

Glossary

REPORTING ON THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT
FOR INTERNAL USE, AS OF 18.10.2023

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1 Note on the methodology

Glossary consists *ONLY of quotations from existing sources*.

The source is always indicated ABOVE the quotation, including link and date.

The information is only intended as a rough guide and does NOT claim to be complete; **updates may be necessary depending on how the conflict develops**.

Information from the lexicon of the ARD term database is **highlighted in blue** as an internal source.

Information on special sources that are not news media:

Name	Link to the source	Info about this
RIAS	Report Antisemitism (report-antisemitism.de)	BAS - RIAS-Bundesverband (antisemitismusbeauftragter.de): "A central project in the area of combating anti-Semitism is to create a nationwide reporting system to record anti-Semitic incidents , in particular cases below the threshold of criminal liability. The Federal Association of Research and Information Centers on Anti-Semitism (Bundesverband der Recherche- und Informationsstellen Antisemitismus - RIAS) was founded in Berlin in October 2018 for this project, which is supported by civil society in cooperation with the federal states. It is funded by the budget of the Federal Government Commissioner for Jewish Life and the Fight against Anti-Semitism, who has also assumed the patronage. Funding is planned for the coming years from the "Live Democracy" program of the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) and the Commissioner. During the establishment of local reporting points While the individual countries decide for themselves, the Federal Association RIAS should support and accompany the development of such a reporting system, taking into account uniform standards. The aim is to use standardized categories to create comparability of nationwide data and thus better illuminate the dark field. The knowledge gained in this way can supplement the police's picture of the situation and help to obtain a picture of the development of anti-Semitism in Germany that is as close to reality as possible. Reporting anti-Semitic crimes, including those below the threshold of criminal liability, should be made easier for those affected. The nationwide standardized The reported cases are recorded via the

		Report Antisemitism" reporting portal. The recorded incidents serve as a basis for targeted prevention measures. Those affected are also put in touch with help and support services. advisory services if they so wish."
Amadeu Antonio Foundation	Homepage - Amadeu Antonio Foundation (amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de)	Amadeu Antonio Foundation Funding bpb.de "The aim of the Amadeu Antonio Foundation is to strengthen a democratic civil society that consistently opposes right-wing extremism, racism and anti-Semitism. It counters the challenges of group-based misanthropy with education, awareness-raising, advice and support for local initiatives. The Amadeu Antonio Foundation thus supports projects throughout Germany in the areas of democratic youth culture, schools, victim protection and victim support, community networks, etc. Another focus is the work against hate speech and toxic speech on the internet with monitoring and support programs. journalistic and educational approaches. The Amadeu Antonio Foundation is a member of the Association of German Foundations and has signed up to the Transparency Initiative. civil society."
Belltower News	Belltower.News - Network for digital civil society	Belltower.News - Amadeu Antonio Foundation (amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de) "Belltower.news is a news platform for digital civil society. It deals with right-wing extremism, anti-Semitism, the facets of group-focused misanthropy and its strategies and argumentation patterns. It also deals with digital violence and communication culture. It deals with questions of constructive debate, attitude and the discussion of diverse responses from across the entire democratic spectrum. spectrum to right-wing populism and racism."
ARD- Term database		"The ARD term database is offered by WDR as a cross-institutional language forum. It is intended to serve the debate on the use of terms and the choice of words in our reporting. The BDB summarizes the results of these discussions in thematically arranged contributions. The debates are always open to suggestions via the comments function. All entries are of a recommendatory nature, are intended to show perspectives for reflection and contribute to linguistic precision and quality in our reporting. No entry is binding or constitutes a rule. represent."

2 How does the Tagesschau do it? (e-mail excerpts, 9.10.2023)

"(...) after our exchange in the 10:30 today, another look at the wording in the reporting on the Middle East. As we wrote yesterday, we need to look at this from day to day, for example whether and how we use the word "war". Today we have these tips and requests:

We continue to speak of "attack(s) from Gaza on Israel" or "terrorist attack(s) on Israel". However, "war against Israel" can also be used.

What must be avoided at all costs are words such as "spiral of violence" - and "escalation in the Middle East" does not adequately describe the current situation since Saturday. The situation is more complex.

Please also pay attention to exactly how we use the word "attack": In this situation it is "Counterattacks by Israel on Gaza". It is abbreviated to say or write "attacks on Israel and Gaza".

(...)

"As a reminder, please also read yesterday's newsletter:

*Our language working group is currently working intensively on terms and descriptions for reporting on the Middle East. The team is kindly doing this during and between shifts. That's why this is a quick overview **that XXXX (name anonymized)** has just sent us. And it helps us a lot! Please everyone who writes and/or moderates with us read through the examples below. This will help us avoid misunderstandings or mistakes. In addition, when adopting agency texts, please consider carefully whether the wording from dpa and Co. is correct. Our colleagues don't always get everything right either..."*

(...)

"Please avoid " Hamas fighters"!

As already determined by the editors-in-chief, we should not euphemistically refer to Hamas- "militants", but write and speak of terrorists. Synonyms include "militant Islamists", "militant Palestinians". "terrorist militia" or similar.

The anti-Semitic Hamas is widely classified internationally as a terrorist organization. In contrast to the Israeli army, Hamas does not differentiate between military targets and civilians in its actions. Rather, Hamas' declared goal is the "destruction of Israel". To achieve this, it uses terrorist means, such as carrying out attacks, indiscriminate rocket fire and the like.

The same applies to members of "Islamic Jihad" who are involved in the Hamas attack.

Radical Islam, Islamism, militant Islamism

Hamas has a clear Islamist orientation - its goal is to establish an Islamic state. However, this goal is also shared by Islamist organizations that do not rely on terror - such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt or the Ennahda party in Tunisia. Hamas, on the other hand, wants to achieve this goal through violence. We therefore recommend using the terms "militant Islamist" or "militant Islamists". However, it is not wrong to use the term Islamists in isolation.

Please avoid the "spiral of violence"

The phrase says little and usually ignores the realities. In the current case, Hamas attacked Israel unexpectedly - we should therefore also speak and write of the "Hamas attack on Israel" or the "attack on Israel".

Action and reaction

With the presumably harsh reaction of the Israeli army, the focus and therefore also our reporting will shift to the Gaza Strip and the suffering of the population there in the coming days. However, we should not ignore the fact that Hamas started the current conflict.

Who is attacking what?

In response, the Israeli army flies attacks in the Gaza Strip. In the past, the targets have always been Hamas military facilities. Many civilians often die in the process - Hamas often uses them as human shields. Nevertheless, we should always make it clear that these are usually attacks on military targets.

In this context, we should also be aware of the euphemistic "Air strikes" are not used. These are attacks with missiles and fighter jets."

3 Basic terms/understanding

3.1 Hamas

Source: ARD term database (as of October 11, 2023)

"**Hamas** is an acronym and stands for "**Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya**". In German, this roughly translates as "**Movement of Islamic Resistance**".

The "**Quassam Brigades**" form the **military arm** of Hamas. Hamas was founded on December 10, 1987 and emerged from the "Muslim Brotherhood".

Hamas is widely classified internationally as a **terrorist organization**, including by the USA, the EU and the UK. In contrast to the Israeli army, Hamas does not differentiate between military targets and terrorist attacks in its actions.

civilians. **Hamas' declared goal is the "destruction of Israel"**. To achieve this, it uses terrorist means, such as carrying out attacks, indiscriminate rocket fire and the like. The same applies to members of the "Islamic Jihad" who take part in Hamas attacks.

The tagesschau **avoids the term "Hamas fighters"** and speaks of **terrorists**. Synonyms include "**militant Islamists**", "**militant Palestinians**", "**terrorist militia**" or similar.

Hamas has a clear Islamist orientation - its goal is to establish an Islamic state. However, this goal is also shared by other Islamist organizations that do not rely exclusively on terror. **Hamas wants to achieve this goal through violence**. We therefore recommend using the terms "**militant Islamist**" or "**militant Islamists**". However, it is not wrong to use the term **Islamists** alone.

The term "**spiral of violence**" is often used in connection with **Hamas' major attack on Israel in October 2023**. **We take a critical view of this term**, as the escalation in this case was solely the result of Hamas attacking Israel, to which Israel responded with airstrikes in the Gaza Strip, among other things. We therefore recommend using the term "**Hamas attack on Israel**" or "**attack on Israel**". **However, as** correspondent Björn Blaschke explained to us, looking at the **overall development** over the years, it may well give the impression that there has been a spiral of violence.

(with material from the AG Sprache at ARD aktuell, telephone conversation with **XXXX (name subsequently anonymized)**)

The UN does not speak of terrorists, but of "**armed groups**". The chief spokesperson of the UN Human Rights Office, Ravina Shamdasani, told the German Press Agency in Geneva on 11.10.23: "*This is a deliberate choice of words. In the context of armed conflicts, international humanitarian law does not define the term terrorism. We therefore speak of armed groups. Armed groups are clearly defined and they have an obligation to comply with international humanitarian law. The violence between Israel and Gaza is taking place in the context of an armed conflict and in a situation of occupation. Hamas falls under international humanitarian law because as an armed group it is part of the conflict.*"

3.2 *Fatah*

Source: [Gaza Strip, Hamas, Fatah: The most important terms in the Middle East conflict | STERN.de](#) (12.10.2023)

- "Fatah is a Palestinian party. Its name stands for "Harakat al-Tahrir al-Watani al-Filastini" - "Movement of Palestinian National Liberation". The party was founded in 1959 and gained broad support after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967. **Initially, Fatah fought against Israel using guerrilla methods, but from the 1980s onwards it adopted a diplomatic approach.** These led to the Oslo Accords and the proposal of a two-state solution."
- "Its leader for a long time was Yasser Arafat, who co-founded Fatah. Its current chairman is Mahmoud Abbas, who is also President of the Palestinian Authority. **Fatah controls the West Bank, while its rival Hamas controls the Gaza Strip.** In contrast to Hamas, Fatah recognizes Israel and strives for a two-state solution along the borders that were established after the Six-Day War in 1967. This would define the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and East Jerusalem as a possible state of Palestine."

Source: [A player in the Middle East conflict - This is what the radical Islamic Hamas wants - News - SRF](#) (07.10.2023)

- "The moderate Fatah leads the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and was also represented in the Gaza Strip until 2007. According to its own constitution of 1964, the organization pursues the goal of the "complete liberation of Palestine" and the "establishment of an independent democratic state with complete sovereignty over the Palestinian territories and Jerusalem as its capital".
- "**Fatah and Hamas have also reached agreements in the past** that were aimed at reconciliation and cooperation. However, this did not come about, or only partially. In recent years, Fatah has repeatedly lost support among the population. **Hamas has used the lack of leadership from Fatah to present itself as the most important defender of the Palestinians.**"

3.3 *Hezbollah*

Source: ARD term database (as of October 12, 2023)

"**Hezbollah** translates as "Party of God". It is based in Lebanon, where it is firmly anchored as a "state within a state", running kindergartens, schools and hospitals, as well as paying educational grants and pensions. It also represents its supporters in parliament as a **political party**. Hezbollah also has a powerful **military wing**. Hezbollah calls itself "The Resistance". Its resistance is directed against Israel and also against IS. Hezbollah leader Nasrallah stated much more clearly that his organization "will **not accept the existence of a Jewish state in general** and will continue to oppose Israel until the end of the war". continue to fight for the **destruction of Israel**" (University of New Brunswick, 1999). In

In contrast to Hamas (Sunni), Hezbollah is **Shiite-dominated**. Hezbollah is primarily supported by Iran, with which it maintains cooperative relations.

The USA, Great Britain and the Netherlands, among others, classify Hezbollah as a **terrorist organization**. The Arab League also made this classification. Only the military arm of Hezbollah has been classified as a terrorist organization by the European Union since 2013. On April 30, 2020, the German government issued a **ban on Hezbollah's activities** in Germany. Since then, it has been prohibited, among other things, to use Hezbollah symbols in public, in a meeting or, for example, in writings and audio and video media.

According to the classifications, we can at least speak of the members of the militia as terrorists and describe them as militant Islamist."

3.4 Gaza Strip

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(lpb-bw.de\)](#) (date unknown, but probably AFTER 2021)

- "A 365 square kilometer coastal strip on the Mediterranean Sea between Egypt and Israel, which Israel occupied in the June 1967 war. In the summer of 2005, Israel evacuated all Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip and withdrew its soldiers from there. **The Gaza Strip is part of the Palestinian autonomous territories. Since 2006, the radical Islamic group Hamas has been in Gaza Strip in power. However, Israel still controls the borders.** There are repeated violent clashes between Israel and Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. Around two million people live in the Gaza Strip, **most of whom are refugees and their descendants."**

Source: [War between Israel and Hamas: Briefly explained - who is who and what is what in the Middle East conflict? \(tagesspiegel.de\)](#) (Text in Annex 7, 17.10.2023)

- "One year after the Israeli government evacuated the last Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip in 2005, Hamas prevailed in the regional elections. It has ruled it ever since. **Elections have not been held since 2006."**
- "With 2.3 million inhabitants, the Gaza Strip is **one of the most densely populated regions in the world**, yet it is completely dependent on Israeli supplies of electricity, water and food. **80 percent of the population are dependent on aid supplies**, and almost half do not have enough food. According to official figures, unemployment is also almost 50 percent. 18,000 Palestinians recently had a work permit in Israel. The last invasion of the enclave by Israeli troops took place in July 2014 ("Operation Protection Edge") and ended six weeks later with an indefinite ceasefire."

3.5 West Bank

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(lpb-bw.de\)](#) (date unknown, but probably AFTER 2021)

- "Area west of the Jordan River, also known as the "West Bank", which **was conquered by Israel in the 1967 June War and has been under Israeli military administration ever since. Today, around 60 percent of the territory is occupied by Israel, with the remaining 40 percent, together with the Gaza Strip, forming the Palestinian Autonomous Territories.** The Palestinian West Bank is controlled by the Fatah movement."
- "The West Bank has an area of around 5,800 square kilometers and an estimated population of 2.5 million Palestinians and 500,000 Jewish settlers (as of 2022)."
- "Since the Oslo peace process, the West Bank has been divided into A, B and C areas. A areas are under Palestinian police and civilian control, B areas under Israeli-Palestinian police and Palestinian civilian control and C areas under Israeli police and civilian control."

Source: [War between Israel and Hamas: Briefly explained - who is who and what is what in the Middle East conflict? \(tagesspiegel.de\)](#) (Text in Annex 7, 17.10.2023)

- "The West Bank is largely under Israeli military administration, with around 60 percent occupied by Israel. **The Palestinian part, where 80 percent of the population lives, is controlled by Fatah.**"

3.6 Palestine

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(lpb-bw.de\)](#) (date unknown, but probably AFTER 2021)

- "Palestine is the original name of an area on the south-eastern Mediterranean coast that comprised present-day Israel, parts of present-day Jordan, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank."
- "**Today, the Palestinians refer to the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank as the State of Palestine. Palestine has observer status at the United Nations and is recognized by many states around the world, but not all of them. Germany has not officially recognized Palestine either.**"
- "The state of Palestine covers an area of around 6,000 square kilometers. Around five million people live there. East Jerusalem is claimed as its capital."
- "The dispute over the original territory of Palestine between Jews and Palestinians is the core of the Middle East conflict, although there are other dimensions to the conflict besides the question of territory."

3.7 *Palestinian Authority (PA)*

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(lpb-bw.de\)](#) (date unknown, but probably AFTER 2021)

- "The Palestinian Authority (PA) was established during the Oslo peace process in 1994 to formally assume government functions such as Palestinian self-government. Since 2013, the term "State of Palestine" has officially been used instead of "Palestinian Authority", even though the PA continues to exist with its organs. **In Germany, the term "Palestinian Authority" is still commonly used today.** Mahmoud Abbas has been President of the Palestinian Authority since 2005."

3.8 *Israeli settlements*

Source: [War between Israel and Hamas: Briefly explained - who is who and what is what in the Middle East conflict? \(tagesspiegel.de\)](#) (17.10.2023, text in appendix 7)

- "Without the establishment of Jewish settlements, which began at the start of the 20th century, Israel would be inconceivable. But while earlier generations of immigrants were involved in building a community in which many of the mistakes of other societies were to be avoided, be it greed or exclusion, the Jewish settlement movement has increasingly become a project of missionary fanatics."
- The "**Hill Top Generation**" is the name given today to those settlers who "holy ground" with fortress-like satellite towns and want nothing to do with the surrounding Palestinian villages. They hardly do any farming, but occupy hilltops with the intention of at least symbolically ruling the surrounding area from there. Although they are sometimes heavily armed, the existence of the settlements is primarily guaranteed by the Israeli army."
- "Even after the **Six-Day War**, there were efforts to advance the "Israelization" of occupied territories with the strategic settlement of Jewish immigrants. The aim was, as Defense Minister Moshe Dajan said, to create "new facts". However, national-religious motives did not yet play a role. This changed when the conservative Prime Minister Menachem Begin took office in 1977, subsidizing the establishment of settlements even in areas that were strategically insignificant. Since then, it has been the settlers' declared aim to forestall the establishment of a Palestinian state. In 1977 there were 1,900 Jews living in occupied territories, 40 years later there were already half a million."

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(lpb-bw.de\)](#) (date unclear, probably after 2021)

- "The question of the borders of a Palestinian community is closely linked to Israel's settlement policy. Since the occupation of the Palestinian territories (as well as the Syrian Golan Heights and initially also the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula) in June 1967, Israeli governments of all stripes have pushed ahead with the construction of settlements."
- "Even during the Oslo peace process, the number of settlers rose continuously. **From 1992 to the year 2000, their number in the West Bank doubled from just over 100,000 to**

According to a report by the EU Representation for the Occupied Territories, over 450,000 settlers lived in the West Bank and around 230,000 in East Jerusalem in 2020."

- "Settlements have only been evacuated in isolated cases: during the withdrawal from the Sinai in 1982 and in August/September 2005, when Israel withdrew around 9,000 settlers from the Gaza Strip and - as a result of massive pressure from the USA - also from four small, isolated settlements in the northern West Bank. In addition, settlement outposts, which are (so far) also illegal under Israeli law, are being evacuated time and again. However, many of the outposts are either legalized retrospectively, only temporarily evacuated or rebuilt elsewhere after eviction."
- "While some of the settlers live in the occupied territories for religious or Zionist reasons, many Israelis have moved to the settlements in and around Jerusalem and near the Green Line primarily for economic reasons. This **is because housing is often much cheaper there than within Israel due to state subsidies, state Services are generally better and there are sometimes considerable tax benefits.**"
- "For the Palestinian population, the continued construction of settlements, settlement infrastructure and connecting roads has **resulted in an ever-increasing fragmentation of the territory intended for a Palestinian state, restrictions on freedom of movement, a continued presence of the Israeli military controlling settlements and access roads, and the loss of agricultural land and water.** This has not only massively restricted Palestinian agriculture, particularly in the Jordan Rift Valley, but has also curtailed development opportunities overall. This applies in particular to the so-called C-areas of the West Bank, which make up around 60 percent of its area."

3.9 Intifada

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(lpb-bw.de\)](#) (date unknown, but probably AFTER 2021)

- "Arabic for "rise up, shake off". The term **intifada refers to two Palestinian uprisings against the Israeli occupying power.** The First Intifada lasted from 1987 to 1993, the Second Intifada, also known as the Al-Aqsa Intifada, from 2000 to 2005."

Source: [Gaza Strip, Hamas, Fatah: The most important terms in the Middle East conflict | STERN.de](#) (12.10.2023)

- "The First Intifada began in December 1987, after tensions had risen sharply. The Palestinians initially responded with **economic boycotts, demonstrations, stone-throwing and Molotov cocktails.** The Israeli army used **batons, tear gas and ammunition.** The Palestinians also took up arms and the **violence escalated** and spread. In 1988, the Palestinian National Council proclaimed the state of Palestine, but this was not recognized by many states. In 1991, peace negotiations between Israelis, Palestinians and Jordanians began in Madrid. Two years later, the Oslo

- Agreements signed between Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin."
- "The Second Intifada began after the visit of Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon to the Temple Mount, which is also sacred to Muslims, in September 2000. This triggered mass protests by the Palestinians. As with the First Intifada, tensions between the two sides had previously increased. **The Second Intifada differed from the First Intifada in that radical Palestinian groups, including Hamas, turned to attacks within Israel.** The number of suicide attacks increased sharply. Ariel Sharon, who became Prime Minister shortly after the start of the Intifada, reacted to the Palestinian attacks with the utmost severity, and a heavily secured border fortification to the Palestinian territories was erected. In 2005, the Second Intifada ended with a ceasefire."

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)

- "Since then, there have been several other outbreaks of violence against Jewish Israelis, sometimes referred to as intifadas, such as the "**Knife Intifada**" of 2015, in which Arab youths often attacked soldiers and civilians with knives, or the "**Tiktok Intifada**" of spring 2021, in which Arab youths shared videos on social networks in which they were seen harassing Jewish youths."
- More about use on demos: → 3.1

3.10 BDS

Source: ARD term database (as of January 13, 2022)

"**BDS** is a **campaign** founded in 2005 that aims to isolate Israel internationally. The acronym stands for "**Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions**". The participants in the campaign are more than **170 Palestinian organizations**. It also receives international support from **solidarity groups** and **celebrities** such as Roger Waters and Brian Eno. For example, they are using social media campaigns to urge artists to cancel concerts in Israel. Pressure is also exerted on event organizers. Most recently, BDS made a name for itself when the alliance called for a boycott of the **2019 European Song Contest in Israel**. BDS takes similar action against companies that maintain economic relations with Israel. In a 2014 report, the UN also attributed the 46% decline in foreign investment in Israel to the **growing influence of BDS**.

The **political goal** of BDS is to end the "occupation and colonization of all Arab land", Equal rights for Arab-Palestinian citizens and return "to the former homeland". **Classification is difficult** due to the large number of campaign participants and their different orientations. Particular attention should be paid to ensuring that reporting is as distanced and impartial as possible: **Not all supporters of the campaign can be described across the board as anti-Zionist or anti-Semitic.**

Conversely, there are numerous statements and demands from the BDS campaign that could very well be categorized as such. In May 2019, for example, the [Bundestag](#) condemned calls for a boycott of Israel as "anti-Semitic".

Overall, the BDS campaign can be described as "anti-Israeli" in any case. In the reporting on certain parts of the campaign, the categorization "anti-Zionist" or "anti-Semitic".

Source: [Antisemitism in the BDS campaign | Antisemitism | bpb.de](#) (22.03.2021)

- "BDS stands for **boycott, divestment and sanctions** and advocates a comprehensive boycott of Israel in the areas of culture, science and business."
- "Supporters and sympathizers of BDS see the **campaign as a political instrument to force the Israeli government to change its policy towards the Palestinians.**"
- "Critics of the campaign, on the other hand, emphasize that BDS is an **anti-Semitic movement** that is not only aimed at the exclusion of individual state actors, facilities or institutions, but at an internationally organized, comprehensive isolation of the Jewish state and its society as a whole."

Source: [What is behind the BDS movement? - DW - 02.12.2017](#)

- "The idea behind the acronym is to put international pressure on Israel to end the occupation of the Palestinian territories. The **model is - according to its own statements - the international isolation of South Africa in the 1990s, which led to the end of apartheid.**"
- "The basic assumption of BDS activists is that the state of Israel's oppression of Palestinians is comparable to the "apartheid state" that differentiated between the black and white population in South Africa. Israel could only continue its policy of "colonialism" because it was supported internationally. **Two accusations, apartheid and colonialism, which Israel vehemently rejects.**"

3.11 Samidoun



Bildquelle: [Another anti-Israeli incident in Neukölln: Berlin police arrest "Samidoun" activist \(tagesspiegel.de\)](#)

Source: [Pro-Palestinian rallies: Which organizations attract attention with anti-Semitism at demos | rbb24](#) (10.10.2023)

- "Samidoun" was founded in the USA in 2011. According to its own statements, the organization's aim is to stand up for Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons. Samidoun has branches in many countries around the world - including Sweden, France, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. **In this country, the organization has been under observation by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution for some time, including in Berlin.**"
- "The head of the authorities, Michael Fischer, told rbb24 Abendschau on Monday that the network is considered to be **anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli** and is therefore being monitored as an anti-constitutional movement. The activities of "Samidoun" have increased significantly in Berlin over the past two years. According to Fischer, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Berlin currently assumes a "potential number of people in the lower double-digit range".
- "Samidoun" is considered a support organization of the "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" (PFLP), which the EU has classified as a terrorist organization since 2002. It denies Israel's right to exist and openly calls for armed struggle against Israel. According to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Berlin, the PFLP has a potential membership of around 50 people, with a rising trend: in 2021, there were still 40 people."

3.12 Zionism

Source: [Zionism | bpb.de](#) (2008!)

- "In the 19th century, when many Jews in Eastern Europe were threatened by other people living there, i.e. became victims of anti-Semitic attacks, Zionism emerged in response. Its main founder was Theodor Herzl (1860-1904)."
- "The primary goal of the Zionist movement was to **return the Jews living all over the world to the area** between the Mediterranean and the Jordan. For the Zionists, this was the original homeland of the Jews, where they wanted to settle and establish their own state. As early as the end of the 19th century, many Jewish immigrants began building Jewish settlements in this region. Time and again there were disputes with the Arab population who lived there."
- More on the use of the term on demos → 3.6

3.13 Anti-Semitism

Source: ARD term database (as of April 29, 2022)

"We discussed the term with experts at WDR. The occasion was also recent events in the Middle East conflict. Here are a few comments from the exchange:

First of all, there is no legally binding definition of "anti-Semitism". However, the German government and the EU Commission, for example, are guided by the IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance) definition from 2016.

"Anti-Semitism is a certain perception of Jews that can express itself as hatred towards Jews. Anti-Semitism is directed in word and deed against Jewish or non-Jewish people.

Jewish individuals and/or their property, as well as against Jewish communal institutions and religious institutions."

From this point of view, it is important to describe the events as specifically as possible. This is the best way to avoid generalizations. Example demonstration: "200 people demonstrated against Israel in Essen." The completely unspecific "against Israel" opens up room for all kinds of speculation. Were they demonstrating against the state of Israel? Does "Israel" stand for Judaism here? Or was the protest directed against the policies of the Israeli government? All unclear. (See 3D check below) So it's better to be specific, because it's important to know exactly what was going on: "In Essen, 200 people demonstrated against the Israeli government's settlement policy." Or: "200 supporters of the Palestinian terrorist organization Hamas demonstrated in Essen."

Generalizations should also be avoided with regard to the actors: there is no such thing as "the Palestinians" or "the Israelis". The Israeli military and Hamas fighters are acting here. In short: the more concrete the description, the easier it is to avoid generalizations such as "anti-Israel demonstration", "pro-Palestinian rally" and the like.

Second important point: correctly assessing cause and effect, examining causalities: "Israel bombed the Gaza Strip." Yes, that's true, but in what context? Is there a causality? Or was it just a pretext? Was it a reaction? None of this can be presented in detail in short news reports, nor can it be done in short social media posts. What is possible, however, is to at least mention the timeline. "The Israeli army has bombed buildings in the Gaza Strip. The Palestinian terrorist organization Hamas had previously fired rockets at Tel Aviv." We deliberately did not use the term "(rocket) attack" in either example. Especially in abbreviated descriptions, "attack" automatically triggers an attribution of blame that can usually only be inadequately resolved in the text.

In short: a lack of space suppresses a lot of background information; a presentation in chronological order at least preserves the latest developments in context.

Third important point: clear designation of extremist positions. Statements and actions that are directed against the existence of Israel or the Jewish faith, for example, are anti-Semitic and must be labeled as such. Just as there is no question what Hamas is doing, namely terrorism. In addition, there are countless shades of gray that we cannot even list here. "Anti-Semitic" and "anti-Jewish" can be used as synonyms. If we are talking about "Islamic anti-Semitism" in particular, "Muslim anti-Semitism" is an obvious synonym. It should be borne in mind here that "Muslim" makes a direct reference to the believer, while "Islamic" makes a clear reference to the religion and is therefore the more differentiated formulation.

As a good tool, we recommend the so-called **3-D check**: If at least one D applies, there is antisemitism. Demonization (e.g. comparison of Israel with National Socialism), delegitimization (doubts about Israel's right to exist) and double standards (or double standards, e.g. criticism of Israeli actions that other countries are not accused of in a comparable form).

In short: Whenever doubts arise about your own or someone else's wording: A quick 3D check. And, of course, the additional assessment of colleagues always helps - that's what sets an editorial team apart."

3.14 Kibbutz

Source: [Israel: What is a kibbutz? \(rnd.de\)](#) (11.10.2023)

- "A kibbutz (plural: kibbutzim) is a **form of Jewish communal settlement in which daily life is organized more or less collectively**. The term kibbutz is derived from the Hebrew word "kwuza" and means "Group" or "Assembly".
- "Depending on their orientation, there are secular and religious kibbutzim, in which Jewish traditions are cultivated to varying degrees. The original idea of kibbutzim was to be socialist and Zionist in character. The goal of the kibbutz idea, which arose from the expulsion of Jewish people in the 19th century, was the idea of a Jewish workers' state and the establishment of a classless society in which property is distributed communally."
- "Over time, many of the original ideas of the kibbutz lost their meaning for its members. Economic factors and a strengthening of conservative family images, in which women took on the traditional role of mothers, increasingly led to the kibbutz losing its appeal as a collectivist way of life in modern Israel."

3.15 Reason of state

Source: [Israel and Germany's reason of state: what does it mean? - DW - 16.10.2023](#)

- "Former German Chancellor **Angela Merkel** used this term back in 2008 in her speech to the Knesset, the Israeli parliament. Her successor **Olaf Scholz** has repeated it since the brutal surprise attack by Hamas that left hundreds of Israelis dead."
- "At this moment, there is only one place for Germany. The place at Israel's side. This is what we mean when we say: Israel's security is the reason of state for Germany," said Federal Chancellor Olaf Scholz in his government statement. **In concrete terms, this means that Germany, like other allies, must respect Israel's right to self-defense and the and the resulting measures in the Gaza Strip.**"
- "It has never been spelled out in Germany what that means," explains military expert Carlo Masala, professor at the Bundeswehr University in Munich. **"If you really mean it seriously, that this is part of the German reason of state, then morally and politically it has a kind of constitutional status. Then that means that the moment Israel's existence is at stake, Germany must be prepared to actively defend Israel. That is the logical consequence."**
- "Reason of state" is a concept from legal theory and international politics that has developed over the centuries in Western political thought as the role, rights and powers of modern states have evolved. Reason of state is the principle according to which a state is entitled to invoke the **primacy of the nation's own interests** in justifying its own foreign policy."
- "Reason of state gives priority to state interests over other values," says Marietta Auer, Managing Director of the Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory,

to DW. She warns that the protection of the state of Israel could prove to be a value that could **thwart other German interests.**"

- "By elevating the German position on Israel to "raison d'état", a head of government succeeds in ending the debate, says Klaus Dieter Wolf, former professor of international relations at the Technical University of Darmstadt, in an interview with DW. "I declare a certain concrete political intention to be the 'reason of state' in order to make it unassailable for contradiction," said Wolf, who has written about the effects of the "reason of state"."
- "This has "serious consequences" for real politics, he added: "If a state can simply ignore certain principles - principles that the state must defend, such as democratic rights, human rights and international law - then it is undermining them."
- "The application of the "reason of state" gives priority to a state interest - which in turn **can collide with international law.** "There is no hierarchy in international law," said Joost Hiltermann, the MENA program director of the International Crisis Group, in an interview with DW. "Whatever Germany may say about its intrinsic right to stand alongside Israel does not absolve it from its responsibility to respect and uphold international humanitarian law, which regulates the means of warfare."

3.16 Nakba

Source: [75 years after the Nakba | Israel | bpb.de](#) (28.04.2023)

- "The Nakba marks one of the central dates, if not the central date in the history of the Palestinians."
- "The Nakba refers to the **flight and expulsion of a large part of the Palestinian population from what is now the territory of Israel**: between 1947 and 1949, between 700,000 and 75,000,000 Palestinians were forced to leave the territory. At the same time, the establishment of Israel in the largest part of the former British Mandate of Palestine (around 77 percent) meant the permanent loss of large parts of the territory on which a Palestinian state could have been established."
- "For Palestinians, the Nakba is not just an event that lies in the past. Rather, they also use the term to describe the reality of their lives today. For to this day, the Palestinian aspiration for national self-determination has not been fulfilled, the refugees and their descendants live **in exile**, often **stateless**, Palestinian citizens of Israel are **discriminated against** and Palestinians in the occupied territories are **displaced.**"

Source: [The Palestinians and Israel: What is the Nakba? - DW - 14.05.2023](#)

- "The Arabic word Nakba means catastrophe or misfortune. In relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the term Nakba (also: al-Nakba) is used to commemorate the fact that many Palestinians **lost their ancestral homeland during and after the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948.**"
- "Most Palestinians ended up as stateless refugees in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and neighboring Arab countries, with only a minority moving to the

distant foreign countries. To date, only a fraction of the upcoming generations of Palestinians in the region have received another citizenship. As a result, the majority of the approximately 6.2 million Palestinians in the Middle East are **stateless** until the third or fourth generation."

- "According to the UN refugee agency UNRWA, most Palestinians in the region still live in **refugee camps**. Over time, these have developed into refugee cities. Descendants of Palestinian refugees today live mainly in the Gaza Strip, the occupied West Bank, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and East Jerusalem."

4 Slogans, sayings, statements, e.g. at demonstrations

4.1 "Intifada until victory" (and others)

Definition/history is already given above at → 3.9

- Supplement for use at demonstrations: In the past also used as a proclamation at demonstrations: "**Intifada is our class struggle**" [Administrative Court: Court confirms ban on Palestinian demonstration | ZEIT ONLINE](#) // ""**Intifada until victory**" [Open hatred of Jews at anti-Israel demonstrations - Amadeu Antonio Foundation \(amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de\)](#)

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)

- "The term intifada is also to be understood as a call for violence and the destruction of the Israeli state. **When, for example, there is talk of an "intifada until victory", this refers to the "Israeli occupation"**. In the Middle East, however, this rarely means the withdrawal of the Israeli military only from the disputed territories and the recognition of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, but rather the destruction of the Jewish state itself"

4.2 "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free"



Image source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bavaria.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#)

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)

- "From the river to the sea - Palestine will be free!"
- "It refers to the **Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea** - in other words, it calls for a Palestine that covers the entire territory of present-day Israel as well as the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. **There would be no room for a Jewish state, so the slogan is to be understood as a wish for the end of Israel.** The alleged demand for "freedom" also includes the assertion that the country is not free under Israeli control and that Israel is an illegitimate occupying regime that must be removed."
- "A **map** showing the area "from the river to the sea" is also frequently seen in this context. The entire territory is usually painted in the colors of the Palestinian flag. This means: "All of Palestine" should be liberated from "the Zionists", Israel should cease to exist and be replaced by a Palestinian state. Those shouting this slogan are therefore not concerned with a two-state solution, but with a No state-Israel solution"

Source: [Demonstrations: Palestine slogan punishable by law: "From the River to the Sea" | ZEIT ONLINE](#) (October 13, 2023)

- "In view of the terrorist attack on Israel, the Berlin public prosecutor's office and police want to take more rigorous action against anti-Israel slogans at demonstrations by Palestinian groups. **The use of the frequently used slogan "From the River to the Sea,**

"Palestine will be free" is now being classified as a criminal offense by the public prosecutor's office, a police spokeswoman told the German Press Agency on Friday."

- "The sentence means that there should be a free Palestine on an area from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea - where Israel is now located. **During demonstrations, corresponding maps show the area entirely in green, the color of Islam."**

4.3 #freepalestine / "Free Palestine. Equal Rights"

Source: [Demos: Which statements are antisemitic? - DW - 25.05.2021](#)

- "Daniel Poensgen, RIAS: "It is anti-Semitic to call for the liberation of Palestine **if it means the abolition of Israel and thus the negation of the right of Jews to self-determination.** This is the case, for example, in the slogan "From the river to the sea, palestine will be free": by outlining the borders of Palestine, it becomes clear that Israel is to be destroyed. **However, this is not automatically the case** in the demand "Free Palestine". The demand for equal rights is not anti-Semitic. **Such demands are not recorded by RIAS as anti-Semitic statements."**

4.4 "Baby killer Israel" / "Child killer"



Image source: [Left-wing, progressive - and anti-Semitic: The secret power of Israel haters \(tagesspiegel.de\)](#)

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)

- "The motif of Israel murdering children goes back to the **medieval anti-Semitic legend of ritual murder, according to which Jews murder children in order to use their blood for ritual purposes.** The description of Israel as a "child murderer" clearly shows how anti-Semitic stereotypes are applied to Israel, which thus becomes a "collective Jew". The portrayal of Israeli politicians or soldiers as bloodthirsty beasts is also often in this tradition"

Source: [Middle East demos: criticism of Israel or anti-Semitism? | tagesschau.de](https://www.tagesschau.de/middle-east/demos-criticism-israel-anti-semitism-20210520) (20.05.2021)

- "This accusation is simply wrong in the first place," says Samuel Salzborn in the faktenfinder podcast. **"And it is wrong because Israel as a state does not have the goal of murdering children."**
- "In an interview with Anja Reschke, the anti-Semitism commissioner for the state of Berlin explains that there is unfortunately "no question that children can also die in acts of war. But this accusation suggests that Israel's political goal is to murder children." It is therefore anti-Semitism - and above all a lie."
- "According to Wetzels, the motif of the "child murderer Israel" also goes back to the so-called ritual murder legend, namely the claim that Jews would kidnap children and then kill them in order to process their blood for bread for Passover. This legend led to a mob killing 42 survivors of the Shoah in Poland shortly after the Second World War, for example. **Images of Israeli politicians portrayed as child-eaters and bloodsuckers are also part of this anti-Semitic tradition."**

4.5 "Stop doing what Hitler did to you" ("Stop doing what Hitler did to you")



Image source [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bavaria.pdf](https://www.riaseurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/From-the-river-to-the-sea-Israel-related-Antisemitism-in-Bavaria-2021-RIAS-Bavaria.pdf) ([report-antisemitism.de](https://www.riaseurope.org/))

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf](https://www.riaseurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/From-the-river-to-the-sea-Israel-related-Antisemitism-in-Bavaria-2021-RIAS-Bayern.pdf) ([report-antisemitism.de](https://www.riaseurope.org/)) (2021)

- "Israel is not carrying out a second Holocaust. It is not deporting all Palestinians, that it can get hold of, in extermination factories to rid the world of "Palestinianism", and does not plan to do so. Anyone who claims otherwise, attempts to revisit the Shoah, the Jewish experience of persecution and the attempt at total

extermination, against the Jewish state. **National Socialism and the Shoah are being instrumentalized here to accuse Israel of the worst possible crimes that it has not committed and is not committing"**

- "People hope that this will lead to understanding and support for their own situation - even if they are the aggressor. This is a perpetrator-victim reversal typical of post-Shoah anti-Semitism, which also relativizes and trivializes National Socialism and the Shoah. If Israel is imagined as an anti-Semitic cipher for "the Jews" as the revenants of National Socialism, it is "permissible", indeed "necessary" to hate Israel and Israelis. **In this way, anti-Semitic feelings can be acted out without having to admit to doing so.** In addition, anti-Semitic resentment, which is hidden behind supposedly harmless 'criticism of Israel', is hardly frowned upon by society, while crude racial anti-Semitism of a National Socialist nature, for example, is much more strongly sanctioned."

Source: [Demos: Which statements are antisemitic? - DW - 25.05.2021](#)

- "Daniel Poensgen from the Federal Association Report Antisemitism RIAS*: "It is antisemitic to equate Israel's actions with the Shoah and the crimes of the Germans during the Nazi era. **This perpetrator-victim reversal is part of an anti-Semitism that defends against guilt:** one's own, for example national or religious collective is imagined to be guilt-free, while the historical victims are turned into equally bad perpetrators - and thus the crimes of the Nazis are legitimized. Forms of anti-Semitic perpetrator-victim inversion are widespread in Germany, as numerous demonstrations against the coronavirus policy have recently shown: Here, many participants staged themselves as the persecuted Jews of today, for example when they wore so-called Jewish stars with the inscription 'unvaccinated'."

4.6 "Zionism - Terrorism" ("Zionism = Terrorism")

- Definition of Zionism → 3.12

Source: [Demos: Which statements are antisemitic? - DW - 25.05.2021](#)

- "Tom Uhlig from the Anne Frank Educational Center*: "Zionism is a complex and very heterogeneous movement, at the heart of which is the desire for Jews to have their own homeland. In addition to religious motives, it is also based on the idea of being safe from persecution. **Equating Zionism with terrorism is intended to delegitimize the Israeli state and must therefore be seen as anti-Semitic.**"

4.7 **"Muhammad's army will return!"**

Source: [Demos: Which statements are antisemitic? - DW - 25.05.2021](#)

- "Tom Uhlig, Anne Frank Educational Center: "Here, nationalism is combined with Islamic anti-Judaism. The call refers to Muhammad's campaign in 628 against the oasis of Khaybar, which was populated by Jews. [Editor's note: Located in present-day Saudi Arabia, around 150 kilometers north of Medina]. **An anti-Semitic threat of extermination is made here.**"

4.8 **"My voice against settlement colonialism and ethnic cleansing"**

Source: [Demos: Which statements are antisemitic? - DW - 25.05.2021](#)

- "Daniel Poensgen from the Federal Association of Research and Information Centers on Anti-Semitism RIAS: "It is anti-Semitic to describe Israel as a colonial or racist entity, for example. If this designation does not do justice to the historical facts, it serves above all to delegitimize Israel as a nation state and thus to **deny** Jews alone the **right to (national) self-determination.**"

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)

- **"In order to call Israel a colonial project, the colonial motherland is simply missing - the British did not fulfill this role in any way.** A colony is an external dependent territory without its own political and economic power. This does not apply to Israel either."
- "The accusation of colonialism against Israel, like that of apartheid and racism, is not new. However, with the emergence of new social movements such as Black Lives Matter, which also see themselves as "anti-colonial", it has recently become more prominent. This also seems to be a consequence of the fact that such movements emerged in Anglo-American countries in particular and then arrived in Germany with a delay. While in Germany the worst thing that Israel can be compared to is National Socialism (cf. comparison of Israeli politics with the Shoah and National Socialism), colonialism and racism often occupy a comparable position in the historiography of Great Britain and the USA. Both accusations against Israel can **therefore also be interpreted as exculpatory anti-Semitism.** It is claimed that the Jews, i.e. the former victims, are doing the same thing that their own ancestors did. **For some, the fight against the Jewish state also becomes a defense against their own history.**"

4.9 **"Don't be racist. Love Palestine." ("Don't be racist. Love Palestine")**

Source: [Demos: Which statements are antisemitic? - DW - 25.05.2021](#)

- "Tom Uhlig, Anne Frank Educational Center: "Demanding love for a nation because otherwise you are racist suggests a rather distorted understanding of racism and, **in the context of the demonstrations, suggests that solidarity with Israel is motivated by racism**. The causal link that is constructed in the statement is flimsy, because racism does not only exist in Israel, but also in Palestine, not to mention anti-Semitism."

4.10 **"Dear Germany, stop the arming of Israel"**

Source: [Demos: Which statements are antisemitic? - DW - 25.05.2021](#)

- "Tom Uhlig: "Anti-militarism is a legitimate, perhaps even necessary political stance. However, interpreted one-sidedly towards Israel [editor's note: as in this case of an anti-Israeli demonstration], **it means wanting the Jewish state to be defenseless**. As long as arms are supplied to Hamas by Iran, for example, arms supplies to Israel are a question of survival."

4.11 **"End Israeli Apartheid" / Apartheid accusations**

Source: [Documentation on the accusation of Israel's apartheid policy in the Palestinian territories \(bundestag.de\)](#) (April 17, 2023)

- "Recently, several human rights organizations - including Palestinian NGOs such as Al Haq1 or the Al Mezan Center for Human Rights, 2 but **also Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International** - have described Israel's policies in the occupied territories as "Apartheid policy" criticized. In its most recent annual report from March 28, 2023, Amnesty International Israel once again associated with the apartheid accusation."
- "The accusations of apartheid made by human rights organizations have not only met with **criticism** in the Israeli media; the Amnesty report in particular has been confronted with **accusations of anti-Semitism**. Academic think tanks such as the International Human Rights Clinic at Harvard Law School and the SWP have also examined the Amnesty report on apartheid allegations against Israel and made their own political and legal assessments."
- "The UN Human Rights Council has also taken up the topic of "Apartheid in the Palestinian Territories" has been on the agenda for years - mention should be made of including the report of the UN Special Rapporteur Richard Falk."

Source: [Amnesty International and the apartheid accusation against Israel - Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik \(swp-berlin.org\)](#) (2022)

- "On February 1, 2022, Amnesty International presented a comprehensive report in which it accuses Israel of committing apartheid against the Palestinians and thus committing a **crime against humanity**. The Amnesty report is one of a series of publications by Palestinian, Israeli and international human rights organizations that see Israel and the Palestinian territories as having crossed the threshold of apartheid. Opinions differ in the individual reports as to the area in which such crimes against humanity are being committed."
- **"The German government should not adopt the apartheid accusation without careful examination, but should take the serious human rights violations documented in the Amnesty report seriously.** Germany has direct legal obligations from this on the basis of the Geneva Conventions alone."

Source: [israelbezogener-antisemitismus-faltblatt.pdf \(amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de\)](#) (date unknown)

- "It is claimed that the state of Israel is an apartheid state. But: minorities occupy high-ranking positions and hold public office, they are represented and integrated in all areas of society and life. Israel is not an apartheid state. Claiming this **demonizes and delegitimizes the Israeli state** (see 3-D test). What's more, it fuels calls for a boycott of Israel and forces German Jews to take a stand. **Last but not least, it trivializes the crimes of the apartheid state of South Africa.**"
- "Apartheid", a term used in international law, refers to a systematic policy of "Racial segregation" within a state. The term originated during the rule of the white minority over the black majority in South Africa. Different laws applied to white and black people there between 1948 and 1994"
- "Black people in South Africa were prohibited from holding public office and positions of power, they had no or only limited voting rights, they were not allowed to have relationships with whites and were not allowed to own land. This state-regulated oppression structured all public and private life, regulating access to the education and health systems, to jobs and places of residence."
- "The Anti-Apartheid Convention (1973), which was initiated by the UN General Assembly, defines apartheid as a "crime against humanity". In 1998, after the end of apartheid in South Africa, the International Criminal Court included "apartheid" in international criminal law"

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)

- "For over 50 years, Israel has been compared to apartheid South Africa, but this accusation does not originate with black South Africans or Palestinians,

but **in the Soviet Union**, which supported the Arab states in their fight against Israel for geopolitical and ideological reasons. In 1975, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution in which Zionism was equated with racism and, accordingly, South Africa was mentioned in the same breath as Israel. It was withdrawn in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the real socialist bloc of states. However, the equation is still present, for example during the annual worldwide "**Israel Apartheid Week**" in events at universities. Equating Israel with the apartheid state of South Africa also continues to resonate worldwide and is one of the central ideologemes of the global campaign for boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against Israel."

- "The counterfactual accusations that Israel is an apartheid state or that Zionism is racism are part of the antisemitic tradition of **delegitimizing Israel as fundamentally racist**, with the aim of ending its existence as a Jewish state. This is antisemitic because Israel, as the Jewish sovereign, protects Jews from the consequences of antisemitism."

4.12 "Israel is our misfortune"

Source: [israelbezogener-antisemitismus-faltblatt.pdf \(amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de\)](#) (date unknown)

- "The slogan "Israel is our misfortune!", which is particularly widespread on the extreme right, **demonizes the state of Israel** (see 3D test). It is directly linked to the slogan "The Jews are our misfortune!" (1879) by the historian and politician Heinrich von Treitschke. **Under National Socialism, Treitschke's slogan was used in the subheading of the anti-Semitic propaganda newspaper "Der Stürmer" by Julius Streicher**
- "Behind the slogan is the conviction that "world Jewry" wants to enslave humanity and the peoples of the world and drive them into misfortune. The "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" (1903) played a key role in spreading the anti-Semitic myth of a "Jewish world conspiracy". The fictional "Protocols" pretend to be real secret protocols of powerful "Jews" who were planning a world conspiracy. The anti-Semitic pamphlet became a bestseller and quickly appeared in countless editions and languages."
- "The myth of a "Jewish world conspiracy" provided the Nazi state with the pretext to disenfranchise, persecute and murder Jews. This is how the anti-Semitic conspiracy ideology became an ideology of extermination. **Nowadays, anti-Semitic conspiracy ideologies are often mixed with anti-Americanism. This is reflected in the codes "Jewnited States" and "USrael" clearly.** They show that today the word "Israel" is often used instead of "Jews" when a Jewish world conspiracy is to be implied. Israel is said, "the Jews" are meant"

4.13 "Udrub Udrub Tal Abib" (chant/song)

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)

- "The **Hamas pop song "Udrub Udrub Tal Abib"** (approximate wording: "**Bomb, bomb Tel Aviv**") is a popular song among Israel's enemies. "Oh Qassam, oh darling - strike, destroy Tel Aviv" is an expression of sympathy for Hamas. Qassam are rockets developed by Hamas. The "Qassam Brigades" are also the military wing of Hamas."

4.14 "Khaybar Khaybar"

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)

- "Khaybar Khaybar yā Yahūd, jaysh-i Muḥammad sawf-a ya'ūd" ("**Khaybar, Khaybar, you Jews, Muhammad's army is returning**") is an anti-Semitic extermination slogan that is often chanted at demonstrations. This slogan refers to the Battle of Khaybar from Islamic historiography. In the year 628, Mohammed is said to have conquered the Jewish-populated oasis of Khaybar (in present-day Saudi Arabia) by force."

Source: [MMST17-4574.pdf \(nrw.de\)](#) (Statement by the State Association of Jewish Communities of Westphalia-Lippe, 2021)

- "The slogan is therefore an **implicit call for violence against Jews** and, according to our findings, was heard at corresponding demonstrations in Münster, Bielefeld and Gelsenkirchen, among other places."

5 Illustrations, pictures, maps, graphics, flags

5.1 Flag Hamas

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)



- "Hamas flags and headbands can also be seen at demonstrations in Germany."

5.2 Hamas emblem

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)



- "The Hamas emblem shows the **Dome of the Rock**, **two crossed swords** and a **map of present-day Israel**, including the West Bank and Gaza Strip, depicted entirely as Palestine."

5.3 Coat of arms of the Palestinian Authority



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)

- **"The coat of arms of the Palestinian National Authority, as a flag on a white background.** The Palestinian National Authority (abbreviated PNA or PA) was a quasi-governmental body that nominally exercised governmental functions in the Palestinian Territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1994."
- "On January 7, 2013, President Mahmoud Abbas ordered that the term "State of Palestine" be used instead of "Palestinian Authority" in official communications. However, he did not formally dissolve the Palestinian Authority and its bodies continue to operate under the new name."
- **Please note: There is** another coat of arms with a similar appearance, different lettering and a slightly different color scheme, which is supposed to stand for the "State of Palestine": [The coat of arms of Palestine - the Palestinian coat of arms \(laenderservice.de\)](#) // [History of Palestine from its beginnings until today \(lpb-bw.de\)](#)

5.4 Islamic State / Daesh



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)

- **"The so-called "Islamic State" (IS) is a Salafist militia that has been operating as a terrorist organization since 2003.** The terrorist group primarily tyrannizes the population in the crisis countries of Syria and Iraq. For years, the IS controlled huge

Glossary reporting on the Middle East conflict (for internal use)
areas in both

countries. The aim of IS is to establish a caliphate (theocracy) in the Middle East. Another term for the so-called "Islamic State" is Daesh, Daesh or Da'esh (pronounced Da-esh)."

- "The acronym is used pejoratively, it is reminiscent of other Arabic terms that stand for "sowing discord" or "trampling" and rejects the claim of IS, which the Islamist fundamentalists themselves make: To be the state entity in which all Muslims worldwide live in the only way that is supposed to be truly Islamic."

5.5 *Gray wolves*



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)

- "The Ülkücü movement is a **heterogeneous Turkish right-wing extremist movement**. According to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the Ülkücü movement has at least 11,000 members in Germany. The flag of the Ülkücü movement (Turkish: "idealists") shows a wolf in a crescent moon on a red background."
- "The Federal Agency for Civic Education describes the group known as the "Grey Wolves" as "Germany's largest right-wing extremist organization". Its logo is a wolf's head, which comes from an ancient Turkish myth and is intended to symbolize the movement's strength and aggressiveness. The activists propagate a "ethnic nationalism", their great ideal is "Turan", a great Turkish empire, and the elimination of political opponents."

5.6 *PLFP: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine*



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)

- "The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Palestinian National Labor Front, PFLP) was founded on 11 December 1967 in response to the defeat of several Arab states against Israel in the Six-Day War, making it one of the oldest of the militant Palestinian organizations. The declared goal of the Popular Front: "The liberation of the whole of Palestine through armed struggle and the establishment of a democratic and socialist Palestinian state." From 1967 to 1972, it organized plane hijackings and hostage-takings. Later, it mainly carried out bomb attacks in the occupied territories and in Israel itself. **The PLFP is considered a terrorist organization in the EU and the USA.**"
- "The PFLP does not carry out suicide attacks. Unlike Hamas or Islamic Jihad, it is not a radical Islamic organization. **It sees itself more as a Marxist-Leninist, secular movement and combines Arab nationalist goals with the aim of liberating Palestine, which implies the destruction of Israel.** And armed struggle always plays a decisive role in this. The "Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades" are the militant arm of the Marxist-Leninist group."

5.7 *Palestinian Islamic Jihad + Al-Quds Brigades*



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israeli demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)

- "The Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) is a **Palestinian Islamist group. It rejects a two-state solution and aims to destroy Israel.** The armed arm of the PIJ is the **Al-Quds Brigades** (Al-Quds is the Arabic name for Jerusalem). The Al-Quds Brigades are the second largest group in Gaza after Hamas. The PIJ and the Al-Quds Brigades are responsible for a number of attacks, including bombings and rocket fire into Israel. **The PIJ is classified as a terrorist organization by the European Union.**"

5.8 Flag of the Fatah movement



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)

- "Fatah is the **largest movement within the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, of which Hamas is not a member. Fatah was founded by Yasser Arafat in 1965 and has led the Palestinian struggle for their own state for decades. It has effectively led the negotiations with Israel and signed agreements. The current head of the movement is President Mahmoud Abbas."

5.9 Flag of Hezbollah



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)

- "Hezbollah (Arabic: "Party of God") is a **Shiite movement in Lebanon**. When Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982, Hezbollah was born: This new militia was founded at the instigation of Iran. As a "state within a state", the Islamist Hezbollah has since controlled Lebanon not only militarily through its militia, but also politically through its party. **Hezbollah is banned in Germany.**"

5.10 key



Image source: [Despite concerns about anti-Semitic slogans: So far no ban on pro-Palestine demo in Berlin this weekend \(tagesspiegel.de\)](https://www.tagesspiegel.de)

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](https://www.belltower.news) (June 3, 2021)

- "Especially at demonstrations related to the "Nakba" (in Arabic, the flight and expulsion of Arab Palestinians from the former British Mandate of Palestine), **keys can often be seen.**"
- "These are intended to symbolize the **right of return of Palestinian refugees.**"
- "In the course of the founding of the state of Israel and the war with its Arab neighbors, around 700,000 Arabs had to leave their homes, which are now located on Israeli territory - some of them did so voluntarily, others were forced to do so by the Israeli army. Unlike all other refugees, these refugees have their own aid organization at the UN, UNRWA. It defines the status of refugees, also uniquely, in such a way that it also applies to descendants."
- "As a result, around 5 million people are now considered Palestinian refugees, and a "return" of these people to Israel would result in Jews becoming a minority in Israel."

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](https://www.riass.de) (2021)

- "At anti-Israeli rallies, there are repeated calls for a right of return for Arab refugees who left or were expelled from what is now Israel in the course of the Israeli War of Independence (1947-1949). **The symbol for this is a key, which stands for access to the homes of the Arab refugees.**
The refugees kept these keys in the hope of returning soon"

5.11 Map in the colors of Palestine



Image source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) // [Palestine Kufiyah Sticker | Palestine Map Sticker | Free Palestine Sticker - Lulu & May \(luluandmay.co\)](#)

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demos - Belltower.News](#) (June 3, 2021)

- "A popular symbol among Israelophobes is the Israeli map in the Palestinian colors. **Such representations are used to express that Israel has no right to exist and imply a no-state Israel solution.**"
- "In addition, a **map of Israel and Palestine in the colors of the kufiya** (colloquially also "Pali cloth") is becoming increasingly popular, especially on Instagram. While the kufiya is a common item of everyday clothing, in the European context it is often associated with Palestinians fighting against Israel and is seen as a symbol of the Palestinian struggle. A correspondingly colored map denies Israel's right to exist in its current form."

5.12 Handala








Image source: [Antisemitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israeli demos - Belltower.News // From the river to the sea - Israel-related antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bavaria.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#)

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)



- "The little boy Handala, who can only ever be seen from behind, is a **well-known comic figure in the Arab world** and was repeatedly shown at the anti-Israeli demonstrations observed by RIAS Bayern."
- "Handala's clothes are tattered and patched, his head is sparsely covered with hair. His creator, Naji al-Ali, fled to Syria with his family at the age of ten during the Israeli War of Independence in 1948 and later became a cartoonist. **Throughout his life, he insisted on a "solution" to the so-called Middle East conflict, which would make the entire land between the Jordan and the Mediterranean (From the river to the sea) Palestinian.** There would be no room for Israel there, so in al-Ali's eyes it should not exist"
- "While al-Ali also criticizes Arab politicians in his cartoons - they are portrayed as snails who do nothing for the "Palestinian cause" - his main focus is on Israel and the USA. **Israeli soldiers are always depicted in drawn in an anti-Semitic way, have large noses or are depicted as a "spider in a web".** Handala is mostly a passive observer, but sometimes he also becomes active, for example by setting fire to an Israeli flag."
- "Handala has been used by left-wing anti-imperialist groups in Germany as a symbol of solidarity with the so-called Palestinian liberation struggle since the 1980s at the latest. The figure is also the mascot of the anti-Semitic BDS campaign, which has been calling for a boycott of Israel since 2005 and in the context of which openly anti-Semitic activities have repeatedly taken place."
- "One of the three core demands of BDS is again the so-called right of return. Handala therefore fits perfectly as a mascot for a campaign that aims to end Israel as a Jewish state and whose "national committee" includes the Palestinian National and Islamic Forces, in which Palestinian terrorist organizations such as Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and the PFLP are also represented."
- "Outwardly, Handala appears mostly non-violent, although he sometimes holds a firearm or a slingshot in his hands. **Handala is a symbol of the destruction of Israel, and his cartoons are riddled with anti-Semitic stereotypes.**"

6 Expert list Hamas/Middle East escalation

Status: 13.10.23, as independent a view of the situation as possible

Name	Location	Function	Notes
<p>Guido Steinberg</p> 	Berlin	Islamic scholar at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs	2002-2005 Advisor for international terrorism at the Federal Chancellery, main focus: Political Islam, terrorism, jihadism
<p>Dirk Peddinghaus</p> 	Hamburg	Lecturer & Middle East expert at the German Institute for Defense & Strategic Studies of the Bundeswehr	Served 40 years in the German Armed Forces, including Naval Air Command & Head of International Cooperation, also published on Hamas
<p>Tilman Seidensticker</p> 	Hamburg	Senior Professor of Islamic Studies at the University of Hamburg	Previously: University of Jena, research focus i.a. Islamism, religious terror, Israel & Islam
<p>Muriel Asseburg</p> 	Berlin	Political scientist & international law expert at Stiftung Wissenschaft & Politik	Middle East & Africa research group, research focus: European-Israeli relations, Middle East conflict Attention: is criticized for being one-sided argue
<p>Ulrike Freitag</p> 	Berlin	Director Leibniz Center for the Modern Orient, FU Berlin	Main research areas: Middle East conflict & role of USA, Saudi Arabia

Glossary reporting on the Middle East conflict (for internal use)

<p>Peter Neumann</p> 	<p>London</p>	<p>Professor of Political Science at King's College London</p>	<p>Head of the International Centre for the Study of Radicalization, expert on Islamic terrorism</p> <p>Ex-DW journalist</p> <p>CDU member (was in the "Future team" from Armin Laschet at the BTW 21 as an expert on security policy questions)</p>
<p>Sabine Hofmann</p> <p><i>-no photo-</i></p>	<p>Berlin</p>	<p>Lecturer for Political & Social Sciences at the FU Berlin</p>	<p>Main research areas: Conflict research, Middle East conflict, economic development in Israel & Palestine</p>
<p>Carola Richter</p> 	<p>Berlin</p>	<p>Lecturer for Political & Social Sciences at the FU Berlin</p>	<p>Main research interests: International communication, protest movements in the Arab world, Middle East conflict & media coverage</p>

7 Appendix - Tagesspiegel article

Copied from PDF of the article, because the online text is behind a paywall.

[War between Israel and Hamas: Briefly explained - who is who and what is what in the Middle East conflict? \(tagesspiegel.de\)](https://www.tagesspiegel.de/middle-east/war-between-israel-and-hamas-briefly-explained-who-is-who-and-what-is-what-in-the-middle-east-conflict-10231948)



War between Israel and Hamas: Briefly explained - who is who and what is what in the Middle East conflict?

Christian Böhme, Daniel Erk, Annett Heide, Kai Müller
October 17, 2023

"No other conflict has stirred people's emotions for as long and as intensely as the conflict in the Middle East, none has such a strong impact on other regions of the world, none is so tiring in the long term.

With all the twists and turns and escalations it has taken, with all the wars and battles, riots and attacks, it is difficult to keep track. There are many players, political decisions and historical milestones. A compilation of the most important terms.

How did the Middle East conflict come about?

At its core, the Palestine or Middle East conflict is about the question of who is allowed to live in the region between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. Who is allowed to say: This is my country. Since

As Jewish settlers increasingly settled in the region at the beginning of the 20th century, they were also exposed to attacks by Arab gangs. As a result, the desire for their own state grew. Zionism received a boost from the growing anti-Semitism in Europe. After the Holocaust and the expulsion of many Jews from their home countries, tensions grew between Jewish and Arab militias in the British-ruled mandate territory. In 1948, they proposed a partition, which was secured under international law by a **UN resolution**. Compact, fast and interactive The daily overview in the morning and evening

Where Israel and Palestine begin and end still depends very much on the respective point of view and is constantly shifting. Although Israel has never officially defined its borders, most states in the international community accept the lines drawn by the 1949 armistice. It divided Jerusalem and created the **West Bank** (West Bank) and **Gaza Strip** as geopolitical entities within the "Palestinian Territories".

From the point of view of Muslim freedom fighters, the fact that the UN positioned itself against Arab interests with its first major measure is evidence of the continuation of colonial interests in this region. In fact, actors on both sides see themselves as pawns in a much larger power struggle. Islamist groups such as **Hamas** and **Hezbollah** act as part of the major conflict between Sunnis and Shiites. The leading Shiite state is Iran, its counterpart on the Sunni side is Saudi Arabia. Iran is part of the Sino-Russian axis, and Arabia is on the American side. In this way, global political interests are having an impact on a comparatively small regional conflict. This is because Russia and China, as well as America and Europe, are competing for the energy resources of the Middle East. On the Western side, loyalty to Israel is therefore in constant conflict with good relations with the Arab world, which are needed to cover their own energy requirements.

The emerging partnership between Israel and Saudi Arabia, which is being pushed through US mediation, is likely to shift the balance of power in favor of Israel and the West. The Palestinians are not included in this alliance, which also includes Egypt, Jordan and the United Arab Emirates ("**Abraham Accords**").

Gaza

The approximately 40-kilometer-long coastal strip, named after the largest settlement Gaza and barely larger than the city of Bremen, owes its existence to the advance of Egyptian troops into Palestinian territory in 1948. They began their advance shortly after the Israeli declaration of independence and the end of the British mandate.

The Egyptians occupied and controlled the area until they were ousted by Israel in the 1967 **Six-Day War**. The Israelis retained control until the **Oslo peace process**. In the mid-1990s, the 360 square kilometer area was handed over to Palestinian self-government. One year after the Israeli government evacuated the last Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip in 2005, Hamas prevailed in the regional elections. It has ruled it ever since. Elections have not been held since 2006.

With 2.3 million inhabitants, the Gaza Strip is one of the most densely populated regions in the world, but is completely dependent on Israeli supplies of electricity, water and food. 80 percent of the population are dependent on aid supplies, and almost half do not have enough food. According to official figures, unemployment is also almost 50 percent. 18,000 Palestinians recently had a

Work permit in Israel. The last incursion by Israeli troops into the enclave took place in July 2014 ("Operation Protection Edge") and ended six weeks later with an indefinite ceasefire.

Hamas

The Palestinian organization was founded at the end of the 1980s by Muslim clerics and political activists, mainly from the Gaza Strip, following the example of the Muslim Brotherhood. The name alludes to both the Arabic self-designation "Islamic Resistance Movement" as well as the words "fighting spirit" and "zeal". The movement sees itself as a counterforce to the **PLO** and essentially consists of three parts: a political party, social organizations and the paramilitary **Kassam Brigades**. Its military arm regularly carries out attacks on Israeli border police, military and, since the mid-1990s, civilians as well. In the USA and Europe, Hamas is therefore as a terrorist organization. It also refuses to recognize the existence of the state of Israel and has set itself the goal of destroying it. Since taking power in the Gaza Strip in 2007, it has been able to attack Israel with rockets.

The movement, which has been led from exile by Ismail Haniyya since 2017 and is led in Gaza itself by Yahya Sinwar, is mainly financed by aid payments from allied countries such as Qatar, Syria, Iran and Saudi Arabia, by local taxes, but also by financial support as part of development aid. It is passed on to Hamas-affiliated aid organizations.

What are PLO, Fatah - and who is Yasser Arafat?

The goal is clear from the name. The Palestine Liberation Organization, or PLO for short, strives to establish an independent state for the Palestinians. It sees itself as the only legitimate representation of the people and has for decades relied on armed struggle and terrorism against the state of Israel.

The PLO was founded in 1964 at the instigation of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser as an umbrella organization for numerous Palestinian groups. They are all united by the desire for the "liberation of Palestine" and national independence, but are united by very different political currents. The secular **Fatah** is by far the strongest party within the PLO; founded in Kuwait in 1959, it now advocates a **two-state solution** by diplomatic means. In 1974, the PLO was recognized by the UN General Assembly as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and was granted permanent observer status.

It was Yasser Arafat who made the PLO known throughout the world. For more than 35 years (from 1969 until his death in 2004), the man with the Palestinian scarf (kufiya) on his head stood at its head and was also a co-founder of Fatah. He called himself a freedom fighter, but the later Nobel Peace Prize winner favored bloody attacks for a long time in order to give the "Palestinian cause" to victory.

After Arafat's death, Mahmoud Abbas became PLO chairman in 2004. Today, he is head of the Palestinian Authority and President of the Palestinians. However, the 87-year-old has not stood for election for years. He rules in an authoritarian manner and continues to lose popularity. His Fatah is at enmity with Hamas and several attempts at reconciliation have failed.

Palestinian Authority (PA)

The Palestinian Authority (PA) was established in 1994 during the **Oslo peace processes**. Its task is to nominally govern and guarantee Palestinian self-administration, i.e. the basic supply of electricity and water, waste collection and the school system. Yasser Arafat was the first Palestinian president. After his death, Mahmoud Abbas was elected head of the Authority in January 2005. Parliamentary elections were held a year later, which resulted in a majority for Hamas. It then took sole control of the Gaza Strip. Abbas' term of office expired in 2009. The two elections are the only ones since the establishment of the PA.

Abbas does not have a good reputation among Palestinians. As his authority only extends to 18 percent of the territory in the West Bank without restriction, a further 20 percent is under shared control with Israel and 62 percent of the area belongs to the "C areas", in which the Israeli army has sole control, he is considered a vassal of the Jewish state. Moreover, his authority has hardly gained any new powers since Netanyahu has been in power.

West Bank

The West Bank, together with the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem, forms the Palestinian Territories. The Palestinians today refer to the Gaza **Strip** and parts of the territories as the state of Palestine, while Israel officially calls it Judea and Samaria. The dispute over this is the core of the Middle East conflict.

It is about the region west of the Jordan River on the border with Jordan, which was conquered by Jordanian troops in 1948 and controlled for almost twenty years. Around 3 million people live there, almost 500,000 of whom are Jewish settlers. The West Bank is largely under Israeli military administration, with around 60 percent occupied by Israel. The Palestinian part, where 80 percent of the population live, is controlled by Fatah.

Historic Palestine, which extends slightly beyond today's borders, belonged to the Ottoman Empire until 1918. The British mandate then took control.

What are Israeli settlements?

Without the establishment of Jewish settlements, which began at the start of the 20th century, Israel would be inconceivable. But while earlier generations of immigrants were involved in building a community in which many of the mistakes of other societies were to be avoided, be it greed or exclusion, the Jewish settlement movement has increasingly become a project of missionary fanatics.

The "Hill Top Generation" is the name given today to those settlers who "sacred ground" with fortress-like satellite towns and nothing to do with the Palestinian villages in the surrounding area. They hardly do any farming any more, but occupy hilltops with the intention of at least symbolically command the surrounding area. Although they are sometimes heavily armed, the existence of the settlements is primarily guaranteed by the Israeli army.

Even after the **Six-Day War**, there were efforts to advance the "Israelization" of occupied territories with the strategic settlement of Jewish immigrants. The aim, as Defense Minister Moshe Dajan said, was to create "new facts". However, national-religious motives did not yet play a role. This changed when the conservative Prime Minister Menachem Begin took office in 1977, subsidizing the establishment of settlements even in areas that were strategically insignificant. Since then, it has been the declared aim of the

settlers to forestall the establishment of a Palestinian state. In 1977, there were 1,900 Jews living in the occupied territories, 40 years later there were already half a million.

Intifada

Intifada", Arabic for "rise up, shake off", refers to two years of uprisings by Palestinians against the Israeli occupation. The construction of settlements and the occupation of the Gaza Strip led to anger and a lack of prospects among the Palestinians, culminating in the **First Intifada in 1987**. It is also known as the "war of stones". The Palestinians initially threw stones and Molotov cocktails, which the Israeli army shot back. Palestinians then also took up arms. 200 Israelis and more than 1,100 Palestinians died in the violent clashes. They only ended with the signing of the **Oslo Accords in 1993**.

The **Second Intifada**, or Al-Aqsa Intifada, began in 2000 after peace negotiations broke down. When Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount in the Old City of Jerusalem, which is also sacred to Muslims, on September 28, violent demonstrations broke out the following day. Four people were killed. Violent clashes then broke out in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank and the Second Intifada was declared. It was mainly characterized by terrorist attacks and suicide bombings in Israel and only ended in 2005 with the signing of a ceasefire. Around 1,100 Israelis and 4,900 Palestinians lost their lives.

Hezbollah

Hezbollah emerged as a Shiite organization from the Lebanese civil war, which devastated the multi-ethnic state between 1975 and 1990. It took the seizure of power by the Ayatollah regime in Tehran and its desire to lead an Islamist militia from Lebanon into battle against Israel for "Hezbollah" (Party of God) to emerge in 1982. Just one year later, it drove a truck loaded with 910 kilograms of explosives into the US embassy in Beirut.

The movement, which has been led by Hassan Nasrallah since 1992, acts as a political party on the one hand, but also represents a regional power that maintains its own semi-state structures, particularly in the south and in the Baalbek Valley in the north-east. Its military arm intervened in the Syrian civil war in support of dictator Bashar al-Assad from 2012 onwards on the instructions of the Iranian regime. The increase in terrorist attacks against Israel, in which Israeli soldiers and citizens were killed and injured, led to the **Lebanon War in 2006**, during which the Israeli army bombed Hezbollah facilities throughout Lebanon.

For Hezbollah - unlike **Hamas** - a military attack on Israel is associated with the risk of losing the support of Lebanese society, as it does not feel directly harassed by Israel.

Kassam brigades

The elite militia, called the "Battalions of the Martyr Izz ad-Din al-Qassam", acts as a paramilitary unit of Hamas. It is credited with more than 90 suicide attacks and countless bomb attacks, which claimed the lives of 650 Israeli civilians. It was founded during the First **Intifada** in 1987 with the aim of sabotaging the **Oslo peace process** through violence and attacks.

The fact that Hamas came to power in the Gaza Strip in 2007 is primarily due to its paramilitary capabilities, which it also uses against its own population and opposition voices. In the internal power struggle with the Palestinian nationalist **Fatah**, it is said to have resorted to an estimated 3,000 Kassam soldiers. Their attacks were mainly aimed at border crossings, where hundreds of people were killed and injured.

Weapons and other goods are supplied via a so-called "tunnel economy". Hamas uses an extensive tunnel system on the border with Egypt as a supply system. In this way, Hamas tried to evade Israeli control, supported by Egypt, until the Islamist fighters allied themselves with separatist terrorist groups in the Sinai Peninsula.

The Kassam commanders are high up in the Hamas hierarchy. For example, Yahiya Sinwar, a murderer convicted in Israel, was in charge of the Kassam Brigades for years before he rose to become the leader of Hamas in the **Gaza Strip** in 2016.

How did the division of Israel and the Palestinian territories come about?

The arrival of Jewish settlers in Palestine had not stopped for decades when the Holocaust changed everything. During the Second World War, more Jews than ever tried to find refuge in the British Mandate. Thousands arrived from Europe, many illegally and at great risk.

The large influx of Jewish immigrants led to growing tensions with Arab militias, which the British colonial government was increasingly unable to control. British troops themselves were also increasingly the targets of attacks. The newly founded UN drew up a partition plan for the area, which placed Jerusalem under international supervision and provided for an Israeli and an Arab state.

While the Jewish groups welcomed the plan, the Arab side categorically rejected it. This led to tensions and civil war-like conditions, with the result that the UN partition plan was never implemented in its current form. When the British mandate in Palestine expired, the state of Israel declared its independence in 1948 and was attacked shortly afterwards by a broad alliance of Arab states, including Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

However, the attackers did not have the military strength that would have allowed them to smash the Jewish entity. Instead, Israel conquered territories that it was not originally entitled to. Large numbers of Palestinians fled to neighboring countries as well as to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, where permanent refugee camps were established. Following UN mediation, a **ceasefire** was **agreed in** 1949, the lines of which are generally recognized as state borders.

Nakba

For Palestinians, the Nakba (German: catastrophe, misfortune) is the central term for the collective trauma of flight and expulsion from their homeland. It refers to a process that began on May 15, 1948 - exactly one day after the founding of Israel and on the day of the attack by several Arab armies on the

new Jewish state. An estimated 700,000 Palestinians fled the former British Mandate or were forcibly expelled. The Israeli army destroyed hundreds of Arab villages and the Palestinians were denied the right to return.

Six-Day War

Israel pre-empted its neighbors' attack in 1967 with a preventive military strike against Jordan and Egypt. It conquered all the territories held by them, including East Jerusalem and the Sinai Peninsula. Israel only ceded claims to the latter conquest as part of the peace negotiations with Egypt in 1979. East Jerusalem was annexed in 1980. Although Israel was reluctant to take such a step with regard to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, it successively **expanded** its presence there with a **settlement programme** whose territorial gains are not recognized internationally.

Yom Kippur War

Although the surprise attack by Syria, Egypt and other Arab states in October 1973 was successfully repelled by Israel after three dramatic weeks, it had a devastating effect on Jewish fear of annihilation. The enemies had chosen the highest Jewish holiday for their attack. Their attack caught the country completely unprepared, and units first had to be mobilized to stop the enemy advance.

After two days, the Israeli army went on the counter-offensive, drove Syria from the Golan Heights and also advanced in the Sinai far beyond the former ceasefire line to the Suez Canal. The war changed the geopolitical map forever. Strengthened by their initial successes, at least Egypt and Jordan later agreed to peace negotiations. And in Israel, too, the idea that security was more important than land prevailed.

Has the peace process in Oslo failed?

After Israel agreed to a peace treaty with Egypt in 1979, it also sought a peace treaty with Jordan, with which it shares the longest border. King Hussein made it a condition that the Palestinian issue had to be part of the negotiations, because "every time a Palestinian family mourns the loss of a member, someone in Jordan cries with them". However, reaching an understanding with Yasser Arafat's **PLO** proved far more difficult.

Initially, talks between the opposing parties had to take place through unofficial channels. For example, Israeli university professor Yair Hirschfeld first met PLO Finance Minister Ahmed Qurei in London in 1992. The meeting was preceded by three years of talks. Then, at the beginning of 1993, the Knesset banned all contact with the PLO. Whereupon Hirschfeld and Qurei continued undercover.

When Foreign Minister Simon Peres traveled to Oslo in August of that year to officially launch the peace process, the negotiators had agreed on the main features of the agreement: Both sides recognized each other as sovereign representatives. The PLO undertook to remove the destruction of Israel from its charter. In return, the **Gaza Strip** and **West Bank** were to be governed by a Palestinian **Authority**.

Other contentious issues such as the status of Jerusalem were left aside and were to be settled in later negotiations. After a second step was taken in September 1995 to determine which zones in the West Bank were to receive full, shared or no Palestinian autonomy, Prime Minister Rabin was murdered. Despite numerous attempts, no agreement was ever reached between **Fatah** and Israel. The process, which was supposed to find ways to achieve lasting peace, became nothing more than a

understood as such. The Netanyahu governments believed they no longer had to worry about him.

Will there be a two-state solution?

The concept of "two states for two peoples", each with Jerusalem as its capital, was never popular. Neither among Israelis, who would have to withdraw from parts of their homeland, nor among Palestinians, who would have to accept the loss of their original homeland for good, was it very popular. Recently, it has continued to fall, reaching a historic low according to a survey conducted in April 2023. Only 35% of Israelis still considered the two-state solution to be viable.

However, all alternatives that would shift the permanent conflict to the interior of a state or a union of states promise even less prospect of success for the "peaceful solution to the Palestinian question", as called for in several UN resolutions.

Separating Palestinians and Israelis into two states that would exist "side by side within secure and recognized borders" goes back to the **UN partition plan** of 1948. Israel gave itself a state structure that year, but the Palestinians did not. The start of the peace talks in Oslo at the beginning of the 1990s was accompanied by the mutual recognition of Israel and the **PLO**. However, Israel paid for its rapprochement with Palestinian positions with a series of attacks on its own territory, which were controlled by the radical Islamic group Hamas. From the end of the 1990s, the desire of many Israelis for more security led to isolation and efforts to avoid a continuation of the peace process by splitting the Palestinian movement into **Fatah** and **Hamas**.

The main obstacle to a two-state solution on the Palestinian side is the ongoing **construction of settlements** in Israeli-occupied areas in the West Bank, which has been condemned in several UN resolutions as illegal under international law. 53% of the Palestinian civilian population are in favor of an armed struggle to establish an independent state - an increase of 12% compared to 2022."