-rights-based-framework-for-international-engagement-in-Israel-Palestine.](#)

The emerging reality in Palestine: Entrenched occupation & 'fragnation' (with Hiba Hussein) (Oslo: NOREF, 2014) <http://www.peacebuilding.no/Regions/Middle-East-and-North-Africa/Israel-Palestine/Publications/The-emerging-reality-in-Palestine-entrenched-occupation-and-fragnation>.

The Legal and Institutional Structure of the State of Palestine: The Case for a Hybrid Legal System (Ramallah: Al Mustakbal Foundation, 2008) (reviewer and editor) (financed by grant from UK Department for International Development).

Enhancing the Accountability of Palestinian Public Institutions (Ramallah: Al Mustakbal Foundation, 2008) (lead editor, contributing author) (financed by grant from Center for International Private Enterprise).

Strategies for Facilitating Palestinian Agricultural Exports: Legal Framework (Ramallah Al Mustakbal Foundation, 2008) (lead author) (financed by grant from USAID).

Developing a Palestinian Roadmap for Legislative Reform in the Business Sector: Analysis and Recommendations (Ramallah: Al Mustakbal Foundation, Sept. 25, 2006) (lead author) (financed by grant from US State Dep't).

Planning Considerations for International Involvement in Resolving the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, Reports of the Third and Fourth Experts Forum (March & July 2004) (rapporteur).

Other Publications

Israel has already annexed the West Bank, PALESTINE SQUARE (Apr. 17, 2019), <https://palestinesquare.com/2019/04/17/israel-has-already-annexed-the-west-bank/>

Obama's Demand of Palestinians: Recognize a "Jewish State," THE DAILY BEAST (Mar. 22, 2013), <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/03/22/obama-s-demand-of-jewish-state-recognition.html>.

The Intifada Brought Palestine Home, MONDOWEISS (Jan. 3, 2013), <http://mondoweiss.net/2013/01/resistance-intifada-palestine.html>.

Arafat's Ghost, FOREIGNPOLICY.COM (Nov. 27, 2012), http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/11/27/arafats_ghost.

Sticky Wicket at the UN, FOREIGNPOLICY.COM (Sept. 9, 2011), http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/09/21/sticky_wicket_at_the_un.

September song, FOREIGNPOLICY.COM (May 24, 2011), http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/05/24/september_song.

The Myth of Defensible Borders: Building a Middle East Regional Security Regime, FOREIGN AFFAIRS (January 5, 2011) (with Ezzedine Choukri-Fishere), <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67218/omar-m-dajani-and-ezzedine-c-fishere/the-myth-of-defensible-borders>.

Post-Mortem: Oslo & Arafat, MUFTAH (Aug. 2, 2010), <http://muftah.org/?p=205>.

Obama off to good start in Middle East, SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER (Jan. 29, 2009).

A Comprehensive Agenda: Adopting a framework for comprehensive peace in the Middle East is the change that Obama really needs to herald, AL AHRAM WEEKLY, Nov. 26, 2008 (with Ezzedine Choukri-Fishere).

U.S. should take lead in Middle East peace process, HOUSTON CHRONICLE, Nov. 8, 2008 (with Ezzedine Choukri-Fishere).

A Palestinian State First, AL AHRAM WEEKLY, Sept. 18, 2008 (with Ezzedine Choukri-Fishere).

Conflict in Lebanon: In Middle East Problems Lie the Solutions, SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, Aug. 4, 2006.

Lost Without a Context: The Failure to Apply International Law to the Palestinian-Israeli Dispute, 21ST CENTURY TRUST NEWS & JOURNAL (2004).

On a Better Road This Time in the MidEast? WASHINGTON POST, May 4, 2003, at B1,
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2003/05/04/on-a-better-road-this-time-in-the-mideast/716324de-d871-4719-b5aa-f2662d05c536/>

Lectures &

Presentations *The Holy Land Confederation* (United States Institute of Peace, February 10, 2022).

Legal Analysis of the Ongoing Conflict between Israel and Palestine (International Bar Association [webinar](#), May 24, 2021).

Legal Aspects of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: The Abraham Accords (World Affairs Council of Marin County, January 21, 2021).

Rethinking the Future of Israel and Palestine: Between Two States and One (Fromm Institute, September 2, 2021) (with Mara Kolesas).

Stuck Together: Confederal Models for Israel/Palestine (Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, USA, November 2019, and International Studies Association Mid-Year Meeting, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, June 16, 2019).

An Emerging Constitutionalism in Israel/Palestine? (part of panel on Constitutions in the Contemporary Middle East: Do They Still Matter? Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Antonio, Texas, November 15, 2018).

Oslo and the Negation of International Law (presentation at conference, "Oslo at 25: A Legacy of Broken Promises," Middle East Monitor, London, United Kingdom, Oct. 10, 2018).

Touching the Holy: How Palestinians Negotiated Jerusalem (presentation at conference, "Temple Mount/Haram al Sharif: Conflict, Culture, Law," Harvard Law School, Nov. 29, 2017.)

Finding Peace in the Shade of the Law: Roles of International Law in Palestinian-Israeli Peace Talks (Invited lecture to Fried-Gal Colloquium on Transitional Justice at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, May 18, 2017).

Tantamount to De Facto Annexation? Israel's Settlement Enterprise at Fifty (ICRC/Minerva Center for Human Rights conference, "50 Years After 1967: Evaluating the Past, Present, and Future of the Law of Belligerent Occupation," Tel Aviv University, May 22, 2017).

Israel & Palestine: A Dialogue for Peace (dialogue with Rabbi Michael Lerner, Cesar Chavez Higher Education Speaker Series, Sierra College, Rocklin, California, March 31, 2016).

Devolution or Disintegration? Whither the State in MENA (presentation at World Bank Law Justice & Development Week Meeting, Washington, D.C., November 18, 2015).

Responding to Ethnic & Religious Conflict in the Middle East: The Promise & Limits of Rights (presentation at Workshop on Multiculturalism and Minority Rights in the Arab World, Istituto di Studi Politici S. Pio V, Rome, Italy, March 3, 2013).

Can the Two State Solution be Salvaged? (roundtable discussion at New America Foundation, Washington, D.C., October 8, 2012).

A Regional Approach to Pluralism in the New Arab Order? (delivered at Cornell Law School workshop on Law Revolution and Reform in the Arab World, New York City, April 21, 2012 (<http://www.lawschool.cornell.edu/spotlights/Clarke-Initiative-Hosts-Workshop-in-New-York>); earlier versions presented at UCLA Journal of Law and Foreign Affairs Symposium on Political Transition, Rule of Law, & Human Rights: What Have we Learned from the Arab Spring? February 17, 2012 (<http://orgs.law.ucla.edu/JILFA/symposium/Pages/Default.aspx>) and Yale Middle East Legal Studies Seminar, Istanbul, Turkey, January 14, 2012.)

Immigration and the 2012 Election: Legal and Legislative Disputes (panel discussion at University of the Pacific, April, 5, 2012) (<http://www.centralvalleybusinesstimes.com/stories/001/?ID=20662>).

Peace Advocacy After Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project (delivered to Davis Peace Coalition, Davis, CA, March 11, 2012).

Reaping the Fruit of the Arab Spring: Seeds of Peace or Further Discontent? (panel discussion at Pacific Council Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, CA, November 19, 2011) (<https://www.pacificcouncil.org/sslpage.aspx?pid=710>).

Still Stalled Between Seasons: Statehood & Mass Mobilization in Palestine (delivered at Cornell Law School, Sept. 22, 2011) (<http://www.lawschool.cornell.edu/spotlight.cfm?pageid=180312>).

The Palestinian Appeal for Statehood at the United Nations (panel discussion for Congressional staff, Washington, D.C., September 16, 2011) (<http://3phumansecurity.org/site/programs/congressional-forum>).

Palestinian Statehood: Legal Issues and Strategic Implications (delivered at Council on Foreign Relations round-table, Washington, D.C., February 18, 2011).

The Myth of Defensible Borders: Toward an Integrated Approach to Middle East Security (delivered at Japan Institute of International Affairs symposium, Conflicts and Peacebuilding in the Middle East: Palestine, Israel, and Iraq, Tokyo, Nov. 3, 2010).

Disproportionality & Deterrence: The Dabiyah Doctrine under International Law (delivered at Bir Zeit University conference, Palestine and International Law: New Approaches, Bir Zeit, Sept. 26, 2010).

International Law and the Arab-Israeli Conflict (delivered at Queens College, New York, Sept. 7, 2010)

Negotiating Peace: Lessons from Palestine for Mindanao (delivered at Philippine Negotiators Forum, Manila, May 27, 2010).

Deterrence & Proportionality: Assessing the Legality of the Dabiyah Doctrine (delivered at UCLA School of Law, April 14, 2010).

The Importance of the Goldstone Report (delivered at Annual Meeting of American Society of International Law, Washington, D.C., Mar. 25, 2010).

Palestinian Negotiating Patterns (delivered at Yale Middle East Legal Scholars Seminar, Marrakech, January 16, 2010)

Redrawing the Middle East Roadmap: Lessons for President Obama (delivered at University of the Pacific, April 30, 2009).

The Middle East Regional Crises: Israel-Palestine & Iran (delivered at World Affairs Council of Northern California Annual Conference, San Francisco, April 3, 2009).

Palestinian Struggles for Nationhood in Middle East (delivered at Commonwealth Club of California, San Francisco, Feb. 19, 2009)

Never Again and Then? Genocide and Exceptionalism in Israeli Security Discourse (delivered at Yale Middle East Legal Studies Seminar, Abu Dhabi, January 17, 2009).

Forty Years Without Resolve: Assessing the Influence of UN Security Council Resolution 242 on Middle East Peacemaking (delivered in absentia at Middle East Studies Association Conference, Montreal, Nov. 2007).

Defaults or Dictates: Negotiating Rights and Obligations under the Law of Occupation (invited paper, delivered at Minerva Center (Hebrew University/Tel Aviv University) conference, Forty Years after 1967: Reappraising Legal Discourse on Occupation in the Israeli-Palestinian Context, Tel Aviv, June 7, 2007).

Finding Peace in the Shade of the Law: The Plural Roles of Law in Palestinian Diplomacy (invited paper, delivered at Bir Zeit University conference, The Theory and Practice of Diplomacy: International and Palestinian Experiences, Ramallah, , May 18, 2007).

Legal Responses to Ethnic Difference: Rwanda & Burundi (delivered at African Studies Association annual conference, San Francisco, Nov. 18, 2006).

At the Shadow's Edge: The Role of Law in Palestinian-Israeli Peace Talks, 1999-2001 (delivered at Seattle University Law School, January 29, 2007, University of Pennsylvania Law School, March 16, 2006, and at University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, March 3, 2005).

Finding Rights in Palestinian-Israeli Security Discourse (delivered at "A Rights-Based Approach Toward Resolving the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict" conference, University of Exeter, June 9, 2006).

Buckle Up the One You Love: Reconciling Peace and Democracy in the Middle East (delivered at World Affairs Council, Santa Rosa, California, March 2, 2006).

How Palestinians Negotiate (delivered at Middle East Studies Association annual conference, Washington, D.C., Nov. 21, 2005).

The Middle East after the Election: Lessons for Our Next President (delivered at DePaul University Law Center, Human Rights Institute, Chicago, October 4, 2004).

"End of Conflict" and Other Fictions: Competing Visions of Peace and Justice in the Middle East (delivered at "Justice Across Cultures" conference at Brandeis University, International Center for Ethics, Justice, and Public Life, March 8, 2004).

The Minimum Requirements for Peace in the Middle East (a series of dialogues with Americans for Peace Now National Director Mark Rosenblum held at synagogues, universities, and other venues in New York, Chicago, Evanston, Los Angeles, Berkeley, San Francisco, and Palo Alto in 2004).

Languages English (native speaker), French (proficient), and Arabic (proficient).

Professional Affiliations State Bar of California, American Bar Association, American Society of International Law (Member of 2011 Annual Meeting Program Committee), Council on Foreign Relations (Term Member 2005-2010), Pacific Council on International Policy, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Middle East Studies Association, International Studies Association, Yale Middle East Legal Studies Seminar (organizing committee member 2014-2019)