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Abstract

US Policy with Respect to the Palestinian Refugee Issue during the Presidency of Bill Clinton (1993 - 2001)

This thesis examines the substance of US policy with regard to the Palestinian Refugee issue during the presidency of Bill Clinton (1993 - 2001). It highlights the factors that contributed to the formation of policy, and the elements it constituted of, as reflected in the detailed parameters, put forward by President Bill Clinton at the Camp David negotiations towards the end of 2000.

The problem of the thesis lies in identifying the changes occurred in Clinton's position concerning the Palestinian Refugee issue compared with the traditional American policy of the previous US administrations.

The thesis utilizes the historical analysis approach, and the content-analysis research method, where the two are commensurate to the nature of the subject under study, in terms of its historical dimension and the need to examine and analyze available data and references.

The thesis is built on the hypothesis: that one main unstated reason for President Clinton to approve the establishing of an independent Palestinian state was to absorb the bulk of Palestinian refugees. What made that policy relatively different from previous U.S. administrations' is its general framework that had been built on the principle of establishing that independent State. Nevertheless, the general framework of President Clinton's policy concerning the refugee issue, had maintained a high degree of harmony with the traditional American policies adopted by most previous administrations.

The thesis concludes with confirming its hypothesis that says: Clinton's policy towards solving the refugee issue is distinguished from the traditional U.S. policies, in the sense that it offers a political solution to the refugee issue, based on the establishing of an independent Palestinian state. That state is to be set up within the context of a comprehensive solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The thesis, furthermore, outlines President Clinton's plan, which includes five options for the refugees to exercise their right of return to: 1) the State of Palestine. 2) Israeli territories, which will be transferred to the Palestinian sovereignty in the context of land exchange. 3) Arab countries hosting the refugees. 4) third States. 5) the State of Israel.

The thesis highlights that the factors contributed in forming Clinton's policy could not be departed from the developments occurred in Palestinian political thinking, especially after launching the Palestinian peace initiative in Algeria in 1988, through which the Palestinian leadership had agreed to settle the refugee issue in the context of a comprehensive and final settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and within the framework of the United Nations Charter, the international law and the U N resolutions.

The thesis elaborates further, that President Clinton's theory for resolving the refugee issue had adopted a needs-based approach, rather than a rights-based approach; considering the Palestinian needs as symbolic, while considering the Israeli's as practical, with accompanying security dimensions. According to Clinton's theory, a possible and appropriate approach to resolve the refugee issue should be based on the political negotiations among the conflicting parties and not on the international law or the relevant international resolutions.

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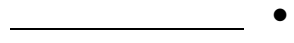
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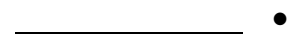
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Scholz, Nobert, (1994) : US Official Statements. (Palestinian Refugees), Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington, DC,

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Brynen, Rex, and Rifai, Roula, (2007) Palestinian Refugees. Challengaes of Repatriation and Development, I.B.Tauris&Co Ltd and IDRC, London

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The Final Status Negotiations on The Refugee Issue. Positions and Strategies. Proceedings of a Workshop on preparing for The Final Status Negotiations on The Refugee Issue. Organized by PLO, Dept. of Refugee Affairs, Bethlehem, Palestine, August 1999

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"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."
<http://www.science.co.il/Balfour-Declaration.asp>

Laqueur, Walter Ze'ev, (1972) A History of Zionism, Weidenfeld and Nilson London, P. 239

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Ibid. p. 161 2
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Dumper Michael (Editor), (2006): Palestinian Refugee Repatriation, Global Perspective,
Routledge, Oxfordshire, p 2

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Palumbo, Op. Cit., p.57

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Ibid. p. 23

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Ibid. p 10 ³

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Ibid. pp 10-11

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, Ibid. p. 71 ¹

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Arzt, Donna, "NEGOTIATING THE LAST TABOO: PALESTINIAN REFUGEES".
<http://prn.mcgill.ca/prn/papers/arzt1.html>

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Halabi, Usam, (2009): The Legal Status and Rights of the Palestinian Displaced as a result of June 1967 War, (Palestine-Israel Journal), Vol. 15 No. 4, 2008 & Vol 16 No. 1, The Refugee Question

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Bocco, Riccardo, UNRWA and the Palestinian Refugees in Jordan, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip Background paper presented at the UNRWA-CERMOC Meeting of 18-19 June 2000, Amman, on "Rethinking UNRWA Policies towards Palestinian Refugees", funded by the Swiss Development Cooperation. Unpublished, 16 pp ¹

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"Under UNRWA's operational definition, Palestine refugees are people whose normal place of residence was Palestine between June 1946 and May 1948, who lost both their homes and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict. UNRWA's services are available to all those living in its area of operations who meet this definition, who are registered with the Agency and who need assistance. The descendants of the original Palestine refugees are also eligible for registration."
www.un.org/unrwa/arabic/Asked/UN_Benf.htm ; www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=86

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In 2005, UNRWA formalized the provision of services to needy family members of refugee women married to non-refugees, a category previously ineligible for services. This was the result of the Commissioner-General's decision to introduce gender-neutral registration guidelines (determining eligibility for services.)

<http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/pdf/ComGen-AR2005.pdf>

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Bocco, Riccardo (2000): UNRWA and the Palestinian Refugees in Jordan, the West Bank and the Gaza ¹
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“Rethinking UNRWA Policies towards Palestinian Refugees”, funded by the Swiss Development
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Shiblak, Abbas, (The Palestinian Refugee Issue, A Palestinian
<http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/publications/papers/view/-/id/703> Perspective),

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Orit Gal, Ibid

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Arzt, Donna, "NEGOTIATING THE LAST TABOO: PALESTINIAN REFUGEES".
<http://prn.mcgill.ca/prn/papers/arzt1.html>

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Orit, Gal. Ibid.

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<http://www.altawasul.com/MFAAR/government/communiques++and+policy+statements/2009/Address-by-PM-Netanyahu-at-Bar-Ilan-University-14062009.htm>

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An Interview with Naseer Aruri, A Chancellor Professor of Political Science Emeritus, U. Mass,
Dartmouth. Oslo: Cover for Territorial Conquest, http://www.isreview.org/issues/15/Aruri_interview.shtml

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<http://www.group194.net/?page=ShowDetails&Id=22&table=studies>

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Moris, Ibid p. 261, 262

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Palumbo, Michael, The Palestinian Catastrophe, Faber and Faber Limited, Mackays of Chatham Ltd Kent , 1987, page 184

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The principles and mechanisms found in paragraph 11 of the resolution 194 can be traced to the June 1948 Text of Suggestions (A/863) drafted by the UN Mediator for Palestine, Count Folke Bernadotte, in which he recommended that the UN recognize "the right of residents of Palestine who, because of conditions created by the conflict there have left their normal places of abode, to return to their homes without restriction and to regain possession of their property"

<http://www.badil.org/en/al-majdal/item/3-resolution-194-iii-a-retrospective>

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4. United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East, Final Report, A/AC.25/6, 28 December 1949.

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Foreign+Relations/Israels+Foreign+Relations+since+1947/1947-1974/4+United+Nations+Economic+Survey+Mission+for+the+M.htm>

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http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/truman_Palestine13.html

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United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East, Final Report, A/AC.25/6, 28 December 1949.
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Walworth Barbour, (1981): recorded interview by Sheldon M. Stern, May 22,1981, John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program.

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http://www.jfklibrary.org/NR/rdonlyres/C1D7E975-7A14-4433-925E-33325C90B15B/43848/BarbourWalworth_oralhistory.pdf

Early U.S. Policy toward Palestinian Refugees: the Syria Option, Joshua Lanis
<http://faculty-staff.ou.edu/L/Joshua.M.Landis-1/>

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Ibid. pp. 215, 247

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<http://www.jcpa.org/text/resolution242-rosenne.pdf>

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Foreign British & Commonwealth Office.
http://www.fco.gov.uk/resources/ar/pdf/pdf1/postab_unscr242

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE PALESTINE REFUGEE QUESTION
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http://books.google.ps/books?id=yEll_cSDFx4C&pg=PA124&lpg=PA124&dq=Gerald+Ford
<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA> , (Foreign Relations+ Historical Docs+ 1977-+No. 202)
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The exact definition of what that homeland might be, the degree of independence of the Palestinian entity, its relationship with Jordan, or perhaps Syria and others, the geographical boundaries of it, all have to be worked out by the parties involved. But for the Palestinians to have a homeland and for the refugee question to be resolved, is obviously of crucial importance.

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA>, (Foreign Relations+ Historical Docs+ 1977+No. 211)

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<http://www.group194.net/?page=ShowDetails&Id=26&table=studies>

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[Israel/Reagan_News1988.html http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/Reagan_News1988.html)

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<http://www.freepal.net/Opinions/refugee.htm>

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<http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=415475&contrassID=0&subContrassID=0>Haaretz:

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Rex Brynen, The Past as Prelude? Negotiating the Palestinian Refugee Issue
http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/11721_0608palrefugees_brynen
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Dumper, Mick, (2007): "The Return of Palestinian Refugees and Displaced persons", Brynen, Rex, and Rifai, Roula, Palestinian Refugees, Challenges of Repatriation and Development, I.B.Tauris&Co Ltd and IDRC, London, P.79

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Rex Brynen, (2008): "The Past as Prelude: Negotiating the Palestinian Refugee Issue", Chatham House Briefing Paper, Middle East Programme, June 2008 | MEP/PR BP 08/01 (http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/11721_0608palrefugees_brynen.pdf)

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Transcript of Clinton Remarks at Israel Policy Forum Gala. Source: U.S. Newswire
<http://prn.mcgill.ca/research/papers/clinton.htm>

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In its subsequent response, Israel informed Washington that it considered the Clinton parameters to be a basis for subsequent negotiations, provided that the Palestinians did so too. At the same time, it registered a number of misgivings. With regard to refugees, it warned Washington that it had underestimated Israel's opposition to any form of a 'right of retur.

http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/11721_0608palrefugees_brynen.pdf

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Arzt, Donna, "NEGOTIATING THE LAST TABOO: PALESTINIAN REFUGEES".
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The New York Review of Books, - <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/15502>

, Ibid. p. 98 ¹

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, Ibid. p. 97 ³

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Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, Interview, Jerusalem Post, 3 January 2008

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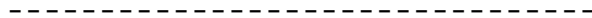
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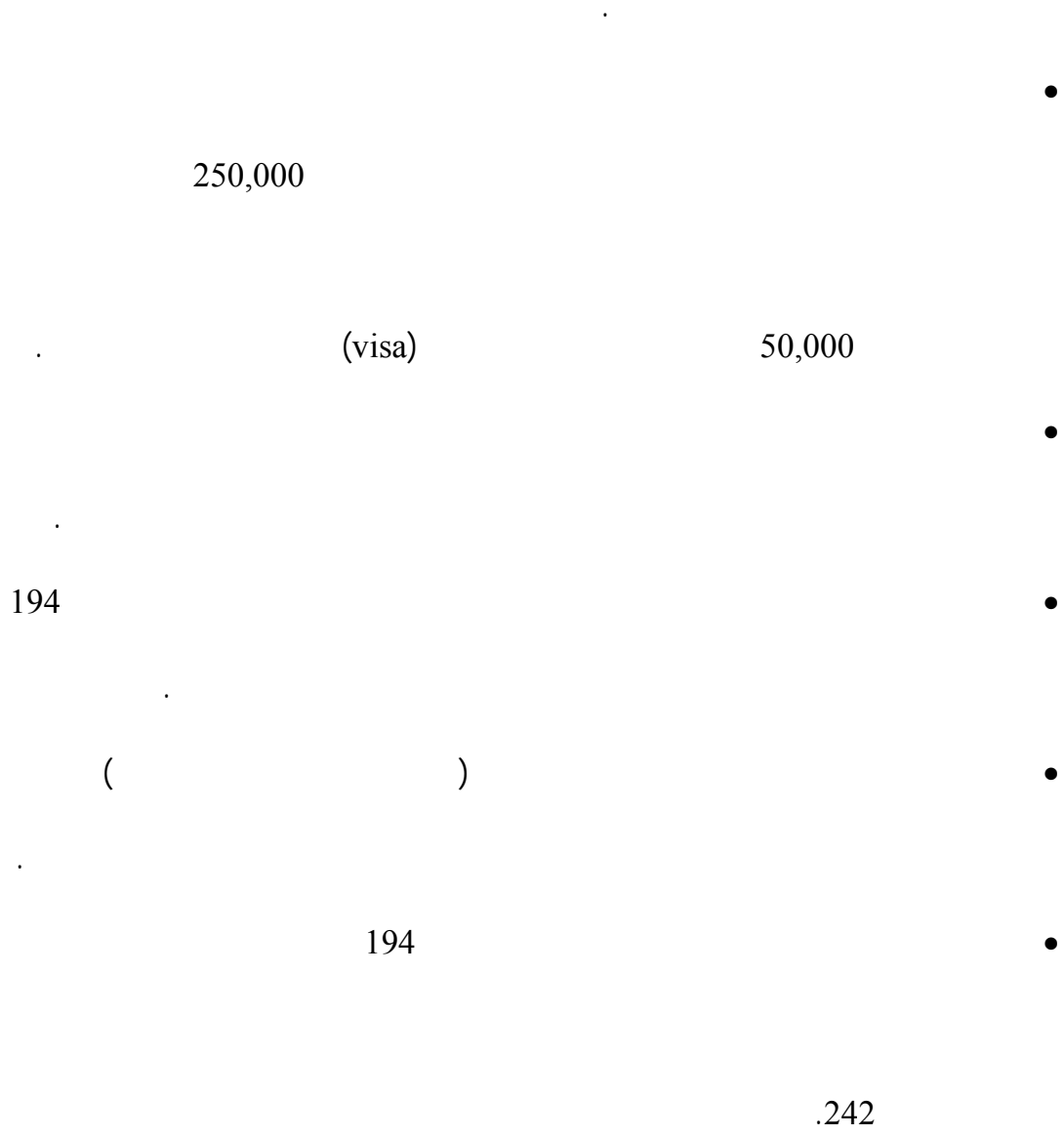
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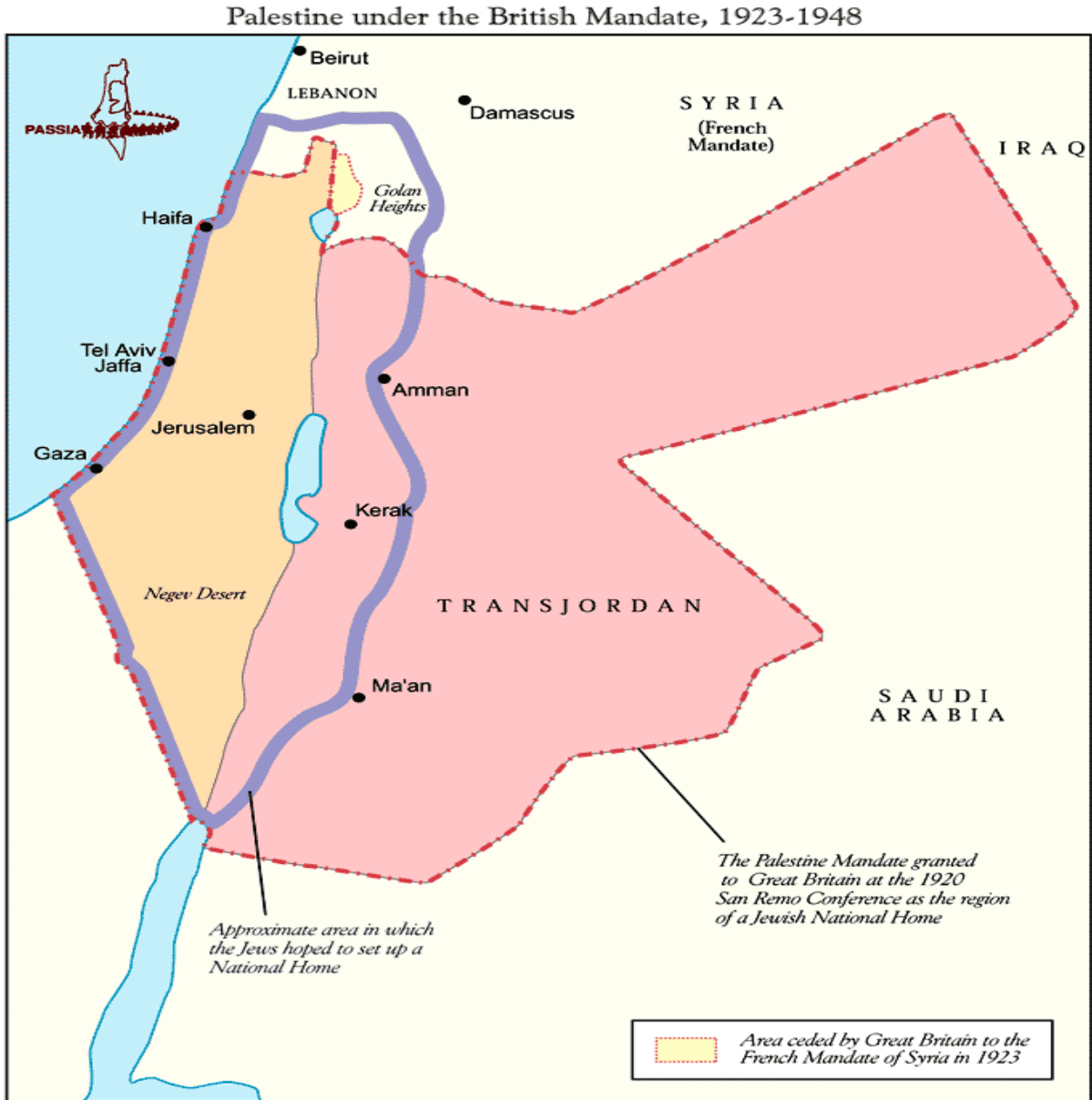


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4,718,899	771,143	771,143	467,417	421,993	1,967,414
2.2	3.0	2.2	2.3	1.3	1.9
100	23	16	10	9	42
58	8	19	9	12	10
1,385,316	499,231	195,770	126,453	224,194	339,668
29	46	25	27	53	17

<http://www.unrwa.org>

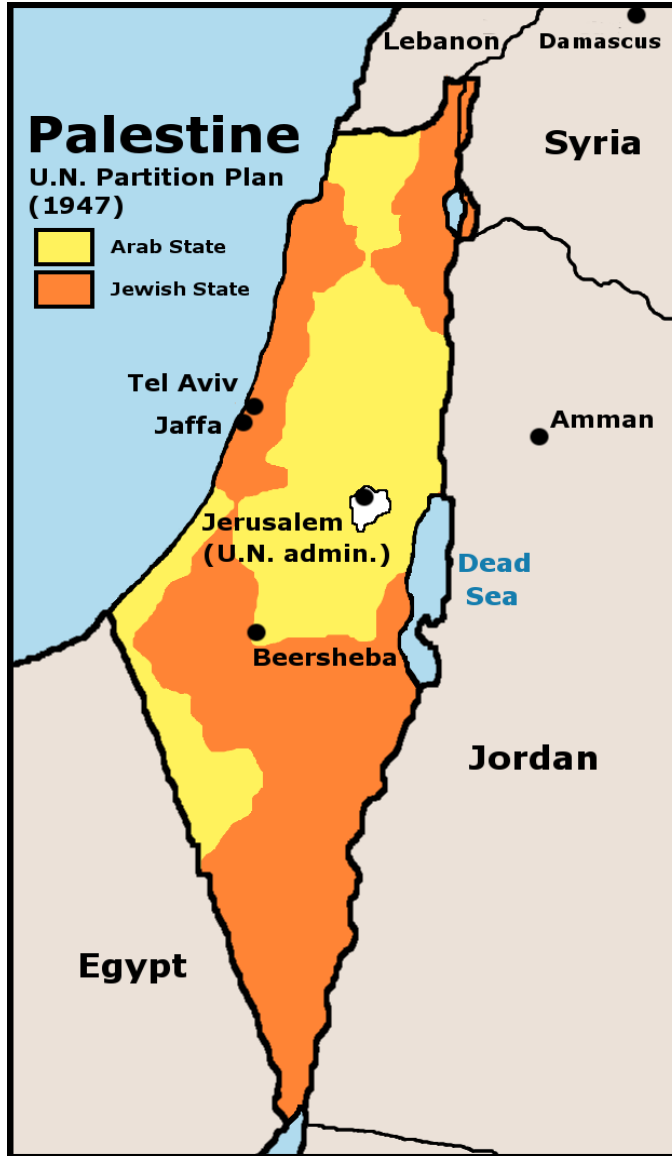
1948-1923



Adapted from: Sachar, H.M., *A History of Israel*, New York: Knopf, 1981

Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)

خارطة التقسيم حسب قرار المم المتحدة عام 1947



<http://www.palestineremembered.com/Acre/Maps/Story580.html>

خارطة ما قبل حرب حزيران 1967



Israel before June 1967

http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/History/67_War.html

خارطة المناطق التي إحتلتها إسرائيل عام 1967 (بالأخضر)



<http://www.mideastweb.org/israelafter1967.htm>

خارطة خطوط وقف إطلاق النار ما بعد حرب حزيران 1967



Cease-Fire Lines After the Six-Day War

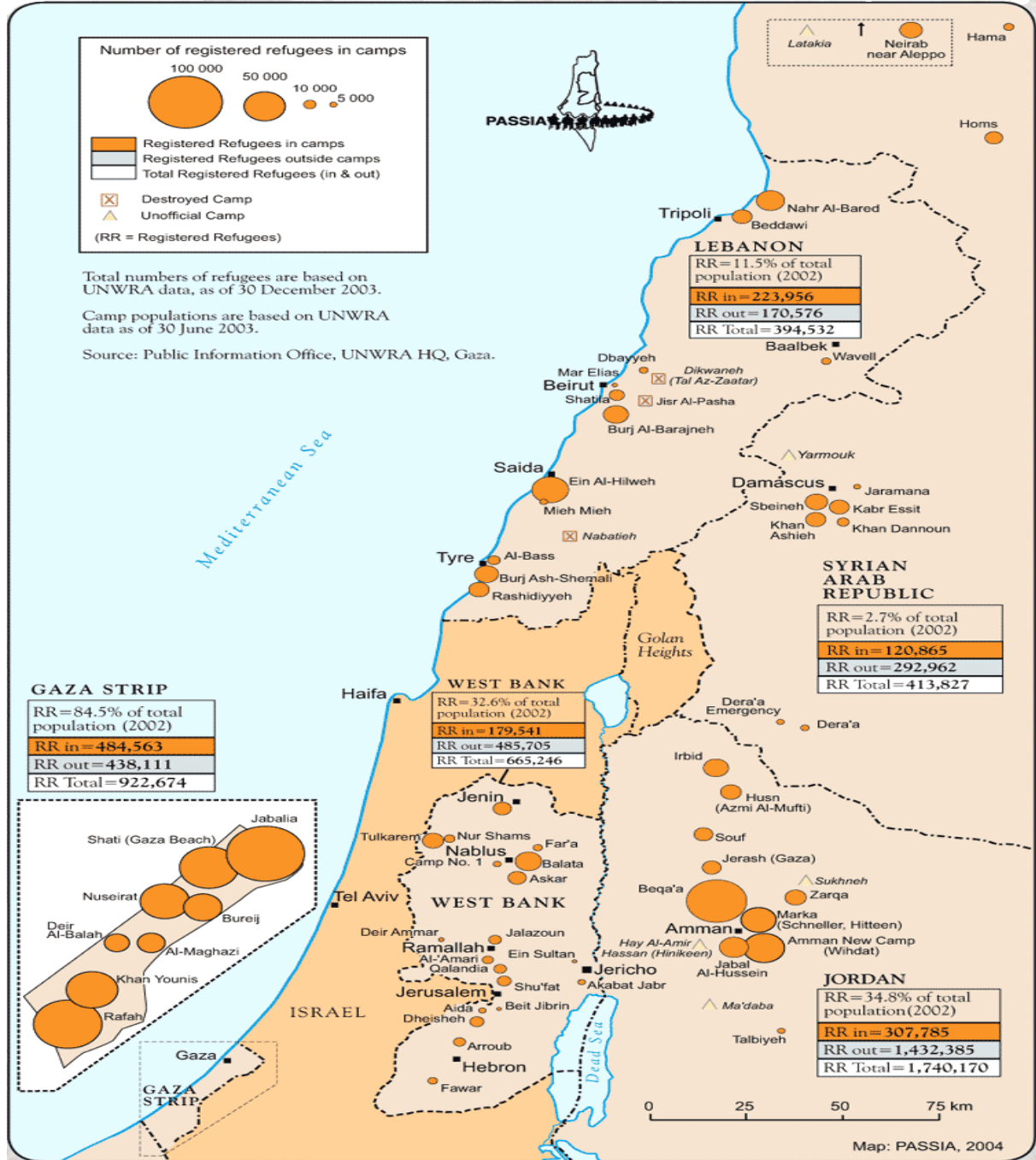
Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs
<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA>

خارطة الشرق الأوسط



<http://elyakatz.files.wordpress.com/2008/02/map-middle-east-7353291.gif>

Palestinian Refugees - Area of UNRWA Operations

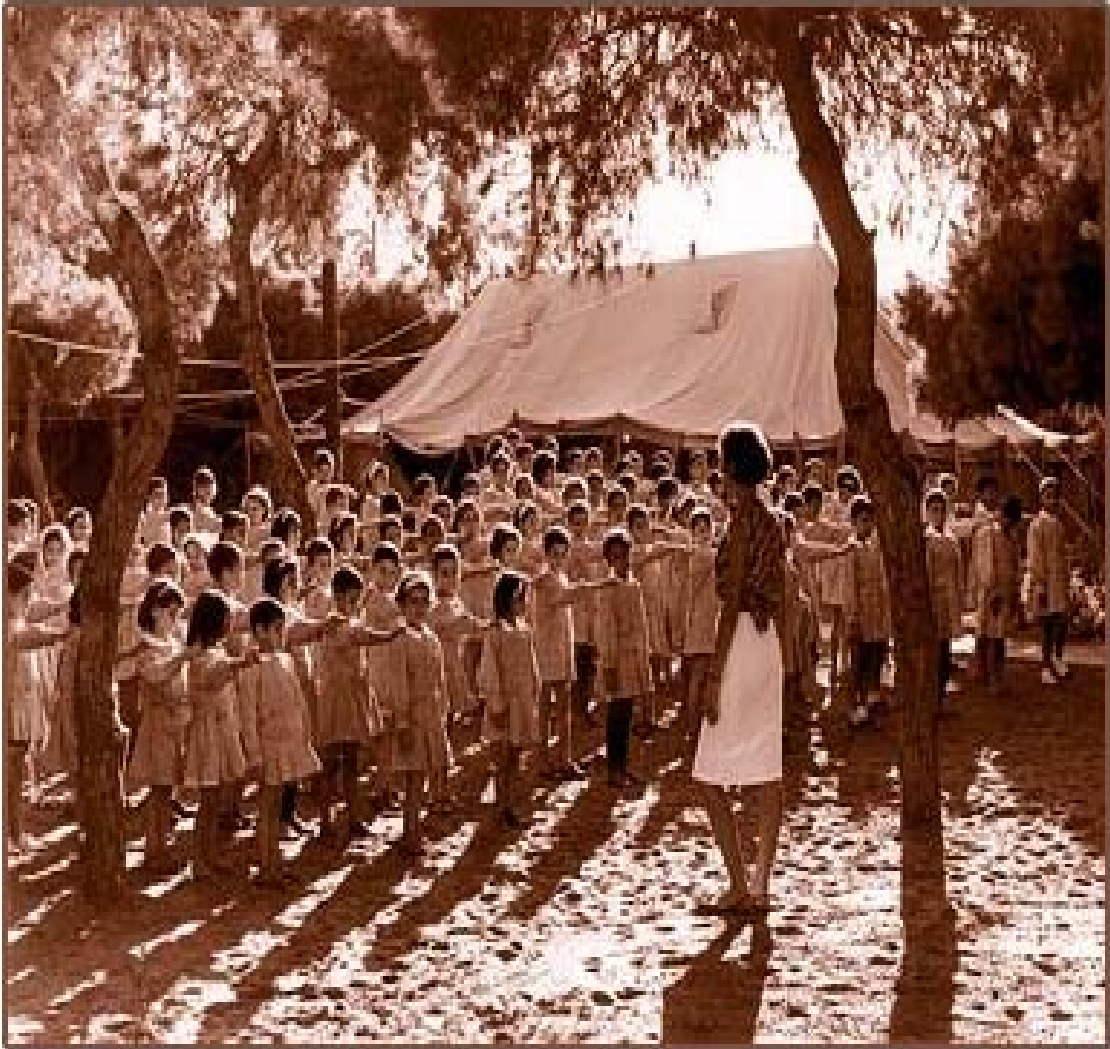


www.unrwa.org

1948 _____ (



صورة من مخيم مار إلياس في لبنان عام 1948



MAR ELIAS REFUGEE CAMP



مشاهد للرحيل والمعاناة



http://www.unrwa.org/photogallery.php?cat_id=51



