

RICE UNIVERSITY'S
BAKER INSTITUTE | 20 YEARS
1993-2013

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**U.S. ENGAGEMENT ON ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN
NEGOTIATIONS AND THE CRISIS IN SYRIA**

**FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 2013
9:30 AM-6:00 PM**

**DORÉ COMMONS
BAKER HALL
RICE UNIVERSITY**

U.S. ENGAGEMENT ON ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATIONS AND THE CRISIS IN SYRIA

About the Event

As part of its 20th Anniversary event series, Rice University's Baker Institute, with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, presents the conference "U.S. Engagement on Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations and the Crisis in Syria" to discuss critical events in the Middle East. Scholars from the two institutions, as well as experts from government and media organizations, will participate in panel discussions and deliver featured addresses on the opportunities and risks for American foreign policy in these critical areas.

Organizing Partners

Rice University's Baker Institute

The mission of the Baker Institute is to help bridge the gap between the theory and practice of public policy by drawing together experts from academia, government, media, business and nongovernmental organizations. By involving policymakers and scholars, as well as students (tomorrow's policymakers and scholars), the institute seeks to improve the debate on selected public policy issues and to make a difference in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policy, both domestic and international. The Baker Institute is an integral part of Rice University, one of the nation's most distinguished institutions of higher education. The efforts of Baker Institute fellows and affiliated Rice faculty focus on several ongoing research projects, details of which can be found on the institute's website, www.bakerinstitute.org.

The **Shell Distinguished Lecture Series** is the Baker Institute's flagship speakers program, reflecting the vision of our honorary chair, former Secretary of State James A. Baker, III, and Shell's commitment to defining the role of statesmanship, integrity and bold leadership in meeting the challenges of the 21st century. The ability of the Baker Institute to attract world leaders to the Rice campus, in combination with Shell's generous support, has helped make the institute one of the nation's most widely recognized and respected public policy think tanks. Inaugurated in 1995, the series has hosted distinguished guests including President Bill Clinton, United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan, Russian President Vladimir Putin, Nobel Peace Prize winner Nelson Mandela, King Abdullah II of Jordan, 66th U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and 74th U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson Jr.

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, chartered by Congress as the official memorial to President Woodrow Wilson, is the nation's key nonpartisan policy forum for tackling global issues. Through independent research and open dialogue, the center aims to inform actionable ideas for Congress, the presidential administration and the broader policy community.

U.S. ENGAGEMENT ON ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATIONS AND THE CRISIS IN SYRIA

Conference Agenda — Friday, March 22, 2013

9:30 am Registration and Breakfast

Welcoming Remarks and Introduction

10:00 am **The Honorable Edward P. Djerejian**
Founding Director, Rice University's Baker Institute

Haleh Esfandiari, Ph.D.
Director, Middle East Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Panel I — Israel and Palestine

Moderator: The Honorable Edward P. Djerejian, Founding Director, Rice University's Baker Institute

10:15 am **Aaron David Miller, Ph.D.**
Vice President for New Initiatives and Distinguished Scholar, Middle East Program,
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Yair Hirschfeld, Ph.D.
Isaac and Mildred Brochstein Fellow in Middle East Peace and Security in Honor of Yitzhak Rabin,
Rice University's Baker Institute

Azem Bishara
Former Senior Legal Adviser, Negotiations Support Unit, Palestinian Liberation Organization

11:45 am Lunch

Israel-Palestine Peacemaking: Lessons Learned

1:00 pm **Aaron David Miller, Ph.D.**
Vice President for New Initiatives and Distinguished Scholar, Middle East Program,
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Panel II — Syria

Moderator: Haleh Esfandiari, Ph.D., Director, Middle East Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

1:45 pm **The Honorable Frederic C. Hof**
Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council, and Former State Department Special Representative to Syria

Robin Wright
U.S. Institute of Peace-Wilson Center Distinguished Scholar, Middle East Program,
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Andrew Bowen
Scholar for the Middle East, Rice University's Baker Institute

3:15 pm Break

U.S. ENGAGEMENT ON ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATIONS AND THE CRISIS IN SYRIA

Conference Agenda (continued)

The Arab Awakening and U.S. Policy

3:30 pm **The Honorable Edward P. Djerejian**
Founding Director, Rice University's Baker Institute

Shell Distinguished Lecture Series Presentation

4:00 pm Can Syria be Saved?
The Honorable Robert S. Ford
U.S. Ambassador to the Syrian Arab Republic

5:00 pm Reception

Participant Biographies

Azem Bishara is a legal and policy adviser who specializes in public and international law. He provides his expert opinion to Palestinian authorities on international law issues, in particular those pertaining to the peace process, development projects and management of transboundary water resources. In his previous position as a senior legal adviser in the Palestinian Liberation Organization's Negotiations Support Unit, Bishara coordinated a team of legal and technical consultants in preparing for and providing input to permanent status peace negotiations between the Palestinians and Israelis. Among the issues he advised on during the Annapolis Conference and "proximity talks" were borders, Jerusalem, water, state-to-state relations and cooperation, and international involvement. Bishara is a lecturer of public international law at the Bethlehem University and has a private legal practice based in Jerusalem. He holds an LL.B. from the University of Jerusalem and an LL.M. from University College London.

Andrew Bowen is the Baker Institute Scholar for the Middle East. He is completing his Ph.D. in international relations at the London School of Economics (LSE) under the supervision of Professor Fawaz Gerges. Bowen has previously served as the contributing editor of *Al Majalla* and is currently a contributing writer for the magazine, where he publishes, among other pieces, the weekly blog "Ibn Dawood." His work has been published in English, Arabic and Persian. He has also taught on the modern politics of the Middle East and American and British foreign policy at the LSE. Bowen's research primarily focuses on the regional and international politics of the Levant — in particular, Syria — but he frequently writes and comments on the international relations of the Persian Gulf as well as American national security policy. He has presented papers at a number of international conferences, including the International Studies Association and the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies. Bowen is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Based in Houston, he has traveled extensively in the Middle East and around the world. He received his M.Sc. in international history from the LSE and his B.A. in political science from Rice University.

The Honorable Edward P. Djerejian served in the U.S. Foreign Service for eight presidents, from John F. Kennedy to William J. Clinton (1962–1994). Prior to his nomination by President Clinton as U.S. ambassador to Israel (1993–1994), he was assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs in both the George H.W. Bush and Clinton administrations (1991–1993). He was the U.S. ambassador to the Syrian Arab Republic (1988–1991). He also served as special assistant to President Ronald Reagan and deputy press secretary for foreign affairs in the White House (1985–1986). After his retirement from government service in 1994, he became the founding director of Rice University's Baker Institute. His book "Danger and Opportunity: An American Ambassador's Journey Through the Middle East" was published by Simon & Schuster Threshold Editions in September 2008. He has been awarded the Presidential Distinguished Service Award, the Department of State's Distinguished Honor Award and numerous other honors, including the Ellis Island Medal of Honor and the Anti-Defamation League's Moral Statesman Award. He is also a recipient of the Association of Rice Alumni's Gold Medal, the group's most prestigious award, for his service to Rice University. In 2011, Djerejian was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and named to the board of trustees of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Haleh Esfandiari, Ph.D., is the director of the Middle East Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. Her writing has appeared in *Foreign Policy*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies*, *The New Republic*, *The Wilson Quarterly*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Middle East Review*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Review of Books*, as well as *The Daily Beast* and the blogs of *The New York Review of Books*, *The New Republic* and *The Iran Primer*. Esfandiari is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. She serves on the board of the Peace Research Endowment and on the board of advisers for the Project on Middle East Democracy. She is also a member of a Middle East and North Africa advisory panel to the World Bank. Esfandiari's latest book, "My Prison, My Home: One Woman's Story of Captivity in Iran,"

Participant Biographies (continued)

based on her arrest by the Iranian security authorities in 2007 and 105 days of solitary confinement in Tehran's Evin Prison, was published in September 2009 by Ecco, an imprint of HarperCollins. The paperback edition was released in October 2010.

The Honorable Robert S. Ford is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, holding the rank of minister counselor. He currently serves as the U.S. ambassador to the Syrian Arab Republic. He has previously served as the U.S. ambassador to Algeria (2006–2008), political counselor (2004–2006), deputy chief of mission at the U.S. embassy in Baghdad (2008–2009) and deputy chief of mission in Bahrain (2001–2004). His early overseas postings include Izmir, Cairo and Yaoundé. In Washington, he has served as the Egypt and North Africa economic affairs officer. Ford has received numerous State Department awards, and he speaks Arabic and French. He earned his bachelor's degree from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Md., and his master's degree from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C. Prior to entering the Foreign Service in 1985, he served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Morocco.

Yair Hirshfeld, Ph.D., is the Isaac and Mildred Brochstein Fellow in Middle East Peace and Security in Honor of Yitzhak Rabin at the Baker Institute. Hirschfeld is currently teaching at the University of Haifa in the Department of Middle Eastern History. He is also the director general of the Tel Aviv-based Economic Cooperation Foundation (ECF). The ECF aims to develop a comprehensive strategy toward regional peacemaking and reconciliation by pursuing policy planning on issues of permanent status and by developing concepts, strategies and implementation designs supporting Israeli-Arab (Palestinian, Jordanian and Egyptian) cooperation and coordination in political, economic and social spheres. Under the auspices of the institute's Conflict Resolution Program, Hirschfeld participates in the Baker Institute's Israeli-Palestinian Working Group, both at the institute and in the Middle East. In December 1992, Hirschfeld created the Oslo Channel and headed its Israeli team until May 1993. Having developed bridging concepts and obtained support from the Israeli government as well as the Palestine Liberation Organization, the unofficial track became official May 20, 1993, when Hirschfeld joined the official Israeli negotiating team. From 1994 to 1995, Hirschfeld was a member of the Israeli team that prepared the first Israeli-Palestinian blueprint for the Permanent Status Agreement, which has become known as the "Beilin-Abu Mazen Understanding."

The Honorable Frederic C. Hof is a senior fellow with the Atlantic Council's Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East. He was previously the special adviser for transition in Syria and the special coordinator for regional affairs in the U.S. Department of State's Office of the Special Envoy for Middle East Peace, where he advised Special Envoy George Mitchell in focusing on Syria-Israel and Israel-Lebanon matters. Hof began his professional career as an Army officer. He is a Vietnam veteran and served as a U.S. Army Middle East foreign area officer, studying Arabic at the Foreign Service Institute in Tunisia and receiving a master's degree from the Naval Postgraduate School. He served as U.S. Army attaché in Beirut, Lebanon, and later in the Office of the Secretary of Defense as director for Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Palestinian affairs. He is the author of "Galilee Divided: The Israel-Lebanon Frontier, 1916–1984" (Westview Press, 1985), "Line of Battle, Border of Peace? The Line of June 4, 1967" (Middle East Insight, 1999) and "Beyond the Boundary: Lebanon, Israel and the Challenge of Change" (Middle East Insight, 2000). His awards include the Purple Heart, the Department of State Superior Honor Award, the Secretary of Defense Meritorious Civilian Service Medal and the Defense Superior Service Medal. Hof is a graduate of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.

Aaron David Miller, Ph.D., is currently vice president for new initiatives as well as distinguished scholar in the Middle East Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. For two decades, he served in the Department of State as an analyst, negotiator and adviser on Middle Eastern issues to Republican and Democratic secretaries of state. Between 2003 and 2006, he also served as president of Seeds of Peace, an

Participant Biographies (continued)

internationally recognized program in conflict resolution and co-existence for young people from regions of conflict. Miller is currently finishing his new book “Can America Have Another Great President?” He has written four other books, including “The Much Too Promised Land: America’s Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace” (Bantam Books, 2008). His articles have appeared in the Washington Post, The New York Times and the Los Angeles Times, and his column “Reality Check” appears weekly in Foreign Policy Magazine. He is a frequent commentator on CNN, Fox News, MSNBC and NPR.

Robin Wright is a journalist, author and foreign policy analyst currently serving as a United States Institute of Peace Senior Fellow-Wilson Center Distinguished Scholar. During her fellowship, Wright has worked on three books: “Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion Across the Islamic World” (2011), “The Iran Primer: Power, Politics and U.S. Policy” (2010), and “The Islamists are Coming: Who They Really Are” (2012). Her projects explore new trends in the Islamic world — the Arab revolts, the rise of political Islam and the counter-jihad against extremism. She also identifies issues that will define the next decade, when the Middle East’s transformation will be a major policy challenge for the United States and the West. Wright has reported from more than 140 countries on six continents for The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, The Sunday Times of London, CBS News and The Christian Science Monitor. She won the National Magazine Award for The New Yorker. She has also written for The Atlantic Monthly, The New York Times Magazine, TIME, The Wall Street Journal, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, The International Herald Tribune and many others. Her foreign tours include the Middle East, Europe, Africa and several years as a roving foreign correspondent in Latin America and Asia. She most recently covered U.S. foreign policy for The Washington Post. Besides a long career in journalism, Wright has been a fellow at The Brookings Institution, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Yale University, Duke University, Stanford University, the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the University of Southern California. Wright received her M.A. and B.A. from the University of Michigan.