



# Understanding Migration

Curriculum Resources for the Classroom  
*Revised Edition*



Hemispheres is a partnership of:

Center for European Studies  
Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies  
Center for Middle Eastern Studies  
Center for Russian, East European & Eurasian Studies  
South Asia Institute

in the College of Liberal Arts  
at the University of Texas at Austin



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## Introduction

Why do people move? Simple as it may seem, this question raises complex questions about the causes of individual versus large-scale migration as well as the global effects of migration. This curriculum unit was conceived in response to numerous requests from educators concerning the discussion of issues related to human migration in the social studies classroom. Our goal was to present this fluid and nebulous concept in an easy-to-follow manner, with clear lesson objectives and outcomes.

Given our own strength as content providers for world studies courses (in Texas, this consists of the 6th grade Contemporary World Cultures course, 9th grade World Geography course, and 10th grade World History course, in addition to AP-level courses and other electives), we chose to address these essential questions by using a case-study approach looking at the phenomenon of migration in a global context.

The unit is aligned to middle and high school standards (Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills, as well as National Geography Standards) and so the activities have been designed for Grades 6–12, although some suggestions for use at lower levels are included below.

In 2011, following the revision of the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS—the state-mandated educational standards) for social studies, we created the revised edition of this unit. It incorporates feedback from field testers and educators who have offered constructive comments on the unit since its first publication. We hope that this unit, which has been used in classrooms nationwide, will be even more useful in this revised edition.

We welcome any feedback or comments you may have.

### How to use this unit effectively in the classroom

The unit allows maximum flexibility on the part of the classroom teacher: modular in design, any section (or case study within a section) can be used individually or in combination with other sections. Based on previous coverage of the topic and the academic level of your students, you may incorporate as many or as few activities as support your learning goals. We encourage you to familiarize yourself with the entire unit so as to select the activities/topics that best suit your needs.

## Section Overview

### Section 1

A brief PowerPoint introduction to migration theory incorporates key vocabulary (e.g., push-pull factors) and real world examples. The original document can be downloaded from the Hemispheres website at: <http://www.utexas.edu/cola/orgs/hemispheres/>.

### Section 2: Introductory Activities

Once students have a basic understanding of the forces that affect migration, we offer two classroom activities to generate a general discussion. Although these activities are intended to be used before Sections 3 or 4, they can also be used individually (or not at all). They should be implemented insofar as they facilitate learning goals and enrich your students' understanding of migration. **Student Activity 1** examines migration trends in your community through a series of interviews. This activity can easily be modified for use at the elementary level, by either interviewing one person as a class or using a story or video; you can discuss migration stories without conducting the spectrum graph activity. **Student Activity 2** examines film, asking students to think critically about the film and plot elements relating to migration. Since most films dealing with this topic are for more mature audiences, we suggest using this activity at the high school level. There are some films, such as the animated picture *An American Tail*, that could be used with younger audiences.

### **Section 3: Using T-Charts and Writing Prompts to Explore Migration**

Intended for a middle school audience, the T-chart case studies may also be used with older students in place of the advocate/decision-making activity. The five topics, which are simplified versions of real world issues from Section 4, include background information for the teacher, short readings for students, and four variations of an analysis activity.

For a high school audience, a writing prompt is provided in the instructions as Variation 4 to use the documents in the T-chart case studies to write a DBQ essay. A grading rubric for the essay can be found on page 68.

### **Section 4: Using an Advocate/Decision-Making Activity to Discuss Migration**

This “controlled debate” activity requires students to argue one side of a real migration issue. Two to three pages of essential reading are included for each topic; supplemental materials are provided if time allows or if you feel that the issue needs additional coverage. We have made a conscious effort to use as many primary document sources as possible in order to help build critical reading and interpretation skills; reading levels vary according to the documents selected.

A writing prompt is provided in the instructions (p. 65) to use the documents provided in each case study to write a persuasive DBQ essay. The essay exercise can be done as an assessment piece for the Advocate/Decision-Making Activity. A grading rubric for the essay can be found on page 68.

### **Appendix: Glossary of Terms**

We have provided a list of terms defined in footnotes in the glossary for handy reference.

### **Additional Resources**

Each case study in Section 4 also includes a list of Web and print resources for learning more about the topic it covers. *ABC-CLIO*, *History Alive!*, and other content providers may have additional materials that will help facilitate the coverage of migration in your classroom.

We hope you find this unit useful and that you feel free to select and modify activities as they fit your classroom needs.

**THIS CURRICULUM UNIT ADDRESSES THE FOLLOWING STANDARDS  
IN THE TEXAS ESSENTIAL KNOWLEDGE & SKILLS (TEKS), 2010 REVISION:**

**113.18 Social Studies, Grade 6**

**GEOGRAPHY**

4) The student understands the factors that influence the locations and characteristics of locations of various contemporary societies on maps and globes and uses latitude and longitude to determine absolute locations.

The student is expected to:

- B) identify and explain the geographic factors responsible for patterns of population in places and regions;
- C) explain ways in which human migration influences the character of places and regions.

**ECONOMICS**

8) The student understands the factors of production in a society's economy.

The student is expected to:

- A) describe ways in which the factors of production (natural resources, labor, capital, and entrepreneurs) influence the economies of various contemporary societies;
- B) identify problems and issues that may arise when one or more of the factors of production is in relatively short supply; and
- C) explain the impact of relative scarcity of resources on international trade and economic interdependence among and within societies.

**HISTORY**

1) The student understands that historical events influence contemporary events.

The student is expected to:

- A) trace characteristics of various contemporary societies in regions that resulted from historical events or factors such as invasion, conquests, colonization, immigration, and trade; and
- B) analyze the historical background of various contemporary societies to evaluate relationships between past conflicts and current conditions.

**SOCIAL STUDIES SKILLS**

21) The student applies critical-thinking skills to organize and use information acquired through established research methodologies from a variety of valid sources, including electronic technology.

The student is expected to:

- A) differentiate between, locate, and use valid primary and secondary sources such as computer software; interviews; biographies; oral, print, and visual material; and artifacts to acquire information about various world cultures;
- B) analyze information by sequencing, categorizing, identifying cause-and-effect relationships, comparing, contrasting, finding the main idea, summarizing, making generalizations and predictions, and drawing inferences and conclusions;
- C) organize and interpret information from outlines, reports, databases, and visuals, including graphs, charts, timelines, and maps;
- D) identify different points of view about an issue or current topic;
- E) identify the elements of frame of reference that influenced participants in an event.

### **113.33 World History Studies**

#### **CULTURE**

18) The student understands the ways in which cultures change and maintain continuity.

The student is expected to:

A) analyze cultural changes in specific regions caused by migration, war, trade, innovations, and diffusion.

#### **GEOGRAPHY**

7) The student understands the growth, distribution, movement, and characteristics of world population.

The student is expected to:

B) explain the political, economic, social, and environmental factors that contribute to human migration such as how national and international migrations are shaped by push-and-pull factors and how physical geography affects the routes, flows, and destinations of migration.

#### **HISTORY**

13) The student understands the impact of major events associated with the Cold War and independence movements.

The student is expected to:

F) explain how Arab rejection of the State of Israel has led to ongoing conflict.

#### **SOCIAL STUDIES SKILLS**

31) The student uses problem-solving and decision-making skills, working independently and with others, in a variety of settings.

The student is expected to:

A) use a problem-solving process to identify a problem, gather information, list and consider options, consider advantages and disadvantages, choose and implement a solution, and evaluate the effectiveness of the solution; and

B) use a decision-making process to identify a situation that requires a decision, gather information, identify options, predict consequences, and take action to implement a decision.

### **113.34 World Geography Studies**

#### **HISTORY**

1) The student understands how geography and processes of spatial exchange (diffusion) influenced events in the past and helped to shape the present.

The student is expected to:

A) analyze the effects of physical and human geographic patterns and processes on the past and describe their impact on the present, including significant physical features and environmental conditions that influenced migration patterns and shaped the distribution of culture groups today.

#### **GEOGRAPHY**

7) The student understands the growth, distribution, movement, and characteristics of world population.

The student is expected to:

B) explain the political, economic, social, and environmental factors that contribute to human migration such as how national and international migrations are shaped by push-and-pull factors and how physical geography affects the routes, flows, and destinations of migration.

8) The student understands how people, places, and environments are connected and interdependent.

The student is expected to:

A) compare ways that humans depend on, adapt to, and modify the physical environment, including the influences of culture and technology;

- B) describe the interaction between humans and the physical environment and analyze the consequences of extreme weather and other natural disasters such as El Niño, floods, tsunamis, and volcanoes; and
- C) evaluate the economic and political relationships between settlements and the environment, including sustainable development and renewable/non-renewable resources.

#### GOVERNMENT

- 14) The student understands the processes that influence political divisions, relationships, and policies.

The student is expected to:

- C) analyze the human and physical factors that influence the power to control territory and resources, create conflict/war, and impact international political relations of sovereign nations such as China, the United States, Japan, and Russia and organized nation groups such as the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU).

#### CITIZENSHIP

- 15) Citizenship. The student understands how different points of view influence the development of public policies and decision-making processes on local, state, national, and international levels.

The student is expected to:

- A) identify and give examples of different points of view that influence the development of public policies and decision-making processes on local, state, national, and international levels; and
- B) explain how citizenship practices, public policies, and decision making may be influenced by cultural beliefs, including nationalism and patriotism.

#### SOCIAL STUDIES SKILLS

- 31) The student uses problem-solving and decision-making skills, working independently and with others, in a variety of settings.

The student is expected to:

- A) use a problem-solving process to identify a problem, gather information, list and consider options, consider advantages and disadvantages, choose and implement a solution, and evaluate the effectiveness of the solution; and
- B) use a decision-making process to identify a situation that requires a decision, gather information, identify options, predict consequences, and take action to implement a decision.

#### THIS UNIT ALSO ADDRESSES THE FOLLOWING NATIONAL GEOGRAPHY STANDARDS:

**Standard 9, Human Systems:** The characteristics, distribution, and migration of human populations on Earth's surface.

#### GRADES 5–8

By the end of the eighth grade, the student knows and understands:

- 3. the types and historical patterns of human migration and;
- 4. the effects of migration on the characteristics of places.

#### GRADES 9–12

By the end of the twelfth grade, the student knows and understands:

- 1. trends in world population numbers and patterns and;
- 2. the impact of human migration on physical and human systems.

**Student Activity: Migration Advocate/Decision-Making Activity**

Advocate/decision-making activities allow for complete class involvement. Unlike class debates, which are usually dominated by a few of the most vocal students, the advocate/decision-making activity works well because each student is accountable for a role. Every student is either a debater (“advocate”) or a judge (“decision-maker”). The exercise sets up clear points of disagreement, and the competition to persuade the decision-maker enhances student motivation. In addition, such activities can be used with a large variety of historical and contemporary social studies problems and issues.

This activity revolves around a complex historical or contemporary migration issue that is presented to the students. It is presented in the form of a “should” question, allowing participants to examine reasons for support or opposition of the issue under discussion. Case studies for use with this activity can be found beginning on page 70.

**Time Needed:**

Two class periods of 45 minutes–1 hour each or one 90-minute class period will be sufficient for steps 3–5, assuming that:

- class preparation (step 1) is done outside of this time frame (this will require approximately 10–15 minutes to assign roles, distribute worksheets and readings, and to explain the first steps of the activity);
- individual preparation (step 2) is assigned as homework; and
- group preparation (step 3), confrontation (step 4), and de-briefing (step 5) are done in class.

We recommend a minimum of 30 additional minutes if individual preparation (step 2) is assigned as an in-class activity.

**Supplies for this activity:**

- the *Advocate’s Worksheet* (p. 66)
- the *Decision-Maker’s Worksheet* (p. 67)
- copies of the 2-4 page brief from any of the case studies that follow in this section, beginning on p. 70

**Conducting the activity:**

There are five steps in this activity, and an optional sixth step for assessment. It is also possible to do the assessment activity—writing a persuasive essay—without doing the advocate/decision-making activity. Begin by selecting the question(s) your class will debate.

**Step 1: Class preparation:**

Divide the students into 3 groups and assign each group one of the following roles: 1) advocates in favor, 2) advocates in opposition, and 3) decision-makers. The groups should be equal in size. When the class number is not divisible by 3, make the one or two extra students decision-makers.

**Step 2: Individual preparation:**

During this phase, the students should quietly read their background documentation. Each case study contains a brief that all students should read. Supplemental readings follow, which may be assigned as extra credit or as homework. While reading, each student should complete the appropriate worksheet.

Advocates prepare their arguments by finding relevant evidence in the text that supports their position, using the worksheet on page 66. Decision-makers prepare questions to ask the advocates and consider what the main arguments on each side are likely to be, completing the first section of the worksheet on page 67.

*Alternately, you may choose to assign roles to students after they have done the reading and note-taking, requiring all students to examine all sides of the issue and prepare an argument for both sides.*

Step 3: Group preparation:

Have your students come together in groups according to the roles they have been assigned: advocates in favor will meet with the other advocates in favor, advocates in opposition with their counterparts, and decision-makers with the other decision-makers.

In each group, students should share the information gathered during individual preparation, and the arguments they have prepared. The advocates should decide the best arguments for their perspective, while decision-makers should analyze both perspectives, deciding the best questions to ask.

Step 4: Confrontation:

Re-group your students into small groups of 3, consisting of one advocate from each side and a decision-maker. (If your class is not divisible by 3, there will be one or two groups with an extra decision-maker.)

For the first ten minutes, advocates in favor are allowed to present their argument to the decision-maker, who may ask questions. During this period, the advocates in opposition may only listen and take notes.

For the next ten minutes, advocates in opposition have their chance to present their argument, while their opponent may only listen and take notes.

For the final 10–15 minute period, the advocates may debate the issue, presenting rebuttals or challenges to the argument presented, and the decision-maker may further question both advocates.

At the end of this period, the decision-maker should complete his or her worksheet, revealing their decision and the reasons for it.

Step 5: De-briefing:

Individual decision-makers should stand before the class and summarize the debate process for their group, discussing which arguments were most persuasive and most supportable. They should end by announcing their decision and the reasons for it.

Arguments and decisions may also be reviewed in terms of values. A homework assignment, for all participants, could include an essay examining values: What values underlay the positions and statements? Where did the values conflict? What values did the decision-makers demonstrate?

Assessment (optional):

The assessment piece is a DBQ activity that uses the documents in each case study and the following essay prompt: *Read the introduction and the documents provided. Identify the push and pull factors given in the documents. Consider the overall issue. Are the causes economic, social, political, or environmental (or more than one of these) in nature?*

*Write a persuasive essay in which you describe the issue presented. Be sure to identify the major push and pull factors, their causes, and the potential effects they may have on the migrants, the place they are planning to leave, and the place to which they are planning to migrate. Cite specific passages and examples from the documents to support your answer. Remember to consider the perspective of the authors of each document. Finally, explain which argument you find more persuasive, based on the factors you have described above. Justify your decision citing information from the documents, or from additional research.*

A grading rubric may be found on page 68.

THIS ACTIVITY WAS ORIGINALLY DEVELOPED BY JOHN ROSSI OF THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY. THIS ADAPTATION BY HEMISPHERES, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN, IS BASED ON A REVISED VERSION USED BY THE EDUCATION PROGRAM OF THE UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE.

## ADVOCATE'S WORKSHEET

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Class: \_\_\_\_\_

My **position** on the issue is that \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

1. One **reason** to support the position is \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

One **piece of evidence** that backs up this reason is \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2. A second **reason** to support the position is \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

One **piece of evidence** that backs up this reason is \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. A third **reason** to support the position is \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

One **piece of evidence** that backs up this reason is \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

4. The **opponents** of this position might say \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

I would **reply to their reason** by saying \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## DECISION-MAKER'S WORKSHEET

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Class: \_\_\_\_\_

I. List the questions you will ask the advocates when they try to persuade you. Ask challenging questions that show what you already know about the issue. Make sure your set of questions is balanced and does not show favoritism for one side.

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_

II. On the back of this sheet, list the reasons given by each advocate when they attempt to persuade you. Divide the reasons into two columns, as shown here:

**REASONS FOR**

**REASONS AGAINST**

III. Before making a decision, think about these questions:

1. Is the reason relevant?
2. Is the reason supported by evidence?
3. What reasons presented by one advocate went unchallenged by the other advocate?
4. What contrary evidence was presented?
5. How unbiased are the sources?

IV. After evaluating the reasons and evidence presented by both advocates, I have decided that:

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V. The reasons and/or evidence that most influenced my decision, in order of importance, are:

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_

# Essay Grading Rubric

## Essay : Understanding Migration

Teacher Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Student Name: \_\_\_\_\_

CATEGORY	4 - Above Standards	3 - Meets Standards	2 - Approaching Standards	1 - Below Standards	Score
Focus or Thesis Statement	The thesis statement names the topic of the essay and outlines the main points to be discussed.	The thesis statement names the topic of the essay.	The thesis statement outlines some or all of the main points to be discussed but does not name the topic.	The thesis statement does not name the topic AND does not preview what will be discussed.	
Evidence and Examples	All of the evidence and examples are specific, relevant and explanations are given that show how each piece of evidence supports the author's position.	Most of the evidence and examples are specific, relevant and explanations are given that show how each piece of evidence supports the author's position.	At least one of the pieces of evidence and examples is relevant and has an explanation that shows how that piece of evidence supports the author's position.	Evidence and examples are NOT relevant AND/OR are not explained.	
Accuracy	All supportive facts and statistics are reported accurately.	Almost all supportive facts and statistics are reported accurately.	Most supportive facts and statistics are reported accurately.	Most supportive facts and statistics were inaccurately reported.	
Closing paragraph	The conclusion is strong and leaves the reader solidly understanding the writer's position. Effective restatement of the position statement begins the closing paragraph.	The conclusion is recognizable. The author's position is restated within the first two sentences of the closing paragraph.	The author's position is restated within the closing paragraph, but not near the beginning.	There is no conclusion - the paper just ends.	
Grammar & Spelling	Author makes no errors in grammar or spelling that distract the reader from the content.	Author makes 1-2 errors in grammar or spelling that distract the reader from the content.	Author makes 3-4 errors in grammar or spelling that distract the reader from the content.	Author makes more than 4 errors in grammar or spelling that distract the reader from the content.	

## Should Palestinian Arabs be allowed the “right of return” to Israel?

One of the most important—and difficult—issues facing the teams negotiating the Israel-Palestinian peace process is the issue of the “right of return” for Palestinian refugees. During the Arab-Israeli war that followed the 1947 partition by the U.N. of the Palestine mandate into an Arab and a Jewish state, many Palestinians fled or were driven from their homes. Following the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, another wave of Palestinians was displaced when Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza. According to the United Nations Relief Works Agency, there are over three million refugees registered in the West Bank and Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria.

The Palestinians say that they were forcibly expelled from their homes in 1947 and 1967, an act that was against international law at the time. Because of this, the Palestinians claim that they have the right to return to the homes and property that they left behind, including those that are now within the internationally recognized borders of the state of Israel. They base this claim on a number of resolutions issued by the United Nations. General Assembly Resolution 194, passed in December 1948, states that “refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practical date.”

Israel disagrees with the Palestinian position. For many decades, various Israeli leaders have ruled out the possibility of allowing three million registered Palestinian refugees to migrate to a country with a population of only six million. Opening the gates to the three million registered refugees would cause rapid expansion of the population and create a massive crisis for Israel’s political and economic infrastructure. Many Israelis also see a problem of identity. Israel’s national identity is tied in many ways to Judaism and the Jewish identity of its citizens. If Israel agreed to the right of return, Muslim and Christian Palestinians would form the majority of Israel’s population. The Israelis have long called for the refugees to be absorbed into their Arab host countries, something that, with the exception of Jordan, those countries have long refused to do.

The issue of right of return is emotionally charged and difficult to resolve, but its resolution is essential to the success of the peace process. Following are some perspectives on the issue.

### **Reading 1: “The ‘Big Lie’ Tactic”**

In the five years after its establishment in 1948, Israel absorbed close to 500,000 Jewish refugees—about half from the wreckage of the Holocaust and the remainder from Arab countries. A similar number poured in over the next three years. As a result, the new state’s population had doubled by 1953 and tripled by 1956. Yet no one has ever suggested that these refugees have a “right of return” to their countries of origin.

In fact, none of these refugees were even granted monetary compensation—another “inalienable right” claimed for the Palestinians. Nor is there any lack of other examples that fit this pattern. Why, then, are the Palestinian refugees so unquestionably awarded a “right” enjoyed by virtually no other refugees in history? The best explanation lies in a circumstance that is also virtually unique to the Palestinians: Unlike most of history’s refugees, the countries to which the Palestinians fled refused to absorb them—preferring to leave them in squalid refugee camps for the sake of encouraging anti-Israel sentiment...

Yet the Palestinians—whose Arab hosts bear direct responsibility for their flight—through their decision to declare war on Israel rather than accepting the UN partition plan—still languish in refugee camps after 52 years... The only just solution to their problem is for the Arab world, and particularly the Palestinian state—to be, to absorb them—just as Israel has absorbed Jewish refugees the world over since 1948.

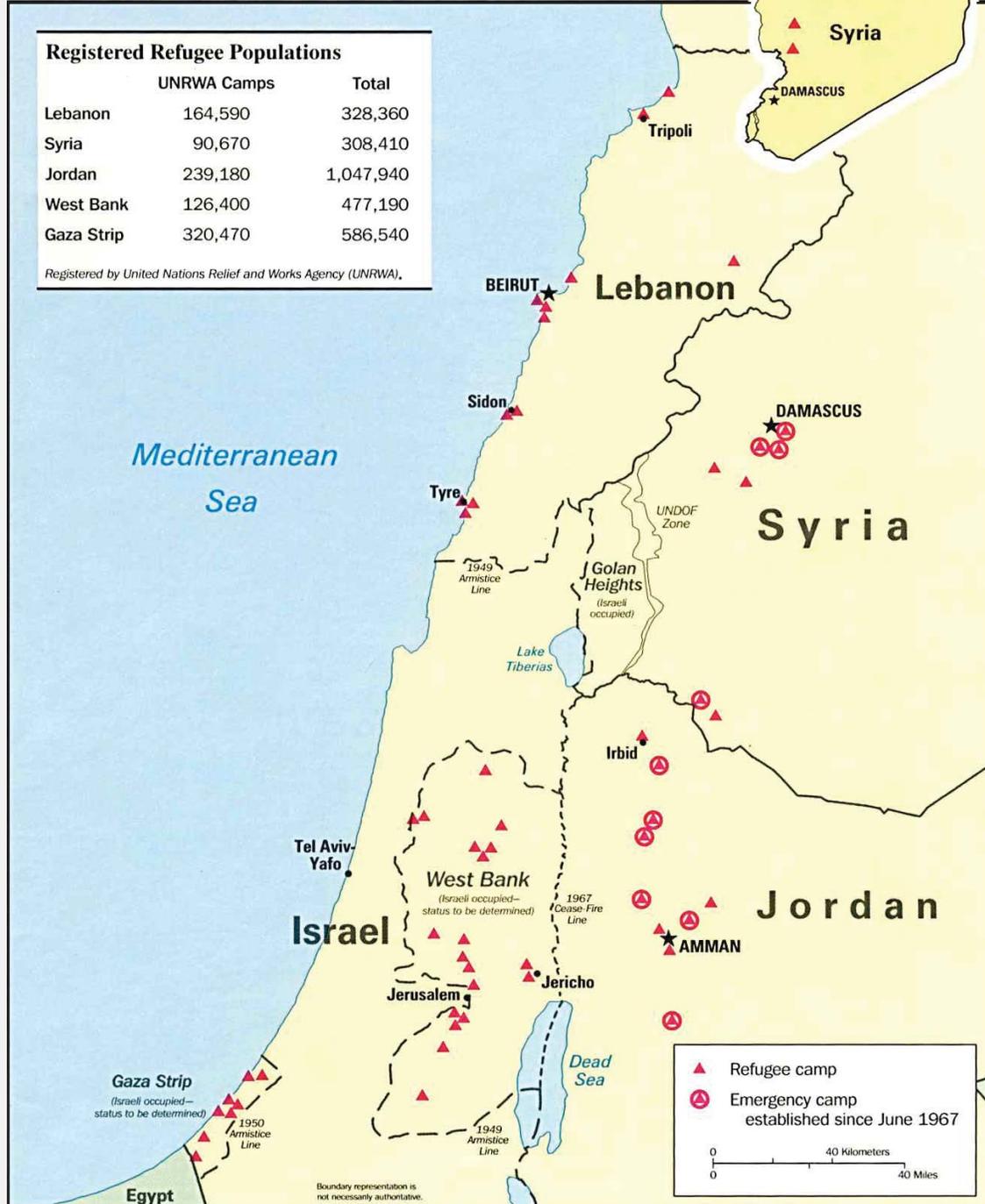
SOURCE: EVELYN GORDON, “THE ‘BIG LIE’ TACTIC,” *THE JERUSALEM POST*, JANUARY 16, 2001. (PERMISSION PENDING.)

Chart: Map of official United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNWRA) camps, 1993

Official UNRWA Palestinian Refugee Camps, November 1993

Registered Refugee Populations		
	UNRWA Camps	Total
Lebanon	164,590	328,360
Syria	90,670	308,410
Jordan	239,180	1,047,940
West Bank	126,400	477,190
Gaza Strip	320,470	586,540

Registered by United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA).



SOURCE: CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, 1993.

**Reading 2: “On the Palestinian Right of Return”**

Israelis see the Arab insistence on clinging to Resolution 194 and refusal to make any concessions on the Palestinian right of return as proof that the Arabs have not abandoned their aim to eradicate the Jewish state, even if they now hope to bring this about through the shifting demographic balance between Jews and Arabs in Israel, where, thanks to the much higher birth rate among the Arab population, the Arabs are expected to eventually outnumber Jews.

However, the Israeli logic is based on a fallacy, in that it replaces Palestinians who still dream (after more than half a century) of returning to their homes (most of which no longer exist) by a prototype of Palestinian extremists out to wrest control over the Jewish state. Moreover, Israel has been able to absorb more than one million Jews from the Soviet Union. This proves that the issue is not one of numbers but of identity, of whether immigration to Israel is Jewish or Palestinian.

SOURCE: MOHAMED SID-AHMED, “ON THE PALESTINIAN RIGHT OF RETURN,” *AL-AHRAM WEEKLY*, N.V.: 668, DECEMBER 11–17, 2003. (PERMISSION PENDING.)

**Reading 3: “Return to Square One: Not a Legal Right”**

Palestinians are adamant that they possess a right to return to the State of Israel and that no final peace agreement may be reached with Israel without the realization of their right of return. In response, Israel contends that it cannot allow such a return as it would undermine the demographic balance in the country and jeopardize Israel’s existence as a Jewish State.

Although reality in 1948 was one of population transfer, the Arab refugees’ narrative is of forcible expulsion. Consequently they insist that since forcible expulsion was forbidden in 1948, and was already then considered a crime against humanity, Israel is under an absolute obligation to allow repatriation of Palestinian refugees.... Even if Israel accepts this allegation (which it does not), nowhere in international law is there a provision that a state is obliged to remedy the wrong caused to expellees by enabling repatriation....

Palestinians do not have a legal right to return to Israel. Any negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians should start from the understanding that this is the legal situation. The sole right possessed by the Palestinians is to obtain compensation. The parties should start discussions and negotiations regarding the amount of the compensation and the method of its payment.

SOURCE: YAFFA ZILBERSHATS, “RETURN TO SQUARE ONE: NOT A LEGAL RIGHT,” *THE JERUSALEM POST*, AUGUST 22, 2003. (PERMISSION PENDING.)

**Reading 4: “The Right of Return and the Right of Choice”**

If the Palestinian right of return is compromised, then so should the Israeli law of return for all Jews to Israel. The two states are sharing the same resources and will both suffer from the lack of water, for instance. If we accept the Israeli law of return and deny the Palestinian right of return this means that we accept indirectly the myth which says that this is the land of the Jews, and we are the invaders. If our rights are to be compromised then this should again mean that their “rights” are also to be compromised and there should be no more Jewish immigration to this area. Even in any proposed solution which might bring an independent state to the Palestinians and if the PLO were to be replaced by a government, this government would no longer represent the refugees and the Palestinians outside. They would establish their own liberation organization to continue the struggle. Such a solution will not bring about a definitive end to the struggle.

SOURCE: RIFAT ODEH KASSIS, “THE RIGHT OF RETURN AND THE RIGHT OF CHOICE,” *THE ELECTRONIC INTIFADA*, DECEMBER 10, 2003. (REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION.)

## Readings Arguing Against the Right of Return

### **Supplemental Reading 1: “The ‘Big Lie’ Tactic—the Palestinian Right of Return”**

One of the most surprising developments of the past few weeks has been the support expressed by many ordinary Americans and Europeans for the “right of return” of Palestinian refugees to Israel. What is surprising about this proposition, put forth in numerous letters and opinion pieces published in the press recently, is that it accords Palestinians a “right” enjoyed by virtually no other refugees in history.

Most of the writers are unaware of this. But that so many well-meaning people can mindlessly parrot the canard that the repatriation of refugees is an “inalienable right” is yet another proof of the efficacy of the well-known tactic of the “big lie”—that any lie, however outrageous, will eventually be believed if repeated often enough. Certainly, it would be hard to think of many lies as easily disprovable as the idea that refugees have a “right of return” to their former homes.

The history of the 20th century is one long lesson in the falsity of this claim. To cite just a few examples:

- Millions of [Muslims] fled India for Pakistan following the bloody riots of 1947. India not only stripped them of citizenship, but barred them, in its constitution, from ever returning. No one ever suggested that these [Muslims] had a “right of return.”
- After World War II, Czechoslovakia expelled all its German citizens. Yet no one suggested that the millions of Sudeten Germans had a “right of return.” In 1997, Germany even signed a treaty acknowledging the irrevocability of the expulsion.
- When the communists took power in Vietnam, millions of “boat people” fled to the United States and various Asian countries. No one has ever suggested that these people have a “right of return.”
- In the five years after its establishment in 1948, Israel absorbed close to 500,000 Jewish refugees—about half from the wreckage of the Holocaust and the remainder from Arab countries. A similar number poured in over the next three years. As a result, the new state’s population had doubled by 1953 and tripled by 1956. Yet no one has ever suggested that these refugees have a “right of return” to their countries of origin.

In fact, none of these refugees were even granted monetary compensation—another “inalienable right” claimed for the Palestinians. Nor is there any lack of other examples that fit this pattern. Why, then, are the Palestinian refugees so unquestionably awarded a “right” enjoyed by virtually no other refugees in history?

The best explanation lies in a circumstance that is also virtually unique to the Palestinians: Unlike most of history’s refugees, the countries to which the Palestinians fled refused to absorb them—preferring to leave them in squalid refugee camps for the sake of encouraging anti-Israel sentiment.

The [Muslims] who fled India became full-fledged citizens of Pakistan. The Sudeten Germans were fully absorbed in Germany. The Vietnamese boat people are now productive citizens of the US. Jewish refugees from the Arab world have been fully integrated into Israel.

Yet the Palestinians—whose Arab hosts bear direct responsibility for their flight through their decision to declare war on Israel rather than accepting the UN partition plan—still languish in refugee camps after 52 years.

Jordan, at least, granted its Palestinian refugees citizenship, but made no effort to get them out of the camps. This is why refugee camps were still flourishing when Israel conquered the West Bank in 1967, after 19 years of Jordanian rule.

*... continues*

Yet the refugees who fled to Jordanian-controlled territory were lucky: Those who went to Lebanon, for instance, not only were not made citizens, but were also deprived of basic civil rights, such as the right to work in over 70 different professions.

Ironically, the one country that did try to improve the situation of the refugees was Israel.

In Gaza, for instance, some 36,000 refugees had been moved into better housing by 1973, before international pressure and PLO threats against the refugees put a stop to the project.

The most astonishing element in this tale of neglect, however, is the role of the Palestinians themselves. Most of the refugees have been under autonomous Palestinian rule for the last five years—yet the Palestinian Authority has spent not one cent of the millions of dollars it received in foreign aid to improve their living conditions. Apparently, it, too, prefers to let its people suffer for propaganda purposes.

It is impossible not to pity refugees who, thanks to the callous unconcern of their fellow Arabs, have been living in misery for the last 50 years. But that does not entitle them to a “right of return” accorded no other refugees in history. The only just solution to their problem is for the Arab world, and particularly the Palestinian state—to be, to absorb them—just as Israel has absorbed Jewish refugees the world over since 1948.

SOURCE: EVELYN GORDON, “THE ‘BIG LIE’ TACTIC,” *THE JERUSALEM POST*, JANUARY 16, 2001. (PERMISSION PENDING.)

### **Supplemental Reading 2: “Return to Square One: Not a Legal Right”**

Palestinians are adamant that they possess a right to return to the State of Israel and that no final peace agreement may be reached with Israel without the realization of their right of return. In response, Israel contends that it cannot allow such a return as it would undermine the demographic balance in the country and jeopardize Israel’s existence as a Jewish State.

While Israel’s response entails an indirect admission of the Palestinian’s right of return, in fact, the legal situation does not support the assumption of such a right of return.

Israeli authorities should be aware of the fact, and make clear that Palestinians do not possess any legal right to return to Israel. Consequently, Israel does not bear the onus of justifying its refusal to implement the right to return.

The law that governs these issues is international law. International law is based on either treaties between states or on customary rules which are evidenced by the general practice of states accepted as law. When speaking about their right of return, the Palestinians point to UN Resolution 194 (III) of December 11, 1948, which provides that “...the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property.” ...[O]ne should bear in mind that in 1948, when the resolution was adopted, neither Israel nor the Palestinians agreed to abide by it and neither party saw themselves as obliged to adhere to its recommendations. Consequently it seems bizarre to refer to it today as a binding legal obligation. Moreover, the content of the resolution is not clear, while the scope of the alleged obligations imposed by it is widely debatable.

This all leads to the conclusion that Resolution 194 (III) did not create any legal right or obligation according to international law.

Palestinians refer to various human rights treaties to assert their right of return. They cite general human rights treaties such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 which ... continues

was ratified by Israel in 1991 and international legal sources dealing specifically with issues of citizenship and nationality law, refugee law and humanitarian law.

A careful study of those sources leads to a very clear conclusion that none of them imposes a legal obligation upon Israel to repatriate the Palestinian refugees. In addition, one should also bear in mind that the Palestinian refugee problem arose in 1948 after the British left the area and hostilities erupted between Israel and its neighboring Arab states. This occurred only three years after the termination of World War II and the establishment of the UN in 1945.

Up to that point, international law assigned a very low profile to issues of human rights. Consequently, it is obvious that all human rights that the Palestinians refer to as international legal sources according them the right to repatriate to Israel were not binding legal norms in 1948.

It should also be stressed that in 1948, the transfer of populations as a consequence of political change was not considered wrongful as a matter of international law. In 1923, Greece and Turkey decided upon an exchange of populations as part of a peace treaty; in 1945 millions of Germans who lived in Eastern Europe were transferred to Germany, and in 1947 when Britain left India, British India was divided into two states: India and Pakistan and the split caused a mass transfer of populations.

Going back to the Palestinian refugee problem, it should be recalled that concurrently with the flight of the Arab population from Israel, Jews were fleeing neighboring Arab states. Many of these refugee Jews found safe haven in Israel and became its citizens. So, in effect, what took place in 1948 was a transfer of populations spurred by the political changes in the region and the war. Such a process was not contradictory to international law applying at that date.

Although reality in 1948 was one of population transfer, the Arab refugees' narrative is of forcible expulsion. Consequently they insist that since forcible expulsion was forbidden in 1948, and was already then considered a crime against humanity, Israel is under an absolute obligation to allow repatriation of Palestinian refugees.

Even if Israel accepts this allegation (which it does not), nowhere in international law is there a provision that a state is obliged to remedy the wrong caused to expellees by enabling repatriation. Current proposals for resolving the problems of refugees include repatriation and restitution of property but only when a limited number of years have lapsed between the flight of the refugees from their homes and their proposed return.

The Dayton Peace agreement of 1995, which ended the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, explicitly provides in Annex VI for the right of return of displaced persons. But as opposed to it, when suggesting a solution to the refugee problem in Cyprus, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan distinguished the Cyprus case from that of Bosnia-Herzegovina and explained that restitution and repatriation are not suitable since: "...events in Cyprus happened 30 to 40 years ago and the displaced people ... have had to rebuild their lives and their economies during this time."

The Palestinian refugee problem occurred 55 years ago, which means that even current developments in international law would not call for the right of Palestinian refugees to repatriation and/or restitution.

Palestinians do not have a legal right to return to Israel. Any negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians should start from the understanding that this is the legal situation. The sole right possessed by the Palestinians is to obtain compensation. The parties should start discussions and negotiations regarding the amount of the compensation and the method of its payment.

SOURCE: YAFFA ZILBERSHATS, "RETURN TO SQUARE ONE: NOT A LEGAL RIGHT," *THE JERUSALEM POST*, AUGUST 22, 2003. (PERMISSION PENDING.)

## Readings Arguing for the Right of Return

### **Supplemental Reading 3: “The Right of Return and the Right of Choice”**

For the last fifty-five years and since Al-Nakba “the catastrophe” in 1948, the Palestinians have been struggling for their freedom, independence, self-determination and the right of return to their homeland. Unfortunately, because of the international power struggle and the consequences of the cold war, every single Palestinian demand or right was forced to be renegotiated, and has never been respected, honored or taken seriously...

Any signatory country who tries to bypass this is violating its own signature. If they were serious in accepting and recognizing the Palestinian right of return, they should, at the same time, acknowledge the injustice committed against the Palestinians in 1948. This means that they should not have recognized the State of Israel without immediate recognition of the Palestinian right to a homeland as well. And they should have worked to realize this goal without delay or further negotiations. Although I honestly believe that Israel was not created by the UN resolution, as some people in the West like to think; it was created by force and aggression. If this were not the case, a Palestinian state should have been established next to Israel long ago...

The right of refugees to return to their land is an essential and main element in the Israeli /Palestinian conflict. It is not like exchanging land here and there or modifying the borders. It is more important than the Jerusalem issue and the underground resources, because we are talking about people and human beings, who have been suffering from the consequences for many years. We are not talking about dead stones, temples, churches and mosques, but about the root cause of the conflict and the future of millions of children, women and men.

The number of Palestinian refugees nowadays is around 7 million out of about 10 million Palestinians. Most of these refugees are hosted in countries which are subjected to continuous harassment and imposed political changes from the USA and Israel. With the knowledge of the international community, more than 300,000 Palestinian refugees were kicked out of most of the Gulf countries after the Gulf War. In Iraq there are about 100,000 refugees suffering the consequences of the current American occupation and its war on Iraq. The refugees in Syria, Lebanon, and maybe Libya are awaiting their destiny as well...

For Israel, recognizing the right of return for the refugees is recognition of the Palestinian nation and their right to self-determination, which contradicts the Zionist ideology in theory and practice. All their justifications for not accepting this right have been intensified mainly through the demographic threat, which might change the Jewish nature of Israel, if the refugees return in considerable numbers. Accepting this claim by the international community would automatically enhance the already growing racism inside Israel and will encourage Israel to deal with the current demographic threat in clear racist ways.

We should note that the number of Palestinians, without the return of refugees, is already increasing over the Jewish numbers inside Israel and soon both would have equal numbers. Here I refer to the Herzilya conference in 2000, where many Israeli scholars, academics, demographers and security officials came with racist solutions to the Arab demographic threat, for example, controlling the Arab birth rate, deportation and other racist measures.

The world’s acceptance of this demographic threat justification means that Israel should and must deal in any way possible with this threat based on their interests in having a pure Jewish state. This would mean turning their backs on the interests of the other citizens in the state and in the surrounding territories. How will the international community deal with this then?

The international community should be aware of this demographic factor and understand that such a concept, if it is to be accepted, is only a recipe for Israel to deport and carry out ethnic cleansing of even the Israeli Palestinians eventually and not only not accepting that Palestinian refugees return. In ... continues

addition, the international community should be aware that around 80% of the Israelis are living in around 15% of Israel. The remaining 85% of the land, on which around 20% of Israelis live, is mostly land that once belonged to the Palestinian refugees and most of it is not used...

The right of return is an individual right, non-negotiable for anyone except the refugees themselves. The right of choice comes after the right of return has been realized and recognized. This right includes firstly the right of the Palestinian refugee to return to his/her own property and secondly the right for compensation. These two things are integrated and are not interchangeable. The right of return is secured in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Hague Convention, the Fourth Geneva Convention, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and even in the Magna Carta in 1215. Bypassing all these agreements by Israel or anybody else means bypassing the history of the modern and civilized world.

In this case and based on the above mentioned agreements and covenants, even if the Palestinians were to accept the denial of their right to return to their homeland under pressure from Israel and other powerful states, the international community itself should stand up and fight. Otherwise, a dangerous precedent would be set that could negatively influence refugee issues all over the world.

People would start suspecting the measures taken in Europe and other countries to repatriate refugees living in Europe and elsewhere to their origin countries. They should question as well: why the Germans who left Germany for Russia before the Soviet time had the right to return to Germany and why the Kazak or the Kyrgyz or the Ukrainian had the right to return to their original countries after 80 years living and settling in another country in the former Soviet Union. Why the refugees in Nepal, East Timor, Chechnya, Rwanda, Sudan, Bosnia and Kosovo had the right of return and the list is countless and, why, only, the Palestinians should sacrifice this right and suffer the double standard values and practices, which prevail in this current world.

If the Palestinian right of return is compromised, then so should the Israeli law of return for all Jews to Israel. The two states are sharing the same resources and will both suffer from the lack of water, for instance. If we accept the Israeli law of return and deny the Palestinian right of return this means that we accept indirectly the myth which says that this is the land of the Jews, and we are the invaders. If our rights are to be compromised then this should again mean that their "rights" are also to be compromised and there should be no more Jewish immigration to this area. Even in any proposed solution which might bring an independent state to the Palestinians and if the PLO were to be replaced by a government, this government would no longer represent the refugees and the Palestinians outside. They would establish their own liberation organization to continue the struggle. Such a solution will not bring about a definitive end to the struggle.

Even if the Palestinian right of return were honored and respected, the Palestinians should establish together with their friends and supporters a national and international movement for reparation, similar to the reparation for trans-Atlantic slave trade movements and the reparation for holocaust survivors. They should demand that the Israelis, the Americans and the Europeans, mainly the British, recognize, apologize and meet their political and moral responsibilities for their historical acts of injustice towards the Palestinians [resulting in] their long misery and under-development, and consider what happened to Palestinian refugees a crime against humanity. This matter will defiantly exceed what was stipulated in the UN resolutions and the right of return and compensation and will happen even if it takes 500 years. The future is for the victims and the oppressed.

*Rifat Odeh Kassis is the Executive Director of the East Jerusalem YMCA and the President of Defense for Children International—Palestine Section.*

SOURCE: RIFAT ODEH KASSIS. "THE RIGHT OF RETURN AND THE RIGHT OF CHOICE," *THE ELECTRONIC INTIFADA*, DECEMBER 10, 2003. (REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION.)

### **Supplemental Reading 4: “On the Palestinian Right of Return”**

The main obstacle now standing in the way of a comprehensive settlement between the Israeli and Palestinian teams who pursued secret negotiations in Geneva for more than two years is a disagreement over the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes pursuant to UN General Assembly Resolution 194. The other issues in dispute between the two sides have been settled or are on their way to being settled, including the highly contentious issue of Jerusalem which has for long defied all attempts to resolve it.

Yet the Geneva Accord in its present formulation is the expression of a *possible*—not a *just*—peace. It is a settlement the negotiating parties were able to agree on but which is still the subject of sharp discord within the ranks of each. Both Sharon and wide sections of Palestinian public opinion have denounced the accords as an act of treason to their respective causes. The battle is now over which of the conflicting parties is better placed to win over public opinion, especially on the issue of the Palestinian right of return.

Resolution 194 stipulates that the refugees have the right to either return or receive compensation for their lost property. It has been accepted by the Arab parties, who insist it should be implemented as an indivisible whole. The angry reaction of many Palestinians to what they consider an unacceptable concession on the Palestinian right of return is a clear indication that any agreement that does not fully uphold what they perceive as their inalienable right has little chance of success. Justified though it may be, it is a reaction that could end up isolating the Palestinians instead of Sharon and his government of ultra-hawks from international public opinion, which now strongly supports the new peace initiative.

The Geneva documents call for a limit, to be set by Israel, on the number of Palestinian refugees who will be allowed to return is interpreted not only by its Palestinian critics but also by many of its Israeli supporters as simply cancelling the right of return altogether, because the exercise of the right is made conditional on a unilateral Israeli decision. Palestinian critics accuse the document of simply “liquidating the refugee problem,” and dismiss it as a latter-day version of the Balfour Declaration. In the occupied territories it has been rejected by a wide range of trade unions, associations, institutions and town and village councils, which have threatened to take drastic measures against its signatories, while Palestinians in the Diaspora denounce it as an attempt to legitimise the “ethnic cleansing” of 1948 and to condemn the dispossessed refugees to perpetual exile.

Israelis see the Arab insistence on clinging to Resolution 194 and refusal to make any concessions on the Palestinian right of return as proof that the Arabs have not abandoned their aim to eradicate the Jewish state, even if they now hope to bring this about through the shifting demographic balance between Jews and Arabs in Israel, where, thanks to the much higher birth rate among the Arab population, the Arabs are expected to eventually outnumber Jews.

However, the Israeli logic is based on a fallacy, in that it replaces Palestinians who still dream (after more than half a century) of returning to their homes (most of which no longer exist) by a prototype of Palestinian extremists out to wrest control over the Jewish state. Moreover, Israel has been able to absorb more than one million Jews from the Soviet Union. This proves that the issue is not one of numbers but of identity, of whether immigration to Israel is Jewish or Palestinian.

It is wrong to deal with the Palestinian right to return as an abstract notion, totally ignoring the number of refugees and the conditions in which mass departures occurred. The vast majority of Palestinian refugees are expected to come from Lebanon, where the structure of Lebanese society and its extremely sensitive ethnic balance make their continued presence untenable. The number of these refugees—just over a third of a million (that is, one third the number of Russian immigrants to Israel) should not be a problem if it became the final factor on which a breakthrough towards peace would depend. We must also remember ... continues

that not all Palestinian refugees want to go back to what is now Israel; many would prefer to wait until the Palestinian state has been established.

In giving Israel the right to determine the number of Palestinians authorised to return to Israel, the Geneva initiative turns what is a right consecrated by a UN resolution into a “gift” that is subject to the sole discretion of those who dispossessed them in the first place. Is it possible to reconcile the two rights, the Palestinian and the Israeli, instead of dealing with them as mutually exclusive? The right derives from property the Palestinians owned in what has now become Israel. Whether this disputed property should go to a Palestinian or an Israeli is a legal question that must be settled, once and for all, by a credible neutral third party under international supervision. Every Palestinian aspiring to restore a right should be given the opportunity to file his claim within a given time-frame, but no restriction should be put on the number of claimants.

As to the issue of compensation, this too should be subject to rigorous rules. Among the most important is that the compensation received by Palestinian refugees who waive their right of return should be equivalent in value to the compensation received by Israeli settlers in consideration of evacuating their settlements. If the Jews are awarded compensation for the persecution they suffered under Nazi rule in the past, Palestinians are entitled to similar compensation for the persecution *they* suffered under Zionist rule in the more recent past. Unless the same criteria are used to assess the compensation due to both parties, there can be no equitable peace.

Moreover, the value of any specific commodity is a function of its scarcity in the market. The more difficult it is to find, the higher its price. Peace is a rare commodity when it comes to the Arab–Israeli conflict. If the Palestinian right of return is the critical element on which the entire future of the peace process depends, it is worth paying the necessary price for peace before it is too late.

Time is of the essence because we are now at a crossroads between two contradictory logics which could easily degenerate into an all-out collision and widespread destabilisation at any time. One logic asserts that the essence of the Palestinian problem is the Palestinian right of return. According to this logic, the conflict began with the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homes and is now coming to an end with the legitimisation of that expulsion, that is, a complete and final liquidation of the entire Palestinian problem. An opposite logic maintains that the Palestinians must be treated on an equal footing with the Jews and that a sustainable peace is only possible, in the final analysis, if both sides are treated equally. The first logic leads to still more intense violence. The second logic will expose Sharon still more as standing up against the international order as a whole, which will strengthen pressure on him to reconsider his policies.

White House Spokesman Scott McClellan said that Bush did not object to Powell’s meeting with the co-authors of the Geneva document, Yossi Beilin and Yasser Abd Rabbou. McClellan also insisted on the need to keep the roadmap alive, being the only document Sharon has not formally opposed. Powell welcomed the Geneva Accord and described his talks with Beilin and Abd Rabbou as “constructive and positive.” Attempts are now envisaged to combine the roadmap and the Geneva initiative into one integrated whole, which would constitute the basis for an overall and final peace settlement. This should be an opportunity to remove the ambiguities over the Palestinian right of return and avoid exposing the new peace project to the failures suffered by many of the previous ones.

SOURCE: MOHAMED SID-AHMED, “ON THE PALESTINIAN RIGHT OF RETURN,” *AL-AHRAM WEEKLY*, n.v.: 668, DECEMBER 11–17, 2003. (PERMISSION PENDING.)

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## **Web Resources on the Israel/Palestinian Peace Process and the “Right of Return”**

*There are many websites that discuss the Israel-Palestinian conflict in some form or another. Typing “Palestinian right of return” into Google will present a list of hundreds of websites that address the issue, the vast majority of which reveal the high emotions that the issue raises in people who are involved in the conflict. The websites below are free of neither bias nor emotion, but are good representatives of the viewpoints that they espouse.*

### **The Electronic Intifada: The Right of Return**

<http://electronicintifada.net/bytopic/194.shtml>

As the name might suggest, the articles and documents contained on this site tend to advocate a pro-Palestinian viewpoint. This particular page contains primary documents (briefing papers and fact sheets) as well as several editorial articles on the subject in favor of the right of return.

### **Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Guide to the Peace Process**

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/peace%20process/guide%20to%20the%20peace%20process/>

This handy document in a question-and-answer format from the Embassy of Israel in Washington, D.C. lays out the official position of the Israeli government on several key issues involving terrorism, the intifada, relations with the Arab World, and the peace process (including the right of return, currently addressed in question #8).

### **The Jerusalem Post**

<http://www.jpost.com>

### **Ha’aretz English Edition**

<http://www.haaretz.com>

These are the two main English-language newspapers in Israel. *The Jerusalem Post* tends to be more right wing in its editorial stance, generally supporting the views of the Likud Party and noted politicians such as Binyamin Netanyahu and former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. *Ha’aretz* tends to be more left wing, frequently supporting the views of the Labour and Meretz Parties of noted politicians Shimon Peres and the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Both newspapers frequently run editorials that deal with the peace process and related issues, including the right of return.

### **Al-Ahram Weekly**

<http://weekly.ahram.org.eg>

### **The Jordan Times**

<http://www.jordantimes.com>

### **The Daily Star**

<http://www.dailystar.com.lb>

These English-language newspapers offer a glimpse into Israel’s Arab neighbors. *Al-Ahram Weekly*, published in Cairo, Egypt, and the *Jordan Times* are both official publications, reflecting the official stance of their governments; *The Daily Star* is not official, but reflects popular opinion in Lebanon, where it is published. *Al-Ahram Weekly* is published weekly (on Friday); *The Jordan Times* and *The Daily Star* are published every day. Each of these newspapers frequently runs editorials that deal with the peace process and related issues, including the right of return.

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