

# **The Attitude to Jews, Israel and Peace In the 2017/18 Palestinian Authority Schoolbooks for Grades 11 and 12: A Complementary Study**

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## **Executive Summary**

This study completes a four-year research activity, in which over 364 schoolbooks for grades 1-12 that were published by the Palestinian Authority (PA) in the years 2013-2018 were examined. The goal of that research project was checking the attitude to the Israeli-Jewish "other" and to the possibility of solving the conflict with that "other" peacefully in the spirit of the peace agreements, known as "the Oslo Accords" that were signed by the two parties in 1993-1995. The project yielded three studies. The first one was issued in September 2017, having covered 201 books of various school subjects.<sup>1</sup> Additional 118 books mostly published in 2017 were examined during 2018 in a separate study.<sup>2</sup> The present study covers 45 books published in 2017-2018 for grades 11 and 12 in the various streams. Some of these latter books are final editions that have replaced draft editions for grade 12 and contained few changes for both better and worse.

The overall picture revealed throughout the project is depressing and the present study does not change it: Palestinian school children and youth learn that a peaceful resolution of the conflict is not an option. Rather, Palestine should be liberated from "Zionist occupation" by way of an armed struggle titled "Revolution [*Thawrah*]" which involves terrorist actions styled "self-sacrificing operations [*'amaliyyat Fida'iyyah*]". It is shocking to see in this context a reference in one of the books to the "1972 Munich operation" where 11 members of the Israeli team to the Olympic Games were massacred (*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 54). Those who carry out such actions are called "self-sacrificing ones [*Fidais*]" and those among them who are killed in action or imprisoned are regarded as "martyrs [*shuhada*]" and "prisoners-of-war [*asra*]", respectively. The liberation struggle is given religious characteristics by the use of traditional Islamic concepts of "Holy War [*Jihad*]", "Standing-on-Guard [*Ribat*]" and "Martyrdom [*Shahadah*]", and a central goal of the liberation struggle is liberating the Muslim holy place of Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem from the Jews' sway.

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<sup>1</sup> [https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/app/uploads/2017/12/E\\_259\\_17.pdf](https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/app/uploads/2017/12/E_259_17.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/app/uploads/2018/07/E\\_184\\_18.pdf](https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/app/uploads/2018/07/E_184_18.pdf)

The struggle for liberation from occupation is not limited to the areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Rather, the whole country from the River Jordan to the Mediterranean Sea is meant by this, as Zionist occupation is said to have started in 1948, in what is termed "the Catastrophe [*Nakbah*]", and not in 1967. Israel's pre-1967 territory is termed "the Palestinian territories that were occupied in 1948" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 55). Pre-1967 Israel is never presented as a legitimate sovereign state nor does it appear on the map where it is replaced in its entirety by "Palestine". Even Israel's very name is replaced in the text in the vast majority of cases by "the Zionist Occupation" or "the Zionist Entity", which should be extirpated from the Middle East (*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 145).<sup>3</sup> Cities inside pre-1967 Israel, such as Nazareth, Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, Tiberias, Beer Sheba and Ashkelon, are presented as Palestinian cities. The so-called "Palestinian refugees" and their five-million-or-so descendants are supposed to return to this particular part of liberated Palestine and thus the 70-year old "Catastrophe" would end.

In fact, not only Israel is de-legitimized. That is the case as well with the very presence of its six-million Jewish citizens. They are presented as colonizing settlers motivated by racist sentiments (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 5) who occupied Palestine, massacred and expelled many of its original inhabitants and have held the rest under occupation to this very day. The illegitimate status of the Jews in the country in the eyes of Palestinian educators is well expressed by the noted absence from the map of cities established by Jews in modern times, or showing them under Arabic names. Tel Aviv's name, for example, is translated into "Tall al-Rabi" and Eilat appears as "Umm al-Rashrash".

Not only is Jewish presence in the country today delegitimized. They are also denied their past history in the country, as well as their holy places that are presented as exclusively Islamic ones, including the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem and the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron. The Jews' notions of their historical ties to Jerusalem in particular, are described as "baseless claims", "superstitions", "legends", "illusions" and "distorted narratives" (*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) pp. 38-39) and they themselves are presented as "usurpers" and "invaders" (*ibid.*, p. 46).

As if this heavy de-legitimization of both Israel's existence and the Jews' very presence in the country is not enough, the PA schoolbooks also contain numerous pieces demonizing the former and, to a lesser extent, the latter. Jews are demonized within two Islamic contexts: As a people disobedient to, even blasphemous of, God, according to Koranic verses, and as a group hostile to the Prophet of Islam and the early Muslims in Arabia. The impact of these accusations on the minds of young Palestinians who are relatively religiously oriented must be heavy, which puts today's Jews in Israel in a very negative light even before their demonization in the context of the ongoing conflict takes place.

Israel, mostly referred to by the epithet "the Zionist Occupation", is demonized in relation to various aspects of the conflict, beyond the "primary sin" of its very

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<sup>3</sup> Omitted from the final edition of August 2018.

establishment: It is accused of perpetrating massacres against Palestinians, assassinating Palestinian leaders, destroying Palestinian villages, causing Palestinian children's suffering, being aggressive, violating international laws and conventions, maltreating Palestinian "prisoners-of-war", confiscating Palestinian land, uprooting trees, causing Palestinian unemployment, limiting Palestinians' free movement, detaining school students, damaging Palestinian economy, polluting the Palestinian environment, and even endangering Palestinian nutritive security and causing the desertification of Palestine. Some of these accusations may have a factual nucleus, but they are grossly exaggerated. The schoolbooks completely ignore the Palestinian violent actions that may have contributed to the creation of this situation, at least partly.

The demonization effort is further augmented by the absence of any objective information about Israel and the Jews that would counterbalance it. Nor do the PA schoolbooks refer to the Jewish-Israeli individual as an ordinary human being. They are referred to as a group only, with all the accompanying connotations of alienation and threat, which makes them a legitimate target for violence.

Indeed, using violence against Israel and the Jews is considered by the PA schoolbooks legitimate religiously - in defense of Islam and its holy places in the country, morally - in light of their perceived inherent evil, legally - because they are presented as foreign occupiers in contradiction to international law, and logically - since they are said to constitute an existential threat to the Palestinian people. Peace and co-existence with them cannot be an option, given this indoctrination.

The PA schoolbooks thus contribute to the perpetuation of the conflict. Moreover, one of the findings of the present study is that this kind of indoctrination has been spread to all school subjects, especially mathematics, and it appears as well in purely professional textbooks such as "Small Businesses" and "Management and Economics" of the Entrepreneurship and Business stream and "Entrepreneurship in Business" of the Technological stream. Any person who supports the ideal of a peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should raise his or her voice in demand that the PA change this war-oriented curriculum as a precondition to any move towards peace, in accordance with its commitments by virtue of the Oslo Accords which form the basis of its very establishment and operation. The few changes for the better that have been made in the transition process from draft to final editions of grade 12 schoolbooks clearly prove that such changes are practicable.

## Table of Contents

Executive Summary .....	1
Table of Contents .....	4
Introduction .....	7
Chapter One: The Conflict .....	8
The Essence of the Conflict .....	8
The Nakbah .....	11
Zionist Occupation .....	11
The Impact of the Palestinian Problem on the Arab World .....	14
The Refugee Problem .....	15
Jerusalem .....	20
Chapter Two: Judaism and Jews .....	22
Judaism .....	22
The Jews in Antiquity .....	22
The Jews in Islamic Contexts .....	22
The Jews in Modern Times .....	23
The Jews in the Context of the Conflict .....	23
The Holy Places .....	30
Zionism .....	32
Chapter Three: Israel .....	33
Israel and Palestine .....	33
Israel's Image .....	38
1. Israel perpetrates massacres against Palestinians .....	38
2. Israel destroys Palestinian villages .....	39
3. Israel causes suffering to Palestinian children .....	40
4. Israel is aggressive .....	41
5. Israel assassinated Palestinian leaders .....	42
6. Israel violates international laws and conventions .....	42
7. Israel maltreats Palestinian prisoners .....	43
8. Israel confiscates Palestinian land .....	45
9. Israel uproots trees .....	45
10. Israel limits Palestinian construction projects .....	45
11. Israel is responsible for Palestinian unemployment .....	46
12. Israel puts limitations on Palestinians' free movement .....	46
13. Israel detains school students .....	48
14. Israel harms the Palestinian economy .....	48
15. Israel acts against Palestinian heritage .....	50
16. Israel takes control of the Palestinians' natural resources .....	51
17. Israel harms the Palestinian tourist industry .....	51
18. Israel deprives the Palestinians of adequate supplies of energy .....	52
19. Israel is responsible for the shortage of drinking water in Palestine .....	53
20. Israel pollutes the Palestinian environment .....	53
21. Israel covets The Palestinians' and Arabs' water resources .....	54
22. A new type of accusations .....	56
A) Endangering the Palestinians' nutritive security .....	56
B) Destructive impact on Palestinian population centers .....	58
C) Desertification of Palestine .....	60
Chapter Four: Tolerance and Peace .....	62
Tolerance .....	62
Peace in General .....	62

Peace with Israel .....	63
Chapter Five: War.....	64
War in General.....	64
The War against Israel .....	65
Jihad.....	70
Standing on Guard [ <i>Ribat</i> ] .....	71
Martyrdom .....	72
Terror .....	73
Chapter six: Boycott of Israeli Products .....	78
Conclusion .....	81
Appendix.....	87
UNESCO Principles of Education for Peace and Tolerance .....	87
List of Sources .....	88
Grade 11.....	88
Grade 12.....	88
The Author.....	90



## Introduction

In September 2017, an exhaustive study by the present author and Dr. Ronni Shaked of the Hebrew University's Harry S. Truman Institute for the Promotion of Peace was issued under the title "Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority (PA): The Attitude to the Jews, to Israel and to Peace".<sup>4</sup> Stretched over 261 pages, it covered the various aspects of the picture presented to Palestinian school students about Israel, the Jews, the conflict and issues of peace and war. 201 PA schoolbooks, mostly published in 2013-2017, were scrutinized for the purpose of that study. Due to deadline considerations, the authors could not wait for the accomplishment of the PA schoolbook rewriting operation that had begun in 2016, and subsequent studies by the present author appeared in 2018 covering the newer books for grades 1-10.<sup>5</sup> The present study covers the PA schoolbooks for grades 11 and 12 (see the list at the end of this study) and, thus, completes the research operation that began in 2015. It includes the pieces found in the books that relate to the subject under discussion, organized in thematic chapters and sub-chapters. The material is brought to the reader as is, with minimal analysis, so that it would speak for itself. The overall analysis is done in the Conclusion part of the study.

The present study reconfirms its predecessors' main finding, namely, the radicalized character of the new textbooks that started to appear in 2016. The traditional fundamentals of the PA education regarding the conflict: de-legitimization of the State of Israel and the Jews' very presence in the country, demonization of both Israel and the Jews, and indoctrination to war instead of peace education, have all been intensified and have acquired new features that make peace almost unattainable. Since peace in this region and a peaceful resolution of the current conflict there constitute a desired goal internationally, it is incumbent upon all parties involved to see to it that peace education, rather than war and de-legitimization, be the prevailing theme in the region's schoolbooks in the spirit of UNESCO's principles (given in the Appendix). The present study is meant to contribute to this noble goal.

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<sup>4</sup> [https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/app/uploads/2017/12/E\\_259\\_17.pdf](https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/app/uploads/2017/12/E_259_17.pdf)

<sup>5</sup> See the latest of these studies dated June 2018: [https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/app/uploads/2018/07/E\\_184\\_18.pdf](https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/app/uploads/2018/07/E_184_18.pdf)

## Chapter One: The Conflict

The conflict, that in former books used to be called "the Arab-Israeli conflict", has been renamed, beginning in 2016, to be "the Arab-Zionist conflict" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 117), which may indicate an intentional elevation of the conflict's level from one with a concrete enemy, Israel, into a life-or-death conflict with a perceived mythical evil power – Zionism.

Presentation of the conflict in a mathematical assignment:

"Activity 1: Ahmad was sitting with his grandmother whose forehead showed the signs of old age and her face reflected the wriggled lines of sorrow for having left her town of Sabbarin. She started telling Ahmad the stories of abuse and forced emigration and began to test her grandson about events that swept our Palestinian people. She asked him about prominent events that took place in the years 1917, 1936, 1948, 1967, 1969, 1982, 1987, 2000.

Ahmad answered her: 'In 1917 there was the ill-omened Balfour Declaration; in 1936 there was ...; in 1948 there was ...; in 1969 there was ...' Then Grandmother added that those events that followed one another constituted turning points in the fate of our people and we must convey them from one generation to another."

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Sciences] (2017) p. 34)

## The Essence of the Conflict

The conflict is presented as one between the indigenous inhabitants of Palestine and a foreign settler element:

"The Palestinian people badly needs to keep its national identity because it is targeted by a colonialist-substituting [*istitani-ihlali*] enemy who has claimed his prerogative of existence on this land raising the slogan: 'a people-less land to a landless people'..." (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 106)

A question in this context:

"4. With what did the heads of the Zionist Occupation tempt the settlers in order to encourage them to come to Palestine?"

(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 39)

In the draft edition of a history textbook for grade 12 a comparison was made with the case of European settlers in North America:

"An issue for discussion: Let us make a comparison between the domination of the North American continent by the European immigrants - Englishmen in particular - who exterminated the Indian nations almost to extinction and took control of their lands [on the one hand], and between the immigration of Jews from a number of



countries [to Palestine], the forced emigration of the Arabs and the seizure of their lands and property [on the other hand]."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 63)

That comparison has been omitted in the book's final edition, but the economic comparison with France colonialist policies in Algeria has been kept:

"An issue for discussion: Compare the imperialist policy of France [in Algeria] and of the Zionist Entity in the economic sphere."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 54)

These foreigners are the Jews and so they are referred to in the draft edition of the history textbook for grade 12, but in the final edition they are given an additional epithet "Zionists". Thus, "Britain issued the Balfour Declaration that talked about the establishment of a national home for the Zionist Jews in Palestine" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 89), while the draft edition mentioned Jews only (*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 119). Another reference to the Declaration with "Zionist Jews" appears in the final edition on page 93, while the draft mentioned "Jews" only (p. 124).

Beside the Jews themselves, other foreign nations and states contributed as well to the creation of the conflict. The Ottoman Land Law of 1858, for example, led minor land owners who feared the taxes involved to register their lands in the name of major land owners, which "helped the transfer of ownership over lands in the Arab provinces, and in Palestine in particular, to foreigners in general and to the Zionist Movement specifically" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 89); "There were states where Britain implemented the Mandatory regime, including Palestine, on which it imposed the Mandate regime in accordance with the San Remo Agreement of 1920 and appointed a High Commissioner on its behalf in order to administer the country and strive to transform it into a national home for the Zionist Jews, having granted it to them by virtue of the Balfour Declaration" (*ibid.*, p. 93); "Conversation session: On the Mandatory regime implemented by Britain in Palestine and on its impact on the tragedy lived by the Palestinian people (*ibid.*, with the omission of the end of that sentence that appears in the draft edition on p. 125: "which is expressed by the establishment of the Zionist Entity through the usurpation of the Palestinian land").

The essence of the conflict, then, is the Zionist Jews' seizure of the indigenous Palestinians' homeland. They were helped by the international community by way of the UN Partition Resolution of 1947 which the Palestinians and Arabs rejected:

"...Activity 4A: Let us look at the map and the two pictures, draw conclusions and then answer:"

The pictures on the left show Arab men on the move, probably a scene related to the 1948 refugees.

The map on the right is titled "The UN plan to partition Palestine; the 181 General Assembly resolution".

The legend reads:

"[Blue] The Zionist project (the Jewish state)

[Light brown] The Arab state

[Pink] International administration of the Jerusalem and Bethlehem region"

The questions below read:

"- Let us discuss the contents of the map and the two pictures.

- Let us draw conclusions regarding the relation between the map and the two pictures."

## السياق التاريخي لانطلاق الثورة الفلسطينية المعاصرة:

نشاط (٤ / أ): نلاحظ الخريطة، والصورتين، ونناقش، ثم نجيب:



◀ نناقش مضموني الخريطة، والصورتين.

◀ نستنتج العلاقة بين الخريطة، والصورتين.

(History Studies, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 52)

"As for Palestine, after the [Second World] War the United Nations Organization, in accordance with the international committee's recommendation, issued Resolution No. 181 on 29.11.1947 that partitioned Palestine into two states, one Arab and one Jewish.

[Assignment:]

Let us establish a pseudo court in which we will put the UN Organization on trial for not having performed its task during the Palestinian Catastrophe [Nakbah] and the loss of Palestine and for not having implemented its resolutions related to the Palestinian problem."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 41)

"An issue for discussion: the Palestinian and Arab position regarding the Palestine partition resolution of 1947."

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 52)

## **The Nakbah**

None of the textbooks admits that it was the Arab side that started the war following the partition resolution in order to prevent its implementation. The war, which ended in the Arab armies' total defeat, brought about a disaster upon the local Palestinians: The Jews managed not only to declare their independent state and defend it, but also to take hold of additional territories beyond the ones given to them by virtue of the partition resolution. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled or were driven out of these areas and became refugees (see below). The result of the war has been customarily styled "*Nakbah* - Catastrophe" in Palestinian parlance, as stated in one of the pieces above. The responsibility for the catastrophe is not put on the Arab side that opened the war, but, rather, on the Zionist Movement and its Imperialist supporters:

"The Palestinian people was stricken in 1948 by a heavy catastrophe, as the Zionist Movement and the Western Imperialist Powers managed to proclaim the establishment of the Zionist state over 78% of Palestine's territory, to expel 850,000 of its inhabitants to the Arab neighboring countries, to perpetrate many massacres against them (more than 60 massacres) and to destroy over 530 Palestinian cities, villages and [other kinds of] settlements. Most Palestinians have become refugees who live as displaced persons in refugee camps in Palestine and the Arab neighboring countries and suffer from misery, poverty and deprivation. As for the West Bank and Gaza, they became part of Jordan and Egypt politically and administratively."

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) pp. 52-53)

"The 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1948 is the *Nakbah* Day"

(*Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 77)

## **Zionist Occupation**

The establishment of the State of Israel is, then, an act of usurpation and occupation: "B. Our people has succumbed to an occupation for a period of decades" (Language exercise, *Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 20).

Zionist occupation of Palestine began in 1948 and continued in 1967:

"Ayyub and his family moved from the city of Acre to the city of Khan Yunis under compulsion, due to the occupation of 1948..."

(*Small Businesses*, Grade 11 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 66)

"Fifty years have passed since the occupation of the city of Jerusalem."

(*Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 78)

The perception of the occupation as two consecutive phases is expressed in the following item titled "Case Study 1: Free Palestine 48-67":

"The student Carmel meets many foreign tourists because her father owns a restaurant that serves sea food. She noticed that some of these tourists were not familiar with the truth regarding the Palestinian problem. She consulted with some of her friends regarding the propagation in the West of the fact of the [Palestinian] just cause, and they decided to convey the message to the world regarding Palestine's right to be freed from the Zionist occupation and to live in liberty and dignity like the other states, which has been guaranteed by international conventions.

In order to implement that, they opened a blog in one of the social communication sites under the title "Free Palestine 48-67" where they started to acquire support for the Palestinian cause by way of publishing pictures, video clips, testimonies and stories about the Palestinians' daily suffering emanating from the practices of the Zionist occupation such as murder, destruction, the siege, detention and land confiscation. In order to propagate that message they started calling upon Palestinians who live in the West to join that page. Six months after the page's opening, its participants' number reached 10,000, while the average number of its visitors reached 150,000 visits, which they considered a success of that campaign."

**حالة دراسية (١): ٤٨-٦٧ Free Palestine**

تلتقي الطالبة كرمل بالكثير من السائحين الأجانب، بحكم امتلاك والدها لمطعم يقدم المأكولات البحرية، ولاحظت بأن بعض هؤلاء السائحين لا يعرفون حقيقة القضية الفلسطينية، وتشاورت مع بعض صديقاتها حول كيفية توصيل حقيقة عدالة هذه القضية للغرب، فقررن توصيل رسالة للعالم حول حق فلسطين في التحرر من الاحتلال الصهيوني، والعيش بحرية وكرامة كباقي الدول، والذي كفلته المواثيق والمعاهدات الدولية.

ولتحقيق ذلك قمن بإنشاء مدونة إلكترونية على أحد مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي بعنوان Free Palestine ٤٨-٦٧، حيث بدأت بالترويج للقضية الفلسطينية، من خلال نشر صور، ومقاطع فيديو، وشهادات، وقصص لمعاناة الفلسطينيين اليومية الناتجة عن ممارسات الاحتلال الصهيوني؛ كالقتل، والتدمير، والحصار، والإعتقال، ومصادرة الأراضي، ولتوصيل هذه الرسالة بدأت بدعوة الفلسطينيين ممن يسكنون في الغرب للانضمام إلى هذه الصفحة، وبعد ستة أشهر من إطلاق الصفحة تجاوز عدد أصدقاء الصفحة (١٠٠٠٠) صديق، في حين بلغ متوسط عدد زوار الصفحة (١٥٠٠٠٠) مشاهدة، مما اعتبره مؤشر على نجاح هذه الحملة.



(Management and Economics, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 84)

Both phases of the occupation have denied the Palestinians the status of a free nation, unlike the situation of other Arab peoples:

"The Arab countries have achieved their political independence, except for Palestine that is still under Zionist occupation."

(History Studies, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 46)

"An issue for discussion: Palestine has not gained independence in spite of the promulgation of its independence in 1988 [in Algiers]."

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 49)

"...Palestine's people still struggles to [attain] freedom and independence and to build its independent state."

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 3)

"The international organizations and agreements and the human rights covenants have granted the colonized peoples their right to self-determination and freedom, but we see that Palestine is still under Zionist occupation. In light of that, let us discuss:

- The reasons that prevent Palestine from achieving its independence and sovereignty
- The international position vis-à-vis the Palestinian problem
- How is it possible to benefit from the experience of [other] liberation movements in order to realize the Palestinian people's goals of liberation and independence?"

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 59)

In order to make the Palestinians a free nation, both occupations – that of 1948 and that of 1967 - should end, but it is possible to first annul the later one, in accordance with the Phased Plan adopted by the PLO in 1974:

"The PLO has had many achievements on the international level. It has attained a membership status at the UN as an observer since 1974, following its adoption of the Phases Plan that is based on the idea of establishing a Palestinian state on any liberated territory of the land of Palestine. Palestine later gained a status of non-member observer state on 29.11.2012. As a result, Palestine has become a member of specific UN agencies, in addition to other international agreements and covenants, including the Covenant of Rome that established the International Criminal Court, as well as UNESCO. That resolution also granted the State of Palestine a series of political achievements, such as putting an end to the Zionist false arguments that the Palestinian territories [in the West Bank and Gaza] were disputed territories and a renewed emphasis of former UN resolutions that they had been occupied Palestinian territories since 1967, including Jerusalem."

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 56, and see the remark on this page regarding America's support of "Zionist Occupation" in international forums, in contrast to its position regarding Algeria's independence.)

In spite of the UN's success in making the Arab states independent - "It failed in finding a just solution to the Palestinian problem and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the Palestinian territories that were occupied in 1967.

An issue for discussion: The failure on the part of the UN to find a just solution to the Palestinian problem and end the Zionist occupation."

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 56)

This line of argumentation appears in mathematics textbooks too. The beginning of an assignment in the field of indefinite integrals reads:

"Peoples are born free by nature and, due to various reasons, external groups covet their resources. Then, they turn from a position of freedom to the position of

occupation. But this is not an eternal position because peoples resist and fight to become independent anew, and the Palestinian people is a very powerful example for that. Occupation is the opposite of independence."

(*Mathematics*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 30)

The liberation from the occupation is supposed to take place with Arab, Muslim and international support (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 134, and see the question on p. 135: "5. How is it possible to attract investments aimed at supporting the project of liberation from the Zionist occupation?").

## **The Impact of the Palestinian Problem on the Arab World**

The Establishment of Israel not only harmed the Palestinians but had grave implications as well on the Arabs in general, as part of the perceived Western conspiracy against them:

"The Zionist Entity was implanted in the heart of the Arab homeland in order to prevent the realization of the Arab dream of unification."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 119)

Yet, recent events in the Arab world at large have blurred this aspect of the Palestinian problem: The "Arab Spring" that started in 2011 has given the Palestinian cause a devastating blow, as it has diminished its prominence in Middle Eastern politics. The West and Israel are partly blamed for this development:

"The United States, NATO and the Zionist Entity were clearly aspiring to undermining the Arabs' situation, rip apart the unity of their states and weaken their armies. Since the American-British war against Iraq in 2003 and their success in occupying it, dismantling its national army, tearing apart its people's unity and distributing the denominational spirit between its Muslims (Sunnites and Shiites) and the ethnic one ([between] Arabs and Kurds), the occupiers' appetite has opened for duplicating that experience in other Arab states, especially those states under a republican regime that were hostile to American policy. In that, they utilized the problems of democracy and human rights [in these states].

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 65. In the draft edition this ending was worded differently: "[That was done] by raising shiny slogans such as 'democracy' and 'human rights' that found response among some people."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 84)

One of the results of the "Arab Spring" was:

"The Palestinian cause has become marginal and the eyes have turned away from it... which has provided the Occupation State with space and opportunities for ignoring its obligations and agreements with the State of Palestine. It intensified the pace of settlement, land confiscation and the limitations imposed on the inhabitants."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 68. It should be noted that the draft edition of this book elaborated on this subject further: "turning the eyes away from the main enemy of the Arab and Muslim nation" (*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No

date [2018]) p. 86). "A cardinal shift took place that has removed the Zionist Entity from its [traditional] position as the main enemy, and it has become a partner to some Arab states and a supporter of some factions of the Syrian opposition" (*ibid.*, p. 87); "while the US has declared its intention to move its embassy to Jerusalem." (*ibid.*, p. 88, and see the question on p. 89: "How has the 'Arab Spring' brought about the making of the Palestinian cause a marginal one?")

This development is perceived in the PA schoolbooks as ruinous to the Palestinian cause. That is why Arab unity has become today, more than ever, a pressing need in the eyes of the Palestinian authors of these books, as advocated in the three following pieces:

"The Palestinian people needs more than the [other] Arab peoples the [sense of] Arab national membership in order to strengthen its struggle for the achievement of liberation and independence, in light of its difficult struggle against the Zionist Occupation State that is supported by the forces of Imperialism and world hegemony [=the US]."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 106)

"...The Arab nation is facing the same external challenges, either regionally, like the Zionist danger, or the international challenges reflected by the United States' hegemony over the states of the Arab homeland... What we see today is that every Arab state is facing the external danger on its own, and soon collapsing in front of it. The best proof of that is the Palestinians' confrontation with the Zionist Entity and their defense of their existence and of the nation's holy places alone."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 116)

"Arab unity has become today a pressing need for the Arab nation in light of the increasing Zionist danger and the Imperialist dangers that surround it. The Zionist Entity was established on the land of Arab Palestine as a barrier preventing the unification of the two parts of the great Arab homeland [in Asia and Africa] and it aspires to sow the seeds of dissension and internal struggle in all Arab and Muslim societies in order to prevent the creation of Arab unity among the sons of the Arab nation that will act in support of the Palestinian people's resistance for the realization of its goals."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 108)

In the draft edition of this book this sentence was ended in a far revealing form:

"...that will act in support of the Palestinian people's resistance for the realization of its independence and for **the extirpation [*isti'sal*] of this artificial and foreign entity from the Arab region.**"

(*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 145. Emphasis added.)

## The Refugee Problem

This is a cardinal theme within the overall narrative in the PA schoolbooks. It is presented as part of the Palestinian "*Nakbah*", side by side of the Zionist occupation, and also as an integral part of the solution: The *Nakbah* will not end except by full repatriation of the refugees - as conquerors with weapons in their hands. The



following item, a poem titled "A Refugee's Will", by the Egyptian poet Hashem al-Rifai, shows that clearly (excerpts):

"They have driven you out. Return to those who have driven you out  
Because there is a land that your father used to cultivate...  
Haifa is sighing. Have you not heard Haifa's sigh?...  
Behind you there is a land that fed your childhood  
And wants to see you one day in your youth  
The horrors of the disaster have not made her forget you  
She is longing but her glance is full of admonishment  
If you come to her one day with the weapon in your hand...  
Then cry out: ...

'I am at your service, O my dear homeland that has been deserted'..."

(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) pp. 84-85, and see the question on p. 86: "6. How will the Palestinian refugee return to his homeland?")

The poem is accompanied by the following picture:



(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 83)

The PA schoolbooks emphasize the three elements of the refugee problem: forced emigration [*tahjir*], the temporary character of the refugees' current places of residence and the continued sense of belonging to their former homes:

"Let us think and discuss: the impact of the Palestinians' forced emigration at the Zionists' hands in 1948."

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 43)

A picture of "a camp for the Palestinian refugees" within the discussion of human factors influencing population distribution:





مخيم للاجئين الفلسطينيين

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 41)

And a short explanation in the following page:

"Wars and conflicts cause widespread displacement, forced emigration and the establishment of settlements that were not existent formerly, such as refugee camps, as happened to the Palestinian people in the Catastrophe [*Nakbah*] of 1948, the 1967 war, and [also] in part of the Arab states due to the wars and the unstable political conditions there after 2011."

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) pp. 42-43)

Also, in mathematics:

"The Palestinian refugee camps were formed because of the ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the Zionist gangs. These camps are distributed in and outside of Palestine. If the number of the refugee camps in Palestine and Jordan is 44, and the number of the camps in Palestine is three-fold the number of camps in Jordan, plus 4 - I will calculate the number of the refugee camps in each of Palestine and Jordan."



تشكّلت المخيمات الفلسطينية بسبب التطهير العرقي الذي مارسه العصابات الصهيونية، حيث توزعت هذه المخيمات ما بين فلسطين وخارجها.

إذا كان عدد المخيمات في فلسطين والأردن ٤٤ مخيماً، وكان عدد المخيمات في فلسطين يساوي ٣ أضعاف عدد المخيمات في الأردن مضافاً إليه العدد ٤.

أحسب عدد المخيمات في كل من فلسطين والأردن.

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2017) p. 7)

The abandoned places of residence, including the ruined ones, are kept in mind, as seen in the following assignment accompanied by a map of the whole country, with its Mandatory time districts:

"Question 8: I will look up the location of the Palestinian cities and villages at the sources of information and will put them on Palestine's silent map: Acre, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Jericho, Safad, Jaffa, Gaza, **Deir Yassin**, **Ma'lul**, **Jabul**, Al-Rihaniyyah, **Al-Mansurah**, **Tall al-Safi**, **Deir Nakhkhas**."

المسألة الثامنة: أبحث من خلال مصادر المعرفة عن مواقع المدن والقرى الفلسطينية، وأضعها على خريطة فلسطين الصماء:

عكا، رام الله، القدس، أريحا، صفد، يافا، غزة، دير ياسين، معلول، جبول، الريحانية، المنصورة، تل الصافي، دير نخاس.



(*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 101. The **bold-lettered** names are of non-existent villages within pre-1967 Israel.)

And ordinary Palestinians today who live in the West Bank and Gaza refugee camps are referred to in the books according to their places of origin:

"Mayy is a young woman whose origin is in the Palestinian city of Acre and she lives in one of the refugee camps near the city of Ramallah."

(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship & Business] (2017) p. 4)

"Muayyad is a young man from the Palestinian village of Ajjur the inhabitants of which were forced to leave in 1948 and he now lives in Al-Arub refugee camp..." (*Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 11 [Technological] (2017) p. 97)

These three elements - forced emigration [*tahjir*], temporariness of current residence and attachment to the former homes - constitute the basis for the perceived "Right of Return" of the Palestinian refugees of 1948 and their descendant, numbering today over five million:

"Activity 1: The refugees' right of return is a lasting right guaranteed by all international legal codes and societies. Therefore, the Palestinian [person] who has been deported from his land and homeland by force is entitled to return to his homeland. This right remains in force notwithstanding the changing circumstances and situations. Where will this right end up to?"



حق العودة للاجئين هو حق ثابت، ضمته  
جميع الشرائع الأممية والمجتمعات الدولية.  
فلسطيني الذي أبعد عن أرضه ووطنه  
قصراً، له الحق في العودة إلى وطنه. ويبقى  
الحق قائماً مهما تغيرت الظروف والأحوال.  
إلام ستؤول نهاية هذا الحق؟

نشاط ١

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Sciences] (2017) p. 88)

The "right of return" issue reappears on the opening page of Unit 2 - Statistics and Probabilities in a mathematics textbook with the following assignment: "What do you expect to be the number of refugees in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon who hold the return keys?"



(*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2017) p. 30)

The refugees' return is considered a realistic possibility to a point that it is presented as an economic factor. Among of the events that may influence the future Palestinian consumption is the following ones: "1. The return of a large number of refugees to their cities and villages; 5. An international resolution decreeing the return of the Palestinian deportees' property" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 132)

## **Jerusalem**

The status of Jerusalem, which both Palestinians and Jews consider their eternal capital, is part and parcel of the conflict between the two nations, and the PA schoolbooks make an effort to present the city as entirely Arab with no ties whatsoever to Jews and to Jewish history and heritage.

Jerusalem is mentioned as an occupied city (*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) pp. 38, 39, and see also *Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 88).

"Expression: Jerusalem is... Palestine's eternal capital. Neither the occupier nor the usurper has right to it and it does not convey its affairs except to its own people. Let us write an article about that."

(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 46)

A piece titled "Jerusalem - A Compass and Glory" describes Jerusalem as a city suffering under foreign occupation and from attempts to change its identity, and at the same time denies its Jewish heritage. Excerpts:

"Palestine's sacred capital stands as a witness and a martyr... She is the struggling mother that bleeds all the time but never succumbs to the invaders. She wraps herself with her wall like a costume of purity and refuses to die. The invaders tighten their grip upon her soul, but she - for fifty years now - has tightened her grip over their grip...

Will the foreign invaders be able - whatever their power - to make a mother forget her sons? She knows them by their features, even though the enemies dig in her history false [archaeological] excavations with baseless claims and build on her soil a false heritage and a reality supported by force and tyranny...

She wraps herself with her latest wounds every night and finds a shelter inside the homeland's sad cave accompanied by her fragrant [Islamic traditional characteristic of martyrs] young people... who go to their death with a smile.

...Because she is the consciousness that cannot be distorted by the policy of *fait accompli* and cannot be annulled neither by the [separation] walls that are built here nor by the Judaization [activity that takes place] there.

History is reflected in Jerusalem, shining with its facts that are not mixed with doubt and neither falsified by superstitions nor by legends. Her markets tell the truth and her ornaments silence every claimer and expose every liar. Jerusalem is revealed as a faithful Arab city until the end of history...

She will remain in the nation's consciousness as a sanctified one, high above the misery of the *fait accompli*, the distorted narratives and the usurped history, and [above] the grip of the invaders who do not spare an effort to falsify history, market illusions and set loose the destruction tools in order to distort history... She is undefeatable, even if her soil is lying for a day or two under the invaders' feet..." (Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path, Grade 12 (2018) pp. 37-39, and see the explanation on p. 39: "In the sentence 'Jerusalem stands as a witness and a martyr [*shahedah* and *shahidah* in Arabic] - Witness: observing the events around it. Martyr: sacrificing her sons who defend her, i.e., herself" and also question 5: "How does the Occupation act to distort Jerusalem's geography?")

## **Chapter Two: Judaism and Jews**

Not a single reference to Jews and Judaism that could be interpreted as "positive" or even "neutral" has been found in the PA schoolbooks examined for the purpose of the present study. The books ignore the Jews' history in the country in antiquity and deny the existence of their holy places there. Their very presence in the country today is delegitimized, and they are demonized within the context of the conflict as well as religiously. Their national movement in modern times – Zionism – is both delegitimized and demonized.

### **Judaism**

There are cases in the Koran in which Jews are referred to negatively in terms of the supposedly blasphemous aspects of their belief, and the Palestinian educators use these references. The following is a piece appearing in a grade-11 textbook:

"The Jews said: 'God is poor and we are rich' (Aal Imran, 181) and: 'God's hand is shackled' (Al-Maidah, 64)."

*(Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 27)*

### **The Jews in Antiquity**

Contrary to the pre-2016 PA schoolbooks that featured 3-4 cases where Jewish ancient history in the country was referred to, the newly published books do not mention that at all. Instead, the new schoolbooks include several pieces that describe such references as falsification of history (see the material in the parallel sub-chapter in the September 2017 study and the last piece within the Jerusalem sub-chapter in this study).

### **The Jews in Islamic Contexts**

Two main points are discussed under this title in the PA schoolbooks: The negative aspects of the Koran's attitude to the Children of Israel, and the negative descriptions by Muslim early sources of the relations between the Jews of Arabia and the prophet of Islam. Non-negative such descriptions in these sources have not been brought to the Palestinian student by the books examined in the present study. Yet, it is worthwhile to note that the presentation of Jews in this context within the PA books is far less hateful than what one may find in schoolbooks of other Arab governments, including the Egyptian ones.

The Al-Isra' Chapter in the Koran deals with several issues among which are: 1) Prophet Muhammad's miraculous nocturnal journey from the mosque of Mecca to the Al-Aqsa Mosque; 2) the Children of Israel's past corruption and disobedience of God's orders for which they were punished twice [the destruction of the first and second temples is insinuated here]. The Palestinian authors of an Islamic Education

textbook for grade 11 combine these two separate events, thus creating the impression that Israel's present control of the said mosque is a continuation of the Children of Israel's past corruption, and that the Muslims should punish them in accordance with past such events. This line of argument starts with the lesson's goals:

- "- Explaining the status of Al-Aqsa Mosque among the Muslims.
- Explaining the Children of Israel's corruption in light of the verses.
- Drawing the conclusions regarding the characteristics of those who will liberate Al-Aqsa Mosque."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 8)

The lesson's main point:

"3. The Children of Israel's corruption upon the earth's surface was and will be the reason for their perdition."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 12)

The following assignments make this combination clearer:

"[Mark as 'true'-'not true':] The verses of the Al-Isra' Chapter indicate the need to act according to the Koran in the struggle against the Children of Israel.

Question 4: I will clarify in the light of the verses the characteristics of those ones who will remove the Children of Israel's corruption...."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 13)

As already mentioned, Jews are also demonized in the PA schoolbooks within the context of their relations in Arabia with the prophet of Islam and the Muslim community in the city of Medina at that time. One such case describes a failed attempt by some Jewish leaders in Medina to persuade Muhammad to pronounce an unjust verdict in their own benefit, promising him that they would convert to Islam if he did (*Islamic Education*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 21). Another case tells of a Jewish inhabitant of Medina who tried, and failed, to instigate two groups of Muslims in Medina against each other (*ibid.*, p. 24).

### **The Jews in Modern Times**

No reference is made to this issue in the 11 and 12-grade books, as has systematically been the case since the first appearance of the PA schoolbooks in 2000 – save for the references to Jews within the context of the conflict. Non-reference to the Holocaust is part of this policy.

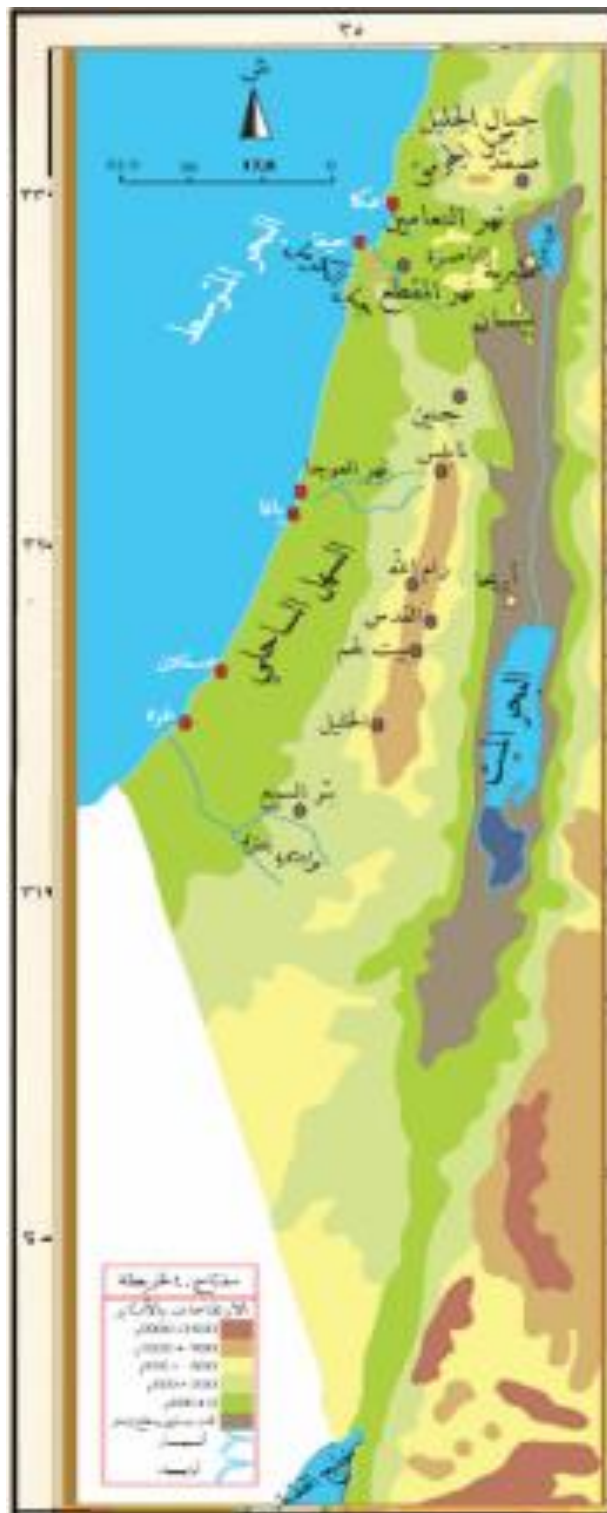
### **The Jews in the Context of the Conflict**

The 6.5 million Jews who now live in the State of Israel are not regarded as legitimate inhabitants of the country. That was made clear in former schoolbooks that did not count the Jews among the inhabitants in population charts of the country today. Another influential didactic element has been the elimination from the map of all

cities that were established by Jews in modern times. Those ones of them that do appear - are given Arabic names.

The following map, titled "Physical Map of Palestine", does not show such cities, except for a dot representing Tel Aviv, but with no name:





الشكل رقم (١): خريطة  
فلسطين الطبيعية

(Geography Studies, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 100. A similar map, without the southern part of the country, appears on p. 102.)

The map of the country without the Jewish cities of modern times appears again in another book, this time with the Jewish city of Eilat renamed Umm al-Rashrash:



(*Physics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Sciences] (2017) p. 5)

Umm al-Rashrash (that is, Israeli Eilat) reappears in a question that starts as follows:

"Two cars set out at 8 in the morning, one from the city of Umm al-Rashrash towards the city of Tiberias at a speed of 70 km per hour and the other one... from the city of Tiberias to the city of Umm al-Rashrash at a speed of 80 km per hour..."

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2017) p. 5)

In the following map, in addition to the unnamed city of Tel Aviv, the Jewish cities of Netanyahu and Eilat appear under the Arabic name of the desolate places where they were later built - Umm Khaled and Umm al-Rashrash, respectively:



(Mathematics, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2017) p. 6)

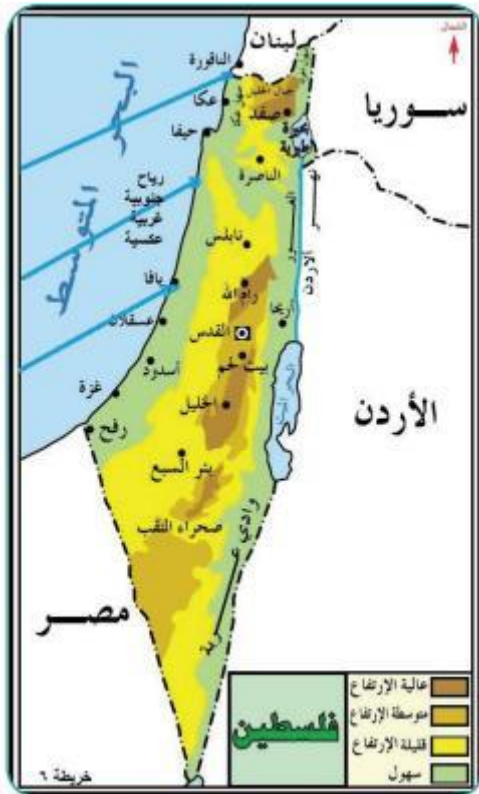
A map of the country with the emblem of the PA on top next to the inscription saying "Elementary Boys' School of Far'un" indicates the name "Tel Aviv" in parentheses accompanied by the Arabic translation "Tall al-Rabi". Netanyahu appears as well as "Natanya (Umm Khaled)". Both are marked on the map in red. The Jewish city of Haderah, whose name is derived from an Arabic source meaning "Greenish" (because of the swamps that used to be there) appears as well. The map has been enlarged way beyond its original size to make the place names more visible:



(Mathematics, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2018) p. 100)

The following map does not present at all the cities established by Jews in modern times. The respective locations of Asqalan (Ashkelon) and the Arab village of Isdud (near the site where the city of Ashdod was later built) have been mistakenly interchanged:





(Geography Studies, Grade 12 (2018) p. 45)

The 2017 textbooks have intensified their rejection of the Jewish presence in the country verbally as well, by replacing the older term "settlement - *mustawtanah*" denoting a Jewish settlement in both the West Bank and pre-1967 Israel with "colony - *musta'marah*" (see, for example, *Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 66), although there are few cases in which the older term is still used.

The Hebrew language, which was official in Mandatory Palestine alongside English and Arabic, was also targeted, as part of the PA effort to delegitimize the Jewish presence in the country. Former PA books, including one published in 2017, featured cases in which Hebrew inscriptions were erased from British Mandatory official documents reproduced in the books, such as a stamp and a coin. Contrary to those examples, the books that were checked in this study present a Mandatory coin and banknote with the Hebrew inscription on both:

"Activity 3: The Palestinian pound is a currency that was issued by the Currency Board of Palestine in 1927. The coins and banknotes were carrying inscriptions in three languages..."



نشاط ٣:  
الجنيه الفلسطيني عملة صدرت عن مجلس فلسطين  
للتقد عام ١٩٢٧م. حملت القطع النقدية والأوراق  
المالية كتابات بلغات ثلاث.  
ألقيت إحدى هذه القطع المنتظمة مرتين متتاليتين

(Mathematics, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2017) p. 42, and see other such examples of coins with Hebrew inscriptions in *Mathematics*, Grade 11 [other streams] (2017) p. 22; *Biology*, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2018) p. 45)



(*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [other streams] (2017) p. 100

## The Holy Places

The fact that the country is holy to Jews is absent from the PA schoolbooks: "Palestine enjoys a Muslim and Christian religious status" (*Geography Studies*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 125) and it hosts Muslim and Christian tourists (*ibid.*, p. 129). Jews are not mentioned in this context. The holy places referred to in the books belong to Muslims and Christians only (*ibid.*, p. 133). Throughout the whole PA schoolbook publishing process beginning in 2000, not a single case of acknowledging the existence of Jewish holy places in the country has been found. In cases where sites such as the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron and Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem were mentioned, they were presented as Muslim holy places threatened by usurpation on the Jews' part. Within this traditional trend, a new notion has been traced lately, namely, an effort to replace the old Muslim name "Al-Haram al-Sharif", which is commonly translated into "the Temple Mount", by "Al-Aqsa Mosque", thus emphasizing its Muslim exclusivity. The mosque itself has been renamed "the Southern Mosque [*Al-Jami' al-Qibli*]".

The new Al-Aqsa Mosque is made to include "the Southern Mosque" (until recently Al-Aqsa Mosque par excellence), the Dome of the Rock, the "Marwanian Hall of Prayer [*Al-Musalla al-Marwani* - the underground parts under the mosque which contained ancient Jewish relics that were destroyed and massively rebuilt by members of the Islamic Movement in Israel in the early 2000s]" as well as (the Jewish holy place of) the Wailing Wall, here named Al-Buraq Wall (*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 40). The following picture embodies this explanation saying: "Al-Aqsa Mosque is everything that is surrounded by the wall" and the arrows lead to "Al-Buraq Wall [the Wailing Wall]" and "the Moroccans' Gate [*Bab al-Magharibah*]". It is also said that "the Zionist Occupation has closed the Moroccans' Gate since 1967."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The Moroccans Gate remains open for tourists who wish to visit the place.



(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 40)

This new reference to the Temple Mount is reiterated in a mathematics textbook:

"Having known that the basis of the structure of the Southern Mosque located in the southern part of Al-Aqsa Mosque is rectangular..."



نشاط ٤: إذا علمت أن قاعدة مبنى المسجد القبلي الواقع جنوبي المسجد الأقصى، مستطيلة الشكل، ويزيد طولها عن عرضها بمقدار ٢٥ متراً، فإذا كان محيطها = ٢٧٠ متراً، فما بُعدي القاعدة؟  
أفرض أن طول القاعدة =  $x$  متر.

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2017) p. 5. The upper inscription says: "The Dome of the Rock Mosque"; the lower one says: "The Southern Mosque".)

A question in mathematics deals with "the Shrine of Abraham [*Al-Haram al-Ibrahimi* - the Cave of the Patriarchs]" in Hebron. It starts saying "the Shrine of Abraham is a Muslim holy place". The fact that it is holy to Jews too is not mentioned:



نشاط ١: الحرم الإبراهيمي مكان مقدس للمسلمين، وهو مبني من حجارة كبيرة (أنظر الشكل المجاور) فإذا كان طول أحد الحجارة يزيد عن عرضه بمقدار ٦ متر تقريباً، وطول قطره يساوي  $\sqrt{٥٧}$  متراً تقريباً. أفرض أن طول الحجر  $s$  وعرضه  $v$

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Sciences] (2017) p. 93)

## Zionism

Zionism is dealt with in detail by former schoolbooks of the PA. The books that were examined for the purpose of the present study do not discuss it, save for the repeated terms "Zionist occupation" etc. and the two following pieces. The first one reiterates former statements that presented Zionism as racist:

"...The intensification of racist attitudes, especially when a certain group considers itself to be the best race on earth, or in the implementation of Imperialist projects of dominance over a land and [its] inhabitants, like the Zionist colonialist Imperialism [*Al-Isti'mar al-Istitani*] in Palestine."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 5, and see the question on p. 6 regarding the basic motive for "the Zionist aggressions against the Palestinian people." It should be noted that in the draft edition of this book Imperialism was also mentioned side by side with Zionism. It was erased from this final edition.)

One of the arguments against Zionism is that it negates traditional Judaism as seen by Muslims. It was present in the draft edition of Arabic textbook for grade 12 but has been omitted from the final edition. Refuting "the Zionist Occupation's claims that it acts in accordance with the traditions of the prophets" an Egyptian poet writes:

"...Who are you? [A descendant] of Jacob? How come that you made him a liar,  
And believed the wolf inside you that had betrayed his son?...  
You did not give me the Moses I love...  
You have taken David from me..."

(*[Arabic Language:] Reading, Texts, Grammar, Prosody and Expression*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 50, and see the question on p. 54: "5. The poet refutes in the fourth verse the claim that Zionism follows God's prophets, peace be upon them. Let us clarify that." As already said, this piece, with the accompanying question, have been omitted from the book in its final edition.)



## Chapter Three: Israel

Israel is both delegitimized and demonized:

### Israel and Palestine

Israel is not mentioned by its name, save for very few cases. Instead, it is called "the Zionist Entity [*Al-Kian al-Sahyuni*]" or "Zionist Occupation [*Al-Ihtilal al-Sahyuni*]":

"The War of Attrition that was waged by Egypt against the Zionist Entity in the period between the years 1967-1970..."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 6)

"During the October War waged by the Arab states against the entity of the Zionist Occupation in 1973 the oil producing states decided to stop its supply by them to the United States that was providing the Zionist Occupation state at that time with military support."

(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 52)

In some other cases the name "Israel" is put between parentheses (which often serve in Arabic as quotation marks) as a sign of non-recognition:

"The Golan Heights are an area occupied by (Israel) in the 1967 war."

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 92)

There are cases, in which the name "Israel" is still found in the text, but they are very few and most of them appear in the draft editions of the books. In some cases this "anomaly" was "corrected" in the final edition. Following are the detailed cases:

1. "[America's] absolute inclination to Israel's side in the Arab-Israeli conflict" (*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 131) turned into "the absolute inclination to the Zionist occupation's side" and the expression "the Arab-Israeli conflict" was omitted (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 98).
2. "As for the Arab position, it regarded the European Union as an alternative to the hegemony of the US that is inclined towards the Israeli interests in all cases, especially after the Union's states have adopted more moderate positions than [those of] the US regarding the problem of the Arab-Zionist conflict" (*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 172) has been changed into: "...inclined towards the Zionist interests..." (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 130).
3. "Question 3: Explain - The emergence of Israel on the soil of Palestine impedes the project of Arab unification" (*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 160). In the final edition this question has been omitted (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 119).
4. "In the framework of the Ministry of Education's policy of strengthening the steadfastness of the [Palestinian] localities near the Israeli settlements [*mustawtanat*]..." (*Mathematics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] Draft (No

date [2018]) p. 7). In this case, the term "Israeli" has been left in the final edition as well (*Mathematics*, Grade 12 [Other streams] (2018) p. 12).

Cases where "Israel" or "Israeli" appear in non-draft editions:

5. "The measures taken by the Israeli Occupation that hinder the growth of the [Palestinian] economy" (*Mathematics*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 72).
6. "The Israeli water company" (*Geography Studies*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 155).
7. "The Israeli Occupation" and "the Israeli authorities" within the discussion of agricultural problems and water shortage because of Israel (*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [Other streams] (2017) p. 117)

On the other hand, one opposite case also exists. A draft edition said: "France participated, together with Britain and the Zionist Entity State in the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956" (*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 73), and in the final edition "the Zionist Entity State" has been replaced by "Israel" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 55).

The State of Israel never appears on maps, contrary to Palestine that appears in its stead in most cases.

The following map shows the country in its entirety in one color, with the name "Palestine" written on Israel's pre-1967 Negev region. The names "the West Bank", "Gaza", "the Golan Heights", "Lebanon", "Syria" (including the Golan Heights), "Jordan" and "Egypt" - are all present. The name "Israel" is absent:



(*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 142

Palestine replaces Israel on maps of the Arab world. A physical map of the Arab world includes the whole country under the name "Palestine" (*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 103). The two following maps, both titled "Map B: The Arab Homeland", show the whole country next to the name "Palestine":



## خريطة (ب)

الوطن العربي

(History Studies, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 173)



## خريطة (ب)

(History Studies, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 136)

A similar map decorated by the flags of the Arab states appears in the same book:



(*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 141)

In the final edition of this book the two former maps have been omitted and only the third one has been left (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 105).

Another similar map:



(*Geography Studies*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 146, and see a similar map *ibid.*, p. 132)

Israel's pre-1967 territory is dubbed "the Palestinian territories that were occupied in 1948..." (*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 55). In the draft edition of a history textbook for grade 12 it was termed by the circumlocution "the Green Line" (*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 75), but in the final edition it was replaced by "the Palestinian lands that were occupied in 1948" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 58).

Cities within pre-1967 Israel are described as Palestinian:

"Mu'tasem is a young man, an inhabitant of the Palestinian city of Nazareth..." (*Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 11 [Technological] (2017) p. 18, and see another reference to Nazareth as a Palestinian city *ibid.* p. 92; in *Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 12 [Technological] (2018) p. 145; and in *Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 45)

"The Palestinian city of Jaffa."  
(*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 63, and see also in *Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 123)

"The Palestinian city of Haifa..."  
(*Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 11 [Technological] (2017) p. 64, and see another reference to Haifa as a Palestinian city in *Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 12 [Technological] (2018) p. 145)

"The Palestinian city of Acre"  
(*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 4, and see also in *Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 112)

"The Al-Afiyah Dairy Factory in the Palestinian city of Tiberias."  
(*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 50)

"...The Palestinian Investment Company has an idea of extracting natural gas off the shore of the Palestinian city of Ashkelon... [Located in pre-1967 Israel]"

س٨ لدى الشركة الفلسطينية للاستثمار، فكرة لاستخراج الغاز الطبيعي قبالة سواحل مدينة عسقلان الفلسطينية، وبعد الدراسة الأولية، توافرت لدينا البيانات الآتية:

(*Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 12 [Technological] (2018) p. 123, and see also, under the other Arabic name of this city: "the Palestinian city of Majdal" in *Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 49)

Another piece presents the Israeli cities of Safad and Beer Sheba as Palestinian cities (*Geography Studies*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 120, and see another such reference to Beer Sheba in *Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 129).

It should be noted that adding the term "Palestinian" to cities in the country is mostly done in the case of cities within pre-1967 Israel. This phenomenon is not that common regarding cities in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.



Another piece talks of "all the Palestinian cities from Rafah to Naqurah [Rosh Haniqrah on the Lebanese border]" - an area encompassing the whole Israeli Coastal Plain including Tel Aviv and Haifa (*Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 12 [Technological] (2018) p. 84, and see a similar expression in *Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 22).

## Israel's Image

Israel is wholly demonized. Not a single item of objective information that would counterbalance Israel's negative image is provided to the Palestinian student. There is even a dehumanizing expression used in one case to denote "the occupying enemy":

"[The martyrs] carried their hearts on their palms as stones, as embers, as a blaze And stoned with them the wild beast on the road...  
[Question:] 4. Let us specify the poetess's description of the occupying enemy."  
(*Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) pp. 71, 73, respectively)

The extensive demonization involves victimhood expressions:

"The Palestinian wedding is considered one of symbols of Palestinian heritage, for the Palestinians are careful to bring gladness and joy into their hearts in spite of the troubles they suffer from at the hands of Zionist Occupation."  
(*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 59)

Throughout an eighteen-year period of PA textbook research, over 30 accusations against Israel in various fields have been gathered from the books, beginning with Israel's very establishment and ending with its perceived conspiracy of sending wild boars to destroy Palestinian crops (see the above-mentioned studies). The "crop" of this current study is presented in the following 22 sections of this sub-chapter. The fact that the most serious accusations in the first two sections have all been taken from mathematics textbooks clearly attests to the intensification of the indoctrination endeavor in the 2017 PA schoolbooks, as mathematics has become a vital tool within that effort (and see the examples taken from mathematics textbooks in other sections too):

### 1. Israel perpetrates massacres against Palestinians

"Activity 1: In that quiet and peaceful village, whose inhabitants were dreaming of [getting their daily] piece of bread, which was located at the outskirts of Jerusalem, in the morning of that day of spring, while the people were still asleep, the gangs of violence, oppression and slyness entered the village, killed close to three hundred peaceful [inhabitants] and expelled its people in order to empty the land of its inhabitants and seize their lands..."

About what village does the text speak?"

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Sciences] (2017) p. 66)

"The Abrahamic Mosque [the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron] is one of the most important historical and religious sites in Palestine. Its name has been connected to one of the Zionist Occupation's massacres of which the victims were 180 martyrs and wounded persons from among the worshippers.

I will find the number of the massacre's martyrs and wounded persons, having known that the number of the wounded is five-fold the martyrs' number..."



**نشاط ١:** المسجد الإبراهيمي من أهم المعالم التاريخية والدينية في فلسطين. ارتبطت باسمه إحدى مجازر الاحتلال الصهيوني حيث راح ضحيتها ١٨٠ مُصلياً ما بين شهيد وجريح. أجدُ عدد شهداء وجرحى المجزرة إذا علمت أن عدد الجرحى يساوي خمسة أمثال عدد الشهداء. أفرض أن عدد شهداء المجزرة س شهيد. إذن عدد جرحى المجزرة بدلالة س = ..... عدد شهداء المجزرة وجرحاها بدلالة س يكون ٦ س. لماذا؟ عدد شهداء المجزرة = ..... عدد جرحى المجزرة = .....

(Mathematics, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2017) p. 4)

The following item, also taken from a mathematics textbook, combines that massacre with another accusation against Israel:

"The Association of the Families of the Martyrs of the Abrahamic Sanctuary [Al-Haram al-Ibrahimi] Massacre wanted to invest a certain amount of money in a project... It found out that it was bound to take into consideration the risks to which the investment might be exposed. One of the risks is related to the political situation, like the prevention on the part of the Occupation authorities of importing raw materials necessary for the project's growth, such as cement and other construction materials, as is the case in the Gaza Strip..."

(Mathematics, Grade 11 [other streams] (2017) p. 116)

Another such accusation, also spotted in a mathematics textbook, deals specifically with Israeli settlers in this respect:

"3. One of the settlers opens fire on the cars passing through one of the roads. If the probability of his hitting a car in one shot is 0.7 and the settler shot at 10 cars, what do you expect to be the number of the cars that were hit?"

**٣** يُطلق أحد المستوطنين النار على السيارات المارة في إحدى الطرق، إذا كان احتمال إصابته للسيارة في الطلقة الواحدة هو ٠,٧، أطلق المستوطن النار على ١٠ سيارات، ما توقعك لعدد السيارات التي أُصيبت؟

(Mathematics, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2017) p. 55)

## 2. Israel destroys Palestinian villages

Beside the perpetration of massacres, Israel is also responsible for the total destruction of Palestinian villages (and this item as well has been derived from a mathematics textbook):

"Activity 1: The Zionist Occupation destroyed in 1948 a large number of Palestinian villages among which 30 villages in the district of Acre, 65 villages in the district of Ramleh and 5 villages in the district of Nazareth.

A researcher from the city of Beer Sheba wanted to study the features of the destroyed villages in the three districts. He went on a field trip to each village at an expense of 30 Dinars per village in the district of Ramleh, 35 Dinars per village in the district of Nazareth and 40 Dinars per village in the district of Acre. What is the average expense per one destroyed village?"



**نشاط ١:**  
دمّر الاحتلال الصهيوني عام ١٩٤٨ م عدداً كبيراً من القرى الفلسطينية، منها: ٣٠ قرية قضاء عكا، و ٦٥ قرية قضاء الرملة، و ٥ قرى قضاء الناصرة.  
أراد باحث من مدينة بئر السبع دراسة معالم القرى المدمرة في المدن الثلاث، فقام بجولة ميدانية لكل قرية بكلفة ٣٠ ديناراً للقرية الواحدة في قضاء الرملة، و ٣٥ ديناراً للقرية في قضاء الناصرة، و ٤٠ ديناراً للقرية في قضاء عكا، ما متوسط تكلفة زيارة القرية المدمرة الواحدة؟

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2017) p. 46)

Demonizing material appears in textbooks of other subjects too:

### 3. Israel causes suffering to Palestinian children

"...Say a prayer on the blood of a child in Gaza..."

(A verse from a poem, *Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 42, and see the question on p. 43: "4. The children of Palestine suffer as a result of the Zionist occupation. Let us provide examples for that from reality.")

"...The children's blood is a proof of fear and panic which are the characteristics of the Occupation."

(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 41)



"Activity: let us write a report on the Occupation's most prominent abuses of the right to education in Jerusalem."

(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 40)

#### 4. Israel is aggressive

"Activity No. 1: Let us look attentively, draw conclusions and then answer:

- Let us describe what we see in the picture.
- What is the meaning that is given to what the picture shows?
- Let us draw conclusions regarding the impact left by the Zionist aggression against Gaza.

[The caption on the photograph reads: "The Israeli aggression against Gaza, 2014"]<sup>7</sup>



(*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 4)

The same piece appears in the final edition, but with another picture captioned: "The war against Gaza in the year 2014":



(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 4)

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<sup>7</sup> The term "Israeli" may have been on the picture before its insertion in the book.

An engineer in the Gaza Strip dreamed of establishing a construction company "but this dream came at the time of the aggression against Gaza as a result of which houses and buildings were destroyed and a large part of the population became homeless..." (*Small Businesses*, Grade 11 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 54).

A photograph titled: "The Zionist air-raids on Gaza in 2014"



الغارات الصهيونية على غزة عام ٢٠١٤ م

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 86)

#### 5. Israel assassunates Palestinian leaders

"The Zionist Occupation failed in weakening the PLO or in creating an alternative leadership instead. The Zionist Occupation acted to murder its [the PLO's] prominent symbols and leaderships, primarily Khalil al-Wazir Abu Jihad in Tunis in 1988." (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 62, and see the reference to "the Martyr Abu Jihad Museum" as a tourist attraction in the neighborhood of Abu Dis near Jerusalem - *Geography Studies*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 135)

It should be noted that the late chairman of the PA himself, Yasser Arafat, is dubbed "a martyr" in some of the schoolbooks (see below in the sub-chapter of "Martyrdom") which insinuates an accusation against Israel in this matter, but the books do not say that explicitly.

#### 6. Israel violates international laws and conventions

In addition to its aggressiveness, Israel does not comply with international law regarding warfare. To prove this point, one of the schoolbooks brings two resolutions by the UN Security Council against Israel. The first one, No. 605 of 1987, condemns the violation of Palestinians' human rights on the part of Israel - "especially opening fire on unarmed civilians". The second, No. 607 of 1988, "demanded the occupying state to refrain from deporting any citizens from the occupied territories." The accompanying assignment says: "Let us discuss the international denunciation of the Zionist Occupation as appearing in these two resolutions by the Security Council?" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 63)

The following are assignments reflecting that accusation on the part of the PA:

"- Is the Zionist Entity committed to the ethics of war?  
 - Conversation session: To what extent is the Zionist Occupation State committed to the laws related to the treatment of prisoners-of-war?  
 - Let us establish a pseudo court in which we will try the Zionist Occupation State for its violations of international law."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 9)

This piece has been omitted from the book in its final edition and was replaced by another assignment: "Conversation session: the conditions of the Palestinian prisoners-of-war in the Zionist prisons and detention camps" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 8).

## 7. Israel maltreats Palestinian prisoners

A central topic within the demonizing material relates to the treatment of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons, or, rather, "prisoners-of-war [*asra*]", as they are termed in all PA schoolbooks:

A story titled "A Prisoner-of-War's Letter: Do Not Tell My Mother" tells of a Palestinian youth who was shot during clashes with Israeli forces and eventually lost his eye and part of his foot. From his cell at an Israeli prison he sends a letter to a friend whom he asks not to tell his mother that he has lost his eye and foot. Excerpts:

"The prison administration was slow in fulfilling its false promise to transplant a cornea [in my eye] years ago... Do not tell her that... my left foot was amputated and replaced by a plastic-made one... The enemy... has transformed the prisons into places where diseases are being spread and bodies are being slowly dissolved, to a point they have become places for experiment on living [bodies] that will die after a while. He [i.e., the enemy] does not care if he has lost every [drop of] humaneness and any [regard for] the rights guaranteed by international conventions regarding the treatment of prisoners-of-war. Do not tell my mother about the conditions of the sick prisoners-of-war whose body was invaded by malady while they were still struggling with jail's torment and with the jailer's coercion."

(*Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) pp. 17-19)

Another story of the same genre, called "Prison Literature [*Adab al-Sujun*]", is titled "the Defense's Arguments vis-à-vis an Absent Conscience". The preface to that story reads:

"This text deals with the tough experience of the administrative detention to which the author was subjected fifteen times, as the Occupation keeps the Palestinian prisoner-of-war [*asir*] in detention without putting charges against him under the pretext of what they call 'the secret file'. What doubles the bitterness of this detention is that it is prolonged once and again with no reason."

The following picture was given in the draft edition of the book. It shows prisoners meeting with their visitors under the supervision of a warden:



(*[Arabic Language:] Reading, Texts, Grammar, Prosody and Expression, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 91*)

In the final edition it has been replaced by the following illustration:



(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path, Grade 12 (2018) p. 78*)

Excerpts:

"As usual, the soldiers come, armed with crime and chains and cry out: 'O Chief Prisoner [*Shawish*], bring numbers so and so to court.' Numbers! We are just numbers in their eyes. I am telling myself, in order not to break down by grief: 'We are the people of [this] country and they are the ones who [just] pass [through it]'. 'Come-on, quick' he repeats in Hebrew mixed with little Arabic and much sadism...

The Occupation obliges us to participate in these comedies in order to beautify its ugly face and delude the world that it keeps us in detention away from our loved ones for a legal reason. Well then, what is that reason that the prosecution cannot mention in the charge sheet?

These moments, in which we meet during our transport to court, are a bitter struggle between our awareness of the nonsensical character of their phony and justice-less trials that consolidate the administrative detention in contradiction of all international covenants [on the one hand] and the thread of hope a detainee's heart that longs for freedom cannot but hold to it [on the other hand]...

[The prisoner is later notified of his release but on his way out he is stopped and told that it was an erroneous notice and he is returned to his cell]."

(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) pp. 78-81, and see the assignments on p. 82: "5. Let us describe the suffering of the relatives of the administrative prisoners-of-war on the basis of an experience we had ourselves or heard about; 6. The title explicitly accuses the judges in the Zionist courts of having neither objectivity nor justice. Let us discuss that.")

From a poem titled "A Letter to a Friend":

"I carry in my [body] cells those who were killed for their love [of the country]  
Those who were arrested and those who were crucified and did not reconsider...  
Those who were isolated  
And have never become weary of their jails' suffering..."

(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 19, and see the assignment on that page: "Let us mention the verses in the poem that express the following ideas: ...B. The prisoners-of-war's suffering and their endurance of the occupier's abuse.")

Within the discussion of food components: "The hunger strikers in the Zionist Occupation's jails who suffer hunger are facing leanness of their body. Let us discuss that" (*Scientific Education*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 82).

#### 8. Israel confiscates Palestinian land

The Palestinian Ministry of Agriculture has "prepared a plan of planting olive trees in the areas that are threatened by the Occupation with [land] confiscation."  
(*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [other streams] (2017) p. 37)

#### 9. Israel uproots trees

It is said within a discussion of the olive oil industry that "the olive tree is considered a symbol of the Palestinian [individual]'s permanence on the land" and the subsequent two questions illustrate that: "6. Why is the olive tree targeted by Zionist Occupation?; 8. What is the role of planting olive trees and other trees in the land in opposing the Zionist settlement expansion?" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 28)

"Let us explain the uprooting of trees by the Occupation."  
(*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 79. This piece does not appear in the final edition.)

#### 10. Israel limits Palestinian construction projects

One of the considerations that should be taken into account in planning the construction of new residential neighborhoods in the city of Ramallah in the West Bank is "the political risks and the Occupation's influence" (*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [other streams] (2017) p. 63)

### 11. Israel is responsible for Palestinian unemployment

"The Palestinian youth lives in a state of unemployment due to the Zionist Occupation's measures and racist practices..."

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [other streams] (2017) p. 75)

### 12. Israel puts limitations on Palestinians' free movement

"Yusuf has a commercial company in the city of Gaza which deals with cement trade. He buys it from one of the importing companies in the West Bank and makes the contract and purchase through various communication means because the Occupation prevents him from getting out [from Gaza] to the West Bank..."

(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 95)

"An issue for discussion: What is the impact of the Zionist Occupation's control of the border crossing points on the Palestinian businesses?"

(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 20)

"The policy of the Zionist Occupation - the checkpoints, closures, land confiscation and export limitations - has led to visible increase of production expenses..."

(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 62)

A piece about one of the inhabitants of a refugee camp near Hebron who found a job in Ramallah but "as a result of the traveling difficulties between the Palestinian cities due to the Zionist checkpoints on the roads" he decided to move to Ramallah without his family (*Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 11 [Technological] (2017) p. 97)

Another obstacle facing Palestinian commercial activity in Gaza is "the Zionist Occupation's control of the harbors" (*Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 11 [Technological] (2017) p. 46)

Gaza in general suffers from total closure by Israel - according to the PA schoolbook that ignore the enormous quantity of goods entering Gaza from Israel almost daily. Following is a poem titled "the Besieged City" by the Gazan poet Mu'in Bseisu (Excerpts):

"The sea tells the stars the story of the imprisoned homeland...

The gates of Gaza are closed on the sad people...

On her sides the anxious enemy's steps tread carefully...

This is the beautiful Gaza that moves around in her funerals

Among hunger-stricken [people] in tents and among thirst-stricken [people] in graves

And a tortured one who feeds on his own blood and squeezes out the roots

Pictures of humiliation - anger! A captive people!

For their whips have written our fate on those bodies..."

(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 73, and see the questions on p. 74: "2. Let us give [some] pictures

of the suffering lived by the Palestinian besieged people; 3. The poet has described the enemy as an anxious one. How is that compatible with the Occupation's power and tyranny?")

"1. The military check post prevents Umaymah from reaching her school."  
(Language exercise, *Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 10)

The separation wall that was built by Israel to stop Palestinian suicide bombing inside Israel features in this context in particular, mainly as another type of limitation of Palestinian free movement:

"Fifth Unit: Limits and Continuity

The Racist Separation Wall has divided Palestine into separate enclosures. I will discuss how it would be possible to make Palestine's cities connected with one another."



الوحدة الخامسة

النهايات والاتصال

جدار الفصل العنصري، قسّم فلسطين إلى  
مجمعات منفصلة، أناقش كيف يمكن جعل  
مدن فلسطين متصلة.

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [other streams] (2017) p. 79)

The wall, here dubbed "the Annexation and Expansion Wall" appears as well in a schematic map of the city of Qalqilyah:





الشكل رقم (٩): المخطط الهيكلي لمدينة قلقيلية

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 124)

Among the owners of small businesses that enjoy the support of several financing institutions are "those who were harmed by some of the Occupation's actions, like those ones who became isolated due to the Wall."

(*Small Businesses*, Grade 11 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 107)

"The anger processions make their way towards the Annexation and Expansion Wall."  
(Language exercise, *Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 44)

In the draft edition of Arabic textbook for grade 12 a question follows one of the poems, which provides another dimension to the Separation Wall issue - it is an expression of the Zionists' fear and sense of insecurity: "8. The poet regards the Annexation and Expansion Wall as [a sign of] the Zionist entity's suicide and as a sign of its panic and fear. Let us mention the verses that indicate this interpretation."

(*[Arabic Language:] Reading, Texts, Grammar, Prosody and Expression*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 54), but this question has been omitted from the final edition of the book, together with part of the poem where the said verse appears.

### 13. Israel detains school students

"Adel is a distinguished student in grade 11 at the [village of] Ni'lin high school west of Ramallah which is subjected to restrictions and assaults by the gangs of the Zionist Occupation. Following the repeating assaults on the village he was detained for a month period during the first semester, which influenced his studies during that semester and he had a [mark] average of 70%. Being convinced that education is an important means for confronting the Zionist occupier, he determined his goal to be raising his final average to 80%. He started learning seriously in order to achieve his goal and at the end of the school year he received the final result of 83%."

(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) pp. 101-102)

### 14. Israel harms the Palestinian economy

Another field of demonization is the one related to economic issues:



"During 2015 the Zionist Occupation authorities acted to dump the Palestinian markets with the products of their colonies [*musta'marat*] and with several loads of cheap eggs, in addition to preventing the marketing of Palestinian egg productions in Jerusalem and in the Palestinian territories that were occupied in 1948..."  
(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 55)

Among the factors limiting the scope of Palestinian production is the following one:  
"8. Dumping the Palestinian market with Zionist-produced dairy products"  
(*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 43).

"The factory management foresaw risks [emanating] from the copying of its product by the Zionist settlements' factories and dumping the Palestinian market with unhealthy and cheaply-priced products."  
(*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 80, and see the question there: "4. What are, in your opinion, the anticipated risks resulting from the abuse of the Palestinian enterprises' trade marks by the Zionist companies?")

"There are many factors influencing the salt industry in Palestine. Among them are those ones related to the Zionist Occupation's prevention of supplying the necessary energy... Also, this sector is facing an unfair competition on the part of the Zionist industries that dump the Palestinian market with chemically-produced and health-harming Zionist salt, which threatens the continuation and survival of this vital sector."  
(*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 137)

"The factory's products were exposed to a campaign on the part of the Zionist settlements' products."  
(*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 22)

"The Palestinian dates are of high quality that competes well with the Zionist dates' quality in the world markets. But this kind of agriculture is facing many risks the most prominent among which being the unfair competition with the Zionist settlements' dates.

[Among the problems facing the palm dates enterprise:]

1. Scarcity of water [resources] allocated for the irrigation of palm trees [as a result of:]

- The Zionist Occupation authorities' control of Palestinian water resources.
- Prevention by the Zionist Occupation authorities of digging artesian wells for irrigation.

4. Price competition with the Zionist Occupation's products."

(*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) pp. 85-86, and see the question on p. 87: "What is the Zionist Occupation's role ,in your opinion, in weakening the role of the dates sector within the Palestinian GNP?")

A mathematical question in the field of extreme values starts as follows:

"Fishery is one of the best income-yielding professions in the Gaza Strip. However, due to the continued siege on the Gaza Strip, the fishermen segment [of the population] has become the poorest, for the area where they are permitted to fish is poor in fish and, besides, the fishermen are subjected to constant shooting on the part of the Occupation's vessels..."

(*Mathematics*, Grade 12 [Other streams] (2018) p. 68)

The Palestinian business sector suffers too as a result of the Occupation's measures, according to the PA schoolbooks. Among the factors threatening Palestinian entrepreneurship projects are: The Occupation's complicated import procedures, the Occupation's prevention of technological development (*Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 12 [Technological] (2018) p. 117, and see also on p. 122), dumping the Palestinian market with low-leveled and low-priced Zionist goods (*ibid.*, p. 145) and the competition on the part of the Zionist Occupation's companies (*ibid.*, p. 124).

Some of the risks faced by Palestinian construction companies: "2. Possible confiscation of [their] equipment and bulldozers by the Zionist Occupation authorities; 7. Pursuit of hostile policies by the Occupation authorities vis-à-vis all Palestinian construction companies, such as preventing the import of new technologies and the [Israeli] customs clearance difficulties" (*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 79). Among the risks faced by companies that build ready-made houses: "1. ...The danger of confiscating and demolishing the houses - their products - by the Zionist Occupation authorities (*ibid.*, p. 82).

One of the books speaks of the problems in marketing strawberries from Gaza because of "the difficulties created by the Zionist Occupation authorities as far as their export is concerned" (*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 25).

The perception of Israel as an obstacle facing Palestinian economy is expressed in various ways. In an assignment related to the classification of an entrepreneur's characteristics, the following trait appears as well: "2. The individual's sentiment and self confidence, as well as his confidence in his enterprise's success in spite of the obstacles made by the Zionist Occupation" (*Small Business*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 6)

"There is no central bank that would head the banking system in Palestine due to the Zionist Occupation refusal, as that is considered one of the symbols of sovereignty and national independence, in addition to the absence of a Palestinian national currency, as the Palestinian Currency Board carries out all the central bank's duties except for issuing a national currency."

(*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 95)

### 15. Israel acts against Palestinian heritage

In addition to their economic competition with Palestinian businesses, "Zionist" companies threaten the Palestinian heritage:

### "Case study 1: A better local product

The Palestinian Hittin company produces high quality clothes of popular heritage. It has struggled to establish its identity - like the rest of the local companies during past years - in light of the prevailing dishonest competition that distorts the Palestinian identity, for many Zionist companies have stolen and distorted the Palestinian popular heritage..."



(*Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 12 [Technological] (2018) p. 99. The relevant part of the sentence has been underlined in both the original and the English translation for the sake of the reader's convenience.)

### 16. Israel takes control of the Palestinians' natural resources

"Following the Zionist occupation of Palestine it [i.e., the Occupation] has taken control of its natural resources."

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 55, and see the assignment on p. 78:

"Question 6: I will explain the denial of natural resources... from the Palestinian people.")

### 17. Israel harms the Palestinian tourist industry

"Let us research, discuss and write down: Instability and occupation have a negative impact on tourism... We will prove that with [the help of] two examples [taken]:

- From the reality in Palestine.
- From the reality in another Arab state."

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 118, and see the assignment on p. 120:

"Question 8: Let us draw conclusions regarding three activities by the Zionist Occupation that contribute to the destruction of Palestinian tourism [sector].")

"The Zionist Occupation constitutes an obstacle to the development of Palestinian tourism [sector] due to its measures expressed by [its] control of the [border] passageways and of many Palestinian touristic sites, the distortion of their history, the establishment of military check points and the building of the Racist Annexation and Expansion Wall."

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 134)

## 18. Israel deprives the Palestinians of adequate supplies of energy

Zionist Occupation is also accused of obstructing the provision of Palestinians with adequate energy resources. Thus, for example, it is difficult to import oil from its original sources "due to the Zionist Occupation" (*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 63). As regards electricity, alternative sources for electrical power are discussed "that would help the Palestinian localities and save them by connecting them to energy [sources] in order to bypass the obstacles laid by Zionist Occupation that strives to [keeping its] monopoly over all energy sources" (*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 64):

"The Emneizel village lighting project: The village of Emneizel is located south of the town of Yatta, near the [Separation] Wall in the Hebron District. This project failed as a result of intervention on the part of Zionist Occupation authorities under security-related arguments and pretexts...

The lighting project of the Wadi al-Nar road south of the city of Jerusalem: This is the only road connecting the southern West Bank with its northern part and with the Jordan Valley and the crossing points into Jordan. It is a very winding road... and it has no lines of the electricity network because Zionist Occupation has prevented the PA from stretching power lines in that area. That means that those who travel there at night are exposed to danger due to the utter darkness engulfing it...

There is a planned project for the construction of a solar energy power plant in the Jordan Valley, but the Zionist Occupation refuses to accomplish that project and blocks it..."

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) pp. 63-64)

"Case study: Palestinian villages immersed in darkness

Many Palestinian villages suffer from the absence of electrical power in their houses, such as the villages of Jubbat al-Dib, Khirbat al-Tana and other ones, due to the Zionist Occupation authorities' refusal to provide them with electrical power... which has denied [the inhabitants of] these villages of their basic human rights that have been guaranteed by the international laws and legislations... in addition to the attacks by the settlers on their houses, children and herds, and the confiscation of their lands in an attempt by the Zionist Occupation authorities to force them to emigrate from these areas in order to guarantee the settlement expansion"

Some of the questions accompanying this piece:

"1. What are the Zionist Occupation Authorities' motives, in your opinion, in denying electrical power from Palestinian villages and towns?

2. What are the methods pursued by the Occupation authorities in order to force the Palestinian citizens to emigrate from their lands...?

3. How does the denial of basic right from the Palestinian citizens constitute a source of entrepreneurship initiatives?"

(*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 47)

A factory in Gaza "was suffering for some years recurring electrical power cuts... due to the Zionist Occupation policy and its war against the Palestinian means of productions." The factory owners solved the problem by means of alternative energy resources and were now able to sell power to others in Gaza due to "the pressing need

for electrical power on the part of individuals and institutions under the shadow of oppression and the siege" (*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 97)

### 19. Israel is responsible for the shortage of drinking water in Palestine

"Activity 1: Most Palestinian localities suffer from shortage of drinking water due to the policy of the Zionist Occupation that controls the Palestinian underground water." (*Mathematics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Sciences] (2017) p. 53)

"Activity 1: The water crisis in Palestine is considered one of the problems emanating from the systematic practices of the Zionist Occupation against the water resources..." (*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2017) p. 63)

"Activity 2: Some of the risks related to the investment in the field of agriculture in Palestine:

- The political risks and the influence on the part of the Israeli Occupation in the following areas:

The need for water, as the Israeli authorities prevent the search for underground water in the agricultural plains. Thus, the Palestinian farmer resorts to relying on rain water..."

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [other streams] (2017) p. 117, and note the rare appearance of the term "Israeli" instead of "Zionist".)

"The water reality in Palestine:

The Palestinians suffer from scarcity and shrinkage of water resources as a result of the Zionist Occupation's seizing control over more than 87% of the Palestinian underground water. The total of underground water pumping for the Palestinians in the west Bank and the Gaza Strip has been greatly reduced during the years 2013-2015 to a point that these quantities has become far too little comparing to our total needs for water..."

(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 15)

### 20. Israel pollutes the Palestinian environment

"The Natuf quarry:

The Natuf Quarry was built on part of the land of the villages of Shuqba, Qibya, Shibtin and Ni'lin west of Ramallah. It has swallowed vast lands of the Palestinians [living] in those villages... The quarry works 24 hours [a day], which has been the source of nuisance and of huge pollution. As a result of the use of explosives for breaking the rocks, the noise of the explosions, as well as the shaken ground have caused the appearance of cracks in many houses and many of them have become shaky. Also, hundreds of olive and citrus trees close to the place have been polluted by dust and soil, which caused their death... without taking into account that the stones, asphalt and concrete made by the Zionist quarry are used for the construction of the Occupation's settlements."

*(Entrepreneurship in Business, Grade 11 [Technological] (2017) p. 113)*

"An idea for an entrepreneurship: ...One of the Palestinian towns suffers from a crisis of environmental pollution due to sewage. The town council presented you with the problem and asked you to raise an idea for the solution of the problem, taking into account the sewage waters that flow from the [Jewish] settlements that surround the town..."

*(Mathematics, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 121)*

"In a research titled 'the impact of sewage water that the factories of the Occupation's settlements spill and pollute with it the life of the citizens in the district of Salfit', the study's summary was as follows:

...The Occupation usurped the lands of the citizens in the Salfit district and established on them factories in the settlements. Then, the suffering of the citizens of the villages neighboring those settlements began. The agricultural lands and the ravines have become fens of sewage waters from the sewage system and the waste of the leather factories etc. in these settlements, which has created health and mental peril as far as the citizens' lives are concerned.

...The study emphasized the health, mental and social perils emanating from the waste of the Zionist settlements' sewage water and its disastrous impact on the citizens in the villages adjacent to these settlements... [and the need to] expose Zionist Occupation's crimes in the international forums through the world's health organizations."

*(Mathematics, Grade 11 [other streams] (2017) p. 9)*

## 21. Israel covets The Palestinians' and Arabs' water resources

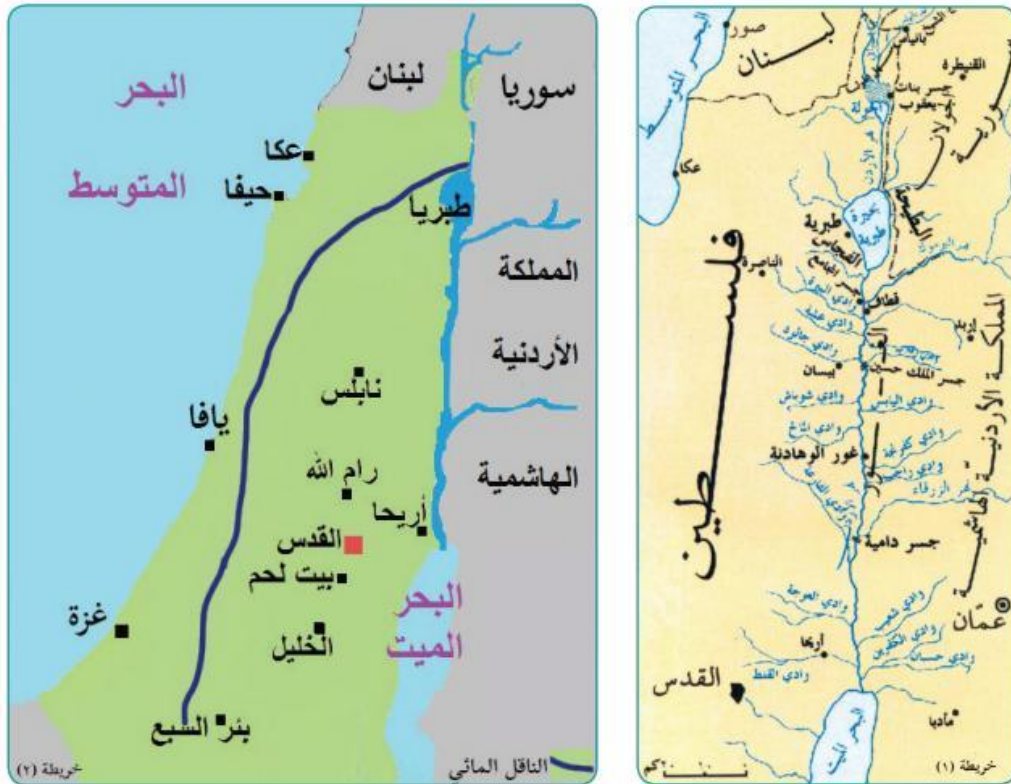
"The Zionist greedy ambitions regarding the Palestinian and Arab water [resources]."  
*(Geography Studies, Grade 12 (2018) p. 150)*

The Zionist Occupation's greedy ambitions regarding the Palestinian and Arab water [resources]:

Activity 4: Let us look at the two maps and then carry out the following:

أطماع الاحتلال الصهيوني في المياه الفلسطينية والعربية:

◀ **نشاط (٤):** نلاحظ الخريطة، ثم نقوم بما يأتي:



- Let us draw conclusions regarding the Zionist move concerning the Jordan River.
  - Let us discuss [why] Palestine does not utilize the Jordan River's waters."
- (Geography Studies, Grade 12 (2018) p. 154)

"The Palestinian and Arab water [resources] have been part of the Zionist Occupation's greedy ambitions in Palestine. Examples:

- Carrying out the National Water Carrier project in 1964 with a view to diverting the Jordan River's water to the Negev region.
- The Zionist Occupation's seizure of the Palestinians' share of the Jordan River's water.
- Its attempt to control the Litani River in south Lebanon.
- Controlling the Dead Sea water and utilizing its resources.
- Controlling the underground water aquifers in Palestine and denying them from the Palestinians by digging deep artesian wells that cause the diminishing of the underground water reservoirs in the Palestinian areas, preventing the Palestinians from digging artesian wells and putting the Palestinian underground water under the jurisdiction of the Israeli national water company that controls its supply and selling."

(Geography Studies, Grade 12 (2018) p. 155, and see the assignment on p. 157:

"Question 8: I will clarify with examples the Zionist Occupation's greedy ambitions and its actions regarding the Palestinian and Arab water [resources].")

## 22. A new type of accusations

The books for the higher grades tend to create a comprehensive evil image of Israel by joining together specific accusations that in books for the lower grades were mentioned separately.

### A) Endangering the Palestinians' nutritive security

A whole chapter about Israel's danger to the Palestinian nutritive security deals with agricultural problems, military operations, sewage, import of foodstuff, etc. Excerpts:

"The reality of nutritive security in Palestine:

Activity 6: Let us look attentively at figure 8, draw conclusions and then answer:

[Four photographs: The top left one shows the separation wall, the top right one - Israeli soldiers near a group of Arabs picking olives, the bottom left photo shows people next to a fire in a field and the bottom right picture shows sewage water with the caption: 'the sewage of the colonies [*musta'marat*] flows in the Palestinian lands in the West Bank'. The caption beneath the pictures reads: 'Figure 8: Factors influencing the accomplishment of Palestinian nutritive security'.

Some of the accompanying assignments:

'-Let us describe what we see in the pictures

-Let us give additional examples for the actions by Zionist Occupation against Palestinian nutritive security']."



نأمل الشكل (٨)، ونستنتج، ثم نجيب:



شكل (٨): عوامل مؤثرة في تحقيق الأمن الغذائي الفلسطيني

(Geography Studies, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 66)

"We conclude from the foregoing [information] that Zionist Occupation and its activity against the Palestinian land and man have an influence on the deterioration of the fundamentals for achieving nutritive security in Palestine. Some of these actions:

1. On the political level:

Zionist Occupation has destroyed and polluted water sources and agricultural land in various forms, divided it up, confiscated it, prevented farmers from entering their lands, uprooted trees and seized control of pasture areas and sources of water. All that has negatively influenced the security of nutritive agricultural production for Palestine. For example, giving the Palestinian people the possibility to regain its water rights will enable it to double the irrigated plots and increase agricultural production and [the number of] its employees.

2. On the economic level:

Zionist Occupation has taken control of the import of agricultural products such as fertilizers, seeds, and weeds and insects control means, as well as the supervision of the crops' quality and prices, which has caused an increase of food products' prices and has limited the possibility to supply the majority of the Palestinian people with these products in [adequate] quantity and quality.

3. On the social level:

The Occupation has contributed to the severance of mutual social relations among the sons of the Palestinian people, which has led to social alienation among the people

and has transformed many of them to persons who experience difficulty in feeling each other's needs. That has influenced the spirit of mutual responsibility among the people. In addition, the Occupation has introduced many low-price consumer goods to the Palestinian market, which has made the Palestinian consumer able to buy them regularly and, thus, give up their production locally, as has the case been with many kinds of vegetables, fruits, animals and poultry, which has increased the dependence on the Zionist market.

In order to stop the negative impacts of the various policies pursued by the Zionist Occupation, and in order to provide a greater extent of nutritive security:

- The Palestinian governments have prepared national strategies in order to guarantee nutritive security as much as possible, like the establishment of a compensation fund for agricultural damages, the establishment of a fund for agricultural loans, and also exempting farmers from income tax in an effort on their part to encourage agricultural production.
- Putting an emphasis on household agricultural activity by working in the household garden with a view to encouraging the culture of [self] production as an alternative to the consuming culture, in addition to the encouragement of [self] industrialization and conservation of household agricultural products, namely, dehydration, leavening, refrigeration, etc.

All that contributes to the achievement of nutritive security on the household level, to the creation of work places, to the abandonment of the Zionist Occupation's products and - subsequently - to [our] liberation from the dependency on its economy that controls Palestinian food. That would strengthen the Palestinian steadfastness and the attachment to the land and would increase the [sense of] belonging and loyalty to the homeland."

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) pp. 66-67)

## B) Destructive impact on Palestinian population centers

Another such comprehensive picture is made under the title "clarification of the impact of the Zionist Occupation on Palestinian centers of population [*tajammu'at umraniyyah*]" (*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 84):

"Let us think and discuss: The influence of the political circumstances to which Palestine was exposed in 1948 on the appearance of new settlements that were not existent before.

The influence of Zionist Occupation on the Palestinian centers of populations:  
Activity 3:"

Let us look at figure 3, draw conclusions and then answer:

Four photographs: Top left - "Jenin refugee camp in the year 2002"; top right - "A deserted village"; bottom left and right - "Bulldozers of the Zionist Occupation demolish Palestinian houses". The inscription beneath the photographs reads: "Figure 3: Some practices of the Zionist Occupation".

## أثر الاحتلال الصهيوني على التجمّعات العمرانيّة الفلسطينيّة:

### نشاط ٣:

ننأمل الشكل رقم (٣)، ونستنتج، ثمّ نجيب:



مخيم جنين عام ٢٠٠٢م



قرية مهجرة



جرافات الاحتلال الصهيوني تهدم المنازل الفلسطينية

شكل (٣): بعض ممارسات الاحتلال الصهيوني

(Geography Studies, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) pp. 85-87)

And the chapter continues:

"- Let us mention the Zionist Occupation's actions against the Palestinian centers of population.

- Let us draw conclusions regarding the ways by which the Zionist Occupation distorts the Arab character of the Palestinian centers of population.
- Let us clarify the dimensions of the establishment of settlements and of the Annexation and Expansion Wall.
- Let us mention the names of the Palestinian villages that were destroyed by Zionist Occupation.

From what has been said we conclude that the Zionist Occupation determines the first priorities of its policy to be - absolute hostility to any Palestinian-Arab building, which is made clear by [the following]:

- The Palestinian centers of population in Palestine that was occupied in 1948 suffered from planned and systematic actions of destruction and expulsion. Zionist Occupation destroyed and made desolate more than 431 settlements.
- It made Zionist families settle [there] instead of the Palestinian inhabitants, in an effort on its part to interlace these families within the Arab residential texture.
- It has prevented the expansion of the Palestinian settlements - both horizontally and vertically - under various pretexts, either by refraining from granting construction permits or by their engulfment with Zionist centers of settlement [tajammu'at

*istitaniyyah*], or because of the Annexation and Expansion Wall and the bypassing roads.

- It has strangled the Palestinian settlements and has limited their expansion in order to force their inhabitants to emigrate, as [has been done] in the city of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Hebron, Ramleh, etc.
- Zionist Occupation has acted with a view to severing the geographic contacts between the Arab settlements in Palestine in order to facilitate their control and isolation through the construction of belts of settlements.
- It has built Zionist settlements near Arab settlements and imitated them in terms of building them on mountain tops, using construction stones of a yellowish color in order to give the impression that these settlements are old, giving them names similar to those of the Arab settlements, and it also took many construction stones from the old Arab houses and rebuilt them in other places in order to erase the Palestinian national identity."

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) pp. 87-88, and see the related questions on p. 89)

### C) Desertification of Palestine

Another example of a comprehensive multifaceted accusation:

"Desertification in Palestine:

Activity 5: Let us look at the two pictures and then carry out the following:



- Let us discuss and write down: The Zionist Occupation's actions that cause desertification in Palestine.
- The impacts of these actions.

Palestine suffers from desertification like other states due to natural conditions such as the diminishing quantities of rainfalls and their fluctuating frequency, plus the [growing] demographic pressure on the natural resources. The actions of the Zionist Occupation in Palestine contribute as well to the aggravation of the desertification problem through the settlement [project] that has exhausted the yielding and arable agricultural lands, the deterioration of many lands' usability due to the flow of sewage water [there], the construction of the Annexation and Expansion Wall, the control of surface and underground water and the prevention of its utilization by the Palestinians."

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 110, and see the assignment on p. 111:  
"Question 6: I will explain: the Zionist Occupation's measures are among the factors  
causing desertification in Palestine.")

## Chapter Four: Tolerance and Peace

### Tolerance

Tolerance to the "other" in general (except the Jewish-Israeli, or Zionist, one) is advocated on both religious and non-religious levels:

"3. Tolerance towards followers of other faiths: Security and peace are not restricted to Muslims alone but rather include humanity at large. Each man is respected and has rights, so long as he does not attack the Muslims, their religion, their land and their dignity. The expansion of Islam worldwide took place as a result of the Muslims' humane attitude to [other] human societies through their contact with them either by the conquests or by trade.

4. The relation with the 'People of the Book' [Christians and Jews] in light of the Islamic faith: The Islamic faith directed the Muslims to base their relations with the People of the Book on tolerance, so long as they are not hostile and do not conspire against or oppress the Muslims."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 37)

And further on:

"The Islamic faith does not order the Muslim to attack non-Muslims, or hurt them, or oppress them or boycott them. Rather, it has ordered [Muslims] to act justly and fairly towards the peaceful people among them who do not fight."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 40)

On the non-religious level, the following piece appears within the discussion of the ethnic, lingual and religious differences between a majority and minority populations in one's country:

"Let us think and discuss: How would we transform the contrasts emerging from the ethnic and religious differences into a state of harmony and positive diversity in society?"

(*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 53)

### Peace in General

The importance of peace in general is emphasized, but not to the exclusion of war completely and certainly not in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. A new history textbook has a chapter on war with the following remarks:

"All that will lead him [i.e., the student] to understand the importance of peace in the life of [world's] nations, whatever the justifications and motives for war may be. That will be done through the attainment of the following goals: ...Understanding that historical truth is not absolute and that history is not written in one narrative... Appreciation of the importance of peace in the life of [world's] nations...



There are some [people] who think that war is bad whatever multiple and divergent its reasons and justifications might be, while others think that a war between people might be just or unjust and that it is a natural phenomenon, because through it one realizes one's aspirations for expansion and hegemony, or for independence. What is your opinion regarding this view and how would you answer it?" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) pp. 3-4)

The draft edition of this book featured the following assignment: "I will draw conclusions regarding the importance of peace in the life of [world's] peoples, whatever the motives for war might be" (*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 48), but it was omitted in the final edition. Yet, this very edition features a far stronger new statement: "War is the biggest failure of man and mankind's defeat" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 2).

### **Peace with Israel**

The 1993 Oslo Accord between the PLO and Israel is mentioned as part of the first Palestinian *Intifadha*'s political achievements, but it is not referred to as a move in the direction of a peaceful resolution of the conflict. Rather, it is presented as a move that facilitated the return of tens of thousands of Palestinians from exile, headed by Yasser Arafat, and the establishment of the PA (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 62). This is the only reference within this category found in the books that were checked for the purpose of the current study.

## Chapter Five: War

### War in General

A twelve-grade history textbook features a chapter on war in general. War's motives are categorized: economic, cultural (including religious - with the Crusades presented as an example while the Islamic conquests of the 7<sup>th</sup> century being ignored), wars resulting from inter-state conflicts and intra-state crises, wars initiated by the spirit of aggression on the basis of military might, and wars that break out as a result of "the intensification of racist attitudes, especially when a certain group considers itself the best race on earth, or in [cases of] imperialist projects of domination of a land and [its] inhabitants, like the Zionist colonialist Imperialism [*Al-Isti'mar al-Istitani*] in Palestine."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 5, and see the question on p. 6: "An issue for discussion: Which of the foregoing motives was the basic one in the Zionist attacks against the Palestinian people?")

The various types of war are also discussed: War of attrition, guerrilla warfare - the type favored by liberation movements around the world, total war, civil war, cold war, psychological warfare. The question following this list: "An issue for discussion: The psychological methods and means used by the Zionist Occupation against the Palestinian people and the tools for facing them" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) pp. 6-7). In the draft edition of this book additional types of war appeared too: preventive war and economic war - with the example of "the siege of Gaza since 2006", and the question at the end said: ""Which of these [types of] wars is best suiting the Palestinian people for the purpose of realizing its goals of liberty and independence?" (*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 6).

It is obvious from the foregoing pieces that the PA educators see the conflict as a war conducted by the Zionists against the Palestinian people and that the latter should answer by war. No peaceful solution to the conflict is considered in any of the PA schoolbooks.

Rules of war in Islam are specified in an Islamic Education textbook as follows:

1. Infidels should be given a warning before the battle to adopt Islam or live under the rule of Islam under its conditions.
2. Surprise attack is forbidden.
3. Non-combatants' lives and property should be safeguarded.
4. Prisoners-of-war should be protected.
5. Corpse mutilation is forbidden."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 99)

"Restrictions of Jihad...:

- No war should be started before giving a warning and making a choice between conversion to Islam, paying the poll tax [*jizyah*] or war.
- ...
- Prohibition of deception [of the enemy] and of corpse mutilation.

- Prohibition of killing of women, non-adults, the elderly, monks and all those who devote themselves to God worship.
  - Good treatment of prisoners-of-war."
- (*Islamic Education*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 100, and see also *History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 8)

## The War against Israel

As we have seen, Palestine in its entirety is under Zionist occupation and should be liberated. The PA schoolbooks are careful not to express the goal of Israel's liquidation openly, but a remark of this kind sometimes slips out and is later erased. Following are one example for each of these two cases.

In the first case, within the discussion of attracting Arab, Muslim and international investments for Palestine's liberation, the following question appears: "5. How is it possible to attract investments intended to support the project of liberation from the Zionist Occupation?", but the piece that follows it is phrased a bit differently, which insinuates the liquidation goal: "The investment intended to support the project of liberation from the Zionist Entity is open to Arabs and Muslims" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 135).

In the second case, a part of a clear sentence in this regard has been erased: "The Zionist Entity which was established on the land of Arab Palestine as a barrier preventing the unification of the two parts of the great Arab homeland [in Asia and Africa] and which aspires to sow the seeds of dissension and internal struggle in all Arab and Muslim societies in order to prevent the creation of an Arab unity among the sons of the Arab nation that will act in support of the Palestinian people's resistance for the achievement of its **independence and for the extirpation [isti'sal] of this artificial and foreign entity from the Arab region...**" (*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 145. The erased part of the sentence has been marked in **bold** writing for the sake of the reader's convenience). The sentence in its new version: " The Zionist Entity was established on the land of Arab Palestine as a barrier preventing the unification of the two parts of the great Arab homeland [in Asia and Africa] and it aspires to sow the seeds of dissension and internal struggle in all Arab and Muslim societies in order to prevent the creation of an Arab unity among the sons of the Arab nation that will act in support of the Palestinian people's resistance for the realization of its goals" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 108).

At any rate, the books refer to the struggle for the liberation of Palestine as a violent one. Non-violent types of struggle can be used as well, such as demonstrations and civil disobedience, and the boycott of Israeli products as well (see the next chapter below), but they are considered secondary in importance and will not bring about the prospected liberation.

The violent struggle for liberation is often called "revolution [*thawrah*]". Following is a picture appearing in a history textbook within a chapter on popular revolutions:



(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 45)

And in the Palestinian context:

"Unit 2: Popular Revolutions"

A photograph of a Palestinian demonstration. The assignment underneath the picture reads:

"Let us think and look:

The way to Palestine is neither far, nor near. It is in a revolution's distance."

الوحدة الثانية:

## ثورات شعبية

نُفَكِّر، ونَتَأَمَّل:

الطَّرِيقُ إِلَى فِلَسْطِينَ لَيْسَتْ بِالْبَعِيدَةِ، وَلَا بِالْقَرِيبَةِ؛ إِنَّهَا بِمَسَافَةِ الثَّوْرَةِ.

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 42)

"Victory may be near."

(Language exercise, *Arabic Language 2: Literature and Rhetoric*, Grade 11 (2017) p. 92)

The Palestinian *Intifadah* of 1987 is an integral part of the revolution for liberation:

"There are revolutions in which most of the people takes part, like the Palestinian *Intifadah*."

(*History Studies*, grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 46, and see the assignments on that page: "- Let us explain the epithet 'popular' that was given to the Palestinian *Intifadah* of 1987; - Let us discuss the difference between the concepts of revolution and the *Intifadah*.")

The textbooks for grades 11 and 12 elaborate on the 1987 *Intifadah* within the discussion of liberation struggles around the world:

"Activity 1A: Let us look at the pictures, draw conclusions and then answer:"

Four photographs: Top left - Cuba; top right - India; bottom left - Palestine; bottom right - Algeria. The assignments on the left:

"- Let us describe what we see in the pictures.

- Let us mention the types of resistance expressed by the pictures."

نشاط (١/١): نلاحظ الصّور، ونستنتج، ثمّ نُجيب:

نصف ما نشاهده في الصّور. تُبين أشكال المقاومة التي عبرت عنها الصّور.

The image contains four black and white photographs arranged in a 2x2 grid. Each photo is labeled with a country name in Arabic. Top left: Cuba (كوبا) shows a group of men, some holding rifles. Top right: India (الهند) shows a large crowd of people, with one person in the foreground raising their arm. Bottom left: Palestine (فلسطين) shows a street scene with people, some holding flags, and a vehicle. Bottom right: Algeria (الجزائر) shows a person in military gear holding a rifle.

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 5)

"Let us give examples for the [various] methods and means taken by the Palestinians in resistance to Zionist occupation during the popular *Intifadah* of 1987 and the Al-Aqsa *Intifadah* in 2000."

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 10)

"Mus'ib is a person of a movement-related disability who was injured during the Al-Aqsa *Intifadah* in 28.9.2000."

(*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 110)

"The first Palestinian *Intifadah* (the popular *Intifadah*) was characterized by vast civil disobedience, comprehensiveness, confidentiality, good organization and active participation on the part of all segments of society. It also carried in its womb the seeds of renewal, for the blood of each martyr was the fuel that fed the *Intifadah* and gave it the power to go on. The increased oppression on the part of the Occupation

increased the popular *Intifadah* and intensified its sharpness. The statistical data regarding the numbers of martyrs and the wounded contradicted one another. Some talked of two thousand civilians who fell as martyrs. As for the number of the wounded, it reached 120,000. The prisoners-of-war and detainee's number was 120,000, while 150,000 civilians were forced to leave their houses."  
(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 11)

"An issue for research: The manifestations of civil disobedience in the Palestinian *Intifadah* in 1987."  
(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 36)

The 1987 *Intifadah* is covered by a 9-page chapter titled "the Palestinian *Intifadah* 1987-1993" within a history textbook for grade 12. Following is a summary of the main points:

"The Palestinian people regarded the *Intifadah* as a hope and a means for deliverance from the yoke of the Zionist occupation, for the achievement of its liberty and independence, and for the restoration of the world's interest in its just cause of attaining its legitimate goals [namely:] self determination and the establishment of its independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

The Leaders of the Zionist Occupation claimed that a small group of extremist elements that is hostile to it tries to impose its will upon the inhabitants by means of terror and with the support of the Arab extremist communication media and their instigation.

What is your opinion about the Zionist claim and how will you answer it?"  
(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 56)

The immediate reason for the outbreak of the *Intifadah* - "A Zionist driver's running over a number of Palestinian workers from the refugee camp of Jibalia on 8.12.1987" which was seen by the Palestinians as a pre-meditated action (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 59). But there were other, deeper, reasons, such as political frustration: "The Occupation's leaders used to declare that the maximum the Palestinians could get was local autonomy under the sovereignty of the Occupation State. Consequently, they acted to eliminate the Palestinian nationalist leaderships by means of murder, imprisonment or deportation, as happened to some elected mayors.<sup>8</sup> It [i.e., the Occupation] tried vigorously to find alternative leaderships that would accept its propositions, such as the Village Leagues, in order to weaken the PLO and isolate it from its masses. It also strengthened its iron grip which was characterized by strict measures vis-à-vis the inhabitants such as detentions, shutdown of the universities, expansion of settlement and confiscation of vast tracts of Palestinian lands for the purpose of building settlements there."  
(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 58)

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<sup>8</sup> Mayors of two Palestinian cities in the West Bank were severely injured in assassination attempts by a Jewish right-wing underground organization in the early 1980s. The leaders and members of that group were caught, put on trial and sentenced to various jail terms. The piece here attributes those assassination attempts to the Israeli government.



These reasons, and other ones, are shown in the following series of pictures with the accompanying captions (from left to right):

"The assassination attempt on the mayors 1980; the Zionist settlement [*istitan*] in Palestine; the Palestinian demonstrations; the Palestinian prisoners-of-war; the exodus of the Palestinian Resistance [forces] from Lebanon [in the wake of Israel's invasion, 1982]; the [Israeli] invasion of Lebanon in 1982".



محاولة اغتيال رؤساء البلديات ١٩٨٠م



الاستيطان الصهيوني في فلسطين



المظاهرات الفلسطينية



الأسرى الفلسطينيين



خروج المقاومة الفلسطينية من لبنان



اجتياح لبنان عام ١٩٨٢م

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 57)

The 1987 *Intifadah* included a series of non-armed protests (*ibid.*, pp. 60-61), but, "finally, the military option was pursued in what came to be known as 'the militarization of the *Intifadah* [*askarat al-Intifadah*]' that called for... the use of personal firearms vis-à-vis the Occupation's weapons, in order to answer the Occupation's crimes against the unarmed civilians" (*ibid.*, p. 61).

The 1987 *Intifadah*'s results:

"So far, the *Intifadah* has not brought redemption from occupation to the Palestinian people and has not brought about the establishment of the independent Palestinian



state with Jerusalem as its capital, but it had many results in the social, political and economic fields."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) [. 61)

Among the political results:

"The proclamation of [Palestinian] independence on 15.11.1988 [in Algiers], the participation in the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991, the signing of the Oslo Accord in 1993, the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority and the return [to the country] of tens of thousands of Palestinians headed by Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 62)

The *Intifadah*'s price:

"During the *Intifadah*, more than 1,200 martyrs ascended [to Heaven] and [there were] tens of thousands of wounded and prisoners-of-war. Hundreds of citizens were deported outside the homeland, many houses were demolished and schools, educational institutions and universities were closed."

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 62, and see the assignment on p. 63: "4. I will clarify how the Zionist Occupation treated the Palestinian *Intifadah*.")

The following is part of a poem talking about the participation of school students in the *Intifadah*:

"I keep in my veins those ones whose eyes are [full of] hope

And their weapons are stones and notebooks...

Their sadness during class is Palestinian..."

(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 19, and see the question on p. 20: "6. ...What are the weapons with which the students defend their homeland?" and the language exercise on p. 21:

"Their weapons are stones and notebooks.")

The violent struggle for the liberation of Palestine has also a deep religious character, probably as a means to making it more compelling in the eyes of the students who mostly come from traditional families. One of its religious characteristics is the emphasized necessity to liberate Al-Aqsa Mosque from occupation (*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 8). Other religious elements used in the context of the liberation struggle are Jihad, *Ribat* and martyrdom [*shahadah*].

## Jihad

Jihad is a traditional Islamic term meaning "endeavor". It is divided into two categories: "Greater Jihad" - fighting against one's own evil inclinations, and "Lesser Jihad" - actual fighting against Islam's enemies by military and other means. This latter type of Jihad, which is the only one referred to in the examined textbooks, is styled "in God's cause" and should be carried out only for the purpose of "making God's word superior". Fighting for spoils, fame and other worldly gains is not

considered Jihad. Jihad is exalted in the PA schoolbooks, including those ones examined for the purpose of this study. Following are the items dealing with this issue that were found in the books:

"The relations between Muslims and non-Muslims should be based on security and peace. War, which is referred to in Islam by the term 'Jihad', has been legislated for the defense of Muslim society against attacks by the infidels and the arrogant ones [an epithet denoting today's West, especially the US] and in order to fight those who stand in the way to preaching to Islam and prevent its reaching other nations. It is of two sorts:

1. Defensive Jihad, which is the Muslims' Jihad [in defense] of themselves and of their homelands
  2. Required Jihad, which is fighting against those who stand in the way of preaching to Islam and prevent people from joining it out of their free will, [or] draw them away from their [new] religion and do not allow for dialogue and mutual understanding."
- (*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 98)

"The goals of Jihad in Islam are noble goals related to the defeating of the aggressor, the spread of [Islamic] preaching and the protection of the weak, while the goals of war among non-Muslims are not noble. [They] involve killing people and seizing their countries' wealth with no right, arrogance on earth and oppression of peoples."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 100)

"The virtue of Jihad in God's cause:

...Jihad is the best deed in God's eyes... Jihad is the peak of Islam... Jihad is a profitable trade with God that contains the rescue from the fire [of Hell] and the attainment of pardon and Paradise... Jihad is one of the gates to achieving martyrdom."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 99, and see the assignment on p. 101: "4. Let us clarify the virtue of Jihad in Islam.")

Reference to Jihad in the context of Palestine:

"O my brother, the oppressors have exceeded the limit and Jihad and sacrifice are necessary."

(The first verse of a poem titled "Palestine" as a language exercise, *Arabic Language I*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 14)

### **Standing on Guard [*Ribat*]**

*Ribat*, like Jihad, entails God's reward:

"*Ribat* of the people of Palestine: Whoever lives in Palestine with the intention of pushing the enemy away and stopping him from advancing into the Muslims' land and their holy places is rewarded according the above given Prophetic Saying [*Hadith*]. Palestine's youth has presented the most marvelous example of stopping the Occupation Army and its settlers from entering the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque in particular and the Holy Land in general. We wish them the best reward of those who stand on guard."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 55, and see the assignments on p. 56:  
"Question 4: I will explain the following: 1. Standing on guard [*Ribat*] in God's cause is considered one of Jihad's grades. 2. Whoever lives in Palestine in order to defend it against aggression is regarded as one who stands on guard [*murabit*] in God's cause.")

"Standing on Guard [*Ribat*] in God's cause:

*Ribat* is staying in place and self-preparation for Jihad in God's cause and for the defense of religion and the Muslims in places where their people have fear of the enemies of Islam, like living on the soil of Palestine in particular and Greater Syria [*Sham*] in general."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 74)

"2. What is the virtue of standing on guard [*Ribat*] in God's cause?"

(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 70)

## Martyrdom

"The martyrs' status in God's eyes: [A verse from the Koran is given.] Martyrdom has a high status and rank in God's eyes... The martyr is the one who sacrifices himself in God's cause by defending his religion and homeland so that God's word would be superior. This verse has forbidden the description of the martyrs as dead, because they live with their God and take pleasure. They have passed from a life we know to another [form of] life that we do not feel..."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 16)

"Expression:

We will write up to two pages on one of the following two subjects:

1. ...
2. A funeral procession of a martyr I took part in, or read about, or heard of."

(*Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 79)

Following is a photograph of dozens of coffins covered with Palestinian flags. The caption says: "Martyrs of the numerals cemetery". The term applies to the place where Palestinian suicide bombers and other terrorists killed in such activities inside Israeli territory are buried by the Israeli authorities under serial numbers, to be later handed over to the Palestinian authorities. The latter honor those terrorists as heroes and cover their coffins with Palestinian flags, as seen in this picture.



شهداء مقبرة الأرقام

(*Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 70)

An assignment within a discussion of the DNA issue in biology: "2. I will research the role of DNA fingerprinting in determining the identity of the martyrs' remains that are kept by the Occupation in the numerals cemeteries" (*Scientific Education*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 69)

A poem titled "the *Intifadah*'s Martyrs" is full of praise of those martyrs (excerpts):

"They carried their hearts on their palms as stones, as embers, as a blaze  
And stoned with them the wild beast on the road...  
They died while standing...  
Death assaulted and launched its axe into them...  
Look at them from afar  
Ascending upward...  
Treacherous death shall not hold their hearts...  
Look at them in their *Intifadah* tying [together] like hawks  
The land and the holy homeland to the skies."  
(*Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) pp. 71-72)

Yasser Arafat himself, founder and first president of the Palestinian Authority, who died in a French hospital in November 2004, is also considered a martyr (*Geography Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 39, and see also *Geography Studies*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 135: "the Martyr Yasser Arafat Museum" in Ramallah as a tourist attraction; *Mathematics*, Grade 12 [Other streams] (2018) p. 9: "the Martyr Yasser Arafat High School"; *Mathematics*, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2018) p. 89)

An example of a social activity by a commercial company - taking part in the construction of a house for a martyr's family is given in *Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 27.

## **Terror**

Terrorism as a phenomenon has not yet been legally defined by international forums, which gives terrorist organizations a wide space for action under various pretexts. This is the case as well with the Palestinian armed organizations that call their pre-meditated attacks on unarmed civilians in private and public places "self-sacrificing [*Fidai*]<sup>9</sup> operations". The PA schoolbooks of the higher grades refer to this issue specifically:

Following a paragraph describing the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964, the narrative continues with the beginning of operational activity of the (then) adversary Al-Fatah organization in 1965, calling it a "revolution":

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<sup>9</sup> *Fidai* is a traditional Islamic term denoting a person who is ready to sacrifice his life in action. It is nowadays used to define members of the Palestinian armed organizations, and is also used as an adjective.

"The contemporary Palestinian revolution erupted in 1965 and the Palestinian people started the phase of organized armed struggle against the Zionist occupation in its first self-sacrificing operation [*'amaliyyah Fida'iyyah*] on 1.1.1965 when the Al-Asifah Forces [Fatah's military wing] blew up the Eilabun tunnel [of Israel's National Water Carrier in Galilee - the operation failed] to be followed by a series of [additional] *Fidai* operations. The Palestinian person was [thus] transformed from a refugee into a *Fidai*...

The Palestinian resistance pursued various methods of resistance to the Zionist occupation. The *Fidais* pursued the method of guerilla warfare in most of their confrontations with the Zionists inside the Palestinian land. They also resorted to striking the Zionist interest abroad, such as the Munich operation in 1972,<sup>10</sup> and to direct confrontation in many battles, like the Karameh battle in 1968, the wars in Southern Lebanon and the siege of Beirut in 1982. In addition, there were the methods of popular non-violent resistance that was expressed by strikes, road blockings, refrain from paying one's taxes, demonstrations, processions that denounced the occupation, etc. The popular *Intifadah* in 1987 reflected those methods..."  
(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 54)

A language exercise:

"The *Fidais* closed the village's entrances with stone barricades."  
(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2018) p. 23)

"Some states and their media regard the actions taken by national liberation movements as acts of terror. In the Palestinian case, the Zionist Occupation, and some of the states that support it, regards the struggle of the Palestinian people for the liberation of its homeland as terrorist activity that one should act against it and put an end to it by all means. On the other hand, you can find many other states that consider the Palestinian people's resistance legitimate, and a legitimate right confirmed by the international community and international law..."

An issue for discussion: Some people interpret the resistance actions performed by the liberation movements as acts of terror. How would we answer that?"  
(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 12)

And put in a wider perspective:

"The Palestinian liberation movement pursued after 1948 three forms of resistance. The first one - continued resistance for the defense of [both] country and identity by the establishment of cultural and political resistance frameworks in the occupied land. The second - carrying out military operations, as the armistice lines following the Catastrophe witnessed sporadic actions against the Zionist posts. These were later followed by a quasi-regular military activity. The third - resistance to Imperialism and to the [Arab] satellite regimes, in which the [Pan-Arab] nationalist movement joined together with the national forces for the liberation of Palestine."  
(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 53)

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<sup>10</sup> The murderous attack on the Israeli team at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

Terrorist actions, then, are considered part and parcel of the violent struggle for the liberation of Palestine, and terrorists who die in action or imprisoned are praised and considered martyrs or prisoners-of-war, respectively:

A question in mathematics mentions the "Women Association in Memory of the Martyr Shadiyah Abu Ghazalah" (*Mathematics*, Grade 12 [Other streams] (2018) p. 134). According to Arabic Wikipedia, she was a member of the PFLP terrorist organization and was killed in November 1968 while preparing an explosive device.

The following piece includes photographs related to what is termed "the Palestinian Resistance". Alongside pictures of the Palestinian leaders Yasser Arafat and Mahmud Abbas, two photographs of armed men and another one of a Palestinian female terrorist are shown:

"Activity 4B: Let us look, draw conclusions and then answer:"

Six photographs: The top two ones show armed men in movement; the middle two pictures show Yasser Arafat giving a speech and Dalal al-Mughrabi who led in 1978 a terrorist attack from Lebanon on an Israeli civilian bus on Israel's Coastal Highway near Tel Aviv which resulted in the killing of over 30 Israeli civilians - men, women and children; the bottom two pictures show the PA current president, Mahmud Abbas, speaking at the UN and a group of Israeli soldiers arresting a Palestinian. The assignments on the left read:

"- Let us describe what we see in the pictures.

- Let us draw conclusions regarding the phases through which Palestinian Resistance have passed since 1948, until Palestine attained [a status] of UN membership in 2012".

نشاط (٤ / ب): نلاحظ، ونستنتج، ثم نُجيب:

تَصِفْ ما نشاهد في الصّور.  
 نستنتج المراحل التي مرّت  
 بها المقاومة الفلسطينيّة  
 منذ عام ١٩٤٨م، حتّى  
 الحصول على عضوية  
 فلسطين في الأمم المتّحدة  
 عام ٢٠١٢م.

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 53)

As for the "prisoners-of-war":

"The merchants closed the stores' doors out of solidarity with the prisoners-of-war."  
(*Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1(2017) p. 5)

"Usamah is a freed prisoner-of-war from the city of Nablus, but he has been deported by the Occupation to the Gaza Strip..."  
(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 85)

A question in mathematics starts as follows:

"Umm al-Abd is a Palestinian woman whose husband is a prisoner-of-war in the Occupation's jails."  
(*Mathematics*, Grade 12 [Other streams] (2018) p. 126)

Palestinian literature includes a special literary genre called "Prison Literature [*Adab al-Sujun*]":

"Prison Literature [is] anything that was written about the suffering of the prisoners-of-war, whether it was written inside or outside of prison. It is one of the most genuine literary activities and it has occupied a wide scope within Palestinian literature..."  
(*Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 17)

"Let us write a six-paragraph letter on behalf of a child to his prisoner-of-war father, with due attention to the rules of proper writing."  
(Assignment, *Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 30)

"Let us prepare a report about the prisoners-of-war movement in Palestine and present it to our fellow students in class."  
(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 11)

The student is required in the following exercise to write down the numerals verbally:

"The 'Cage' is a new wing in the 'Ansar 3' detention camp. It was opened in the early 1990s and it accommodates about 280 detainees. It consists of an area the surface of which is close to 2,500 square meters surrounded by a wall of which the height is 3 meters. The cage is divided into 4 sub-sections separated from one another by concrete walls and barbed wire. In each of these units there are 6 tents circled by a barbed wire and open to a courtyard the surface of which is 90 square meters."  
(*Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 78)

The PA feels obliged to the families of both prisoners and martyrs and allocates sums of money from its regular budget for them. Following are examples appearing in its schoolbooks:

An assignment in which the student is required to distinguish between public and private expenses includes the following expense: "1. Coupon allocation for families of



prisoners-of-war" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 151). A similar assignment shows the following expense: "1. Allocations for families of martyrs" (*ibid.*, p. 153). A PA budget clause in an exercise: "8. Money allocation for rebuilding the houses of martyrs' families that were demolished by the Zionist Occupation" (*ibid.*, p. 168).

The private sector is obliged too. One of a private firm's social activities is "providing monthly assistance to orphanages and to the martyrs' families" (*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 80).

## Chapter six: Boycott of Israeli Products

This is a relatively new educational item in the PA curriculum. It mostly appears in the economic context, as is the case in the following pieces taken from a Management and Economics textbook of the Entrepreneurship and Business stream:

Some of the external factors that might influence a commercial business:

"- Prevention by the Occupation of importing certain chemical raw materials into Palestine...

- A decision to boycott the Zionist colonies [*musta'marat*]'s products."

(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 17)

The economic boycott is not necessarily restricted to the Israeli settlements in the West Bank. It may include products made in pre-1967 Israel, the "Occupation Entity":

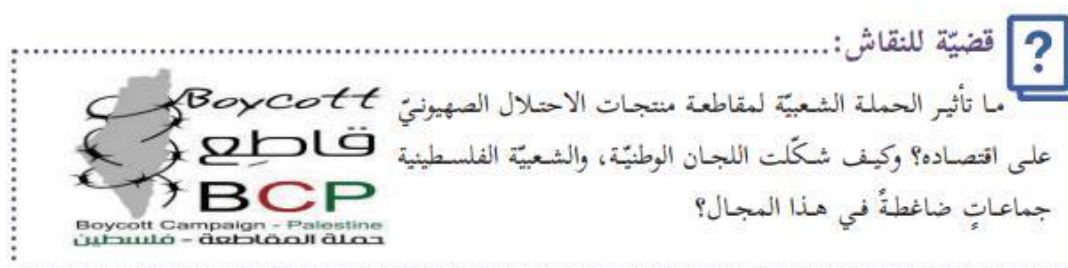
"...Boycotting the Occupation's products" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 18).

Nor is the boycott activity a matter of popular decision only. Rather, the PA government is fully involved:

One of the external factors influencing the activity of a Palestinian commercial enterprise is "the government's decision to boycott the occupier's products" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 19).

The boycotting effort is seen as part of the liberation struggle against the Zionist occupation:

"An issue for discussion: What is the influence of the popular campaign for boycotting the products of the Zionist Occupation on its economy? How did the Palestinian national and popular committees constitute pressure groups in this field?"



(*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 19)

A question related to the rules of differentiation in mathematics starts as follows:

"Mr. Murad established a dairy in one of the Palestinian cities in order to provide the Palestinian market with dairy products following the shortage that was a result of

boycotting the Occupation's products, which is considered one of the forms of peaceful resistance..."

(*Mathematics*, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2018) p. 18)

And in the same context:

"An issue for discussion: How will our boycott of the products made by the Zionist dairy factories influence the scope of production by the Palestinian dairy factories?" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Economics] (2017) p. 43)

The PA schoolbooks contain direct boycott indoctrination: A discussion of marketing centers of low-priced goods features a story about a person who visited such a place and "was astonished [to see] that most of the goods in [those] commercial centers were products of the Zionist Occupation. He left the place immediately although he needed to buy those products" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 127).

Some of the questions accompanying this story:

"5. What is your opinion about [the fact] that some people buy the products of the Zionist Occupation?

6. In your opinion, why did Saber refuse to shop at the marketing center in spite of his need for the products found there?"

And the conclusion:

"Palestinian consumption should take into consideration the national aspects so that the focus will be on the local [Palestinian] producer, while boycotting the products of the Zionist settlements. That will strengthen the rooting [process] of the concept of resistance economy that aspires to achieving development and liberation." (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 128)

"Buying from foreign sources... will contribute to the weakening of the local industry - especially the purchase of the Zionist settlements' products." (*Small Businesses*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018) p. 47)

A new element in this field appears in a *Management and Economics* textbook for grade 12 in the Entrepreneurship and Business stream: The transformation of the Palestinian economy to what is termed "resistance economy". Boycotting Israeli goods is only one of its components, while others include: emphasis on saving, attracting investments from the Arab and Muslim worlds, encouraging household agriculture and industry and persuading the Palestinians to reduce consumption. Following are the references to resistance economy found in that book:

The preface speaks of "the realization of the Palestinian society's goals of liberty and independence through the building of a resistance economy" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. D).

And as a title for a study unit:

"Fifth Unit: Resistance Economy"



(*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 116)

And also: "7. How will [formerly mentioned] strategies influence the continued building of resistance economy in Palestine?" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 135)

More indoctrination: Saving on the national level will bring about "economic independence and moving away of [the current] dependence on the Zionist economy" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 134).

## Conclusion

This study ends the research operation of the PA schoolbooks that began in 2015 and covered both the older books published before 2016 and the new ones of 2016-2018 – 364 schoolbooks altogether for grades 1-12 in all streams. The books examined for this recent study complete the picture of the new Palestinian curriculum as far as the higher grades (11, 12) are concerned. And the overall picture is gloomy. Not only do the PA schoolbooks not leave a glimpse of hope for a peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but the newly published ones even make things worse: deepening the de-legitimacy of both the State of Israel and the Jewish presence in the country today and in antiquity, augmenting the demonization of both, intensifying the violent character of the struggle for the liberation of Palestine in its entirety, and expanding this kind of anti-peace indoctrination to all school subjects. A mathematics assignment in the field of sequences, for example, requires the student to write down "the events that swept our Palestinian people" next to a given list of years (*Mathematics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Sciences] (2017) p. 34). This process of radicalization has been reviewed in detail in the two former studies and is now reaffirmed by this latest one.

It should be noted that, while this study was still going on, the PA replaced seven textbooks written as drafts in 2018 with final versions published in August the same year. The differences between the two editions can be summarized in two main points:

A. Omission of several remarkably extremist pieces, the most noted among them being an expression describing the "extirpation of this [namely, the Zionist] artificial and foreign entity from the Arab region" as the goal of the Palestinian people's resistance, and a description comparing the European colonialism in America to the Zionist one in Palestine. But these omissions do not change the overall picture created by the rest of the schoolbook material.

B. Strengthening the trend traced for the first time in the 2016 books of replacing the name "Israel" with the term "Zionist Occupation/Entity", and the addition of the epithet "Zionist" to the Jews in the context of the conflict. Thus, for example, in three pieces mentioning the Balfour Declaration regarding the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine - the Jews become "the Zionist Jews" (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) pp. 33, 89, 93).

Genuine peace education should follow some basic guidelines. Chief among them is recognition of the adversary's legitimate status within the conflict. It does not mean that one should accept the adversary's claims in whole or in part. But one surely has to recognize it as an equally legitimate actor on the scene with rights and interests of its own to be reckoned with. Failing to do so would mean total rejection and, consequently, an indication of a non-peaceful curriculum.

Other such guidelines are: providing enough objective information about the adversary that would counterbalance its demonizing description as enemy, treating its

individual members as ordinary human beings, advocating peace with it, and subordinating the struggle against it to international standards of human rights. Beyond that, UNESCO's principles of education for peace should be followed as well (see in the Appendix).

While Israeli schoolbooks mostly follow these guidelines, none of that is traced in the Palestinian Authority textbooks.

According to the PA schoolbooks, the conflict is a life-or-death struggle between two unequal parties: On the one hand, an indigenous population who is a victim of a worldwide conspiracy expressed by the 1947 UN Partition Resolution and, on the other hand, a mythical evil power - Zionism - represented by foreign settlers who try to create fake historical and archaeological evidence that would legitimize their false claim of belongingness to the land. The Zionists' motives are presented as basically racist (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 5). This foreign population occupied most of Palestine in 1948, and the rest of it in 1967, massacred the natives, expelled hundreds of thousands of people in what is termed "ethnic cleansing", destroyed their homes and villages, and settled in their stead. That Catastrophe - *Nakbah* in the Palestinian parlance - had two results: the establishment of a "Zionist entity" on Palestinian soil and the creation of a refugee problem. In order to end the Catastrophe and make Palestine free, both should be eliminated. The maps in the examined textbooks where the name "Israel" never appears and the whole country is denoted "Palestine", as well as the texts that describe cities within pre-1967 Israel as Palestinian and the maps that avoid showing Jewish cities, are very clear about that. One cannot help imagining that the PA vision of the return of the refugees involves not only the eradication of the state of Israel from the map but also the "removal" of its six-million Jewish citizens from the country.

This heavily distorted narrative of the conflict makes a fallacious comparison between the Jews, whose deep historical roots in the country - both national and religious - that have been recognized officially by both the League of Nations and the United Nations, are ignored, nay, outright denied, and between European colonialist populations outside Europe. It further ignores the fact that it was the Palestinian side that declared war on the Jews in the country with an avowed intention to uproot them from Palestine completely.<sup>11</sup>

The "Catastrophe", then, was the aftermath of a Palestinian and Arab initiative, but the PA books fail to tell that to the students. Moreover, the continuous desire to cleanse Palestine of the "usurpers" is simply a reiteration of the same old goal of 1947-48 that has brought about the Catastrophe in the first place.

To the "primary sin" of the adversary, namely, its occupation of Palestine, expulsion of the Palestinians and settlement in their stead, heavy layers of demonizing descriptions are added. Many of them - over thirty accusations in various fields - have been reviewed within the former two studies. The books examined by the present study have provided the following ones:

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<sup>11</sup> That is easily proven by the fact that not a single Jew was left in the 17 Jewish settlements occupied by the Arabs in the 1948 war.

- Killing Palestinians regularly. Especially noted in this respect is a mathematical assignment presenting a settler whose habit is said to be shooting at Palestinian vehicles (*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2017) p. 55).
- Assassinating Palestinian leaders - including an implied accusation regarding Yasser Arafat in this context, as he is dubbed "martyr".
- Attacking Palestinians militarily, especially in Gaza.
- Causing the suffering of Palestinian children.
- Violating international laws and conventions.
- Maltreating Palestinian prisoners.
- Confiscating Palestinian land and seizing control of Palestinian natural resources.
- Uprooting trees.
- Causing unemployment among young Palestinians.
- Limiting Palestinians' free movement.
- Detaining school students.
- Damaging the Palestinian economy and harming the Palestinian tourist industry.
- Acting to erase the Palestinian heritage.
- Denying the Palestinians adequate supplies of energy.
- Being responsible for the shortage of drinking water among Palestinians.
- Polluting the Palestinian environment.
- Coveting the Palestinian and Arab water resources.
- Limiting Palestinian construction projects.

Beyond this list, the textbooks of grades 11-12 contribute their own share of intensified demonization, namely, the creation of a comprehensive evil image of the adversary in a certain field by joining together specific accusations taken each from a different sphere of action. One such image is the perceived danger posed by the adversary to Palestinian nutritive security, by way of causing problems in the field of agricultural production, conducting military operations that harm it, non-treatment of sewage problems and limiting the import of foodstuff. Another such image, titled "the impact of Zionist Occupation on Palestinian centers of population", is created by joining together various Israeli actions like emptying Palestinian villages of their inhabitants, causing the establishment of Palestinian refugee camps, demolishing Palestinian houses, establishing Jewish settlements, building the separation wall, limiting construction in Palestinian villages, isolating Palestinian villages from one another by Jewish settlements and bypassing roads, erasing the Palestinian identity of cities and villages by settling Jews there, and imitating Palestinian construction styles in Jewish settlements. A third such image of Israel is what the PA schoolbooks describe as its contribution to what is defined as the desertification of Palestine. This way, the accumulated picture strengthens the already inculcated impression that the Jews' mere presence in the country endangers the Palestinians' existence there.

Many of these accusations are based on a factual nucleus. But the reader of this study who is not fully familiar with the daily details of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should be alerted to their gross exaggeration and inflation, even outright fabrications at times - such as the said assignment on the settler's regular shooting. Nothing is said in the PA books, for example, about the attacks on Israel from the Hamas-controlled Gaza



Strip, which entails Israeli military response. No book mentions the fact that the separation fence/wall was built following dozens of deadly suicide bombing attacks against Israelis in the early 2000s, and this is the reason as well for the check points and limitations put on Palestinians' free movement.

Especially alarming is the extensive use made of non-humanities school subjects for the propagation of such demonizing items, chiefly mathematics<sup>12</sup>, but also subjects such as "small businesses"<sup>13</sup>, "management and economics"<sup>14</sup>, and "entrepreneurship in business"<sup>15</sup>, which well affirms the intensification of the PA anti-peace indoctrination, in comparison with the pre-2016 schoolbooks.

This dark picture of the adversary is further emphasized by the total lack of any objective information about it, which might have mitigated the massive impact of its wholly negative image, and by a total lack of any reference to the adversary's individuals. It is understandable that a society entangled in a prolonged conflict with another one would present its adversary in a negative light. But if peace with the rival society is intended, it is essential to add some positive painting touches to the picture in the shape of objective information about the adversary's culture, history, etc., and its individuals should be presented as ordinary human beings. That is done by Israeli schoolbooks regarding Arabs and Palestinians. The Israeli schoolbooks also feature some self-criticism regarding certain cases related to Israel's attitude to Palestinians, such as the unequivocal condemnation of the Deir Yassin and Kafr Qassem massacres of 1948 and 1956, respectively. Parallel self-criticism is totally lacking in the PA textbooks.

An adversary whose de-legitimization and demonization reaches such a degree as shown above, cannot be considered a partner to peaceful coexistence. Rather, peace with such an arch-evil power seems absurd and the only logical choice is war until total elimination of the usurper's very presence in the country. In clear words: "extirpation [*isti'sal*] of this artificial and foreign entity from the Arab region" (*history Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 145). This expression was omitted from the final edition of the book, but another expression that could be interpreted in a similar way in this context is "the project of liberation from the Zionist Entity", rather than "from Zionist occupation" (*Management and Economics*, Grade 12 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 135).

And this logical choice is made very clear to the PA students, as not a single reference to the possibility of solving the conflict peacefully is made, unlike the case of the Israeli schoolbooks where no solution to the conflict other than a peaceful one is

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<sup>12</sup> "The Palestinian youth lives in a state of unemployment due to the Zionist Occupation's measures and racist practices..." (*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [other streams] (2017) p. 75).

<sup>13</sup> "...the aggression against Gaza as a result of which houses and buildings were destroyed and a large part of the population became homeless..." (*Small Businesses*, Grade 11 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 54).

<sup>14</sup> "The policy of the Zionist Occupation - the checkpoints, closures, land confiscation and export limitations - has led to a visible increase of production expenses..." (*Management and Economics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2017) p. 62).

<sup>15</sup> "...the prevailing dishonest competition that distorts the Palestinian identity, for many Zionist companies have stolen and distorted the Palestinian popular heritage..." (*Entrepreneurship in Business*, Grade 12 [Technological] (2018) p. 99).

presented. This huge gap between the two parties to the conflict is made more palpable in light of the Oslo Accords signed by both. In fact, the whole concept of the Oslo Accords as an opening of a new era of mutual recognition and the initiation of a peace process between the two parties is missing from the PA books that were examined within the current study. Rather, the discussion of the Oslo process in one of the books focuses on the return of tens of thousands of Palestinians from exile, headed by Yasser Arafat, and the establishment of the PA (*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2018) p. 62). In other words, the Oslo Accords facilitated the passage of the PLO's actual struggle against Israel from exile into the heart of Palestine itself.

Instead of peace education, the student is exposed to the notion that Palestine's liberation will come through a violent struggle in which the cardinal role will be played by the "Revolution [*Thawrah*]", that is, attacks by the armed Palestinian organizations, mainly Al-Fatah. Non-violent types of struggle, such as the "popular *Intifadah*" of 1987 and the boycott of Israeli products, may also be pursued, but they are not supposed to bring victory.

This violent struggle is enhanced by adding to it religious characteristics with a view to making it more compelling in the eyes of the students who mostly have traditional background. These characteristics are: the need to liberate Al-Aqsa Mosque from the hold of the infidels, Jihad, standing-on-guard [*Ribat*] which is considered part of Jihad, and martyrdom [*shahadah*]. The texts that demonize the Jews in Islamic contexts should be considered part of this effort of painting the struggle in religious colors.

Terrorism, namely, pre-meditated armed attacks against civilians, is part and parcel of the violent liberation struggle. It is called "*Fedai* [self-sacrificing] operations" and a claim is made that such actions are not terrorism but, rather, an integral part of the Revolution and the resistance. Specific terrorist actions that are mentioned by the books in this context are the (failed) attempt to blow up the Eilabun Tunnel of the Israeli National Water Carrier in 1965 and the 1972 "Munich operation" (*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 54), namely, the Munich Olympics attack in which 11 members of the Israeli team were murdered by Palestinian terrorists. One PA textbook also features a photograph of Dalal al-Mughrabi (*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2017) p. 53), who led in 1978 a terrorist attack on an Israeli civilian bus on the Coastal Highway in which close to 40 civilians - men, women and children were massacred. Another book mentions the name of another female terrorist who was killed while preparing an explosive device (*Mathematics*, Grade 12 [Other streams] (2018) p. 134). Terrorists who were killed in action are called "martyrs" in the PA schoolbooks and those arrested and jailed are defined as "prisoners-of-war". Both are revered.

The legitimization of violence against the adversary is religious - in defense of Islam and its holy places (Al-Aqsa Mosque), moral - in light of the adversary's perceived evil character, legal - being defined as a foreign occupier in contradiction to international law, and logical - for it is presented as an existential threat.

This is an ominous curriculum. It is obvious from the accumulating material found in the books, especially the newly published ones, that the PA prepares its school children for a total war against Israel and the Jewish population in the country, which

is detrimental to both Jewish and Palestinian younger generations. This kind of "education" should be stopped if a peaceful resolution of the conflict is desired. Anyone who aspires to achieve this noble goal should raise his or her voice in support of a massive change of the PA curriculum: The Israeli-Jewish adversary's roots in the country in antiquity, including its holy places, should be openly acknowledged, as well as its current presence in the country, including its right to self determination there, side by side with the Palestinians - much the same as Israeli schoolbooks acknowledge the existence of the Palestinians, their holy places and their national aspirations. Demonization of Israel and the Jews should be reduced to a minimum, objective information about them should be added, Israel and the Jews should not be posed as existential threats and individual Jews and Israelis should be treated as ordinary human beings - much the same as Arabs and Palestinians are treated in Israeli schoolbooks . Above all - there should be an end to all notions of a non-peaceful resolution of the conflict and peace between the Jewish State and the Palestinian people should be advocated openly and clearly - as is done in Israeli schoolbooks.

The only beam of light found in this study is the fact that between the draft and final editions of several grade 12 textbooks some changes have been made that can be interpreted as positive. That means that changes in the PA schoolbooks are possible. What is needed is an international initiative in this direction, especially on the part of the democratic nations that support the PA financially - in the field of education in particular.

The current study deals with textbooks of grades 11 and 12. These grades are not part of UNRWA's educational system in the West Bank and Gaza. Yet, the said fundamentals of PA education, as far as the attitude to Jews and Israel is concerned, prevail in all grades, including those included in UNRWA schools. It is therefore essential that this UN agency stop immediately all teachings that contradict both the UN principles regarding peaceful resolution of the conflict and the UN recognition of Israel's legitimacy as a sovereign state and a full member of the UN organization. It is equally essential that UNRWA follow UNESCO's principles of education for peace and tolerance stated below (see the following Appendix), or else, quit the education field entirely.

## Appendix

### UNESCO Principles of Education for Peace and Tolerance

- Does the curriculum promote tolerance, understanding and respect of the "other", its culture, achievements, values and way of life? <sup>16</sup>
- Does the curriculum develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution? <sup>17</sup>
- Does the curriculum promote peace? <sup>18</sup>
- Does the curriculum promote international understanding and cooperation? Does it motivate the student to understand and bear responsibility for the keeping of peace? <sup>19</sup>
- Is the curriculum free of wording, imagery and ideologies likely to create prejudices, misconceptions, stereotypes, misunderstandings, mistrust, racial hatred, religious bigotry and national hatred, as well as any other form of hatred or contempt for other groups or peoples? <sup>20</sup>
- Is all the educational material (textbooks, workbooks, teachers' guides, maps, illustrations, instructional aids) up-to-date, accurate, balanced and unprejudiced? Does it use equal standards to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples? <sup>21</sup>
- Does the curriculum include objective, complete and up-to-date data, as well as critical analysis of the historical and contemporary factors at the root of the differences, conflicts and tension between states and groups, as well as ways to overcoming those differences? <sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Based on the "Declaration of Principles on Tolerance", proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Articles 1, 4.2.

<sup>17</sup> Based on the "Integrated Framework for action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy", approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 9, and on the afore-mentioned "Declaration of Principles on Tolerance", Article 5.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, Article 6.

<sup>19</sup> Based on "UNESCO Recommendations concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms", adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Articles III 6 and IV 7.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, Articles III 6, IV 7, VII 39, and the afore-mentioned "Integrated Framework", Article 18.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, Articles VI 39, X 45 and "the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance", Article 4.3.

<sup>22</sup> Based on the afore-mentioned "UNESCO Recommendations", Article V 14.

## List of Sources

### Grade 11

1. *Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression*, Part 1 (2018)
2. *Arabic Language 2: Literature and Rhetoric* [Humanities] (2017)
3. *Islamic Education*, Part 1 (2017)
4. *Islamic Education*, Part 2 (2017)
5. *Geography Studies*, Part 1 [Humanities] (2017)
6. *Geography Studies*, Part 2 (2017)
7. *History Studies*, Part 2 (2017)
8. *Mathematics*, Part 1 [Sciences] (2017)
9. *Mathematics*, Part 2 [Sciences] (2017)
10. *Mathematics* [Humanities] (2017)
11. *Mathematics* [Other streams] (2017)
12. *Physics*, Part 1 [Sciences] (2017)
13. *Physics*, Part 2 [Sciences] (2017)
14. *Chemistry*, Part 2 [Sciences] (2017)
15. *Biology*, Part 2 [Sciences] (2017)
16. *Technology* (2016)
17. *Management and Economics*, Part 1 [Entrepreneurship & Business] (2017)
18. *Management and Economics*, Part 2 [Entrepreneurship & Business] (2017)
19. *Small Businesses* [Entrepreneurship & Business] (2017)
20. *Entrepreneurship in Business* [Technological] (2017)
21. *Programming and Automation*, Part 1 [Technological] Draft (2017)

### Grade 12

22. [*Arabic Language:*] *Reading, Texts, Grammar, Prosody and Expression*, Draft (No date [2018])
23. *Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression - The Academic Path* (2018)
24. *Islamic Education* (2018)
25. *History Studies* [Humanities] Draft (No date [2018])
26. *History Studies* [Humanities] (2018)
27. *Geography Studies* (2018)
28. *Mathematics* [Sciences] Draft (2018)
29. *Mathematics* [Sciences] (2018)
30. *Mathematics* [Humanities] (2018)
31. *Mathematics* [Entrepreneurship & Business] Draft (No date [2018])
32. *Mathematics* [Other streams] (2018)
33. *Physics* [Sciences] (2018)
34. *Chemistry* [Sciences] Draft (No date [2018])
35. *Chemistry* [Sciences] (2018)

36. *Biology* [Sciences] (2018)
37. *Scientific Education* [Humanities] Draft (No date [2018])
38. *Scientific Education* [Humanities] (2018)
39. *Technology* (2017)
40. *Technology* [Humanities] (2018)
41. *Management and Economics* [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018)
42. *Small Businesses* [Entrepreneurship and Business] (2018)
43. *Entrepreneurship in Business* [Technological] (2018)
44. *Programming and Automation*, Part 1 [Technological] (2018)
45. *Communication and Electronics* [Technological] (2018)

## The Author



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