

“Clinton, Bush, & Obama statements on a two-state solution”

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This is a compilation of Clinton-Bush-Obama statements on a two-state solution including security, settlements, the West Bank, refugees, and Jerusalem. I drew these quotations from six sources (five speeches and one letter):

Clinton speech to Israel Policy Forum, January 7, 2001¹

Bush Rose Garden speech, June 24, 2002²

Bush letter to Sharon, April 14, 2004³

Bush opening speech at Annapolis conference, November 27, 2007⁴

Obama speech in Cairo, June 4, 2009⁵

Obama speech on Middle East, May 19, 2011⁶

The Clinton speech is a less detailed version of the Clinton parameters that he privately read to the parties on December 23, 2000.

1. Two-state solution
 - a. Clinton (January 7, 2001): “I think there can be no genuine resolution to the conflict without a sovereign, viable, Palestinian state that accommodates Israeli's security requirements and the demographic realities.” and “there is no choice but to create two states”
 - b. Bush (June 24, 2002): “My vision is two states, living side by side in peace and security.”
 - i. but provisional borders on Palestinian state
 - ii. “a viable, credible Palestinian state.”
 - iii. democracy: “a peaceful democratic Palestinian state”
 - c. Bush letter (April 14, 2004): “the United States supports the establishment of a Palestinian state that is viable, contiguous, sovereign, and independent”
 - d. Bush (November 27, 2007): “a democratic Palestinian state that will live side by side with Israel in peace and security.”
 - i. “an independent, democratic, viable Palestinian state.”
 - ii. “This settlement will establish Palestine as a Palestinian homeland, just as Israel is a homeland for the Jewish people.”
 - e. Obama (June 4, 2009): “The only resolution is for the aspirations of both sides to be met through two states, where Israelis and Palestinians each live in peace and security.”
 - f. Obama (May 19, 2011): “a lasting peace will involve two states for two peoples: Israel as a Jewish state and the homeland for the Jewish people, and the state of Palestine as the homeland for the Palestinian people...”
 - i. “a sovereign and contiguous state.”
2. Israeli Security
 - a. general

- i. Clinton (January 7, 2001): “there will be no lasting peace or regional stability without a strong and secure Israel, secure enough to make peace, strong enough to deter the adversaries which will still be there, even if a peace is made in complete good faith.”
 - ii. Bush (June 24, 2002): “I call on the Palestinian people to elect new leaders, leaders not compromised by terror.” and “And the United States will not support the establishment of a Palestinian state until its leaders engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure.”
 - iii. Bush (June 24, 2002): “A stable, peaceful Palestinian state is necessary to achieve the security that Israel longs for.”
 - iv. Bush (June 24, 2002): to the Israeli people: “you have a right to security”
 - v. Bush (November 27, 2007): “The day is coming when Palestinians will enjoy the blessings that freedom brings - and all Israelis will enjoy the security they deserve.”
 - vi. Obama (June 4, 2009): “Palestinians must abandon violence.”
 - vii. Obama (May 19, 2011): “a viable Palestine, a secure Israel.”
 - viii. Obama (May 19, 2011): “As for security, every state has the right to self-defense, and Israel must be able to defend itself - - by itself -- against any threat.” and “Palestinians should know the territorial outlines of their state; Israelis should know that their basic security concerns will be met.”
 - b. Jordan valley
 - i. Clinton: “International presence” and “address Israeli security needs in the Jordan Valley”
 - c. Palestinian state
 - i. Clinton: “non-militarized”
 - ii. Obama (May 19, 2011): “a sovereign, non-militarized state.”
 - d. Israeli borders
 - i. Clinton: “secure and defensible borders”
 - ii. Bush (June 24, 2002): “with Israeli withdrawal to secure and recognize borders.”
 - iii. Obama (May 19, 2011): “secure and recognized borders are established for both states.”
- 3. Israeli settlements
 - a. blocks (see lines and swaps below – 4c)
 - i. Clinton: “the incorporation into Israel of settlement blocks, with the goal of maximizing the number of settlers in Israel”
 - ii. Bush letter (April 14, 2004): “In light of new realities on the ground, including already existing major Israeli populations centers,…”
 - b. end them

- i. Obama (June 4, 2009): “The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements....It is time for these settlements to stop.”
- 4. West Bank
 - a. size of Palestinian state
 - i. Clinton: “vast majority of the West Bank”
 - b. contiguity of Palestinian state
 - i. Clinton: “for Palestine to be viable must be a geographically contiguous state.”
 - ii. Bush letter (April 14, 2004): “the United States supports the establishment of a Palestinian state that is viable, contiguous, sovereign, and independent”
 - iii. Obama (May 19, 2011): “a sovereign and contiguous state.”
 - c. lines and swaps
 - i. Clinton: “there will have to be some territorial swaps”
 - ii. Bush letter (April 14, 2004): “In light of new realities on the ground, including already existing major Israeli populations centers, it is unrealistic to expect that the outcome of final status negotiations will be a full and complete return to the armistice lines of 1949, and all previous efforts to negotiate a two-state solution have reached the same conclusion. It is realistic to expect that any final status agreement will only be achieved on the basis of mutually agreed changes that reflect these realities.”
 - iii. Obama (May 19, 2011): “We believe the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, so that secure and recognized borders are established for both states.”
- 5. Refugees
 - a. no right of return to Israel
 - i. Clinton: “you cannot expect Israel to acknowledge an unlimited right of return to present day Israel”
 - ii. Bush letter (April 14, 2004): “a solution to the Palestinian refugee issue as part of any final status agreement will need to be found through the establishment of a Palestinian state, and the settling of Palestinian refugees there, rather than in Israel.”
 - b. compensation
 - i. Clinton: “the United States will take a lead in raising the money necessary to relocate them in the most appropriate manner.”
 - c. vague/punt
 - i. Bush (June 24, 2002): “Ultimately, Israelis and Palestinians must address the core issues that divide them if there is to be a real peace.” and “We must also resolve questions concerning...the plight and future of Palestinian refugees”

- ii. Obama (May 19, 2011): “I’m aware that these steps alone will not resolve the conflict, because two wrenching and emotional issues will remain: the future of Jerusalem, and the fate of Palestinian refugees.”
- 6. Jerusalem
 - a. two capitals
 - i. Clinton: “capitals of two states, Israel and Palestine.”
 - b. guiding principle
 - i. Clinton: “what is Arab should be Palestinian...what is Jewish should be Israeli.”
 - c. holy sites / Old City
 - i. Clinton: “requires a special care to meet the needs of all” and “I have offered formulations”
 - d. vague/punt
 - i. Bush (June 24, 2002): “Ultimately, Israelis and Palestinians must address the core issues that divide them if there is to be a real peace.” and “We must also resolve questions concerning Jerusalem”
 - ii. Obama (May 19, 2011): “I’m aware that these steps alone will not resolve the conflict, because two wrenching and emotional issues will remain: the future of Jerusalem, and the fate of Palestinian refugees.”

¹ <http://usembassy-israel.org.il/publish/peace/archives/2001/january/me0108b.html>

² <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020624-3.html>

³ <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/04/20040414-3.html>

⁴ <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2007/11/20071127-2.html>

⁵ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-cairo-university-6-04-09>

⁶ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/05/19/remarks-president-middle-east-and-north-africa>