

Abstract

This study addresses the problem of the Palestinian refugees' situation in case of the establishment of a Palestinian state on the 1967 borders and the recognition of this state by the international community. The researcher based her study on two approaches. The first approach investigates the relationship between granting Palestinian citizenship to the refugees and their right to return to their original towns and villages in the 1948 areas, based on the idea that "Citizenship" is the main feature of the relationship between the Palestinian refugee and his/her home country.

In the second approach, the researcher investigates the relationship between the establishment of the Palestinian state that grants citizenship to its people and reconnects them to it through a legal and political link. She also addresses the continuous role of the UNRWA which was established by the resolutions of the United Nations in order to provide relief and work opportunities to the Palestinian refugees.

The main questions of this study are: Will the granting of the Palestinian citizenship to the Palestinian refugees from the 1948 areas restrict their return only to the 1967 border areas of the Palestinian state? Will the establishment of the Palestinian state on the 1967 borders entail that "a just settlement" of the refugees cause will take place under the framework of the Security Council's Resolution 242? Will UNRWA continue its functions as long as the legal situation of the refugees remains unresolved or when the refugees themselves return to their original homelands from which they were expelled in the first place?

Although it seems hard to apply a certain hypothesis on the subject of this study, the researcher still sees the possibility to describe the form of the expected implementation of the 242 resolution, especially according to the Neoliberal theory.

The biggest difficulty the researcher faced was the identification of a suitable and a flexible theory in international relations that covers the whole aspects of this study. But this did not happen since the Neoliberal theory deals only with the concepts of refugee, citizenship and correlation between them, and does not address the institutional aspects of UNRWA. Thus, the researcher has chosen to use the Neoliberal theory especially because the situation of UNRWA is considered to be a result and not a factor.

This study is divided into an introduction two chapters and a conclusion. In the introduction, the researcher addresses the theoretical framework of this study, explains the main research problem and the importance of this study compared to other studies that default the question of Palestinian refugees the Palestinian citizenship and the UNRWA. She also discusses the hypothesis, the questions and the used methodology, in addition to identification of some important and key terms that are used in the study.

In the first chapter, the researcher tries to answer the main question of this study which is concerning the impact of establishing Palestinian state that grants citizenship to Palestinians, on their right to return to their original homeland. This is discussed in the light of the relationship among three dimensions: the connection between the definition of “citizenship” with a number of international resolutions and conventions on refugees in general. The second is about definition of “citizenship” with the definition of the

UNRWA in particular and the consequences of this definition. The last one is concerning the particularity of the citizenship that is granted to the Palestinians, which is (for the first time) represents a national state that is representing the Palestinians all over the world. In this chapter also, the researcher addresses the Kosovo experience in returning to homeland, Kosovo. After the civil war, which can be compared to the Palestinian return to Palestine. In addition, she discusses the difference between the Palestinian (presumed) nationality and the Armenian one, and the effects of these nationalities on the refugees all over the world.

Depending on the outcomes of the first chapter, the second chapter includes the researcher's perspective on the future of the UNRWA after the establishment of the state, and the re-engagement with its citizens outside Palestine. In addition, the researcher provides some expected scenarios such as keeping or terminating the UNRWA, and this is according to its current situation compared to the situation in Jordan after granting the Jordanian citizenship to the Palestinian refugees. In the same chapter, the researcher presents a brief overview on the role and missions of the UNRWA, and its connection with the Palestinian refugee issue, as well as to the calls to link the UNRWA with the Palestinian state or to terminate it so that the upcoming state can carry out its missions by itself.

One of the results that the researcher came out with indicates that granting the Palestinian citizenship to the refugees in the host countries or in the UNRWA operation areas will not affect their refugee status since they are excluded from the benefits of the 1951 Convention.

The researcher also found that any change that occurs in the refugee status will not affect his/her right of return, Whether the refugee has a different

citizenship or not, or has multiple citizenships, his/her right to return remains valid because it is considered to be one of the original rights that have been approved to all humans according to the general international law and the regional and international agreements. So, refugee return to 67 doesn't satisfy resolution refugees "right of return".

Regarding the just peace solution according to the UNSC /242 resolution of 1967, the researcher found that the resolution may have several interpretations each of which is supported by strong legal tools.

Finally the researcher found that granting the nationality to the Palestinian refugees into Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, west bank, and Gaza strip will not stop the UNRWA operations in these areas, because the reason behind establishing the Agency is linked directly to the problem of the refugees, and the end of it is connected to the General Assembly's Resolution 194 implementation, not to the security council's resolution 242, also its target is not getting the nationality ,but providing relief and work to the refugees until their return.