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The Palestinian Issue and the Dilemma of Palestinian Refugees: A Historical Approach to the Challenges of the Present and the Stakes of the Future

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Abstract:	Article info
<p>This research paper aims to analyze the Palestinian question and refugee dilemma through historical displacement by the Zionist enemy since 1948. Moreover, the study examines 5.9 million Palestinian refugees and their legal right of return under international law. Subsequently, key findings reveal that systematic displacement policies created intergenerational trauma and sustained political resistance across the Middle East region. Therefore, the research concludes that sustainable solutions must address historical injustices and root causes of displacement. As President Houari Boumediene stated: "We stand with Palestine, whether oppressor or oppressed."</p>	<p>Received: 08/11/2025</p> <p>Accepted: 07/03/2026</p> <p>Key words:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">✓ The Palestinian issue✓ Palestinian Refugees✓ Zionist Enemy✓ Self-Determination

Introduction

The Palestinian issue constitutes the core concern of the Arab-Islamic nation, possessing distinctive characteristics that compel researchers to write about it with considerable motivation, particularly given that the facts of its events continue to manifest on the Palestinian and Arab arena, crystallizing and interacting in ways that increase complexity. This naturally necessitates more serious studies and in-depth research.

The importance of this subject lies in:

At the Palestinian level: It represents an existential issue for every Palestinian and the future of generations.

At the Arab level: The Arab countries in their entirety are connected in their past, present, and even future to the developments and repercussions of the Palestinian issue on the entire Arab nation. This is clearly evident in the failure to achieve genuine Arab unity in all fields.

At the global level: The land of Palestine holds global geopolitical interest. The vital location of the region has influenced international relations and global politics.

Anyone following the developments of the Palestinian issue, willingly or unwillingly, finds themselves confronting the issue of Palestinian refugees, which is also considered one of the oldest and most complex humanitarian, political, and historical issues in the world.

This journal article aims to analyze the reality of Palestinian displacement and examine the forms of marginalization suffered by Palestinian refugees, as well as the extent of their impact on the fate of the Palestinian issue.

The problematic we attempt to address through this journal article is:

- To what extent have political, legal, and economic factors contributed to shaping the reality of Palestinian refugees? What is the impact on the future of the right of return and integration into host societies?

Before addressing this question, we must first define the term refugees. The Geneva Convention relating to Refugees of 1951 defines a refugee as: "Any person who is outside their country as a result of events or well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, or opinion that makes them unable or unwilling to return to that country".

The Palestinian question represents one of the most enduring and complex conflicts in contemporary international relations, fundamentally rooted in competing national narratives, territorial disputes, and the unresolved status of millions of Palestinian refugees. This analytical examination seeks to deconstruct the multifaceted dimensions of the Palestinian issue, with particular emphasis on the refugee crisis that has persisted for over seven decades. The Palestinian refugee dilemma serves as both a consequence and a perpetuating factor of the broader conflict, embodying questions of identity, belonging, and

the right of return that continue to shape political discourse and diplomatic negotiations in the region.

The complexity of the Palestinian question emerges from its intersection of historical grievances, legal frameworks, geopolitical considerations, and humanitarian concerns. Since the establishment of Zionist enemy in 1948 and the subsequent Arab- Zionist enemy wars, the Palestinian population has experienced displacement, dispossession, and statelessness on an unprecedented scale. The refugee crisis, initially perceived as a temporary humanitarian emergency, has evolved into a protracted displacement situation that affects multiple generations and spans across various host countries in the Middle East and beyond.

This analysis adopts a multidisciplinary approach, drawing upon historical documentation, legal analysis, demographic studies, and sociological research to provide a comprehensive understanding of the Palestinian predicament. The examination considers the various actors involved, including Palestinian political movements, Arab host states, Zionist enemy, international organizations, and the global community, each contributing to the perpetuation or potential resolution of the crisis through their policies, actions, and inactions (AL-Jalabi, 1952, p. 141)

1. Historical Roots of Palestinian Refuge

The roots of the Palestinian refugee crisis officially date back to the Nakba of 1948, when more than 750,000 Palestinians were displaced from their lands due to Zionist massacres and systematic ethnic cleansing operations. Subsequent waves of displacement followed during the Naksa of 1967, resulting in an increase in the number of refugees. According to statistics from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), the number of registered Palestinian refugees today exceeds 5.9 million, distributed across the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria (AL-Khalidi, 1997, p. 85).

The international community's perspective through the United Nations and its resolutions focused on viewing the issue as a refugee matter. These resolutions expanded and multiplied, beginning with Resolution 194 issued on December 11, 1948, which established the Conciliation Commission. It stipulated that 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 who choose not to return to their homes. It also instructed the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement, and economic and social rehabilitation of refugees, as well as the payment of compensation (United Nations, 1949, p. 15).

Subsequent General Assembly resolutions continued to affirm this status and its resulting rights, as did the Security Council in its resolutions regarding the Palestinian issue,

though its role remained secondary and focused on maintaining the armistice system (United Nations, 1949, p. 110).

The Zionist movement and its enemies, in cooperation with Western states, managed to control the international community from 1952 onwards, removing the Palestine issue as an independent item from the General Assembly's agenda. The perspective became limited to viewing it as:

-A conflict involving the United States and the Arab world over the Zionist enemy's territories and international affairs has been a central concern in middle Eastern politics. This struggle reflects not only geopolitical interests but also the broader regional dynamics, highlighting the tension between nationalist movements and external powers. The UN's logic for resolving this dispute was to apply principles of international law used to resolve conflicts between sovereign states, adopting solutions to settle the issue as a matter of secure borders, freedom of navigation, mutual recognition, and refugee resettlement.

-The other matter is the issue of the Palestinian people, viewed as a refugee issue requiring care, as a humanitarian matter whose solution would help achieve regional stability (AL-Qarain, 1929, p. 185).

If this phase carried this perspective, we will attempt to understand the resulting consequences, represented in the consecration of the right of return and the right to compensation.

1.1. Right of Return

The right of return is associated with persons who have refugee status, as evident from the definition of refugee provided in the International Agreement on Refugees, Geneva, January 25, 1951.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulated this right in Article 13, stating: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights also stipulated it, stating: "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country" (United Nations, 1966, art 12, para 04).

Historically, the right of return has been practiced globally in a manner that made formal codification unnecessary until specific provisions were established to protect the right of return in 1215 in England when rights were in doubt. King John agreed to the Magna Carta, which included the text: "It shall be lawful in future for anyone to leave our kingdom and return to it safely and securely by land or water." The Geneva Conventions of 1949 included provisions relating to the right of return in cases of armed conflict and military occupation.

Regarding the right of return for Palestinians, the first reference was in Count Bernadotte's report of September 16, 1948, entitled "The Right to Repatriation," which stated: "The right of innocent people who have been uprooted by present terrorism and the horrors of war from their homes to return to their homes should be affirmed and implemented with adequate compensation for the property of those who choose not to return." He added in the same report: "The United Nations should affirm the right of refugees to return to their homes in areas under Jewish control at the earliest practically possible date, and the UN Conciliation Commission should supervise and assist in their repatriation, resettlement, and economic and social rehabilitation, and pay adequate compensation for the property of those who choose not to return..."

1.2. Right to Compensation

This right was linked as another aspect of the concept of justice that the United Nations wanted to achieve as a basis for settling the refugee problem. Here we must examine the term settlement. Settlement linguistically is a verbal noun from the verb "sawwa" meaning "to make equal" and it is said "istawa" meaning to be straight and upright, and it is said "he made the thing level" meaning he made it equal. Settlement means to become equal, and equality means justice and the middle between two limits. The meanings of this term revolve around moderation, straightness, and equality (Maalouf, 1949, p. 376).

This term also appears in the Holy Quran: "He taught him of great power, one of sound mind, then he settled" (Surat An-Najm, Verse 06). and in this context, it means stability In the Almighty's saying: "O man, what has deceived you concerning your Lord, the Generous, Who created you, proportioned you, and balanced you, (Surat Al-Infitar, Verse 07) and its interpretation in this context means safety and equality.

Terminologically, the UN Charter uses the term settlement as a solution in discussing international disputes that threaten international peace and security (The Charter, Paragraph 01). Settlement proceeds from the actual positions of the parties to the conflict and works to reach a solution somewhere between these positions (Sayegh, 1970, p. 42).

Therefore, settlement with these aforementioned meanings is an action that requires equivalent wills seeking to resolve their disputes with complete will and freedom, away from coercion and threat, because state actions and external relations are acts of sovereignty. Settlement ultimately binds states to obligations, so several elements must be available for its legal effect to be realized: negotiation, consent, and legitimacy (AL-Awadi, 1979, pp. 240-244).

The right to compensation was established alongside the right of return in all UN resolutions, and Count Bernadotte mentioned in his report to the General Assembly "...with

adequate compensation guaranteed for the property of those who choose not to return" (Mallison, 1979, p. 34).

Resolution 194/1948 stipulated the right to compensation alongside the right of return. Compensation takes two forms:

- Compensation for property of those who do not choose to return
- Compensation for losses and damages to property (United Nations, 1973, p. 15).

1.3. The Palestinian People's Right to Self-Determination

The UN's view of the Palestinian people and their cause as a Palestinian refugee issue continued, keeping the legal status of the Palestinian people in a lower position internationally than other peoples' rights, until the international community began to change this perspective starting from 1969, after the suffering experienced by the Palestinian people on the path to recovering their full rights in Palestine, making the greatest sacrifices along the way.

Self-determination witnessed successive developments regarding its concept and legal force until it finally settled as a right, despite attempts by some jurists to consider it merely a political principle. However, successive UN resolutions and the Charter's stipulation of it, as well as human rights conventions, established it as an undisputed legal right.

2. Forms of Marginalization Faced by Palestinian Refugees

2.1. Political and Legal Marginalization

- Palestinian refugees in many host countries do not enjoy clear legal status, with some countries depriving them of citizenship, ownership, and employment rights
- Absence of effective political representation in international forums with declining interest in their cause in political negotiations
- Decline in material and political support for UNRWA, especially after American and Zionist enemy pressure to reduce its services (Tamari, 2007, p. 55).

2.2. Economic and Social Marginalization

- Many refugees live in camps lacking minimum living standards such as health and educational services, increasing poverty and unemployment rates among them
- Refugee camps in Lebanon and Syria suffer from restrictions on employment and movement opportunities, enhancing population isolation and limiting social integration
- Difficulties and obstacles faced by Palestinian refugees in Gaza due to the ongoing
- Zionist enemy blockade, leading to economic collapse and rising unemployment rates (Allah, 2021, p. 87).

2.3. Cultural and Educational Marginalization

- Despite efforts to provide education for refugees, the education level suffers from funding shortages and weak infrastructure, especially with reduced UNRWA services
- Impact of economic conditions on families' ability to pay university education costs, leading to increased dropout rates
- Attempts to marginalize Palestinian identity through restrictions on educational curricula in some host countries (UNICEF, 2010, p. 12).

The historical development of self-determination appeared in the UN Charter text, explicitly stated in Article One: "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and taking other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace" (Dabbagh, 2012, pp. 144-155).

Also Article Fifty-Five: "With a view to creating conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. (United Nations, 1945, p.55).

The Charter, as evident from the text of the two articles above, considers self-determination as the basis for international cooperation and peaceful international relations, and as the foundation for the stability and welfare necessary for friendly relations among nations and peoples.

UN and international organization work expanded in the following phase regarding the concept, content, and determination of self-determination through international agreements and resolutions issued by the UN General Assembly.

Given Palestine's strategic importance, as Eisenhower said about Palestine: "It is the neck of the world; whoever controls it strangles the world and controls its breath." The late President Yasser Arafat said in his historic speech before the UN General Assembly in 1974: "War breaks out from Palestine, and peace begins from Palestine."

Parallel to the discourse on Palestinian refugees, this subject necessarily leads us to examine the impact of migration and displacement on Palestinian cultural and national identity. This phenomenon constitutes one of the most complex humanitarian and political issues of the modern era, whereby its effects have transcended political and economic dimensions to fundamentally impact the cultural and national identity of the Palestinian people. Since the Nakba of 1948, Palestinians have been dispersed across continents, carrying with them memories of a lost homeland and the dream of return. This geographical dispersion was not merely a spatial relocation; rather, it represented an existential challenge to the identity of an entire people, consequently affecting their modes of self-expression,

preservation of heritage, and maintenance of national belonging. (Knudsen & hanafi, 2014, p. 52)

The study of displacement's impact on Palestinian identity assumes particular significance given the persistence of this predicament for more than seven decades. During this period, fundamental developments have occurred in the nature of Palestinian identity and the mechanisms for preserving it. While the first generation of refugees faced the challenge of maintaining memory of their original place, the second and third generations found themselves confronting a more complex task: constructing a national identity for a homeland they had never seen, relying instead on oral narratives and collective memory.

In examining Palestinian cultural identity before displacement, it becomes evident that prior to 1948, Palestine enjoyed a rich and diverse cultural fabric, encompassing historic cities such as Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, and Gaza, as well as villages that preserved their distinctive local traditions and customs. Palestinian identity was formed through organic connection to the land, belonging to local communities, and daily cultural practices that included folk songs, handicrafts, social rituals, proverbs, and folk tales. The village or city served as the primary reference point for identity, where individuals were identified by their village or neighborhood name. Furthermore, families transmitted stories of their ancestors and their history connected to specific places. This spatial connection was not merely residence or habitation; rather, it constituted a profound spiritual and psychological relationship manifested in knowledge of land details, place names, family histories, and shared memories. (Kanafani, 1968, p. 14)

Moreover, pre-displacement Palestinian culture was characterized by dialectical diversity, where each region possessed its distinctive local dialect, and by diversity in traditional costumes that reflected women's belonging to their villages or regions. This diversity was an integral part of collective Palestinian identity, which combined unity in national belonging with diversity in local cultural expressions.

Regarding the transformations of identity during the initial displacement phase, it can be argued that with the occurrence of the Nakba in 1948, Palestinians confronted a profound civilizational and cultural shock that was not limited to losing the homeland alone, but extended to threatening cultural identity itself. Initially, most refugees believed that displacement was temporary and that they would return to their villages and cities within weeks or a few months. This belief contributed to maintaining hope and adherence to original identity without significant adaptation to new environments.

However, the prolonged displacement period and its transformation from a temporary situation to a permanent reality imposed new challenges on Palestinian identity. The process of identity reconstruction began through various mechanisms, most importantly reliance on collective memory and oral heritage. Stories and tales about the lost homeland became

fundamental tools for preserving identity and transmitting it to subsequent generations. (Hammer, 2005, p. 12)

During this phase, conscious attempts began to emerge for documenting Palestinian heritage and preserving it from extinction. Cultural groups appeared in camps and Palestinian communities, focusing on collecting folk songs, tales, proverbs, and preserving the names of abandoned villages and their geographical details. These attempts constituted cultural resistance against erasure and denial. Additionally, refugee camps formed a unique laboratory for reproducing and developing Palestinian identity. Despite difficult conditions and overcrowding, camps became incubators for Palestinian culture, where families from different villages and cities gathered in one place, consequently resulting in rich internal cultural exchange.

New forms of cultural expression developed in the camps, combining nostalgia for the past with adaptation to new reality. New folk songs emerged narrating the Nakba and diaspora, while handicrafts evolved to include products bearing Palestinian national symbols. Moreover, national and religious occasions became important opportunities for reviving heritage and strengthening collective identity. One of the most significant transformations in camps was the emergence of "camp identity" as a sub-identity within the broader Palestinian identity. This new identity combined original belonging to the abandoned village or city with new belonging to the camp, thereby creating complex layers of identity that interact with one another. (Achilli, 2015, p. 42)

Similarly, schools in camps played a vital role in preserving Palestinian identity, becoming platforms for teaching Palestinian history, Arabic language, and folk heritage. Teachers, most of whom were refugees themselves, assumed responsibility for transmitting national identity to new generations through official curricula and extracurricular activities.

This diaspora and dispersion had a broad impact on cultural expressions. The spread of Palestinians across different countries worldwide led to diversification and enrichment of Palestinian cultural expressions; however, it simultaneously created new challenges for maintaining cultural identity unity. In each diaspora country, Palestinian culture interacted with local culture, consequently producing hybrid forms of cultural expression.

In literature, generations of Palestinian writers and poets emerged who wrote in various languages—Arabic, English, French, Spanish, and others—while maintaining essential Palestinian themes: nostalgia, resistance, identity, and the search for homeland. This linguistic diversity enriched Palestinian literature and brought the Palestinian cause to wider audiences; nevertheless, it also raised questions about the relationship between language and identity. (Kanafani, 1963, p. 43)

In visual arts and cinema, Palestinian artists in diaspora successfully utilized symbols and global artistic techniques to express Palestinian experience, thereby creating a new artistic language that combines Palestinian specificity with universality in expression. Works by artists such as Mona Hatoum and Emily Jacir became part of contemporary global art while retaining their Palestinian roots. Music similarly witnessed parallel developments, where Palestinian musicians in diaspora blended traditional Palestinian music with musical patterns from other cultures, consequently producing new musical forms that preserve Palestinian essence while opening to diverse cultural influences.

Over the decades, the second and third generations of Palestinian refugees faced more complex identity challenges than their predecessors. These individuals were born and raised in different countries, and their identity was formed through interaction of multiple factors: Palestinian identity transmitted from parents, local identity of the host country, and global identity formed through education and media. This generation confronts complex questions about the meaning of Palestinian belonging without direct living experience in Palestine. How can one be Palestinian without seeing Palestine? How does one maintain national identity for a homeland known only through stories and images? These questions prompted the development of new concepts of Palestinian identity based on values and principles rather than direct geographical connection.

New forms of expressing Palestinian identity emerged among this generation, including utilization of modern technology and social media to create virtual Palestinian communities that transcend geographical boundaries. These digital communities became important platforms for exchanging and developing Palestinian culture. Furthermore, this generation developed a more open concept of Palestinian identity that expands to include diverse experiences of Palestinians worldwide and accepts different cultural influences as part of natural identity evolution. This new concept does not perceive diversity as a threat to identity; rather, it views it as enrichment thereof. (Abulhawa, 2015, p. 88)

Without overlooking collective memory, which has played a pivotal role in preserving Palestinian identity despite displacement and dispersion, this memory encompasses not merely major historical events but includes daily details of life in Palestine before the Nakba: place names, descriptions of homes and fields, the taste of fruits, the fragrance of flowers, and the sounds of nature. This memory is transmitted through various mechanisms, most importantly oral narrative within the family, where grandparents and parents are keen to transmit stories of the original village or city to their children and grandchildren. These stories are not merely historical information; rather, they carry feelings of nostalgia, belonging, and the desire to return.

Social and religious occasions constitute important opportunities for reviving collective memory, where Palestinian traditions are remembered in celebrating these occasions. Traditional dishes are prepared, folk costumes are worn, and heritage songs are sung. These

practices reproduce Palestinian identity and transmit it to new generations in a living and tangible manner. Folk arts, particularly dabke and traditional songs, have become powerful symbols of Palestinian identity in diaspora. Palestinian dabke troupes worldwide do not merely present artistic performances; rather, they provide an identity experience that connects participants and viewers to their cultural roots. (Alyan, 2017, p. 25)

Similarly, Palestinian cultural institutions in diaspora countries have played an important role in organizing and developing these efforts through establishing cultural festivals, organizing heritage education workshops for children, and implementing oral memory documentation projects. In recent decades, Palestinian cultural identity has faced new challenges resulting from political, social, and technological developments. Cultural globalization, which seeks to unify cultural consumption patterns worldwide, poses a challenge to local and national cultures, including Palestinian culture.

The integration of new generations of Palestinians into the societies of their countries of residence raises questions about the balance between preserving Palestinian identity and successful integration into new societies. This balance requires redefining Palestinian identity to become more flexible and open without losing its essence. Political developments in Palestine and the Middle East region also affect the formation of Palestinian identity in diaspora. Each new political development re-raises questions of identity, belonging, and future, requiring Palestinians in diaspora to reassess their relationship with their original homeland and with the issue of return. (Safran, 1991, p. 84)

Social media and modern technology, although they have provided new opportunities for communication and identity preservation, have also created new challenges, such as fragmentation of cultural discourse and the spread of misinformation about Palestinian history and heritage. Despite these challenges, Palestinians in diaspora have demonstrated remarkable creative ability to adapt to changes while preserving the essence of their cultural identity. Innovative initiatives for digitally documenting Palestinian heritage have emerged, such as projects documenting abandoned villages through audio and video, and smartphone applications that teach Palestinian dialect and folk heritage.

In the field of education, special educational curricula have been developed for Palestinian children in diaspora that combine teaching Palestinian heritage with adapting to educational requirements in countries of residence. These curricula seek to create a balance between preserving identity and academic and professional success. Palestinian cultural festivals worldwide have evolved to become platforms for showcasing contemporary Palestinian cultural diversity, where they include both traditional and contemporary performances, with participation from different generations of Palestinians, thereby reflecting the vitality of Palestinian culture and its capacity for renewal. (Khalili, 2010, p. 67).

As a conclusion, the Palestinian displacement experience offers a unique model of how cultural identity interacts with radical changes in geographical, political, and social circumstances. Palestinian identity, which emerged under conditions of geographical stability, was forced to adapt to the reality of dispersion and displacement without losing its essential core. This adaptation was not merely a passive process of preserving the past; rather, it was a creative process of reproducing and developing identity under new circumstances. Palestinian culture today is richer and more diverse than it was before the Nakba, despite the pain and loss that accompanied this development.

The greatest challenge facing Palestinian identity today is not only preserving heritage but redefining the meaning of Palestinian belonging in a globalized and constantly changing world. This requires a delicate balance between steadfastness to basic values and principles and flexibility in forms of cultural expression and practice. The story of Palestinian identity in displacement is a story of cultural resistance and civilizational creativity, confirming humanity's ability to preserve and develop its identity despite the most difficult circumstances. Furthermore, it provides important lessons about the nature of cultural and national identity and about the possibility of peoples and their cultures remaining alive and renewable even under conditions of dispersion and displacement. (Hanafi, 2018 , p. 45)

Thus, we say that the Palestinian issue is one of the most prominent just causes in the world, linked to complex historical and political roots that have made it the center of ongoing conflict. The suffering of the Palestinian people has not been limited to occupation and settlement but has extended to forced displacement and dispersion, leading to the Palestinian refugee crisis scattered throughout the world, carrying with them the dream of returning to their homeland.

Despite international efforts and political endeavors to find just solutions, the Palestinian issue remains unresolved due to the brutal Zionist occupation and the absence of consensus on a comprehensive solution that guarantees the legitimate rights of Palestinians, whether in self-determination or return according to international resolutions, most notably UN Resolution 194.

Achieving justice for Palestinians requires sincere international political will and genuine support for their rights, away from narrow calculations. Palestinian unity and activation of diplomatic and legal work can form a fundamental pillar for confronting difficulties and problems. While suffering continues, hope remains that the Palestinian people will find their way to freedom and dignity, and that the long-awaited historical justice will be achieved. (United Nations General Assembly, 1948 , p. 95)

3. Proposed Solutions

3.1. Improving Living and Economic Conditions through:

- Providing economic support programs targeting refugee conditions improvement, such as small loans and development projects within camps

- Easing restrictions imposed on Palestinian refugees in some host countries to ensure their integration into labor markets (UNRWA, 2010, p. 07)

3.2. Strengthening Legal and Political Rights

- Pressuring the international community to guarantee refugees' right of return according to UN Resolution 194
- Supporting UNRWA's role and providing sustainable funding to ensure continuation of essential services (United Nation, 1948, p. 26)

3.3. Enhancing Education and National Identity

- Supporting educational programs that preserve Palestinian identity and Nakba history
- Improving education quality in UNRWA schools and increasing university scholarships for Palestinian refugee students (Khalidi, 1997, p. 114)

Conclusion

We conclude from the above that the Palestinian refugee file is one of the most complex issues in the Arab-Zionist enemy conflict. These refugees constitute one of the largest and oldest refugee waves in the world since the 1948 Nakba. Palestinian refugees face compound marginalization extending across legal, economic, and social dimensions, threatening their future and affecting the Palestinian cause as a whole.

The continuation of this situation requires international and regional effort to reduce refugee suffering, with the necessity of reaffirming their right of return as a fundamental solution to this crisis.

The steadfastness of our Palestinian brothers to their homeland and their adherence to it demonstrates the authenticity of the Palestinian people. Perhaps the most sincere expression of recognition of the Palestinian people's struggle is the statement of Sheikh Bashir Al-Ibrahimi, President of the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars, who said: "As for the right that occupies the position of the Basmala on the tablet among these manifestations, it is what the heroic Arabs of Palestine have done, who have removed the veil from the correctness of opinion, deleted the letter of impossibility from the sentence, opened the door of death wide, and set an example for the noble in sacrifice. This is the title written by the Arabs of Palestine with swords, not pens, and this is the duty legislated by the Arabs of Palestine for all Arabs." According to Al-Basair newspaper, Issue 25, dated February 30, 1948.

Long live Palestine, free and dignified, and long live the Palestinian people, free and independent. As our late President Houari Boumediene - may God have mercy on him - said: "We are with Palestine, whether oppressor or oppressed."

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