

UNRWA's Problematic Educational Role in the Middle East Conflict

By

Arnon Groiss

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UNRWA's Educational Activity in the Middle East

UNRWA – the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for the Palestinian refugees in the Middle East – was established in the wake of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 by the UN General Assembly resolution 302 (IV) of December 8, 1948, in order to carry out relief and works programs for the war refugees. The agency began its operations on May 1, 1950. In the absence of a solution to the refugee problem, the Assembly has repeatedly renewed UNRWA's mandate. UNRWA's unique position of classifying as refugees the descendants of the 700,000 or so original refugees has brought about the increase of their total number over the years, and it now exceeds 5 millions.

About half of UNRWA's total regular budget is dedicated to education (USD 363,076,000 - 49.35% out of a total of USD 735,748,000 in 2017).² The agency offers also health and social services. UNRWA provides free-of-charge basic education to children of Palestinian refugees in the Palestinian Authority-controlled West Bank, the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip, the Israel-controlled East Jerusalem, and in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. During the school year of 2014/2015 it ran a total of 685 schools caring for 493,500 students. 252 of these schools were in the Gaza Strip and 97 were in the West Bank, with 240,413 and 50,566 students respectively.³ Two of UNRWA's West Bank schools are actually located in the greater Jerusalem area that was annexed to Israel in 1967. In 2017/18 the number of the Gaza Strip schools has risen to 276 with 271,216 students,⁴ and those of the West Bank decreased to 96 with some 50,000 students.⁵

Basic education means both elementary and intermediate schools, that is, grades 1-9 and 10, depending on the specific school system in each country. Only in Lebanon does the agency operate some nine high schools as well, since Palestinian students of these grades find it difficult to study in local public or private schools.

UNRWA maintains close cooperation with government educational authorities in its various areas of operation. Students at UNRWA schools study the same curriculum and use the same books authorized by the host governments (except for East Jerusalem where the PA curriculum and books have been adopted for use in most schools instead of the Israeli ones). Beside the schoolbooks issued by the respective

¹ The Center for Near East Policy Research deals with issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian relations, the Palestinian Authority (PA) and the PLO, education and state media, the PA security forces, the peace process, terror and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). Since its establishment in 1987, the Center has published dozens of reports in order to provide decision makers, the press, researchers and the public at large with insight regarding the complex reality of Israel and the Middle East. The Center's projects are supported by grants from news organizations and foundations.

² https://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/2016_2017_programme_budget_blue_book.pdf

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ <https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/emergency-reports/gaza-situation-report-205>

⁵ <https://www.unrwa.org/tags/west-bank>

national authorities with no involvement on UNRWA's part, the agency has published several textbooks of its own which teach issues such as tolerance and human rights in its schools. However, these additional books do not usually touch sensitive issues related to the conflict such as the attitude to the "other" or the possibility of solving the conflict peacefully.

The use of books provided by the host governments in UNRWA's school is problematic because these books sometimes contain material that contradicts UNRWA's professed mission. Being a UN agency, UNRWA is committed to the ideal of peace and is bound by the UN goal of peaceful resolution of the Middle East conflict. In line with this commitment, UNRWA should also refrain from propagating hate indoctrination towards any group, including ethnic and religious ones. Moreover, as a UN body, UNRWA is obliged to treat all member states equally, and never promote against any of them attitudes of non-recognition, prejudice and stereotyped portrayal, not to mention demonization. However, the books used in UNRWA's schools in its various areas of operation often advocate an armed struggle against Israel which is denied legitimacy as a sovereign state and severely demonized.

What is the situation in the Palestinian curriculum studied at UNRWA's schools in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? In order to answer this question, some 150 textbooks of various subjects taught in UNRWA's schools in these areas have been examined. These books were initially issued by the PA Ministry of Education between the years 2000-2005 and have been re-edited and/or reprinted continuously until 2015. In 2016 the PA started a new project of schoolbook publishing which was continued in 2017 and has so far included 77 new books for grades 1-12. This project is not yet complete. The books cited in this paper belong to the latest editions of the first project (mostly published in 2014-2015), in addition to those ones published in 2016-2017, within the new project, as it is not yet clear to what extent have the new books replaced the older ones in all schools. It is also important to show UNRWA's continued involvement in the PA school indoctrination over the years by the inclusion in this paper of representative textbooks of the PA former project of schoolbook publishing.

Fundamentals of PA Education regarding the Jewish/Israeli "Other"

The examination of the PA schoolbooks used by UNRWA has revealed three main fundamentals as far as the presentation of the Jewish-Israeli "other" within the conflict is concerned:

First: denial of legitimacy

According to PA schoolbooks, Jews have no rights whatsoever in Palestine – only "greedy ambitions" (see quotations later on in this paper). Jews have no holy places there either – the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron and Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem are all presented as Muslim holy places threatened by Jews. It is said, for example, that the revolt of 1929 was a "protest against the Jews' attempts to take control of the Al-Buraq Wall [the Wailing Wall]":

ثورة عام ١٩٢٩م وتعرف بثورة البراق احتجاجاً على محاولات اليهود السيطرة على حائط البراق

(*National Education, Grade 7 (2013), p. 21*)

Another piece in the same book talks about "the attempt to Judaize some of the Muslim religious places such as the Mosque of Abraham [the Cave of the Patriarchs] and the Mosque of Bilal Bin Rabbah (near Bethlehem) [Rachel's Tomb]":

محاولة تهويد بعض الأماكن الدينية الإسلامية مثل المسجد الإبراهيمي
ومسجد بلال بن رباح (قرب بيت لحم).

(National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 55)

Cities established by Jews in modern times – including Tel Aviv – are not shown on the map. Israel's 6 million Jews are not counted among the country's legitimate inhabitants while Israeli Arabs and Diaspora Palestinians are, which may present in a nutshell the essence of the perceived "Right of Return" – to be discussed later on: the 6 million Jewish illegitimate inhabitants of Palestine will "disappear" and the 4.5 million Palestinians of the Diaspora will return and settle in their place:

"Activity 3

Let us examine the figures – the inhabitants of Palestine on 1.2.1999

		Percentage
1) The [West] Bank	1,972,000}	
2) [The] Gaza [Strip]	1,113,000}	36%
3) The Palestinians of the "Interior" [i.e., pre-67 Israel]	1,094,000	13%
4) The Palestinians of the Diaspora	4,419,000	51%
Total	8,598,000	100%"

نشاط ٣

نتفحص المعطيات الرقمية – سكان فلسطين في ١/٢/١٩٩٩ م

النسبة المئوية	
٪٣٦	(١) الضفة ١,٩٧٢,٠٠٠
٪١٣	(٢) غزة ١,١١٣,٠٠٠
٪٥١	(٣) فلسطينيو الداخل ١,٠٩٤,٠٠٠
٪١٠٠	(٤) فلسطينيو الشتات ٤,٤١٩,٠٠٠
	المجموع ٨,٥٩٨,٠٠٠

(National Education, Grade 6 (2014) p. 10)

Note the use of the term "Interior" as a circumlocution for "Israel's pre-1967 territory", and see the reference to this phenomenon below.

Another such item appears in one of the books of the new project (with another definition for Israel's pre-1967 territory):

"The table below clarifies the number of Palestine's inhabitants in 2015 according to the Palestinian Statistics Center:

Region

The West Bank and the Gaza Strip	4,750,000
Inside the territories occupied in 1948	1,470,000

In the Arab states 5,460,000
 In foreign [i.e., non-Arab] states 685,000
 I will arrange the regions where Palestinians are present in a descending order according to the inhabitants' number."

عَدَدُ السُّكَّانِ	المنطقة
٤٧٥٠٠٠٠	الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة
١٤٧٠٠٠٠	داخل الأراضي المحتلة عام ١٩٤٨م
٥٤٦٠٠٠٠	في الدول العربية
٦٨٥٠٠٠	في الدول الأجنبية

٦ الجدول الآتي يوضح عدد سكان فلسطين لعام ٢٠١٥م، حسب مركز الإحصاء الفلسطيني:

أرتب مناطق تواجد الفلسطينيين تنازلياً حسب أعداد السكان:

(Mathematics, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 25)

Israel is not a legitimate state according to the PA schoolbooks studied at UNRWA schools. The name "Israel" does not appear on the map at all. In many cases the name "Palestine" appears instead and covers Israel's pre-1967 territories as well. The following map is titled "Political Map of the Arab Homeland" with the name "Palestine" appearing next to the whole country:



خريطة الوطن العربي السياسية

(Social Studies, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 22)

Another example in one of the 2015 books:

"Lesson Four: Palestine is Arab and Muslim"
"The Palestinian people is part of the Arab-Muslim nation"
"Palestine"



(National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 16)

This notion is made clearer in the following assignment:

"I will color the map of my homeland with the colors of the Palestinian flag."

أ- ألَوْنُ خَرِيْطَةِ وَطَنِي بِاللَّوَانِ الْعَلَمِ الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّ.

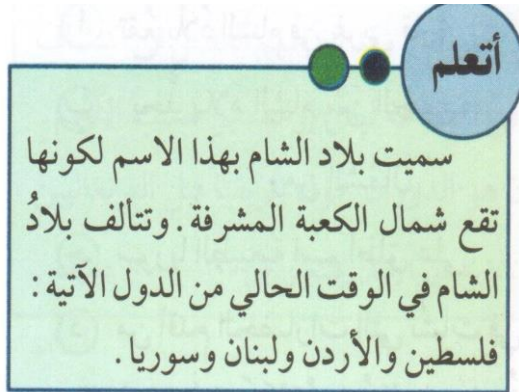


(National and Life Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2017) p. 8)

Israel is denied existence in textual material as well:

"I learn

The land of the Levant [*Bilad al-Sham* in Arabic] was thus named for its being located north of the Noble Kaabah. The land of the Levant presently comprises the following states: Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria."



(*History of the Ancient Civilizations, Grade 5 (2014) p. 27*)

And a map in one of the newer books affirms that statement on a map:



(*Social Studies, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017) p. 42*)

The term "Israeli territory" is usually replaced by circumlocutions such as "the Interior", "the territories occupied in 1948" (see examples above) and "the Green Line".

Regions and cities within Israel proper are presented as exclusively Palestinian:

"Haifa and Gaza are two Palestinian [port cities]."

حيفا وعزّة..... فلسطينيان.

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2014) p. 90)

Note: Haifa is the main port city of pre-1967 Israel.

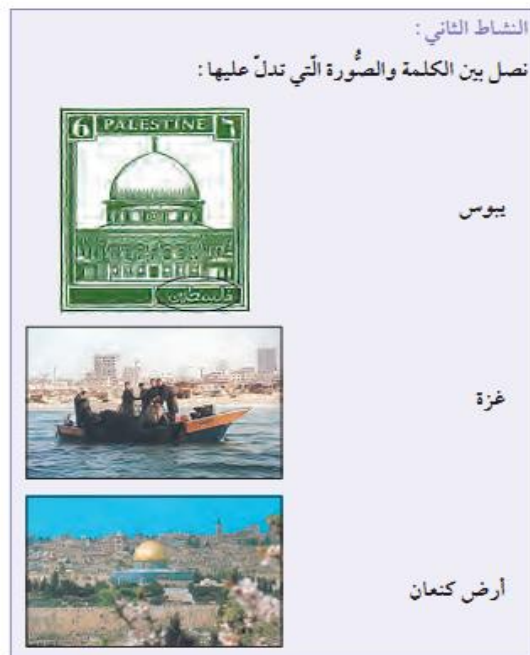
"Activity: Let us color the Negev desert on the map of Palestine."



(*National Education*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2015) p. 25)

Note: The Negev is an integral part of pre-1967 Israel.

The de-legitimization campaign sometimes involves sheer falsification. In the following example the Hebrew inscription is erased from a stamp issued by the British Mandate authorities before 1948:



(*National Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 7)

Note the bottom-left empty corner of the stamp and compare with the following original picture of the same stamp:



A very disturbing development in the newly published PA schoolbooks of 2016-2017 is the almost complete erasure of the name "Israel" from the books – including the numerous demonizing descriptions of the Jewish state – and its replacement by the expression "Zionist occupation". Even the former definition of "the Arab-Israeli conflict" is now changed unto "the Arab-Zionist conflict". This change signals an intensification of the non-recognition attitude regarding Israel on the part of the Palestinian educators.

Second: demonization

Demonization of Jews is less evident in the PA schoolbooks, comparing to books of some other Arab governments, and is mostly found in books of the higher grades outside the scope of the UNRWA curriculum. However, Jews are still demonized as opponents of Islam's revered prophets, namely, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, which automatically puts them in the camp of evil and serves as a solid platform for their further demonization within the conflict.

Thus, for example, they are said to have harbored genocidal intentions towards the Palestinians:

"The first group of Jewish settlers came to Palestine from Russia in 1882 and the second group was in 1905. The arrival of the Jewish throngs to Palestine continued until 1948 and their goal was taking over the Palestinian lands and then replacing the original inhabitants after their expulsion or extermination."

وصلت أولى دفعات المستوطنين اليهود من بلاد روسيا إلى فلسطين عام ١٨٨٢م والدفعة الثانية كانت عام ١٩٠٥م واستمر وصول الكتل البشرية اليهودية إلى فلسطين حتى عام ١٩٤٨م ، وكان هدفها الاستيلاء على الأراضي الفلسطينية ومن ثم محل السكان الأصليين ، بعد طردهم أو إبادتهم ،

(National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 20)

The Jewish-Israeli "other" is further demonized as an existential threat to the Palestinian individual in the following poem (excerpts):

"How would you respond if an alien person attacked your family –
Having been dazzled by his weapon he bared a wolf's fang

...

How would you respond if he claimed that the date palm grove
And the orange orchard and your Arab olive tree
And yourself, and your wife Salma and your decent sons
Were war spoils and seized possessions..."

بماذا تُجيبُ

إذا ما تعدَّى على أهل بيتك

شخصٌ غريبٌ

وقد غرَّه أنه ذو سلاحٍ

فكشَّرَ عن نابٍ ذيبٍ

...

بماذا تجيبُ إذا ما ادَّعى

أنَّ كرمَ النخيلِ ،

وبيارَةَ البرتقالِ ،

وزيتونكَ العربيِّ ،

وأنتَ .

وزوجك (سلمى)

وأبناءك الطيبينَ ،

مكاسبُ حربٍ ،

ومُلكُ يمينٍ .

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) pp. 51-53)

Another expression found in a 2017 book describes the Jewish-Israeli "other" in Jerusalem as "the Devil's aides" (*Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 66).

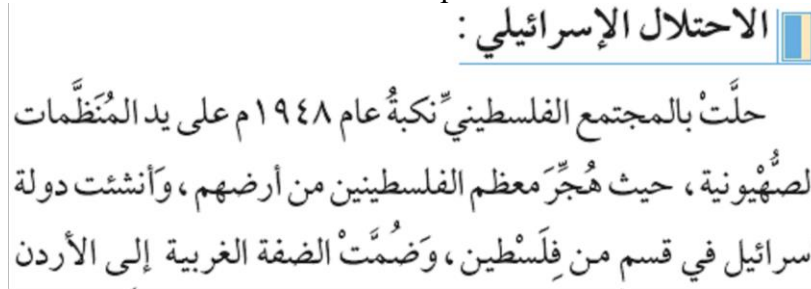
As has been said, Israel is not presented as an ordinary sovereign state, but rather as an occupying entity existing at the expense of the Palestinian people's right to self determination in its own homeland. In addition, Israel is said to have been the source of many evils directed against the Palestinians and other Arabs, in a way depicting it as evil in its very essence. To make things worse, no objective information about

either Israel or the Jews, that would balance their negative image in the books, is given to the students. Below are several expressions in this spirit that are found in the books:

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 by virtue of the UN Partition Resolution of 1947 is presented as "occupation":

"Israeli Occupation

The Catastrophe of 1948 fell upon Palestinian society at the hands of the Zionist organizations, as most of the Palestinians were forced to emigrate from their land and the State of Israel was established on part of Palestine..."



(National Education, Grade 5 (2014) p. 30)

An assignment in one of the 2017 new books makes the point of the 1948 occupation clearer:

"Activity 1A: We will look attentively at the following map, draw conclusions and then answer:

[A map of the whole country in one color, with no Jewish-established cities, titled "Map of Palestine"]

- We will distinguish between the Palestinian cities occupied by the Zionists in 1948 and those ones they occupied in 1967..."

نشاط (١-أ): نلاحظ الخريطة الآتية، ونستنتج، ثم نجيب:



- نمتز بين المدن الفلسطينية التي احتلتها الصهاينة عام ١٩٤٨ م، وتلك التي احتلتها عام ١٩٦٧ م.
- نستنتج كثرة المدن في وسط فلسطين وشمالها وقلتها في جنوبها.

خريطة فلسطين

(Social Studies, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 56)

Israel is presented as an enemy who aims its weapon at Palestinian children:

"The Palestinian child stood facing the enemy's bullets like a brave soldier."

٢- وقف الطفل الفلسطيني أمام رصاص العدو وقوف الجندي الباسل .

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 28)

Israel – nicknamed here as "the occupation" – is demonized as an entity aspiring to the destruction of Palestinian society:

"Killing of cities has become an ordinary thing during the occupation's time as it does whatever it can to dismantle every civilization-related infrastructure in our society."

أصبح قتل المُدنِ أمراً عادياً زمن الاحتلال، الذي يعمل كل ما في
وسعه على تفكيك كل بنية حضارية في مجتمعنا .

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 61)

Israel is accused of responsibility for family violence within Palestinian society:

"4 – Some of the family violence problems stem from the occupation's practices and its destructive impact on our society. I will explain."

٤- بعض قضايا العنف الأسري تنبع من ممارسات الاحتلال وآثاره المدمرة على مجتمعنا،
أوضح .

(*Civics*, Grade 8 (2013) p. 55)

A newer accusation: Zionist occupation sets loose herds of boars in order to damage Palestinians' crops (*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 21).

Third: advocacy of violent struggle rather than peace with the adversary

A delegitimized and demonized adversary is not a real partner for peace. Accordingly, no peaceful solution to the conflict is advocated in the PA books used in UNRWA's schools. Instead, a violent struggle of liberation against its occupation (both before and after 1967) is promoted:

[Assignment:] I will reconcile the following poetic lines with the feelings they express:

'A morning of glory and red liberty, watered by the martyrs' blood...' – The hope for the liberation of Palestine."

اللهفةُ على تحريرِ المسجدِ الأقصى.	صباحُ مناضليكَ الصبيدِ في الأكبالِ في الأغلالِ .
التفاوضُ بتحريرِ فلسطين.	صباحُ المسكِ والعنبرِ صباحُ التينِ والزيتونِ والليمونِ والزعريرِ .
الحرصُ على التمسكِ بأرضِ فلسطينَ والثباتِ فيها .	تناديني مأذنتُهُ: غيابك طالُ وتهتفُ بي: تعالَ تعالُ .
الإعجابُ بجمالِ الطبيعةِ في فلسطين .	صباحُ العاشقينَ تراك، لن يُلَقُوا بغيرِ حماكُ ما ارتحلوا . . عصا الترحالِ .
كراهيةُ المحتلِّ لما يعانیه المناضلونَ في سجونِهِ .	صباحُ المجدِ والحريّةِ الحمراءِ يرويها دمُ الشهداءِ صباحُك أنت يا وطني بشمسك تقهرُ الظلماءِ .

(Reading and Texts, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) pp. 9-10, 12)

Note: The connecting line was added. This is the only logical connection between the two items.

A book of the 2016 edition emphasizes in the following poem the motif of the struggle for the liberation of Al-Aqsa Mosque and of the whole country – beyond the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, namely, the cities of Haifa and Jaffa within Israel's pre-1967 borders:

"I am a lion cub;⁶ I am a flower;⁷ we gave [our] soul to the revolution [*thawrah* – a term denoting the activity of the Palestinian Fatah organization]
Our forefathers built for us houses in our [formerly] free country
I am a lion cub; I am a flower; we carried the revolution's ember
To Haifa, to Jaffa, to Al-Aqsa [Mosque], to the [Dome of the] Rock"

⁶ *Shibl* in Arabic - a term denoting male members of the Fatah youth movement.

⁷ *Zahrah* - a term denoting a female member of that movement.

نغني

إبراهيم النعني

أَنَا سِبْئُ أَنَا زَهْرَةٌ	وَهَبْنَا الرُّوحَ لِلثَّوْرَةِ
بَنَى أَجْدَادُنَا دُورًا	لَنَا فِي أَرْضِنَا الْحُرَّةِ
أَنَا سِبْئُ أَنَا زَهْرَةٌ	حَمَلْنَا جَمْرَةَ الثَّوْرَةِ
إِلَى حَيْفَا إِلَى يَافَا	إِلَى الْأَقْصَى إِلَى الصَّخْرَةِ

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 42)

The violent liberation is further intensified in the books published in 2016 as they now include, for the first time in the history of the PA curriculum, a reference to the fate of the 6 million Jews living in the country after its supposed liberation: expulsion of the usurper [Israel] from the land and the extermination of the foreigners' defeated and scattered remnants. This new element in the PA schoolbooks sounds the alarm with all its might:

"Let us sing and learn by heart: The Nobles' Land [*Ard al-Kurama*]
 [Photograph of the Old City of Jerusalem with the Dome of the Rock]
 I have sworn! I shall sacrifice my blood
 To water the nobles' land
 And I shall remove the usurper [*ghaseb*] from my country
 And shall exterminate [*ubid*] the foreigners' scattered remnants [*fulul al-ghuraba*]
 O land of Al-Aqsa [Mosque] and the sacred place [*haram*],
 O cradle of pride and nobility
 Patience, patience, for victory is ours
 And dawn will peep out from darkness"

أَرْضُ الْكُرْمَاءِ نُعْنِي وَنَحْفَظُ:



قَسَمًا سَأُصْحِي بِدِمَائِي لِأُرُويَ أَرْضَ الْكُرْمَاءِ
وَأَزِيلَ الْغَاصِبَ مِنْ بَلَدِي وَأُيَيْدَ فُلُوقَ الْغُرَبَاءِ
يَا بَلَدَ الْأَقْصَى وَالْحَرَمِ يَا مَهْدَ النَّخْوَةِ وَالْكَرَمِ
صَبْرًا صَبْرًا فَالْتَصِرْنَا وَالْفَجْرُ يُطِلُّ مِنَ الظُّلَمِ

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 64)

Equally alarming is the first reference by the PA schoolbooks to the party targeted by the Palestinian liberation struggle. A story in one of the 2017 books mentions the imposition of curfew in parts of the city of Al-Birah in the West Bank following a terrorist attack on the neighboring Jewish settlement of Psagot. The reference to the victims of that attack is shocking:

"The neighbor: 'The curfew does not include us in Al-Sharafah [neighborhood]. It is imposed on Al-Natarish [neighborhood]. It seems that there is a barbecue party [*haflat shiwa*] there with Molotov cocktails on one of the buses of the Psagot colony [*musta'marah* - Jewish settlement]..."

الجارُّ: حَظَرُ التَّجَوُّلِ لَا يَشْمَلُنَا فِي (الشَّرْفَةِ) مَفْرُوضٌ عَلَيَّ
(التَّارِيشِ) عَلَيَّ مَا يَبْدُو هُنَاكَ حَفْلَةٌ شِوَاءٍ بِالْقَنَابِلِ الْحَارِقَةِ لِأَحَدِي
حَافِلَاتٍ مُسْتَعْمَرَةٍ (بِساغوت) عَلَيَّ الْجَبَلِ الطَّوِيلِ.

(Arabic Language, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 61. The "barbecue party" expression is underlined in red.)

This struggle is made more compelling by the use of the traditional Islamic concepts of *Jihad* and martyrdom [*Shahadah*] within its framework. Following are examples attesting to that. The first example shows the first verse of a poem titled "Palestine":

"Lesson 11: Palestine By the poet Ali Mahmud Taha
O brother, the oppressors have exceeded all bounds and *Jihad* and sacrifice are necessary..."

أخي جاوزَ الظَّالمونَ الَّذي فحَقَّ الجهادُ وحقَّ الفِدا

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 44)

The second example is a poem titled "The Martyr" that describes for 7-grade students the beauty of blood and dead bodies. Please note the last verse of the poem that directly encourages the student to become a martyr:

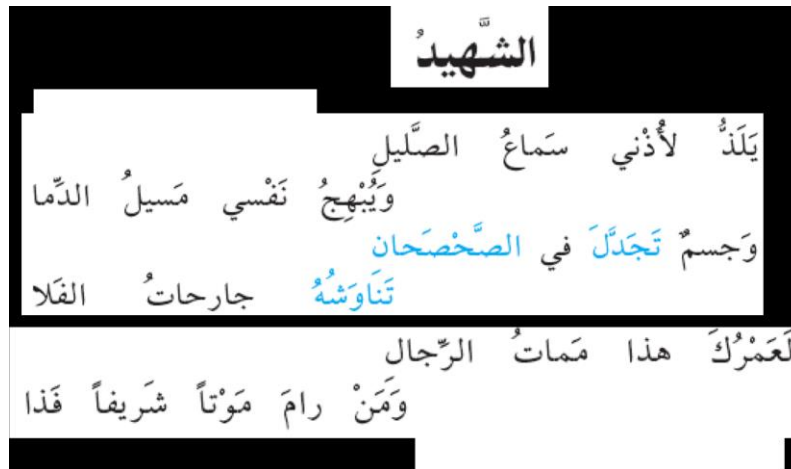
"The Martyr [Excerpts]

...

Hearing [weapons'] clash is pleasant to my ear
And the flow of blood gladdens my soul
As well as a body thrown upon the ground
Skirmished over by the desert predators

...

By your life! This is the death of men
And whoever asks for a noble death – here it is!"



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 75)

One of the martyrs appearing in the PA 2017 books is Dalal al-Mughrabi who was killed in a terrorist attack she had led against a civilian bus on Israel's Coastal Highway in 1978 in which more than 30 men, women and children were killed. She is mentioned in two books. In one of them she is described as the martyr of Arab and Islamic history in the country (*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 14) while the other says: "Dalal al-Mughrabi who commanded the *Fidai*⁸ 'Deir Yassin' operation on the Palestinian coast in 1978 in which over thirty soldiers were killed" (*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 74).

⁸ *Fidai* – "One who sacrifices his/her life for a cause" is a traditional Islamic term used nowadays to denote members of the Palestinian armed organizations. *Fidai* activity/operation – actions by such people. *Fidai* is the title of the PA anthem and is taught in school: "I shall live as a *fidai*, continue as a *fidai* and die as a *fidai* until it [Palestine] returns [in another version: "until I return"]".

The above-presented examples clearly show that UNRWA's educational role among the Palestinians is problematic as far as peace education is concerned. One specific issue in this general context that deserves special attention is the so-called "Right of Return".

The "Right of Return" Issue

The essence of the Middle East conflict is the century-long struggle between Jews and Palestinian Arabs over the same piece of land stretching from the Mediterranean to the River Jordan, which both parties regard as their historical homeland. The United Nations Organization's attempt in 1947 to solve the conflict by way of partition was rejected by the Arab side that opened a war against the Jews in December that year. The war between the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs, to whom five Arab armies joined in May 1948, lasted sixteen months and ended in an Arab defeat. Both Jews and Palestinians lost in the war one percent of their respective populations. One of the results of that war was a mass exodus of Palestinians from areas taken over by the Jews, which later became part of the nascent State of Israel. During subsequent years, a parallel number of Jews came to Israel from the neighboring Arab countries, having mostly fled due to their deteriorating safety conditions there.

The Palestinian and Arab narrative of the Middle East conflict emphasizes what is termed "the Right of Return" which is interpreted as the personal right of every Palestinian, who left his or her home in Palestine in 1948 or afterwards, to return to it and to reclaim his or her property in full. This perceived right also applies to the refugee's descendants with no limit of number, time or place of birth.⁹ Thus, the total number of such claimers has grown during the period that has passed since 1948 from few hundred thousands to several millions. Although said to have been legally based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and on Resolution No. 194 adopted by the UN General Assembly on Dec. 11, 1948,¹⁰ it is clear that such a claimed right has no legal precedence in history and, indeed, has not been applied in other cases of wartime refugees throughout the twentieth century, which witnessed a record number of such refugees, not to mention the continuous refugee disasters throughout the Middle East currently.

Apart from its unique character in international terms, the "Right of Return" also raises serious political and human problems, since its full application would mean the destruction of the State of Israel as a Jewish state and thus deny the Jewish nation its right to self determination which has been legally recognized by virtue of the UN partition resolution. Indeed, throughout the years that succeeded the establishment of Israel, the "Right of Return" issue was often mentioned in Arab forums within the wider context of the discussion of Israel's liquidation. In Israeli eyes, therefore, the continued persistence on the "Right of Return" by any Arab party betrays that party's desire to wipe Israel off the map. Any impartial observer must admit that such fears are solidly grounded in light of the vast human mass involved.

⁹ See "Palestinian Right of Return" in Wikipedia, http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AD%D9%82_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%88%D8%AF%D8%A9_%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%8A (Arabic)

¹⁰ Ibid.

If peace in the region is meant to be concluded between the Jewish State and its Arab neighbors – and it is so meant internationally – then the "Right of Return" issue should not stand in the way to peace as it does today. That is especially important in school, in particular – schools that are run by an international body such as UNRWA, which is bound by UN resolutions regarding peace in the region.

Teaching "The Right of Return": Ideology and Practice

The "Right of Return" is based ideologically on the argument that Palestine belongs to the Palestinian Arabs alone and that it became the focus of Jewish Zionist greedy ambitions (*atmaa'*) in the nineteenth century. Those ambitions were supported by British Imperialism in the twentieth century and culminated at the UN Partition Resolution of 1947. Then war broke out in which the Arab side was defeated and Zionist terrorist organizations expelled a whole nation from its homeland and established the State of Israel.

Quotations

"The Zionist colonialist greedy ambitions in Palestine started in 1882... The Zionist greedy ambitions increased with the support of British Imperialism, as the British foreign minister Lord Balfour issued his declaration on November 2, 1917 which called for giving the Jews a national home in Palestine."

بدأت الأطماع الصهيونية الاستيطانية في فلسطين منذ عام ١٨٨٢ م
ازدادت الأطماع الصهيونية بدعم من الاستعمار البريطاني ، حين أصدر وزير خارجية بريطانيا
اللورد بلفور تصريحه في ٢ تشرين الثاني عام ١٩١٧ م الداعي إلى إعطاء وطن قومي لليهود في
فلسطين .

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 20)

In one of the assignments at the end of that chapter the greedy ambitions are attributed to the Jews, rather than the Zionists: "I will mention the position of the Ottoman State vis-à-vis the Jews' greedy ambitions in Palestine."

١ - أذكر مواقف الدولة العثمانية من أطماع اليهود في فلسطين .

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 22)

"The United Nations Organization adopted in the year 1947 a resolution partitioning Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews. Accordingly, the British Mandate over Palestine ended and the Mandate government withdrew. Then war erupted between the Arabs and the Jews in 1948, which ended in the capture of part of Palestine by the Jews and the occurrence of the Catastrophe [*Nakbah*] which caused most of the Palestinian people to emigrate."

اتخذت هيئة الأمم المتحدة عام ١٩٤٧ م قراراً بتقسيم فلسطين بين العرب واليهود . وبناءً على ذلك انتهى الانتداب البريطاني على فلسطين ، وانسحبت حكومة الانتداب ، فقامت الحرب بين العرب واليهود عام ١٩٤٨ م ، التي انتهت باستيلاء اليهود على جزء من فلسطين ، ووقوع النكبة التي هجرت معظم الشعب الفلسطيني .

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 45)

"The Zionist terrorist organizations forced thousands of Palestinians to leave their country under the threat of arms, which brought about the emergence of the refugee problem."

أجبرت المنظمات الإرهابية الصهيونية الآف الفلسطينيين على الجلاء عن بلادهم تحت تهديد السلاح مما أدى إلى قيام مشكلة اللاجئين .

(National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 21)

Under such circumstances it would be only natural – this line of argumentation continues – that those refugees, as well as their descendants, will be entitled to return to their usurped homeland by all means any time. In fact, the textbooks used in UNRWA's schools never discuss any other possible solution to the Palestinian refugee problem.

Quotations

"...The number of the Palestinians in the world is close to nine millions. About half of the Palestinian people (four and a half millions) live in historical Palestine at a total of approximately three and a half millions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and around a million in the lands of 1948 while four and a half millions live in the Diaspora outside of Palestine, particularly in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, the states of the Arab Gulf as well as in various states of the world. **Most of them are refugees who wait to return to the motherland after having been expelled from it.**"



(National Education, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014) p. 43) [**Emphasis** added in the translated text]. Note the use of the circumlocution "the lands of 1948" (underlined in the translation) which refers to Israel's territory in its pre-1967 borders.

"The [refugee] camp is not considered an original home for the Palestinian refugee. Rather, it is a temporary place where he has been forced to live. All the Palestinians wait for the return of every Palestinian to his city or village from which he was made to emigrate."

لا يُعَدُّ الْمُحَيِّمَ مَوْطِنًا أَصْلِيًّا لِلْفِلَسْطِينِيِّ اللَّاجِي، وَإِنَّمَا هُوَ مَكَانٌ مُؤَقَّتٌ أُرْغِمَ عَلَى الْعَيْشِ فِيهِ، وَيَتَنَظَّرُ جَمِيعُ الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّينَ عَوْدَةَ كُلِّ فِلَسْطِينِيٍّ إِلَى مَدِينَتِهِ أَوْ قَرْيَتِهِ الَّتِي هَجَرَ مِنْهَا .

(Islamic Education, Grade 6, Part 1 (2015) p. 69)

The "Right of Return" is part and parcel of the discussion of the conflict. It appears in stories, such as the one in which a grandfather shows his grandson the ownership deeds of the land they owned in the coastal plain and "the keys of our house which we were forced to leave", and the grandson promises to keep it.



(History of the Ancient Civilizations, Grade 5 (2014) p. 7)

There are also language exercises using this theme such as the following one:

"Exercise 2: Let us fill in the empty space with the appropriate noun...

1. The [refugee] dreams of returning to his homeland."

تدريب ٢

نملاً الفراغَ بالفاعلِ المناسبِ مما يأتي ونضبطه بالشكلِ الصحيح :

السَّائِحِ الْمُؤْمِنِ اللَّاجِي الْفَتَاةِ الْغَوَاصِ

١) يَحْلُمُ بِالْعَوْدَةِ إِلَى وَطَنِهِ .

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2015) p. 91)

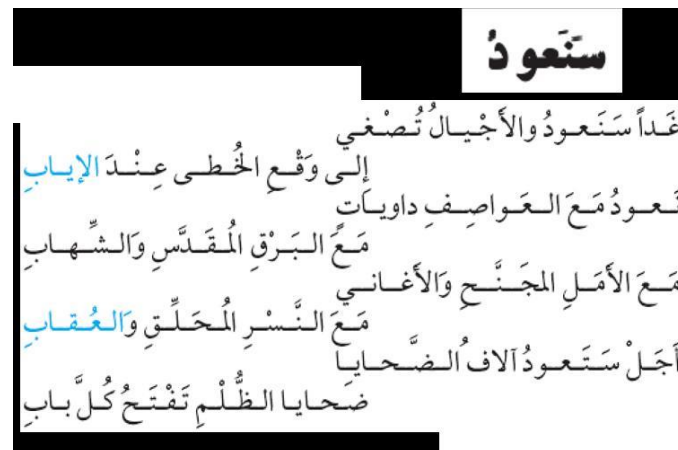
Especially interesting in this context is the use of poems in order to strengthen among the students the sense that the return is inevitable. The poems add an emotional dimension to the issue and reveal one of its characteristics not usually evident in other forms of discussion of the "Right of Return":

The Violent Character of "The Right of Return"

The "Right of Return", by definition, is a right, not a privilege. As such, it does not depend on Israel's good will and is not part of the peace process. Rather, it is presented as a decisive event, shrouded in an atmosphere of violence. The following two poems well exemplify that:

"We Shall Return [Excerpts]

...Tomorrow we shall return and the ages shall listen
To the footfalls during the return
We shall return with resounding storms
With the sacred lightening and the shooting star
With the winged hopes and the songs
With the soaring vulture and the eagle
Yes! Thousands of victims shall return
Victims of oppression shall open every door"



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 28)

"We Are Returning

Returning, returning, we are returning
Borders shall not exist, nor citadels and fortresses
Cry out, O those who have left:
We are returning
Returning to the homes, to the valleys, to the mountains
Under the flag of glory, *Jihad* and struggle
With blood, sacrifice, fraternity and loyalty
We are returning
Returning, O hills; returning, O heights
Returning to childhood; returning to youth
To *Jihad* in the hills, [to] harvest in the land
We are returning"

إننا لعائدون

عائدون عائدون إننا لعائدون
فالحُدُودُ لن تكون والقلاعُ والحُصُونُ
فاصْرُخُوا يا نازِحون
إننا لعائدون
عائدون للديار للسهول وللجبال
تحتَ أعلامِ القُحَّارِ والجهادِ والنضالِ
بالدماءِ والفداءِ والإخاءِ والوفاءِ
إننا لعائدون
عائدون ياربنا عائدون يا هِضابِ
عائدون للصِّبَا عائدون للشِّبابِ
للجهادِ في النِّجَادِ والحِصَادِ في البلادِ
إننا لعائدون

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2015) p. 50)

The new books issued in 2017 intensify this trend and imply that Palestinian sovereignty will cover the places to which the refugees will return:

"I am the owner of the great right, from which I create the morrow
I shall reclaim it; I shall reclaim it as a precious and a sovereign homeland
I shall shake the world tomorrow and march as a consolidated army
I have an appointment with my homeland and it is impossible that I forget that appointment."

صَرَخَةُ لاجِئِي

هارون هاشم رشيد

أنا لن أظلُّ مُقيداً	أنا لن أعيش مُسرَّداً
حَفُّ ثائراً مُتَمَرِّداً	أنا لي غَدٌ وَغَدٌ سَأَزُ
صِفِ وَهِيَ تَجْتَاحُ المَدَى	أنا لن أخافُ مِنَ العَوا
تَرْمِي دَمَاراً أَسْوَدَا	وَمِنَ الأعاصيرِ الَّتِي
رِ وَصانِعُ مِنْهُ العَدا	أنا صاحِبُ الحَقِّ الكَبي
وَطناً عَزِيْزاً سَيِّداً	سَأُعِيدُهُ .. وَأُعِيدُهُ
وَأَسِيرٌ جَيْشاً أَوْحِداً	سَأُزَلِّزُ الدُّنْيَا غَداً
هَيْهَاتَ أنسى المَوعِدا	لي مَوعِدٌ في مَوطِني

(Excerpts from the poem "A Refugee's Outcry" by Harun Hashem Rashid – the marked verses, *Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 85)

"We shall return with the soaring vultures; we shall return with the strongly blowing wind; we shall return to the vineyard and the olive trees; we shall return to raise the flag of Palestine, alongside the anemone flower, on our green hills."

سَنَعُودُ، سَنَعُودُ مَعَ الثُّسُورِ الْمُحَلَّقَةِ، سَنَعُودُ مَعَ الرِّيحِ الْعَاتِيَةِ، سَنَعُودُ
إِلَى الْكَرِّمِ وَالزَّيْتُونِ، سَنَعُودُ؛ لِنَرْفَعَ عَلَمَ فَلَسْطِينِ، إِلَى جَانِبِ زَهْرَةِ
الْحَنُونِ عَلَى رَوَابِنِ الْخَضْرَاءِ.

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 82)

It is clear from the texts quoted above that the manifestations of the "Right of Return" in the PA textbooks taught in UNRWA schools are not nostalgic literary pieces. Rather, as presented to the students and shown here, the "Right of Return" plays a prominent role in the Palestinian political vision of a continued struggle against a delegitimized and demonized Israel until its eventual destruction.

Conclusion

The examination of the schoolbooks used by UNRWA in its schools (the books for grades 1-9) reveals a very disturbing picture:

Israel – a UN member state – does not exist and is replaced by Palestine on maps and in texts. Israel's six-million Jewish citizens are denied legitimacy, as opposed to millions of Palestinians living abroad. Their holy places in the country are not recognized, as well as their national language. Even worse, the newly published books of 2016-2017 have replaced Israel's name and the phrase "Israeli occupation" with "Zionist occupation", and renamed "the Arab-Israeli conflict" – "the Arab-Zionist conflict", thus making the non-recognition issue more palpable.

The renaming phenomenon further strengthens the PA schoolbooks' former thesis that the real occupation of Palestine took place in 1948 and not in 1967. Thus, if the occupation should end as part of the solution to the Middle East conflict, Israel itself should disappear. Hence, regions, cities and sites in Israel within its pre-1967 borders are presented as exclusively Palestinian and the use of the term "Israeli territory" is avoided with the help of circumlocutions.

The Jewish-Israeli "other" is severely demonized to a point of presenting it as constituting an existential threat to the Palestinian individual, with no reference to this "other" as an ordinary human being. The books are devoid of objective information about this "other" that would counterbalance its massive demonization.

Peace with this "other" is not an option. Instead, a violent struggle for the liberation of Palestine in its entirety is propagated. Islamic traditional concepts, such as Jihad and martyrdom, are incorporated in this violent struggle and make it more binding among Palestinian relatively traditional society. One of the texts even urges 7-grade students to become martyrs. The issue of the Right of Return is part and parcel of this violent struggle that aims at the elimination of the State of Israel with its Jewish population – as revealed by a 2016 text. A 2017 text also reveals a shocking attitude to the rival

"other" by describing a Molotov-cocktail attack on an Israeli civilian bus as a "barbecue party", and another such text exalts a Palestinian female terrorist responsible for the killing of over thirty civilians in an attack on another Israeli bus.

This list of items taught in UNRWA schools is incriminating. UNRWA, in fact, not only does propagate a non-peaceful line contrary to UN resolutions on the Middle East conflict, and not only does allow the presentation of Israel and its Jewish citizens as illegitimate with heavy layers of demonization. In fact, UNRWA betrays its moral obligation toward the Palestinian children and youths' human rights and well-being, by letting the PA preparing them for a future war with Israel. The huge accumulated number of UNRWA's indoctrinated graduates throughout its almost seven decades of operation – over 2,000,000 altogether – is the Agency's contribution to the perpetuation of the conflict.

It is now high time that UNRWA change its policy of non-intervention in the contents of local curricula taught in its schools. An international organization of this caliber committed to the ideal of peace and relying in its funding on democratic countries mostly, should have a say in this matter, especially in view of its relatively large share of Palestinian educational activity. UNRWA should no more submit to the political, ideological and propagandist lines of the host governments in its areas of operation, whenever these lines contradict UNRWA's principles and mission. There are things that UNRWA must not teach! Therefore, the schoolbook problematic situation in its schools should be immediately improved, no matter how the relations between the two parties to the conflict might develop. The democratic donor states financing UNRWA's educational activity are expected to demand just that.

Addendum: UNRWA in Gaza

In the 2013/14 school year, the Hamas authorities in Gaza introduced into the local curriculum a series of National Education textbooks for grades 8-10 that would express Hamas' own views regarding the conflict. The new books emphasize several points more explicitly than the material produced by the Ramallah-based PA:

1. Palestine in its entirety, including present-day Israel, is indivisible. Hence, no territorial compromise is acceptable:

"Palestine is an [Islamic] endowment land that has been made fertile by the martyrs' blood since the dawn of history to this very day. No one, whoever it may be, has the right to relinquish an inch thereof."



(*National Education, Grade 8 (Gaza, 2013) p. 1*)¹¹

2. Armed resistance, including suicide bombing, is made a central means to achieving the goal of full liberation of Palestine:

"By resistance we shall win."



(*National Education, Grade 8 (Gaza, 2013) p. 65*)¹²

"Among the most important forms of armed resistance [are the following:]

...

¹¹http://www.mohe.ps/index.php?option=com_phocadownload&view=category&id=18:2012-10-01-13-27-50

¹² *Ibid.*

Martyrdom-seeking operations [*Al-Amaliyat al-istish'hadhiyyah*]: that is, targeting concentrations of soldiers and settlers deep inside the usurping entity, and in military concentrations and the settlements [literally: 'usurped localities - *mughtasabat*] throughout the Palestinian land."

ومن أهم أشكال المقاومة المسلحة:

...

♦ العمليات الاستشهادية: وهي استهداف تجمعات الجنود والمستوطنين في عمق الكيان الغاصب،

وفي التجمعات العسكرية، والمغتصبات على طول الأرض الفلسطينية.

(*National Education, Grade 8 (Gaza, 2013) p. 70*)¹³

3. There are crude anti-Semitic expressions in these books. Example:

"If we want to get to know the character of Zionist occupation, let us have a glance at the Jews' history and behavior towards [other] human beings and towards one another. They consider themselves to be the most eminent race in humanity while all others should be their servants. This is their true attitude to the rest of the nations. According to their belief they should control them and enslave them by means of capital, power and sex [literally: 'women']. Consequently, their practices, notions and theories point out to what they are and to their sick criminal souls that are different from [those of] the rest of the people..."

"إذا أردنا أن نتعرف إلى طبيعة الاحتلال الصهيوني، فلننظر في لمحات من تاريخ اليهود وسلوكهم، وتصرفاتهم تجاه البشر وتجاه بعضهم البعض، فهم يعتبرون أنفسهم أسمى عرق بشري، وعلى الآخرين أن يكونوا خداماً لهم، وحقيقة هذه هي حقيقة نظرتهم لباقي الأمم والشعوب التي يجب السيطرة عليهم واستعبادهم - حسب معتقداتهم - من خلال المال والسلطة والنساء، وبالتالي ممارساتهم وأفكارهم ونظرياتهم تدل عليهم وعلى نوعيته نفوسهم المريضة بالإجرام والمختلفة عن باقي الناس، وقد صور القرآن الكريم صفاتهم القبيحة في مواقف كثيرة"

(*National Education, Grade 9 (Gaza, 2013) p. 40*)¹⁴

¹³ *Ibid.* "Martyrdom seeking [*Istish'had*]" is a code-name for suicide bombing in Palestinian parlance.

¹⁴ http://www.mohe.ps/index.php?option=com_phocadownload&view=category&id=19:2012-10-01-13-28-05

Questions related to the content of these two books were included in the final examination of the first semester of the 2013/14 school year in February 2014, as can be seen in the following forms printed by UNRWA's Department of Education in Gaza.¹⁵

First, the exam of grade 8 with the relevant questions of the National Education school subject:

"United Nations Relief and Works Agency - Education Department, Gaza – Center for Educational Development: First Term Final Examination, Subject: Social Studies, Grade: Eight, School Year: 2013/2014"¹⁶

www.sef.ps

اسم الطالب :	رقم الطالب :	المدرسة :	الصف :	الشعبة :
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وكالة هيئة الأمم المتحدة للإغاثة والتشغيل
دائرة التربية والتعليم - غزة
مركز التطوير التربوي

رقم المراقبة :

اختبار نهاية الفصل الأول
المادة : المواد الاجتماعية الصف : الثامن
العام الدراسي 2014/2013م

رقم السؤال	العلامة بالأرقام	العلامة بالحروف	توقيع المصحح	توقيع المدقق
١				

"...Third: National Education [questions 9, 10 in the examination form]"¹⁷

¹⁵ See the general source at: <http://www.sef.ps/forum/multka525312/>

¹⁶ <http://up.sef.ps/xu/files/get/J1PHIxtwL8/.zip>, p. 1 (Specific download site)

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 4

السؤال التاسع : صحح ما تحته خط : (٥ درجات)

- ١- (تقع مدينة أريحا شمال غرب مدينة القدس .)
- ٢- (يعتبر البحر المتوسط أخفض نقطة على سطح الأرض .)
- ٣- (أصبحت مدينة يافا إقليمياً في الدولة الإسلامية في عهد الخليفة عثمان بن عفان .)
- ٤- (انسحب الاحتلال الصهيوني من أراضي قطاع غزة عام ٢٠٠٠م .)
- ٥- (يوجد ضريح السيد هاشم بن عبد مناف جد الرسول في القدس .)

السؤال العاشر : بم تفسر : (درجتان)

١- حرص الاحتلال على منع وصول مياه نهر الأردن للبحر الميت .

السبب :

٢- تسمية ساحة الساعة بساحة الشهداء .

السبب :

The answers to these questions are found in *National Education, Grade 8 (Gaza, 2013)* pp. 13, 15, 18, 23, 24, 14, 20, respectively.

Second, the exam of grade 9:¹⁸

اسم الطالب :
رقم الطالب :
المدرسة :
الصف : الشعبة :



وكالة هيئة الأمم المتحدة للإغاثة والتشغيل
دائرة التربية والتعليم - غزة
مركز التطوير التربوي

رقم المراقبة :

اختبار نهاية الفصل الأول

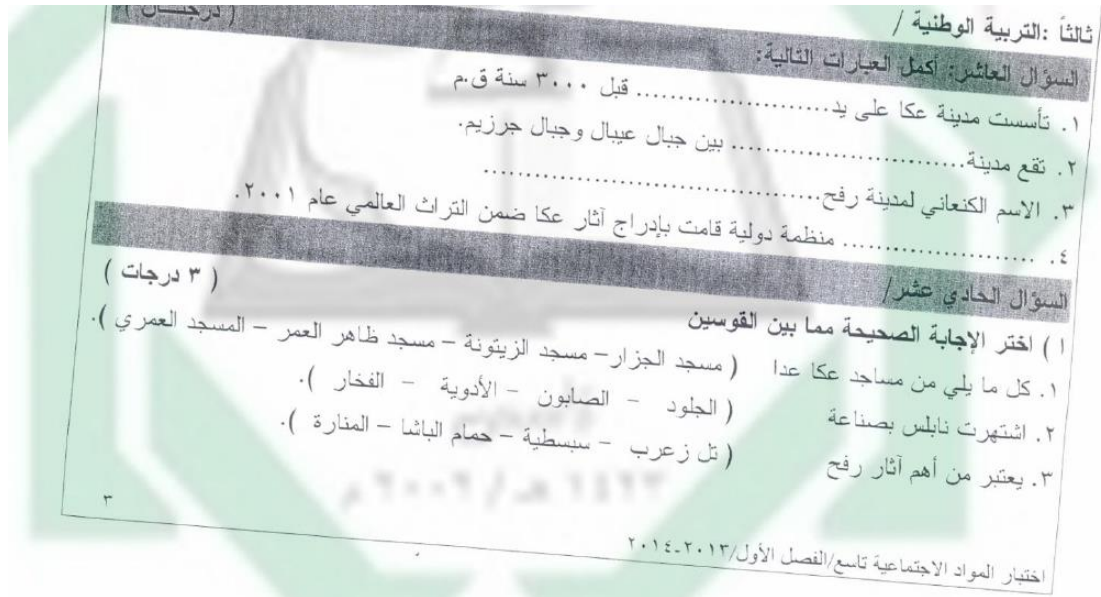
المادة : المواد الاجتماعية الصف : التاسع

العام الدراسي 2014/2013م

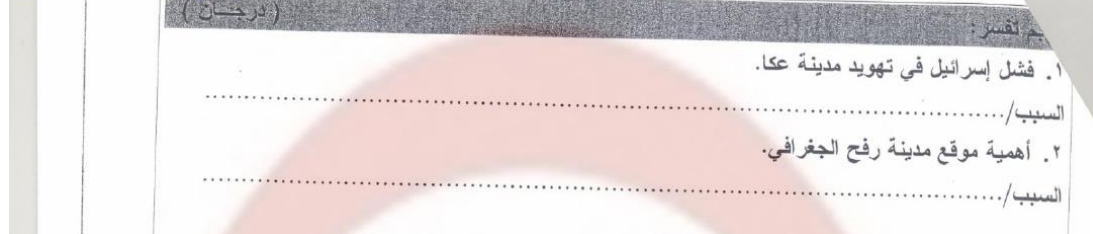
رقم السؤال	العلامة بالترقيم	العلامة بالحروف	توقيع المصحح	توقيع المدقق
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¹⁸ <http://up.sef.ps/xu/files/get/vlfEto0uQq.zip>, p. 1 (Specific download site)

"...Third: National Education [Questions 10, 11 in the examination form]"¹⁹



www.sef.ps



The answers to these questions are found in *National Education, Grade 9 (Gaza, 2013)* pp. 7, 11, 15, 8, 8, 12, 16, 9, 16, respectively.

This new development stresses the urgent need for the democratic donor states to make UNRWA change its detrimental educational policies for the sake of peace and security in the Middle East and for the well-being of the Palestinian children themselves.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 3-4



Dr. Arnon Groiss – Background

Dr. Arnon Groiss is a retired journalist from the Voice of Israel Arabic Radio where he worked for 42 years beginning in 1973. He is also an expert on Middle Eastern affairs having earned his Ph.D. degree from Princeton University's Department of Near Eastern Studies, as well as an MPA degree from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. Dr. Groiss taught for several years at the Hebrew University in the 1990s and 2000s. Between the years 2000-2010 Dr. Groiss served as chief researcher and, later, as Director of Research at the Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT-SE, formerly known as the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace – CMIP), a non-political NGO committed to studying the attitude to the "other" and to peace in the Israeli and in other Middle Eastern curricula. During his work there Dr. Groiss studied hundreds of textbooks of various school subjects and authored over ten reports on Palestinian, Egyptian, Syrian, Saudi Arabian, Iranian and Tunisian schoolbooks. A summary of his research of this subject is to be found in "De-legitimization of Israel in Palestinian Authority Schoolbooks", published in *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 18 (2012), Issue 3, pp. 455-484, where he compares the PA schoolbooks with other Arab and Middle Eastern ones, including their Israeli counterparts. Dr. Groiss has presented his findings since 2000 to both policy makers and people of the press on numerous occasions in various places, including the US Congress, the European Parliament, the UK House of Commons, the Israeli Knesset, the Canadian Parliament, the French Assemblée nationale and elsewhere. On the basis of his experience in this field, Dr. Groiss was appointed as a member of the Scientific Advisory Panel (SAP) of the Palestinian-Israeli Schoolbook Research Project commissioned by the Council of Religious Institutions of the Holy Land (CRIHL). Dr. Groiss' evaluation paper of this research project that ended in early 2013 is to be found at:

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/evaluation-of-the-israelipalestinian-schoolbook-research-project-commissioned-by-the-council-of-religious-institutions-of-the-holy-land-crihl/7185/>