The Palestine International Institute

Aspiring to Bind Palestinians in Diaspora and Expatriates to the Homeland

The Palestinian Community in Denmark

Table of Contents

Foreword
Chapter One | The Palestinian Community in Denmark
Introduction
Palestinian Immigrants: Formation and Roots
Statistics and Distribution of the Community
Social, Legal and Economic Conditions of the Community
  Social Conditions
  Legal Conditions
  Economic Conditions
Relations between Arab and Islamic Communities and Danish Society: Integration or Collision?
Problems Facing Integration
The Role of the Government in Assimilation
The Role of the Media
Salient Problems Facing Palestinian and Arab Communities in Denmark
Electoral Phenomena
Historical Legacy and its Bearing on Future Generations
Attempts of Isolation and Containment
Chapter Two | Palestinian Organizations Amidst the Community in Denmark
Prominent Figures: Intellectual and Active Cadres
Palestinian-Danish Organizations
Danish-Danish Organizations
Palestinian-Palestinian Organizations
Chapter Three | Palestinian Relations with Danish Authorities
The Official Political and Partisan Position
Palestinian Inter-Communal Relations
  At the Local and Danish Levels
  At the Refugee Level
Relations Between Refugees Hailing from Lebanon and the Danes
Community Concerns
Unremitting Challenges Facing the Community
Towards a Palestinian Network
Duties of the Network
Chapter Four | Palestinian Consolidation Mechanisms in Europe: Post Oslo Era
Palestinian Factor
Lebanese Factor
European Factor
Adverse Reflections of Peaceful Agreements
The Role of the Palestinian Community in Denmark
Cultural and Social Activities
The Palestinian Role Needed to Overcome Disintegration
The Palestinian Network
Summary
Appendices
Appendix 1 Danish Political Parties
   What is a Political Party?
   Formation of the Parties
   Party Programs
   History of the Parties
   Parties in the Present Century
   Most Important Danish parties
Appendix 2 Statistics
Appendix 3 Active Institutions and their E-mail addresses

Foreword
The Palestine International Institute (PII) pioneers in producing studies by researchers in the Diaspora, in coordination with the Institute, under the broad category, ‘Palestinians in the Diaspora’. This time we are pleased to present our readers with the 2008 reviewed and updated edition of our study titled, ‘The Palestinian Community in Denmark’. This study falls under the category of the ‘Horizontal Studies’ series which examines the emergence and evolution of communities and tackles issues related to the origins, structure, makeup, size, problems, and challenges of Palestinian communities in the Diaspora. The PII also issues the ‘Parallel Studies’ series which are supplemental studies with indirect bearing on communities, such as the study on Arab-European relationships. These studies are overseen and supervised by the executive chairman and the research team. In addition, our scientific committee comprising Dr. Mohammad Mikdashi, Dr. Hasan Al-Charif, Dr. Emile Nemah Khoury, and Dr. Nabil Dajani, looks over the upgrading and maintenance of the PII website, as well as the update of the ‘Vertical Studies’ series, which are studies on the elite focusing on the activists of the Palestinian communities in the Diaspora.
Before scrutinizing the data, statistics and information, we wish to indicate that this study presents academic insight based on scientific and objective research. This is one of the goals for which PII was established.

Our researchers have exerted considerable effort in order to overcome difficulties imposed by the scarcity of resources and documents in an attempt to achieve integrated, rather than fractured data, at a time when scientific research is considerably lacking and insignificant. The importance of this study, as well as other PII studies, emerges from a number of factors, the most important of which are the following:

- It comes as an early harvest in virgin territory, where documents and sources of information on these subjects, in both Arab and foreign libraries, are virtually nonexistent, including centers that specialize in Palestinian issues, and the Internet.

- No scholar or institution has come up with a partial, needless to say complete, series of studies about Palestinians in the Diaspora in countries where they exist, or about communities of countries that have hosted Palestinians. Despite all that has been said, we acknowledge the fact that the present study is in its early stages and is open to further development and expansion on the basis of professionalism, authenticity, transparency, and documentation, and with the intent of being broadened and updated. Our mission and duty dictate that we make sure it is subject to the above processes in each of its new editions.

PII welcomes any comments on the development of its studies and scientific reference, with the aim of achieving its final goals and aspirations. If it appears that we are slightly lagging, it is because our human and financial resources are limited, and the conditions under which the research is being conducted are difficult.

The time to pick the fruit of our efforts is near. All this has been the result of an effort exerted by a dedicated team, despite our humble resources. Our gratitude goes to all the scholars and researchers who have contributed to this and other studies which aim to reach those interested, address their patriotic, national, and intellectual aspirations, and reveal facts and data that were hitherto unknown to those who have no access to such information.

We further reiterate our desire to receive feedback, and urge our readers to send us any comments and suggestions that would serve to improve or advance our studies.

As’ad Abdul-Rahman,
Executive Director
Chapter One

The Palestinian Community in Denmark

Introduction

Denmark is considered a recent destination for refugees. Palestinian migration to Denmark is relatively small in number compared with the USA or the United Kingdom. This study will focus on the history of the Palestinians in Denmark. To shed more light on the subject, results of research conducted on a group of immigrants who came from a small village in Palestine will be presented.

At a different level, the names of Palestinian activists and Danish solidarity organizations will be listed in this study as will comprehensive and detailed statistics about the numbers and nationalities of Moslem and Arab refugees in Denmark in the appendices. Such information is also available on the website later mentioned.

Palestinian Immigrants: Formation and Roots

Since the late 1960s, immigrants began to arrive in the country, often as laborers. From 1980 to 1999, numbers increased from 152,958 to 363,422 individuals. The 1999 census showed that the number of immigrants rose from 3% to 6.8%, among whom, 4.9% of the total came from Third World countries and settled in 33 out of 275 Danish towns. Their numbers approach 5.2% of the total Danish population.

Palestinian immigration increased significantly after the exodus of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) from Beirut in 1982 and the ensuing Sabra and Shatilla refugee camp massacres. Lebanon's discriminatory attitudes also helped encourage their emigration. For Palestinians, the era of the 1980s was characterized by two contradictory phenomena: Palestinians sold their possessions in Lebanon to join relatives in Denmark; Palestinians, in sharp contrast to the above, tended to purchase real estate in Lebanon to fall back on due to their feelings of insecurity in Denmark. The reasons for the two contradictory trends rest in their harbored feelings of being uprooted from their homeland and that their future hung in the balance. The second reason is attributed to the harsh treatment which befell them at the hands of Lebanese authorities. The right to work, residence and possession were denied; hence their assimilation into society was hampered.

Until 1995, Lebanese laws precluded Palestinians with a Lebanese laissez passer residing abroad from returning to Lebanon without a valid and official entry permit. This law was later rescinded.
Palestinian ownership of property in Lebanon was severely restricted. Various laws were introduced to curtail their ability to own property. In order to purchase and hold on to their property, Palestinians must be fully naturalized Danes. Furthermore, all property purchased must be registered with the Land Registration Department. Palestinians bought property outside the camps as property inside the camps was very scarce and no land was available for sale.

In view of the above, the Lebanese parliament passed a law precluding all Palestinians in Lebanon from property ownership. This had a negative impact on Palestinians and promoted feelings of unrest and instability among members of the community in Denmark.

Statistics and Distribution of the Community

Two major waves may be identified:

- The first wave (before 1973). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, less than 100 Palestinians arrived in Denmark from Jordan and the West Bank. The oil crisis of the early 1970s ended this wave.

- The second wave (after the 1982 massacres of Sabra and Shatilla). In 1986, Denmark began to keep records of all incoming immigrants. According to official Danish figures, 2,694 Palestinians arrived in the country in 1987. Their number, however, began to decrease gradually; in the year 2000, only 189 immigrants arrived.

The decline in numbers is attributed to stringent measures which successive Danish governments put in force. 97% of all Palestinians arriving in Scandinavia came from Lebanon in the wake of the Sabra and Shatilla massacres. Strict anti-immigration measures made it virtually impossible for Palestinians to settle in the country. Among such measures were:

- Reduced welfare benefits for immigrants during their first seven years in the country

- A longer waiting period for permanent residency (seven years instead of three)

- Restrictions on ‘family reunions’

- Restrictions on foreign marriages unless both parties are at least 24 years old

- A higher threshold for Danish citizenship, including a nine-year waiting period and Danish language and history proficiency exams (what was
demanded of naturalized Danes was more than public schools achieve in 9-10 years of schooling.

A phenomenon recently noted is the arrival of Palestinians from Palestinian Authority-administered territory. A recent official tally shows that the number of Palestinians in Denmark is approaching 23,000, the majority of whom live in Odense and Arhus.

Social, Legal and Economic Conditions of the Community

The social, legal and economic conditions can be described by the following points:

- Assimilation of the first generation of immigrants was difficult as old habits persisted. The assimilation of the second and third generations was much easier as old habits began to fade away. The rift between parents and their children grew as parents tried to imbue their children with old habits and traditions. As a result, tension within the same family grew as children, born and brought up in a permissive society, resisted the overbearing attitudes of their parents.

- A new Danish law effected in 2004 requires all ethnic groups be represented through special societies set up in the various Danish cities; Palestinians were no exception. The Danish government introduced programs to facilitate assimilation of the various communities. Until recently, Palestinians failed to establish societies to represent themselves in parliament and other official bodies.

More than 1,800 Palestinians originating from Lubia, a small village in Palestine currently live in Denmark, Germany and Sweden. After several meetings with them, they admitted that the most intractable problem hindering smooth assimilation into their communities was their entrenched national and cultural identity. Despite the efforts of host countries to smooth their assimilation, the process failed to achieve its ends.

The Social Condition

Points of Weakness and Negative Aspects

Meetings with the immigrants from Lubia revealed the following facts about the social condition in general and the difficulties they experience:

- Refugees suffered a political and cultural vacuum. Their new home stands in sharp contrast to the vibrant and politically active Lebanon from where they came. This was made all the more evident by the fact that the
The majority of them came from refugee camps, the hotbeds of resistance. Denmark, with its political stability, was opposite to their once-active community lives. Most of them turned to Islamic fundamentalism, which was gradually replacing national and pan-Arab inclinations that were once part of their daily practices.

- Denmark still has a long way to go to become fully integrated in the European Union. It is worth noting here that almost half the population voted against their country’s membership in the EU. The Danes, like most Europeans, lack an impartial and balanced knowledge of the roots and causes of the Palestinian problem. This left the community with aloofness and feelings of estrangement. Consequently, their feelings caused disruption in their social and psychological stability.

- Caught between their desire to acquaint themselves with their cause and the relative lack of sufficient references and well-informed academicians, a feeling of deep frustration and disgruntlement among the newer generations developed. This condition calls to attention the importance of teaching the history of Palestine in a constructive way to the newer generations. To this effect, Danish Palestinian society organizes annual trips to Palestine for youths eager to learn more about their ancestral roots. The Palestinian Refugees Committee in Israel is planning for a group of Palestinian youths to visit their ancestral towns and villages during summer vacations. Other monthly activities are currently taking place at the University of Copenhagen and the Cariston Institute.

- Among the immigrants, it is noted that there are weak cultural and national activities. This only plays into their feelings of exclusion and abandonment. In this context, some students were able to force a change and assimilate smoothly into Danish society because of their language fluency and direct contact with society. Elders and middle-aged immigrants failed to cope with their new environment because of the absence of opportunities.

- The existence of a generation gap distanced parents and children in Denmark as in other European countries. The young were imbued with permissive and liberal views while the conservative parents still clung tenaciously to their old habits and traditions and they often held irreconcilable views.

- The difficulty to adapt to their new environment forced elders to hold to their old beliefs and seek solace in religion. This explains the rising trend of Islamic fundamentalism which has been adopted by 82% of them, while only 3% assimilated into a European lifestyle. Unlike males, females were more attached to their parents and clung to old traditions and resisted adaptation.
Until recently, immigrants failed to establish societies to represent them despite humble attempts in this regard. The Islamic militancy, exclusion and feelings of abandonment which characterize their lives have led some to promote Islam among Danes, which alarmed the Danish government and induced the parliament to formulate strict laws that made it difficult for many to acquire the Danish citizenship.

This composite state of fundamentalism and isolation was a product of the following factors:

- Fear of their present situation, the absence of a clear vision regarding their residency and uncertainty about their future when they return only intensified their instability and confusion.

- Their inability or disinclination to assimilate increased their isolation and abandonment from the Danish society.

- Their complete ignorance of European culture made their assimilation more difficult especially since they view these cultures as being antithetical to their original beliefs.

- Their allegiance to old Arab and Islamic practices and their willingness to maintain them in alien societies with their distinctive social, religious and linguistic freedom further added to their isolation.

Points of Strength and Positive Aspects of Assimilation

Gradually, Palestinians of the second and third generations became entrenched in European culture and societies. A majority of them became fully naturalized citizens, with some even becoming members of parliaments and municipal councils in Sweden, Germany, Denmark and other countries.

It has become increasingly important, as some activists among the community have realized, to draft an all-inclusive coordinating strategy for Palestinian communities in Europe to get involved in, and become an integral part of, the societal element of the European Union. This not only facilitates their assimilation but will give them a say in their regions and help the Palestinians in the decision making process.

The almost complete ignorance and lack of unbiased information about the root of the Palestinian problem among Danes spurred young Palestinians to get first hand information about Palestine in order to be able to stand against and disprove any preconceived erroneous conceptions Danes might have.

The Legal Condition
Denmark

Positive Aspects

Palestinians of the second and third generations became an integral part of the Danish social fabric. They fluently speak the language and are represented in parliament and municipal councils. Liberal European laws made their assimilation seamless. All Palestinians and foreigners have the same rights as their Danish counterparts.

Negative Aspects

Of late, Denmark has imposed stringent measures to limit immigration especially of Palestinians coming from Lebanon as they are often viewed by authorities as 'provocateurs'.

Lebanon

In 1995, a law was passed requiring holders of a Lebanese laissez-passer to obtain entry permits to Lebanon. This law was later abrogated after it caused tremendous unrest among Palestinians. In spite of this, some obstacles continue to cause unrest. Of these are the following:

- Newly enacted Lebanese laws imposed on Palestinians deprive them of the right to purchase property in Lebanon unless they hold Danish passports, which many do not. Those who pay monthly installments for their properties are the worst affected.

- There are prevailing regional and international circumstances which prohibit them from returning to their homeland.

- The fragile political and societal structural status of Palestinians in the Diaspora limits their ability to effectively cope in their daily lives.

- The weak relations between the community and authorities and proper intercommunications between both parties are lacking which cause additional frustration.

Gradually, second and third generation Palestinians became a part of European culture and society. A majority became fully naturalized citizens, some even becoming members of parliaments and municipal councils in Sweden, Germany Denmark and other countries.

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communities in Europe to get involved in and become an integral part of the societal element of the European Union. This would not only facilitate their assimilation but would also give them a say in their regions and help in the decision-making process.

The almost complete ignorance and lack of unbiased information about the roots of the Palestinian problem among Danes spurred young Palestinians to get first hand information about Palestine in order to be able to dispel any preconceived conceptions the Danes may have.

**The Economic Condition**

Ongoing plans to help Palestinians assimilate into society might collapse if adequate jobs are not created to absorb the unemployed. The rate of unemployment in the three Scandinavian countries stands roughly at 70%. Hundreds of highly qualified and skilled Palestinian laborers contend they have been deliberately eliminated from the labor market. This highlights the negative repercussion the government's policies have had on ethnic minorities. However government policies should not necessarily be viewed as racist or hostile to minorities.

The fear and insecurity gripping Palestinians in Denmark circumscribe their adaptation with unemployment and insecurity raising their levels of poverty. Rising Islamic militancy within the Moslem community was a product of the community's feelings of discrimination and isolation. What heightened tensions were the cartoons published by a Danish daily newspaper caricaturizing Prophet Mohammad.

Some would argue that this is a clash of civilizations, but it appears to be more of a severe case of cross-cultural misunderstanding. Cross-cultural disputes result from neglecting the point of view of others and trying to impose other ideas and beliefs upon them. These cartoons polarized relations between the Moslem community and Danish society. The cartoons helped extremists in both communities whose narrow visions keep Europe and the Moslem world apart.

Prominent figures in the community realize that it takes time to overcome these factors, especially in countries where immigration is considered a recent phenomenon. Violent confrontations between immigrants and Danes are rare, if any. According to authorities, the Palestinian and the Somali communities are more difficult to assimilate than others.

**Relations between Arab and Islamic Communities and the Danish Society: Integration or Collision?**

*Problems Facing Integration*
As a result of acts of violence and assassinations which occurred in several Danish cities, fingers began to be pointed at members of the Palestinian community despite the fact that their complicity in such acts was never substantiated. Problems facing Palestinians in Denmark began to emerge in the local media. Official Danish authorities attribute these problems to the slow pace and often painful assimilation process of Palestinians, which is different from other communities. Alleged acts of violence tend to exacerbate this problem.

The Role of the Government in Assimilation

The government of Denmark, aware of the social unrest engulfing the immigrants, sought to embrace a special program to help them to assimilate into society. The most important of these programs are:

- The Municipality of Ballaung introduced a two-year rehabilitation program funded by the European Council to educate 18 Palestinian youths of both genders in various social fields.
- The Municipality of Arhis founded a special school to deal with 13 Palestinian teenagers who suffer from social stress and have some criminal records.
- The Municipality of Odense followed a different path. A group of Palestinians were taken to a remote island to brief them about the Danish way of life.
- Danish churches also took part in integration efforts. More than 100 Danish churches started to deal with various segments of the immigrant population to help their assimilation into society. Danes were also briefed on Islam, which was rapidly becoming the second largest religion in the country.
- In order to ensure a high level of cohesion among refugees and to breathe new confidence into them, a large cultural and heritage exhibition was held in 2004. A number of Danish and European cities, in addition to Palestinian refugees, took part.

Assimilation in no way means that immigrants relinquish their identity, history or religion. The small insignificant groups of fundamentalist Jews, Christians and Moslems should not stand in the way of a rich multi-cultural and multi-religious life which is available for all.

To recap, prominent figures of the Palestinian community emphasize that assimilation is a two-way process that must be built on the basis of mutual respect, understanding and equal opportunities for all. Immigrants must actively be involved in the current debate about integration without fear of adverse repercussion.
The Role of the Media

The Danish media could play an active role in the process of assimilation. There is a fine line that separates full and smooth assimilation into society from blending in with it. Deep emotional Palestinian attachment to their families and religion are so strong they cannot be ignored. Smooth and full assimilation does not mean Palestinians must abandon these attachments.

Generally speaking, the Danish media plays a negative role vis-à-vis the Palestinian cause and often portrays one-sided and biased coverage. This is mainly due to the often-negative impact of Western media. Impartial and balanced coverage is needed.

Salient Problems Facing Palestinian and Arab Communities in Denmark

- Inter-communication with other immigrants or with the local population is not progressing smoothly despite serious attempts to promote it.
- Obstacles stemming from differences in cultures, traditions and civilizations are hard to transcend especially by the first generation.
- Fragile links and ties to other minority immigrants are manifested by the failure to co-engage in cultural and social activities and the absence of coordination at the leadership level between different communities.
- There is a high rate of unemployment.
- The language barrier and strict admission prerequisites to Danish universities prevents immigrants from acquiring higher education.
- Less than 5% enter college.
- Palestinians have feelings of uncertainty about their national identity especially among those with decades-long residency. Their allegiance is often divided between Denmark (their present country of residence), the country they came from and Palestine.
- Increased Islamic militancy has begun to permeate members of the community. This is a phenomenon the Danes find hard to condone.
- The community has failed to present the Palestinian cause to the Danes in a logical and unbiased manner. This explains the indifference of the Danes towards the Palestinian’s ordeal on both national and persona
levels. The Palestinian quest for justice has never been properly explained to the Danish people.

- Danish media coverage is prejudiced towards Israel. This is either due to a need to placate Israel or due to predetermined cultural or political agendas in Danish society. Palestinians are often portrayed as violent and provocateurs. Arab media in general, and the Palestinian media in particular, bear part of the responsibility for this.

Electoral Phenomena

According to a new law that went into effect in January 1999, assimilation procedures were to be carried out by local rather than refugee councils. Those inclined to assimilate and integrate into society might find comfort in many other positive laws. New laws give the right to every 50 immigrants to set up their own integration committee that can be represented in other major organizations such as the Ethnic Minorities Group which serves as an advisory group that briefs the Danish government on any progress in the assimilation process. Mrs. Neda Bofulson heads this organization.

This group sent one of its members, a Syrian of Palestinian origin named Nassi Khadir, to the Danish parliament in the last parliamentary elections. Mr. Khadir is very active in Danish politics and is an ardent opponent of Islamic fundamentalism. To showcase moderate Islam, he and others founded the Democratic Moslems (DM) Network. Dozens of Danish Moslems are joining the network of moderate and democratic Moslems. About 900 Moslems have already become DM members and 5,000 Danes have expressed their willingness to support the network. The network includes, among its members, university professors, counselors and even unemployed personnel. Mr. Khadir was able to collect donations of $72,000 in less than one month. Mr. Khadir said one of their objectives is to expand the network to all European countries.

The initiative has caused anger among Danish imams and their leader, Ahmad Abu Laban. The imams feel that they are beginning to lose control over part of the Moslem population.

During electoral programs, every 60 members can elect 14 members from among them to represent them in the Ethnic Minorities Group and to advise the government on refugee issues.

Most minorities have their own clubs and societies where they meet and interact socially and politically. Except in rare cases, the Palestinians have failed in this field.

The Danish parliament has adopted new laws that deal with the right of refugees to return to the countries they came from if their security is guaranteed. The law
however, is seldom practiced on refugees from the Palestinian territories. On some occasions, Danish authorities often return Palestinians hailing from Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan after interrogation. Despite the difficulties, Palestinians from the Gaza Strip still head for Sweden seeking political asylum.

A law introduced in 2004 allows all ethnic minorities (Palestinians included) to be represented in parliament and municipal councils.

**Historical Legacy and its Bearing on Future Generations**

Although Palestinians and Danes live in the same country, studies show that the first generation of immigrants still has not fully assimilated into society, unlike their offspring whose integration was smooth and complete.

First-generation Palestinian immigrants still cling to their old habits and way of life. As noted earlier in this study, this generation gap often results in open conflict. The new generation feels they have become an inseparable part of Danish society and its liberal laws. They value the lifestyle and wide range of liberties afforded to them by Danish society.

Palestinians are directly responsible for the continuation of their struggle and its success. To that end, they have no choice but to cooperate closely with all democratic and progressive segments in Danish society, especially those active in the field of human rights who lend their support to the Palestinians. Leaders of the community know that they have a long way to go in order to improve their image which has been badly tarnished by the Zionist media.

Moreover, community leaders began to realize that as long as they are in Europe, they must fully engage themselves in European cultural and social streams despite the adverse circumstances they often face. Although unbeknown to many, anti-discriminatory laws abound in Denmark and even encourage the immigration of qualified laborers. Despite these laws, more than 400 doctors and engineers from various minorities left Denmark to settle in the USA. Irregardless of their high qualifications, Danes still look upon them as different.

This brain drain was decried by many Danish officials. One Danish minister, Mr. Tosset, said: “It’s completely inconceivable to let this happen again.” Chairman of the Danish chamber of commerce said: “Our borders must be open to receive such talents.” This only gives credence to the notion that immigrants often face hostile attitudes which cause a great social and cultural imbalance that forces them to head for different, more tolerant destinations.

Prominent figures in the community go to great lengths to explain that this is a transient phenomenon in Danish society. Anti-Islam and anti-immigration
attitudes are individualistic in nature and should not be considered an entrenched phenomenon; rather, it is an exception and not the rule in Danish society.

New ideas are beginning to form in the minds of community leaders. These ideas exist around the fact that both Danes and other ethnic minorities share the same space and air despite the existence of linguistic and cultural differences. Hence everyone should work closely with all democratic and progressive elements in society to ease life and make it more productive.

The much-desired full Palestinian involvement in the political, societal and unionist life in Denmark and the respect for others raises the following questions:

1. How did Europe overcome the ordeal of two World Wars and millions of victims and achieve political, economic, and, to some extent, military integration, under one unified European umbrella?

2. Why can’t this experiment be copied in the troubled Middle East, an area engulfed in political turmoil and multiculturalism?

3. Why can’t the peoples of the Middle East achieve part of what the Europeans have achieved by stressing such concepts as freedom to form political parties, gender equality, and freedom of language, religion and culture to all groups who share life in the region?

**Attempts of Isolation and Containment**

The Danish government imposed strict measures to contain criminals and provocateurs. In this vein, stringent measures were put in force to deport any person convicted of a serious felony, especially drug trafficking or sale of stolen merchandise. Five Palestinians were denied naturalization for five years because of their purchase of stolen merchandise.

Other measures include the introduction of stringent family reunion laws. Palestinian youths were denied the right to marry Danish girls in clear contravention of international immigration laws and human rights criteria. In the year 2002, 150 Palestinians of both sexes were questioned about their religious convictions after they protested the presence of an Israeli soccer team in Denmark. Different civil societies and official personalities interfered to smooth ensuing tensions.

The current government follows strict anti-refugee policies. 105 organizations, societies and councils which deal with refugees, human rights and assimilation issues were closed down. These measures affected Palestinians as well as other ethnic minorities.
In a study conducted on a segment of refugees in the city of Arhis, only 0.7% out of 200 Palestinians were found to harbor some propensity towards violence. Low as this percentage is, Danish authorities, in many instances, deal with Palestinians as if this ratio is much higher.

Chapter Two

Palestinian Organizations

Amidst the Community in Denmark

The names and addresses of Palestinian and Danish activists have been acquired and may be accessed through the Internet. These activists regularly attend various meetings of political and non-political organizations, whether governmental or non-governmental. Some names of individuals, in addition to names of other active organizations that call for the boycott of Israel are listed below. The range of such organizations is large and crosses Palestinian, Danish, regional and cultural lines.

Prominent Figures: Intellectual and Active Cadres

There are numerous Palestinian activists in Denmark, but only 25 activists (some are not even Palestinians or Arabs) considered as being liaison officers among major Danish cities will be listed here. They have devoted much of their time to develop a Palestinian network. Their full addresses and detailed resumes have been on the Internet since 2004, in both English and Arabic. They are Mahmoud Issa, Waleed Al-Jamal, Fao’or Al-Fao’or, Fathi Al-Abed, Nedal Boufalsson, Nassir Al-Sahli, Hassan Al-Nairab, Naseem Al-Doghom, Mahmoud Awad, Mufeed Hadros, Ali Salhani, Nivin Khatib, Suzan Khatib, Ahmed Ma’arof, Rab Ahmed, Yousef Abu Saif, Mahir Khatib, Hussain Ismail, Adnan Nafa’a, Asmi Abdoul, Ala’ Riyadh Abdul Hameed, Dansk Flytnin Gehjaelp, Jens Frederiksen, Rie Graesborg and Anne Karen Urso.

Palestinian-Danish Organizations

1. The Palestinian-Danish Organization

This organization was established in 1989. It has 700 members and holds annual meetings. It sends various teams to Palestine and Lebanon for educational purposes and organizes international conferences to deal with major issues of interest such as the refugees, water and Jewish settlements. The organization has published two periodicals that tackle Palestinian concerns.

2. The Right-of-Return Coalition
The coalition started its activities in 1996-1997 by calling for and organizing an international conference. Later, its first official congress was held and brought together more than 17 different organizations. The coalition held its fourth congress in April 2004 during which it focused on UN Resolution 194 as a basis for any reasonable and just solution to the refugee problem and emphasized the strengthening of relations among Palestinians in Europe. The activities of this group are instrumental in forging an international coalition for the right of return. Its fifth congress was held in Spain in 2004.

3. The Palestinian Group at Copenhagen University

The group was established 10 years ago and its activities are mainly academic. Many guests from Europe are invited to give lectures on major Palestinian issues (For further details refer to Appendix 3).

4. The Palestinian-Danish Friendship Organization

5. The Arab-Danish Cultural Federation

**Danish-Danish Organizations**

1. Danish Immigrants’ Board
2. Danish Red Cross
3. Torture Rehabilitation and Research Center
4. EUROMED Human Rights Network
5. UN Mission
6. People’s Church
8. International Medical Cooperation Committee
9. International Media Support
10. Women In Black
11. Israel’s Boycott Campaign
12. Inter-Nations Organization
13. Arhis Multi-cultural Federation
14. Labor Day for Operations
15. Al-Sabeel Scandinavian Organization
16. International Labor Federations
17. Workers’ Federations, Unskilled Laborers
18. Christian Youths
19. Peace Guards

**Palestinian-Palestinian Organizations**

1. Palestinian Labor Network

The network was established in May 2003 with the help of the Danish Immigration Board. Its main concern focuses on involving Palestinians in Danish society and encouraging Palestinian-Palestinian and Palestinian-Danish communications (For more details refer to Appendix 3).

2. The Palestinian Federation in Arhis
3. Palestinian Information Network
4. Union of Palestinian Students
5. Palestinian Peace Guards
6. Palestinian Initiative
7. Palestinian Committee in Arhis
8. Palestinian Travel Agency

In addition to the above, many organizations are active in women’s affairs, and there are other youth and cultural organizations. The focus here is on the most important and most active. Many organizations were overlooked because their activity is of a transient nature.

**Chapter Three**

**Palestinian Relations with the Danish Authorities**
The Official Political and Partisan Position

Palestinian official organizations like the PLO representative offices, unions and syndicates play an instrumental role in steering Palestinian communities to become an integral part in various European labor mechanisms. Living in the Diaspora, for a long time now, Palestinians have come to the conclusion that, in order to survive and flourish, they have to become fully integrated into their host societies.

In the year 2004, the community began contemplating a vital and important program with the aim of involving community members more in the political life of the host country. Relations between Palestinians and Danish society, other communities throughout Europe and their own country were defined in a clearer way. This instrumental mutation in their activities reflected a new positive strategy which the Palestinians have embraced.

Palestinian Inter-Communal Relations

At the Local and Danish Levels

Increased Islamic militancy among members of the community have had a negative impact on the community and Danish society, which, as a result, is witnessing a rise in the popularity of the extreme right. In the last parliamentary elections, the Danish right succeeded in winning twice the number of seats it enjoyed in the previous elections. This had an adverse effect on immigration as the right in Denmark has traditionally followed an anti-immigration policy.

At the Refugee Level

Islamic militancy among members of the community gained more ground and popularity after the right-wing elements in Danish society made a strong political and social comeback. The spread of Islamic militancy, especially during the last two decades, came as a result of the PLO’s expulsion from Lebanon, the signing of the Oslo accords and its failure to address the sensitive issue of the right of return.

Feelings of frustration and despondency among Palestinians are compounded by various political and historical factors, the discussion of which falls outside the scope of this study. Danish official fears were further exacerbated due to the tenfold increase in the sale of the Danish edition of the Koran.

Danes were converting to Islam at the rate of one Dane every day; this phenomenon became more evident in the post-September 11 era. To dispe Danish fears, Hizbutahrir held large meetings in order to curb extreme elements.
which, it deems, constitute a danger, plays into the hands of the Zionist lobby and impedes their settlement and assimilation. Danes became increasingly more obsessed by the increase in the religious trend among community members. As a result, militancy among Danes also increased and led, as noted earlier, to a rise in the anti-immigration elements in Danish society. But this did not take place in a political vacuum. Hostile feelings have been growing between Denmark’s immigrants and a government supported by the right-wing Danish People’s Party which pushes anti-immigrant policies.

Relations Between Refugees Hailing From Lebanon and the Danes

The total number of Palestinians hailing from Lebanon is about 22,000 or roughly 97% of all Palestinians residing in Scandinavia. Most of them arrived after the massacres of the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps, taking advantage of lax immigration measures which prevailed then. They remain emotionally attached to their original countries. The second generation of immigrants still harbor nostalgic feelings towards Palestine.

Palestinians in the Diaspora tend to save what they can and remit money to relatives left behind in Lebanon. One refugee camp in Lebanon was dubbed the ‘Danish Camp’ because many of its residents left for Denmark.

Strong family relations and soft immigration policies, at the time, encouraged family reunions. 1,000 Palestinians came from the town of Lubya. The influx of new immigrants forced the Danish government to enforce stringent measures to circumscribe immigration and family reunions.

Community Concerns

Palestinians in Denmark are becoming increasingly worried about their fate and future. They are trying to create a role for themselves and maintain a delicate balance in their roles in the community, as individuals and in the role of the Palestinian representative office and the Palestinian Authority.

These are the questions they seek answers for:

1. What alternatives do they have other than living in European societies?
2. What future gains do they expect to achieve?
3. What is the role of the community in their host societies?

Unremitting Challenges Facing the Community
Until the time when an all-encompassing solution for the refugees is hammered out, and in view of the constantly changing international and regional circumstances, Palestinians must become closely intertwined in their new societies in which they have become an integral part. Commitment to, and respect for, the regulations and laws of their host societies are instrumental in their smooth assimilation. Moreover, Palestinians must guard against increased religious and ethnic militancy and fight such trends which are escalating in their midst.

Towards a Palestinian Network

The need to establish a Palestinian network has recently multiplied. A previous study by one of the community’s most prominent figures, Dr. Mahmoud Issa, mentioned that Palestinian and civil organizations, and members of the community are clamoring for the establishment of such a network. A future work plan was devised.

In 2004, the dimensions and strategies for such a network began to take form. The Palestine International Network was officially established on May 2003 with the help of the Danish Refugees’ Board. Among its objectives are the following:

1. To facilitate intercommunication among Palestinians, and between Palestinians and Danes, Palestinians and Palestinians and Palestinian and other Danish organizations
2. To engage Palestinians in the daily life of the Danish society
3. To carry its activities to other European countries for more coordination

Duties of the Network

1. To increase the number of local federations and relevant organizations
2. To encourage non-political and non-religious activities
3. To delineate its policies and mechanisms with no strings attached

A website for the network was initiated and began to collect relevant information about all Palestinians, their households, professions and needs. Information about 1,000 Palestinian families has been fed into the site. Work is continuing to include all relevant information about Palestinians in Denmark. Since 2003, Palestinians started to employ a new strategy through a mutual network to involve Palestinians in different European countries.

The network’s fourth meeting was held in April 2004 in collaboration with the Danish-Palestinian Friendship Society which elicits information about Danish...
interested in financing humanitarian projects in Palestine. All this is done in full cooperation with the Palestine International Network.

Chapter Four

Palestinian Consolidation Mechanisms in Europe: Post Oslo Era

Palestinian Factor

Until the signing of the Oslo Accords, Palestinians were organized around a specific structure adhering to both democratic principles and centralization. In the post-Oslo differences, these structures and principles began to weaken. Palestinians in the Diaspora felt deserted especially after the PLO moved into Palestine and engrossed itself in the faltering process of state building.

Lebanese Factor

In Lebanon, Palestinians fell victims to harsh labor rules which stripped them of their basic rights. They were barred by law from working in 72 professions and denied the right of to own property. In addition, tuition fees for Palestinian students were increased fivefold, which was an obstacle to obtaining higher education. These unfair measures forced Palestinians in Lebanon to seek refuge in Scandinavia, Germany and England.

European Factor

Palestinian union federations abroad play a key role. The Palestinian Trade Union Federation in Europe is singled out as one of these important federations.

These federations play the following roles:

1. Preserving the internal structure of the various federations that operate in various European countries. Regular elections and meetings are held biannually.

2. Maintaining regular communication with leaders of various federations inside the occupied territory

3. Fostering relations with similar European federations especially in France, Britain, Italy and Scandinavia
4. Inviting European federations to visit the occupied territories and to help implement vital projects. Hundreds of activists visited the occupied territories during the first *Intifada*.

**Adverse Reflections of Peaceful Agreements**

The role and structure of the Palestinian communities in Europe have undergone substantial changes since the Oslo Accords. Weaknesses and despair began to permeate Palestinian gatherings. Palestinian organizations and federations saw a downward trend in their activities and some even ceased operations. A similar fate struck the offices of the PLO.

Since the Oslo Accords, there was a rise in frustration and the political vacuum among Palestinians. National and leftist leanings gave way to Islamic militancy especially in Scandinavia and Germany, which has a Palestinian community of 250,000. Migration waves among Palestinians intensified especially after the massacres at Sabra and Shatilla.

The spread of fundamentalism and Islamic militancy among Palestinians is a phenomenon that warrants deep analysis and research. This tendency struck a sensitive chord among Europeans and played into the hands of the European right. They were often accused of fomenting violence and dubbed as provocateurs. This became more evident in the post-September 11th period, and caused a negative backlash among Europeans who scrambled to become self-centered.

Accordingly, and amid these circumstances, Palestinians are required to devise the necessary mechanisms to keep and enforce their cohesion and promote democracy and transparency.

**The Role of the Palestinian Community in Denmark**

Three Palestinian organizations work in tandem:

1. The Palestinian-Danish Friendship Society
2. Palestinian gatherings at universities
3. Right of return committees

Moreover, 12 other organizations are active in cultural and societal fields in Denmark.
Why did the community in Denmark fail dismally unlike its counterpart in Germany? It has become a well known fact that Palestinians in Denmark suffer from deep frustration. As a result, some Palestinian organizations play an important role in reinforcing their national feelings and maintaining strong ties with the homeland. To achieve this, the Palestinian-Danish Friendship Society organizes annual trips to Palestine. Furthermore, annual conventions are held in Copenhagen to discuss issues of human rights, the right of return and Jerusalem.

To further champion relations with the homeland, some students will be sent to Palestine to spend their summer vacations in their ancestral cities and villages. This activity will be carried out in collaboration with the Palestinian Refugee Committee in Israel.

Palestinians in Europe, and especially Denmark, have no alternative but to go along with their host countries and work closely with the Europeans to protect minorities and enrich their local and national societies. On the other hand, the president of the Refugees Assistance Center (DHF) called for an increase in Palestinian activity in Denmark and for the establishment of a network with a specific plan of action.

**Cultural and Social Activities**

It has been stated that three major organizations are active among the Palestinian community in Denmark. Among these entities, the Danish-Palestinian Friendship Association organized a successful three-month seminar for Palestinian youths in the city of Ballerup. The seminar was financed by the local municipalities of the European Union. This association is also active in organizing trips to the occupied territories to foster relations between the new generation of Palestinian immigrants and their ancestral lineage. The association sent 17 Danish and other academicians to Palestine. The scale of violence discouraged the association from sending further groups.

**The Palestinian Role Needed to Overcome Disintegration**

1. The status of communities in Europe and the Middle East should not be a subject of comparison. Communities should focus on the country in which they reside and share with its indigenous peoples its geography, culture and laws.

2. Communities must share the societal, political and economic aspects of their new domiciles to help make their assimilation as smooth and painless as possible.
3. Communities should enjoy and uphold the democratic principles of their host countries.

4. Individuals should respect and cherish the language, culture, religion and public freedoms of their host countries.

5. Distance from religious fundamentalism is essential.

6. The beliefs, traditions and culture of others should be respected.

7. Necessary initiatives to promote and enrich Palestinian organizations should be taken.

8. Close cooperation with the Refugees Assistance Center in Copenhagen and other federations and population centers should be forged to benefit from its experience in this field.

9. Members of the community should be allowed to speak their minds and freely express their views.

10. Attention should be paid to Palestinian and Danish youths and employment prospects for both should be explored.

11. Palestinian and Arab communities in Europe must distance themselves from, and not be a party to, any conflict which might arise between their original countries and their new host country. Such political differences, should they arise, must not impede their full assimilation into their societies.

Palestinians still enjoy enough latitude to devise means for integrating and bringing together dysfunctional Palestinian groups scattered across Europe in a uniformly applicable manner. To achieve this goal, Palestinians must join together and unify to preserve hard-gained democratic values. Such venues will enable Palestinians to fill the vacuum caused by the PLO’s forced departure from Lebanon. Should this approach fail, the alternative would feed extremism and a tendency among Palestinians to isolate from the rest of society.

Palestinians in both Denmark and Sweden registered a marked improvement in their lot when they succeeded in fielding a member from their midst in the parliament of each country. To this regard, while noticing perceptible improvement, much still remains to be done.

The Palestinian Network

A Palestinian network has been established in Europe but still lacks clear vision and defined objectives. They meet annually on the margin of the right of return...
conference, but still need to build upon their accumulated experiences from the last two conferences.

Two years ago, a meeting sponsored by OXFAM was held in Brussels to lay coordinating plans and involved activists from Syria, Lebanon, Palestine Holland, France, Britain, Denmark and Sweden. Their third meeting was held in Denmark in 2003 with the active participation of 57 delegates from 13 countries. A fourth meeting is expected to be held in London, following this meeting, on the right of return.

Summary

Two major Palestinian waves of immigration to Denmark may be identified: During the first wave, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, less than 100 Palestinians arrived in Denmark from Jordan and the West Bank. The oil crisis of the early 1970s put an end to this wave.

The second wave occurred following the 1982 Sabra and Shatilla refugee camp massacres. In 1986, Denmark began keeping records of all incoming immigrants. According to official Danish figures, 2,694 Palestinians arrived in the country in 1987. Their numbers, however, began to decrease gradually; in the year 2000 only 189 immigrants arrived.

The reduction in numbers is attributed to the stringent measures successive Danish governments put into effect. 97% of all Palestinians arriving in Scandinavia came from Lebanon in the wake of the Sabra and Shatilla massacres. Strict anti-immigration measures made it virtually impossible for Palestinians to settle in the country. Among such measures were reduced welfare benefits for immigrants during their first seven years in the country, a longer waiting period for permanent residency (seven years instead of three) restrictions on family reunions and foreign marriages (unless both parties are at least 24 years old) and a higher threshold for Danish citizenship, including a nine-year waiting period and Danish language and history proficiency exams. What was demanded of naturalized Danes was more than what the public schools require in 9-10 years of schooling.

A recent phenomenon is the arrival of Palestinians from Palestinian Authority administered territories. Recent official statistics show that the number of Palestinians in Denmark is near 23,000, the bulk of whom live in Odense and Arhus.

Gradually, Palestinians of the second and third generations integrated well into European culture and societies. A majority of them became fully naturalized citizens. Some even became members of parliaments and municipal councils in Sweden, Germany, Denmark and other countries. It has become increasingly important, as some activists among the community have realized, to draft an all
inclusive coordinating strategy for Palestinian communities in Europe to become in, and become an integral part of, the societal element of the European Union. This would not only facilitate their assimilation but will give them a say in their regions and help in the decision-making process.

The almost complete ignorance and lack of unbiased information about the roots of the Palestinian problem among Danes spurred young Palestinians to get first hand information about Palestine in order to be able to stand against and disprove any preconceived conceptions Danes might have about it.

Until such a time when an all-embracing and all-encompassing solution for the refugees is found and in view of constantly changing international and regional circumstances, Palestinians must become closely intertwined in their new societies in which they have become a part. Commitment to, and respect for the regulations and laws of their host societies are instrumental in their smooth assimilation. Moreover, Palestinians must guard against increased religious and ethnic militancy and fight such trends which are escalating in their midst.

Appendices

Appendix No. 1

Danish Political Parties

The present Danish government is a coalition between the two major Right parties: the Conservative and the Liberal parties.

The coalition government is supported by the majority of the Danish People's Party which is characterized by racism and is considered similar to the French extreme right-wing party and other parties of the right in Europe. When it comes to relations with Palestinians and the issue of immigration in general, there is a clear difference between these parties and the Social Democratic and Radical Government parties. Political parties are not mentioned in the Constitutional Act of the Kingdom of Denmark, which is the framework of the political system. But the parties do, nevertheless, play an important role in political life. The rules and the conditions of politics in Denmark, like in many other countries, are more than just the basic written rules of the Constitutional Act. Tradition, practical considerations and the general development of society greatly contribute to laying the conditions of political life.

What is a Political Party?

A political party is a group of people sharing the same basic beliefs. The persons concerned have come together in order to try to influence political developments. There are several ways of doing this. They can nominate candidates for election to parliament, municipal or country councils and thus
exert direct influence on the political process. But a party can also act as a pressure group outside the elected bodies by using the media, by holding meetings or by bringing their points of view to the public in other ways.

**Formation of the Parties**

Those comprising Danish political parties are individual persons, no occupational organizations, trade unions or the like. On the other hand, individual parties try to recruit as many members as possible. Therefore, Danish parties are often referred to as mass parties. As a rule, the parties do not make special demands on the persons who wish to become members. But the candidate in question shall, of course, obey the rules of the party, agree and be loyal to the party program. He or she cannot be a member of different parties at the same time.

All members join a local branch or caucus. The caucuses contribute to propagating the points of view of the party among the general public, hopefully attracting followers. At the same time, the caucuses back party representatives in municipalities as well as in parliament. The larger parties have local branches in all municipalities, while small parties have branches in the various counties and sometimes only in certain parts of the country. Local branches together make up the national organization of the party. If the party is represented in parliament these members comprise an independent group, the parliamentary group, the members of which currently hold meetings on work to be undertaken in parliament.

The supreme body of the parties is the national congress at which representatives at all levels of the party gather in order to discuss general political principles. The frequency for holding such congresses differs from one party to another. They are typically held once every second year. The national congress elects an executive committee to deal with decisions to be made between one congress and the next. In the Social Democratic Party, the supreme body of the party is called a congress. In the Conservative Party, the supreme body is referred to as its national council. The Unity List – the Red-Greer Alliance prefers the designation ‘annual meeting’. The other parties refer to their supreme bodies in terms of national congresses.

**Party Programs**

Most political parties do their work on the basis of a party program. There are two different types of programs: programs made on grounds of principles and working programs. The former contains the general and fundamental beliefs of the party, whereas the latter is more specific and can be considered a working tool in daily affairs. The working program accounts for the future political plans of the party within a specific number of areas relating to society.
There are great differences as to how many programs individual parties have and how often they are revised. The Social Democratic Party, at regular intervals, adopts programs made on the grounds of principles as well as general working programs. Other parties have a general program made on the grounds of principles and a number of working programs on various topics. The Central Democrats do not have a proper party program but carry out their work in light of a wide platform. The party currently publishes leaflets and minor publications presenting their attitudes on various questions. The attitudes of the parties are also expressed in places other than in the party programs, e.g. by means of newspaper articles, TV ads, electoral material, statements made from the rostrum of the Folketing etc.

History of the Parties

When the Constitutional Act was adopted in 1849, Denmark had its first democratic parliament, the Rigsdag, consisting of the Folketing and the Landsting. At that time, there were no parties. In 1849, the people were no expected to express any views by means of parties but via individuals who were elected solely on the basis of their personal qualities and points of view. No one could stand for the Rigsdag: women were excluded, as well as about one-fourth of the male population over the age of thirty (the men concerned were mainly servants and paupers).

Over time, members who shared similar attitudes began to form clubs in which they met and held discussions. In the beginning, clubs were not organized in any stable way but they gradually organized and formed the basis of the parties which appeared around 1870. The Conservative and Liberal parties both originated in such clubs in the Rigsdag, i.e. in coalitions of members who had already been elected. In the beginning, only two parties functioned here. Later local branches appeared in the form of caucuses.

Contrary to the Right Wing Party and the United Liberal Party (as the above parties were originally called), the Social Democratic Party was formed outside the Rigsdag. This occurred in 1871, and from the beginning, the party established was a strong political organization. At first, the main task was to attract as many members as possible. It was only during the 1880s that the party was able to obtain a few seats in the Folketing. Social developments at the end of the last century led to a sharper division of society. Each of the three parties mentioned above was attached to a given occupational group or class. The Right Wing Party was associated with landed proprietors and civil servants; the United Liberal Party to farmers and the Social Democratic Party to workers. Moreover, it can be said for both the United Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party that they were part of a more comprehensive organization or movement, the cooperative movement and the workers’ movement, respectively. Around 1920 these parties and movements were very important to the organization of Danish society.
Parties in the Present Century

Some of the parties formed in the present century were due to a parliamentary split. In 1905, the Social Liberals seceded from the Liberals. In 1959, the Socialist People’s Party was formed after a disruption in the Communist Party. In 1967, the Left Wing Socialists appeared in the form of a break-away group of the Socialist People’s Party. In 1995, the Progress Party split into two sections with the break-away group forming the Danish People’s Party.

In the present century, other parties have been formed by groups of people joining together either to protest a given matter or because they held the same views. Such an organization which has been formed outside the parliament has subsequently tried to be elected to the parliament.

Most Important Danish parties:

Green Alliance – the ‘Reds’

This is a non-parliamentarian party elected in collaboration with the Socialist Laborers Party, the Communist Party, and the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. Today, it has developed into a full-fledged organization independent from others.

Christian People’s Party

This party was formed by people with similar personal views in the way the Progressive Party was formed. Both parties designed their electoral platforms based mainly on social life. In some cases, some parties dwelled on individual affairs.

Further Information about the parties:

Liberals
30 Sllerdvej
2840 Holte
Tel.: +45 45 80 22 33
Fax: +45 45 80 38 30
venstre@venstre.dk
www.venstre.dk

Social Democrats
2 Thorvaldsensvej
1780 Copenhagen V
Tel.: +45 31 39 15 22
Appendix No. 2

Statistics

Figure 1 Statistics about the numbers of Palestinian immigrants during the period 1987-2000.

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Figure 2 Number of Iraqi immigrants who had residency permits during 1998-2003.

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Appendix No. 3

Active Institutions and their Electronic Addresses

Palestinian-Danish Organizations
1. Palestinian-Danish Friendship Association
   www.danpal.dk
danpal@danpal.dk

2. Danish-Arab Cultural Association
   walid.eljamal@hotmail.com

Danish-Danish Organizations
1. Danish Immigrants Board
   anette.christoffersen@drc.dk

2. Danish Red Cross
   sf@duf.dk
cim@duf.dk

3. Rehabilitation Center for Research on Torture
   rct@rct.dk

4. The Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network (EUROMED)
   msp@euromedrights.net
   mfj@humanrights.dk

5. The United Nations Mission
   fnforbundet@una.dk
6. People’s Church
   www.noedhjælp.dk
   ug@dca.dk

   www.humanrightsmarchen.dk
   anitap@hotmail.dk

8. International Medical Cooperation Committee
   nadjavissing@yahoo.com

9. International Media Support
   i-m-s@i-m-s.dk

10. Women in Black
    www.coalitionofwomen4peace.org
    mathilda@feldthaus.dk

11. Boycott Israel Campaign
    boykotisrael@mail.dk

12. Interpeoples Organization
    iarsand@ms.dk

13. Arhaus Multi-Cultural Association
    www.stofanet.dk
    rabih@mail.dk

14. Work Day for Operations
    christinakb@hotmail.com

15. Al-Sabeel Scandinavian Organization
    www.sabeel.nu

16. Labor Federations
    aif@aif.dk

17. Laborers’ Federation-non-skilled Laborers
    ellemann@sid.dk

18. Christian Youth
    aarhus@oekumeniskungdom.dk

Palestinian-Palestinian Organizations
1. Palestinian Association in Arhaus
   alsehli@stofanet.dk

2. General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS)
   suherothman@hotmail.com

3. Palestinian Peace Guards
   www.palaestinafredsvagter.dk
   info@palestinfredsvagter.dk
   benterik@dfilm.dk
   foa.dk@e-mail.see004

4. Palestinian Initiative
   rune@arbejderen.dk