

EDUCATING THE NEXT GENERATION

Changing Palestinian Textbooks as a Precondition for Mutual Understanding

Prefaceby Michael Leutert, Member of the German Parliament

The Middle East conflict, the conflict between Jews and Arabs, at least since the founding of Israel in 1948 is a confrontation with an international dimension. Following this dimension in 1949 next to the UNHCR, the refugee agency of the United Nations, UNR-WA exclusively responsible for Palestinian refugees was founded. In contrast to the UNHCR, however, UNRWA executes partially quasi-governmental functions, such as the responsibility for education and health systems.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is time and again part of political debates with enormous potential for strong emotional appeal. Especially in Germany, no politician gets around a clear positioning. The historical responsibility for the persecution and annihilation of the European Jews demands that solidarity with Israel is an integral part of German raison d'état.

When years ago for the first time as a Member of the German Parliament I had the opportunity to get a picture on the spot, the following scene happened in the Gaza Strip: Our delegation crossed a market place on our way to the next appointment. We MPs talked with the merchants and passers-by. A merchant posed the following question as a farewell: "Why did you not finish your job to the end?" he said, obviously meaning the annihilation of the Jews.

The example illustrates how important it is for a mutual understanding between Jews and Arabs, to clarify how the state of Israel was created and why various conflicts subsist. It is for this reason that the content of teaching conveyed in the subjects of history and geography at Palestinian schools has great relevancy. There the crucial fundamentals are taught, that are passed on to the next generations who bear responsibility in the near future.

And it is because of our (co-) funding for UNRWA and for many other projects in the Palestinian territories, that we bear responsibility for the content of teaching.

Michael Leutert, Member of the German Parliament

An Analysis of the Representation of Israel and Jews in Palestinian Textbooks

Summary

This analysis of Palestinian school textbooks from Grades 1 to 9 demonstrates that the educational contents do not encourage a constructive understanding of Israelis and Palestinians. Instead, they propagate a climate of violence.

The following report shows that:

- Palestinian school pupils do not gather any balanced information about Jewish culture, religion, or history, or about modern Israeli society.
- The predominant reasons for Jewish immigration to Palestine, namely anti-Semitism and the Shoah, are never mentioned.
- The surveyed textbooks consistently portray Jews in a strongly negative manner, and often demonize them. Jews are rarely individuated, but instead are subsumed into a stereotype or the concept of Zionism.
- The textbooks reveal serious omissions regarding Jews within the historical context of Palestine. They first appear as Zionist colonizers and settlers at the end of the nineteenth century.
- The effect of this is that the Jewish presence in modern Israel is delegitimized.

- Jewish and Israeli places, as well as the State of Israel as a whole, are not found on maps included in the textbooks. The existence of Israel is denied.
- Instead, the maps label the area inside the modern borders of Israel, including the West Bank and Gaza, as .Palestine'.
- The terminology with which the books refer to Jews and Israelis is not neutral, but often pejorative. The contrast between them and Palestinians akin to that is between evil and good. The Palestinian resistance against Jews is glorified.

In conclusion, the content of official Palestinian textbooks is detrimental to fostering understanding between the two groups. The books do not appeal to the possibility of understanding and reconciliation, but rather encourage aggression and strengthen prejudices. They describe Palestinians and Israelis as enemies, and contain nothing to render mutual understanding a likelihood.

To ensure that coming generations work toward a process of peace rather than conflict, children must be provided with more balanced and informative learning content.

Introduction

Schoolbooks are a significant – perhaps the most significant – indicator of the values a society desires to pass on to its next generation. They transmit ideals and knowledge, regarding their own culture and others, that have been accounted worthy to pass on to children. They orient children with regards to social and cultural relations, and help to form an approved, picture of the community into which children grow.

Educational texts have a major role in the process of children's and teens' socialization, although of course individuals also access other information. This is because textbooks are perceived as authorized and objective presentations of reality. Therefore, their content is of major importance. The particular concern of this report is the ability of educational texts to form and/or reduce prejudice, intolerance and biased perceptions.

This report is the result of research into the presentation of Israelis and Jews as "the other" in textbooks authored by the Palestinian Authority (PA). Particular emphasis is placed on issues such as tolerance and impartial representation.

The analysis includes texts, charts, photographs, illustrations, and maps. What is omitted from representations in these media is often just as important as what is present, as both inform readers' understandings of Israelis and Jews. For example, the Shoah², anti-Semitism, and Jewish heritage in Palestine are not mentioned in the surveyed textbooks.

The principles and guidelines of UN-ESCO's Education Strategy 2014–2021 were used as guiding criteria for this analysis. UNESCO's guidelines state that educational books should encourage mutual understanding, and must acknowledge other human beings, religions, and societies as equal. Descriptions and depictions of "others" which give rise to misjudgments and biases should be avoided. All teaching content should aim to solve conflicts in a peaceful and non-violent manner.³

¹ David R. Olson: On the Language and Authority of Textbooks, in Suzanne De Castell, Allan Luke and Carmen Luke (eds.): Language, Authority and Criticism: Readings on the School Textbook, London 1989, pg. 241.

² In this text the Hebrew word ,Shoah' is preferred to the Greek word ,Holocaust'.

³ http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002312/231288e.pdf

Material, Method and Analysis

This analysis encompasses fifteen schoolbooks from the subjects of ,History' and ,National Education', ranging from school Grades 1 to 9. All fifteen schoolbooks were introduced to the Palestinian curriculum between 2000 and 2005, and re-issued between 2011 and 2014.⁴ All are still in use in the Palestinian Territories, i.e. the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, at state schools as well as schools run by the UNRWA. All content is determined by the Palestinian Authority.

The analysis of the specific content of these books which concerns Israel, Jews, and Judaism is divided into three steps.

Firstly it will be examined whether or not Israelis and Jews are granted legitimacy and equal status as adversaries in the conflict situation existing in Israel and the Palestinian Territories. Legitimacy does not entail having all of one's claims agreed to, only that adversaries ought to be introduced as rightful participants with legitimate rights and interests. The representation of an opponent and that opponent's interests ought to be balanced. The second step is a qualitative ac-

count of the representation of Israelis and Jews, and the information about them communicated to pupils. Is the society of "the other" depicted neutrally and objectively, or in a biased and stereotyped manner? Is "the other" demonized?

The report will also examine whether Israelis and Jews are referred to solely as a group or also as individuals. In the latter case, it is important to identify whether the negative qualities attributed to the group to which they belong are also assigned to every member of this group.

Thirdly, specific terminology will be examined. What are the terms which are used to represent "the other" and its actions? Does this language permit violence against this group? How is aggression against them depicted? This analysis will also include geographical terms, as specific designations of territories can legitimate political claims.

Consequently, certain designations can be understood as indirect incitement of forceful "liberation" of these territories.

1) The Delegitimisation of Jews and Israelis in History and Geography

The textbooks examined characteristically omit mention of historical Jewish presence in Palestine. No text addressing antique Jewish civilizations was found, and only one chart depicts the

Kingdom of David (1000-923 BCE), the Northern Kingdom of Israel (923-722 BCE), and the Kingdom of Judea (923-586 BCE).⁵

This reference to Jewish kingdoms is unique. The texts do, however, endow

Palestinian history with an antique dimension, by referring to Canaanite Palestine or Canaanite Palestinians.⁶ A physical geographical map of the ancient Near East and Egypt depicts Palestine within the borders of modern Israel (see figure 1).

Another text addressing the ancient civilizations of the Levant (bilad assham) mentions that the area was comprised of Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria.⁷

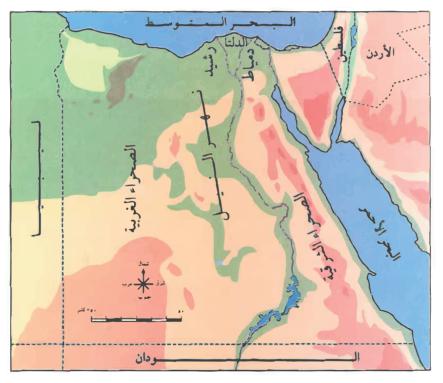


fig. 1 History of Antique Civilizations, Grade 5, Palestinian Ministry of Education (pub.), Re. 2014, pg. 48

⁵ National Education, Grade 7, Palestinian Ministry of Education (pub.), 2nd Ed. 2013, pg. 3; History of the Middle Ages, Grade 7, Palestinian Ministry of Education (pub.), Re. 2014, pg. 74.

⁶ ibid. pp. 5, 8, 9; See instructions for students to draw a connection between Palestine and the Canaanite civilization. Prior to that the book describes Palestine as the "land of our forefathers" and presents the Canaanites as the first inhabitants of Palestine, cf. National Education, Grade 2, Part 1, Palestinian Ministry of Education (pub.), 2nd Ed. 2013, pg. 4.

Specific places important to Jewish history are also frequently omitted Religious sites holy to Jews, Christians, and Muslims are either deprived of their significance to Judaism or renamed. In a text which addresses the attempt by Jews to Judaize (tah'wid) Muslim religious sites, the Cave of the Patriarchs, located in Hebron and containing the tomb of Abraham, appears as Ibrahim Mosque only. The tomb of Rachel (next to Bethlehem) is called Bilal Bin Rabah Mosque.⁸

The Temple Mount is represented as Islamic heritage only, and it is noted that the Jews wished to conquer it.⁹

A textbook for Grade 1 lays claim to historical Jerusalem as an exclusively Arab city. An illustration which imagines the living room of a fictive family, which the students get to know throughout the book, features a photo with the inscription

"Jerusalem is ours" (al-quds la'na) (see figure 2).



fig. 2 National Education, Grade 7, Palestinian Ministry of Education (pub.), 2nd Ed. 2014, pg. 25

Examples of this type are common. An illustration in a Grade 2 textbook distorts an historic postage stamp: the Hebrew inscription "Palestina A-I" has been erased, leaving only the Arabic "Filastin". ,Palestine A-I' (palestina eretz israel) was the Hebrew name for the region during the British Mandate of Palestine from 1917 to 1948 (see figure 3).



fig. 3 National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2013), pg. 7



fig. 4 The original stamp



Modern Israel is also frequently redescribed. No examined textbook contains a map bearing the name ,Israel'. Instead, Palestine is depicted within the borders of modern Israel (including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip) (see figure 5).

National Education, Grade 2, Part 2, Palestinian Ministry of Education (pub.), 2nd Ed. 2013, pg. 34

Towns and regions in Israel, even those within the pre-1967 borders, are either described as Palestinian places or omitted completely. Safed, Haifa, and Acre are mentioned as tourist destinations in Palestine, and Nazareth is said to be a pilgrimage site, again in Palestine. The Israeli towns of Tiberias and Bet She'an are said to be located in the Palestinian Jordan Valley, while Tel Aviv and the populous Gush Dan

region do not appear on any map. In a chapter on the geography of Palestine for the fourth grade, the Carmel mountains and the mountainous regions of the Galilee are allotted to Palestine (see figure 7), as are the Negev and Arava deserts (see figure 8). Accordingly, the Palestinian coastal plain reaches from Lebanon in the north to the Egyptian border in the south (see figure 6).¹⁰



fig. 6 National Education, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014), pg. 20 - Coastal plain



fig. 7 ibid. pg. 23 Mountains



fig. 8 ibid. pg. 29 The Negev desert

Human geography also omits Jewish settlement. A chart quantifying the populations of Palestinians in different regions refers to Palestinians living in the Israeli state as "Palestinians of the interior" (filastiniyyu d-dachil), while the Jewish population is not included (see figure 9).

fig. 9

National Education, Grade 6, Palestinian Ministry of Education (pub.), Re. 2014, pg. 10

2) Representation of the "Other"

The representation of Israelis and Jews cannot be evaluated as balanced. From an historical perspective, the Jewish "other" appears as an antagonist; adversaries to Mohammed. The next time they appear in history is as "occupiers" in the context of the Jewish national movement, Zionism, at the end of the nineteenth century.

In most cases, Jews figure as aggressive, violent colonialists, who were able to occupy Palestine with the aid of Great Britain, and who occupy it still. The separation of Palestine following

the UN resolution of 1947 is pictured as "occupation" (ih'tilal) and as illegal, violent, land seizure (igh'tisab).¹¹ The Jewish immigration to Palestine is described as "colonising greed" (alat'ma'a al-istitaniya) which aims to take the place of the native population (as-sukan al-asliyun) after their eviction (tard) and extermination (iba'da).¹²

Zionism, therefore, becomes a political movement which aims to mobilize Jews worldwide to immigrate to Palestine, with the declared objective of

¹¹ The term Igh'tisab is more usually used in a sexual context, where it means 'rape'; For the text section see: Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9, Palestinian Ministry of Education (pub.), Re. 2014, pg. 55; "Britain gave the Land it did not own - Palestine, to a movement, that did not deserve it [the land] (la tastahaqu'ha) - the Zionist movement [...]", ibid. See as well: National Education, Grade 7 (2013), pp. 20-21. 12 ibid. pg. 20.

building the state of Israel by evicting (tashrid) the people of Palestine.¹³ Anti-Semitic stereotypes such as ,greed' or ,financial temptations' exist, but are quite rare. For instance, the textbooks suggest that Zionists should have tried to convince the Ottoman Sultan Abdelhamid II to allow Jews to migrate to Palestine by offering material incentives (al-igh'ra'at al-madiya).14 It is also claimed that ,Zionism' relocated its ,headquarters' from London to New York since it controls (fi aydi l-harakat as-sahyunia) many of media outlets and important parts of the US economy. 15 In this way, the textbooks perpetuate elements of popular anti-Semitic conspiracy theories.

The textbooks describe ongoing Palestinian suffering through eviction and deprivation as part of an ongoing Israeli objective to extinguish (tams) Palestinian heritage, both materially and culturally. On arrival, the books claim, the Jews destroyed the majority of Palestinian villages and cities, and the remaining native population was expelled.¹⁶ They describe how in towns like Jaffa, Eilat, Acre, Ramla, and Lydda; as well as in the villages of Galilea; the triangle (al-muthallath);¹⁷ and the Negev (all of which are described as "Palestinian"); construction and maintenance of buildings is prohibited. Historical Islamic sites they claim to have been Judaized (tah'wid): geographical names changed and Islamic scripts robbed (sariga) or destroyed (itlaf).

Palestinian songs and melodies, say the books, have been Hebrewized, and traditional garments imitated and labeled as Israeli.18 As a result of these texts. Palestinian schools make a great effort to preserve Palestinian heritage. Students are required to acquaint themselves with Palestinian traditions and customs lest "the occupation" succeed in annihilating the Palestinian identity.19

A section of a sixth grade textbook addresses problems in Palestinian society, and characterizes Israel as the main culprit for the many hardships which Palestinian society faces, particularly the neglect of the educational, social, and health sectors. The Israeli regime controls what are more properly Palestinian resources, especially groundwater, and its conduct continually encroaches on the Palestinian economy.20 For instance, Israel is blamed for the decline (tada'hur) of the Palestinian tourism industry, by imposing restrictions and curfews. and withholding permissions for the construction of new hotels. Israel also spreads the negative propaganda (de'a'ya sal'biya) that Palestine isn't safe, which prevents tourists from visiting Palestinian cities.²¹

Several more examples in which the Palestinian textbooks represent Israelis and/or Jews as malevolent and aggressive could easily be added to this list. It should be stressed that this negative image of Israelis and Jews is not counterbalanced by any information sympathetic to Judaism, Israel, or Jewish culture and society. Nor, as mentioned above, are there references to Jewish suffering, i.e. the Shoah or anti-Semitic persecution in Europe.

¹³ Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014), pg. 54; See as well National Education, Grade 6 (2014), pg. 15.

¹⁴ National Education, Grade 7 (2013), pg. 20. 15 Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014), pg. 56.

¹⁶ National Education, Grade 6 (2014), pg. 15.

¹⁷ The region referred to as the triangle is a region

mostly inhabited by Israeli-Arabs/Palestinians. 18 National Education, Grade 7 (2013), pg. 55.

¹⁹ ibid. pg. 44; On Palestinian identity in PA textbooks see as well: National Education, Grade 6 (2014), pg. 16. 20 ibid. pp. 15-16.

²¹ National Education, Grade 7 (2013), pp. 78-79.

This means Palestinian students learn nothing of some of the key reasons for Jewish migration from Europe and Arab countries to Palestine, and are left with only the impression of an aggressive invasion.

3) Terminology of Otherness

The final section of this report concerns the specific terminology used in Palestinian textbooks to describe both Jews and Palestinians. It is a concern if the language used to describe people and actions is dehumanizing or delegitimizing, as such language shapes perceptions and acceptable behavior. The language with which the textbooks depict Israelis is solely pejorative: they appear only as occupiers and colonizers.22 Palestinian actions against Israelis or Jews, by contrast, are often glorified, and called "death-defiant defense",23 "heroic resistance",24 "armed Palestinian revolution" or "struggle for liberation."25

Both the negative portrayal of Jews and of the Palestinian actions which are applauded are problematic. None of the surveyed textbooks feature an appeal for mutual understanding, but descriptions of armed resistance are numerous, and implicitly praise conflict.²⁶ For instance, Israel is depicted as an occupying regime (sultatu I-ih'tilal)²⁷ or as a Zionist terror organization (al-munathama al-irhabiya as-sah'yuniya).²⁸

Jewish settlements are described with explicitly negative terms as Mus'tautana and Musta'amar.²⁹ Palestinians are cast as the native people (as-sukan al-asliyun) of the area who resist (qawama) the aggressor.³⁰ This resistance is glorified with terms as sacrifice (tad'hiya) and martyrdom (istish'had). Palestinians killed in conflict figure as martyrs (shuhada).³¹

The textbooks use the term Jihad only in its limited sense of a struggle against an adversary. Its broader reference to an inner struggle for faith is not present. This language extends throughout the curriculum: a textbook intended for children in Grade 2 already stresses the significance of martyrs and prisoners, and encourages pupils to visit the families of martyrs on Independence Day.32 Members of Palestinian resistance organizations are referred to as Fida'i (self-sacrificing warriors)33 or Thuw'war (revolutionaries).34 The idea of Fida'i is celebrated in the Palestinian anthem, which is printed in a textbook for the first grade.³⁵

22 National Education, Grade 7 (2013), pp. 23. 23 ibid.

24 Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014), pp. 56-57.

25 ibid.pg. 61.

26 See ibid. pg. 56-57 on the PLO.

27 National Education, Grade 7 (2013), pg. 78.

28 ibid. pg. 21.

29 The term Musta'amar derives from the word Isti'a'mar (colonialism), and the term Mus'tautana goes back to the word Istiyatan (settlement/settling). Both terms are used to describe only Jewish settlements; cf. Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014), p. 55. 30 National Education, Grade 7 (2013), pg. 21; In contrast to Israeli settlements Palestinian places of residence

are referred to as Tadsha'muat As-Sakiniya Al-Filistiniya (Palestinian residential communities), villages (qura) or towns (mudun), see for instance: National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2013) pp. 22, 34. Only in very few cases the textbooks address Israeli residential communities as such (tadsha'muat as-sakiniya al-isra'iliya), cf. National Education, Grade 7 (2013), pg. 57.

31 ibid. pg. 21.

32 National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2013), pg. 71. 33 National Education, Grade 7 (2013), pg. 21.

34 ibid.

35 National Education, Grade 1, Part 2, Palestinian Ministry of Education (pub.), 2nd Ed. 2014, pg. 59.

Such language subverts accounts of historical events. Uprisings (thaura) against Jews in Palestine during the British Mandate are referred to in a biased and flawed manner. The rebellion that took place in Jerusalem in 1929, called Al-Buraq-Uprising in the textbooks, is portrayed as a result of the Jews attempt to usurp the Temple Mount.³⁶

The war in 1948, which Israelis refer to as the War of Independence, is described as Nakba (catastrophe). Any Palestinian responsibility for the war, due to their rejection of the UN Partition Plan of 1947, is ignored, and a British-Zionist collusion is blamed instead. The textbooks reduce the war's consequences to violent seizures of Palestinian land (igh'tisab), ³⁷

and the uprooting and expulsion of Palestinians by "the Zionism".³⁸

The terminology used to describe the fundamental issue of who can live where is also politically charged. The textbooks refer a great deal to Palestinian refugees, and make subtle calls for them to return to Palestine - including to territory which was Israel prior to the Six-Day-War of 1967.

In fact, in various sections of the text-books, even Israel's territory within the ,Green Line' of the 1949 Armistice borders is not recognized, and as a general rule they refrain from using the term ,Israel', preferring "the Lands of 1948".³⁹ In lower grades, images replace words to illustrate the Palestinian claim to these territories (see figure 10).



جهاد: ماذا يوجد في ذلك الصندوق يا جدي؟

الجد: مستندات (قواشين) الأرض التي نَمُلكها في السهل الساحلي، وهي مسجلة في دفاتر الطابو الرسمية في دائرة

تسجيل الأراضي، ومفتاح بيتنا الذي هجرنا منه هي أمانه في عنقك، فحافظ عليها. جهاد: أجل يا جدي سوف احافظ عليها ولن أفرط فيها-إن شاء الله- مهما يحصل. الجد: احسنت يا بُني.

fig. 10

History of Antique Civilizations, Grade 5, Palestinian Ministry of Education (pub.), Re. 2014,

p. 7

36 National Education, Grade 7 (2013), pg. 21. Thaura also means ,revolution'. Calling uprisings Thaura has a glorifying connotation. Hence, resistance appears as a revolutionary act. Terms alternative to Thaura would be Intifada or Tamar'rud.

37 Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014), pg. 55.

38 ibid. pg. 56.

39 National Education, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014), pg. 43; See as well fig. 9 of this analysis, a chart quantifying the populations of Palestinians in different regions, that refers to Palestinians living in the Israeli state as "Palestinians of the interior", in: National Education, Grade 6 (2014), pg. 10.

In the illustration above, a grandfather passes to his grandchild, Jihad, the deed and key to their house by the coast, from where his family had to flee. Jihad promises his grandfather to keep them carefully, "come what will, with the help of God".

The accompanying text makes the message clear by asking the students, rhetorically, where Jihad's grandfather's house might have been.⁴⁰

The key is a recurrent symbol of the steadfast clinging to land - also expressed by the Arabic term Sumud - which is a political concept that first

appeared in Palestine after the Six-Day-War. It conveys an insistence on individual tenure as well as on the land of Palestine in general: eviction and flight must not be allowed to recur. The concept is also closely connected with the claim of return to areas from which Palestinians fled or were expelled in 1948. Illustrations of the "day of our return" appear as early as textbooks for Grade 2 (see figure 11). Such a return to Israeli core territories. and even the concept of Sumud, renders the possibility of a two-state solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at best questionable.

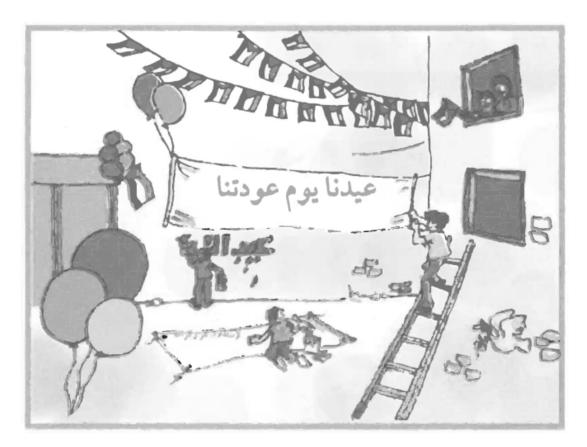


fig. 11 National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014), pg. 70 The banner reads: "Our celebration is the day of our return"

Epilogue Education to Maturity

In both the Westbank and Islamist-ruled Gaza strip, Palestinian schoolchildren's education barely helps them to develop into strong, self-confident individuals who above all are able to form their own opinion. The teaching content from common Palestinian textbooks collected in this brochure does not help to give the schoolchildren the perspective of a peaceful, prospering and lasting coexistence side by side with the democratic state of Israel. Quite the opposite.

This content plays a considerable part in promoting and deepening hatred and prejudice against Jews and Jewish Israelis and therefore enabling, rationalizing and legitimizing violence as a means of political conflict resolution. Whoever is serious about a future Palestinian society which has recognized civilized standards, whoever seriously wishes for a prospering, democratic Palestinian society with the appropriate level of awareness, must contribute to creating the suitable conditions for this society.

Whoever credibly wants to help bring about a peace process in the Middle East between Arabs and Israelis should contribute to social changes on the Palestinian side towards democracy, a strengthening of the individual and his or her rights and to the compliance with human and minority rights. This includes a transfer of knowledge in schools that does not add to hatred and violence.

The international community has a special responsibility here and German and European politics play a significant role. Coming after the US, the EU, Saudi Arabia and Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany is the fifth largest sponsor of the UN-agency UNRWA, which is using the problematical Palestinian school-books in its schools.

But it could also use its influence via the good European relationships to the Palestinian Authority, which is responsible for the problematic content of the schoolbooks.

In other words: there is a need for political initiatives on both a national and a European level to bring about lasting changes. After all it is also German and European taxpayer's money that is being used to fuel anti-Jewish hatred.

The financial aid for UNRWA and the PA from the European Union and its member states should be tied in a more committed and publicly transparent way to conditions that prohibit Palestinian media and schoolbooks from stirring up and spreading anti-Semitic motivated pictures, prejudices and resentments.

This should include a continual monitoring process by the donor countries.

Jörg Rensmann, Board Member of the Mideast Freedom Forum Berlin

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