

JUNE 2020

Israel, Jews and Peace in Palestinian Authority Schoolbooks and Teachers' Guides

By
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Introduction

Schoolbooks indicate the values a society would wish to instill in the minds of its younger generation. When published by the government – as the case is with the Palestinian Authority (PA), they indicate the latter's long-run intentions. Hence the importance of schoolbook research in societies in conflict such as the one existing between Israel and the Palestinians. The Palestinian Authority schoolbooks first appeared between 2000-2006 and once again between 2016-2019. This summarizing presentation is based on close to 400 schoolbooks published between the years 2013-2019 and over a hundred teachers' guides mostly published in 2018. These books are used in the PA territories, as well as in Gaza and in most schools in East Jerusalem. They are mandatory in all schools in these areas, including the private ones and those operated by UNRWA.

From the very start, the PA schoolbooks have featured 3 fundamentals as far as the conflict was concerned:

1. De-legitimization of both Israel's existence and the very presence of its six million Jewish citizens in the country, as well as the denial of the existence of Jewish holy places there.
 2. Demonization of both Israel and the Jews.
 3. Advocacy of a violent struggle for liberation, instead education to peace and coexistence.
- Substantial worsening of this attitude has been traced in the books that started to appear in 2016, both in deepening these fundamentals and in their expansion to scientific and technical school subjects on a larger scale than before.

The teachers' guides, which I studied in 2019, give a much wider perspective, not only of the said fundamentals, but on the actual indoctrination process, as they reveal a variety of means used in this context.

Following are some examples:

De-legitimization of Israel's Existence

Israel is presented as an occupying entity from its very beginning, established on the ruins of the Palestinian people in 1948, an event described by the term *Nakbah* – Catastrophe. That is a cardinal item in the PA indoctrination and it is made to fit the students' various ages. The first example is taken from a second-grade teacher's guide and, accordingly, is presented in a simplified form:

“The teacher will tell [the students] a short story about our homeland Palestine: ‘My grandfather was living in a beautiful village in [the vicinity of] Haifa. He worked in agriculture, loved the land and guarded it. On one sad day, foreign faces came to expel my grandfather from his land, burn the crop and force him to emigrate to distant lands’.”

(Teacher's guide, *Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2 (2018) p. 124)

يسرد المعلم قصة قصيرة عن وطننا فلسطين (كان جدي يعيش في قرية جميلة في حيفا، يعمل بالزراعة، ويحب الأرض، ويحافظ عليها. في يوم حزين جاءت وجوه غريبة لنطرد جدي من أرضه، وتحرق الزرع، وتهجره إلى بلاد بعيدة).



The second example, also taken from a teacher's guide, belongs to grade 11:
"Sixth question: 'Settlement is not a goal in itself only, but it is also a means to seizing control of Palestine politically. Therefore, we must build Hebrew settlements':

- I will express my opinion on this saying: Zionist settlement in Palestine is not restricted to construction activity only, but accompanies the destruction of the Palestinian Arab society, thus implementing their racist Zionist thinking of denying the other, its uprooting, no coexistence with it and unacceptance of its existence. It is a means of controlling Palestine, its occupation and the building of the Zionist state there.
- I will explain the Zionist occupation's goal in strengthening the settlement: The occupation's goal is to replace and force the Palestinian people to emigrate in order to make the Zionist immigrants settle in Palestine instead."

(Answers to questions: teacher's guide, *History Studies*, Grade 11 (2018) p. 126)

السؤال السادس: (الاستيطان ليس هدفاً في حد ذاته فحسب، بل أيضاً وسيلة للاستيلاء السياسي على فلسطين، لذلك يجب علينا أن نسعى لبناء مستوطنات عبرية):

- أبدي وجهة نظري في هذه المقولة: إن الاستيطان الصهيوني في فلسطين لا يقتصر على عملية البناء فقط، بل يتلزم ذلك مع هدم المجتمع العربي الفلسطيني تطبيقاً لفكرهم الصهيوني العنصري في نفي الآخر واقتلعه وعدم التعايش معه ولا القبول بوجوده، وهو وسيلة للسيطرة على فلسطين واحتلالها، وبناء الدولة الصهيونية فيها.
- أرى هدف الاحتلال الصهيوني من تعزيز الاستيطان: هدف الاحتلال وغايته الإحلال وتهجير الشعب الفلسطيني، من أجل توطين الوافدين الصهاينة بدلاً منه في فلسطين.

Israel's pre-1967 territory is called "the Palestinian territories occupied in 1948":

"Geographical Distribution of the Palestinian People:

Activity 2: Let us look at the figures of the Palestinian people according to places of residence and then we will do the following:

- Analyze the data appearing in the chart and then present the results we have reached at.
- Draw conclusions regarding the regions where the largest numbers of the Palestinian people are found.

<u>Place of Residence</u>	<u>Number of Inhabitants</u>
The West Bank	2,972,069
The Gaza Strip	1,912,267
The territories occupied in 1948	1,531,711
The diaspora in the Arab states	5,594,683
The diaspora in the foreign states	695,677
The Palestinians' total number	12,706, 407

The Central Bureau for Palestinian Statistics, 2016"

(*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2019) p. 92. **Emphasis Added**)



التوزيع الجغرافي للشعب الفلسطيني:

نشاط (٢): نلاحظ أعداد الشعب الفلسطيني، وفق مكان الإقامة، ثم نقوم بما يأتي:

عدد السكان	مكان الإقامة
٢,٩٧٢,٠٦٩	الضفة الغربية
١,٩١٢,٢٦٧	قطاع غزة
١,٥٣١,٧١١	الأراضي المحتلة عام ١٩٤٨م
٥,٥٩٤,٦٨٣	الشتات في الدول العربية
٦٩٥,٦٧٧	الشتات في الدول الأجنبية
١٢,٧٠٦,٤٠٧	مجموع الفلسطينيين

- نُحلّل البيانات الواردة في الجدول، ثم نعرض ما توصلنا إليه من نتائج.
- نستنتج المناطق التي يوجد فيها العدد الأكبر من الشعب الفلسطيني.

الجهاز المركزي للإحصاء الفلسطيني عام ٢٠١٦م

Worsening: The PA schoolbooks published since 2016 have featured a new alarming phenomenon, i.e., the name "Israel" has been replaced in most cases by the epithet "the Zionist occupation", thus deepening the formerly adhered-to line of non-recognition of Israel as a legitimate state and transforming a concrete entity – the State of Israel – into a mythical, all-evil, entity – Zionism, with the accompanying notions of fear and hatred. An example taken from a grade 10 textbook describes the Rhodes Armistice agreements of 1949 between "the Zionist occupation" and some Arab states:

“...The Arab armies withdrew from Palestine and the Rhodes armistice was signed in 1949 separately between the Zionist occupation and each of Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon...”
(*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2019) p. 7)

يتمركز فيها الجيش المصري، وأنسحبت الجيوش العربية من فلسطين، وتم توقيع هدنة رودس عام ١٩٤٩م بشكل منفرد بين الاحتلال الصهيوني، وبين كل من الأردن، ومصر، وسوريا، ولبنان، وأعطت هذه الهدنة

Before 2016, the words "the Israeli occupation", "Israelis" and "Zionist organizations" still exist, instead of today's "Zionist occupation", Zionists" and the prevalent "Zionist gangs", as clearly seen in the following example:

“The Israeli Occupation

The Catastrophe [*Nakbah*] of 1948 was inflicted on the Palestinian society by the Zionist **organizations**, as most of the Palestinians were forced to emigrate from their land and the **State of Israel** was established in part of Palestine. The West Bank was annexed to Jordan in 1950 and the Gaza Strip was attached to the Egyptian administration. The setback [*Naksah*] of 1967 fell on the Palestinian society, as the **Israelis** managed to occupy the remainder of Palestine, that is, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Sinai desert was also occupied from Egypt and the Golan Heights from Syria.”

(*National Education*, Grade 5 (2014) p. 30. **Emphasis Added**)



الاحتلال الإسرائيلي :

حلّت بالمجتمع الفلسطيني نكبة عام ١٩٤٨م على يد المُنظّمات الصّهيونية، حيث هُجّر معظم الفلسطينيين من أرضهم، وأنشئت دولة إسرائيل في قسم من فلسطين، وضمّت الضفة الغربية إلى الأردن عام ١٩٥٠م، وألحق قطاع غزة بالإدارة المصرية. وحلّت نكسة عام ١٩٦٧م بالمجتمع الفلسطيني، حين تمكّن الإسرائيليون من احتلال باقي فلسطين المتمثل في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة، كما احتلت صحراء سيناء من مصر، وهضبة الجولان من سوريا.

However, there has been no change in the constant principle by which Palestine replaces Israel as the sovereign state in the region:

“Palestine is Arab and Muslim”

“States of the Arab Homeland”

“Palestine”

(*National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2019) p. 8*)

فلسطين عَرَبِيَّةٌ وَإِسْلَامِيَّةٌ

٢

دول الوطن العربي

ج.





“A. I will color the map of my homeland with the colors of the Palestinian flag”
(*National and Life Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2019) p. 8*)

أ- أُلَوِّنُ خَرِيْطَةَ وَطَنِي بِأَلْوَانِ الْعَلَمِ الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّ.



“Palestine is located in the Asian wing of the Arab homeland, in a region known as the Levant [*Bilad al-Sham* in Arabic] which includes the states of Palestine, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, and Palestine is located in the south-western part of the Levant.”

(*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 10, Part 1 (2019) p. 7*)

تقع فلسطين في الجناح الآسيوي من الوطن العربي، ضمن المنطقة المعروفة ببلاد الشام التي تضم
دول: فلسطين، الأردن، وسوريا، ولبنان، حيث تقع فلسطين في الجزء الجنوبي الغربي من بلاد الشام،

And on the map:

“States of the Levant”

“Syria”, “Lebanon”, “Jordan”, “Palestine”

(*Social Studies, Grade 6, Part 1 (2019) p. 43*)



De-legitimization of the Jews' Presence in the Country

Jews have no rights to the country whatsoever, but rather "greedy ambitions":

“The student will find for himself free time to reflect on the dangers of the Jews’ greedy ambitions [atma ’] in Palestine.”

(Assignment: Teacher’s guide, *Arabic Language*, Grade 9 (2018) p. 30)



They are colonizing settlers, like the Europeans in the Americas:

“Colonization [*istitan*]: Replacement of a people by another people and seizing control over its land – the Zionist occupation of Palestine.”

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 9)



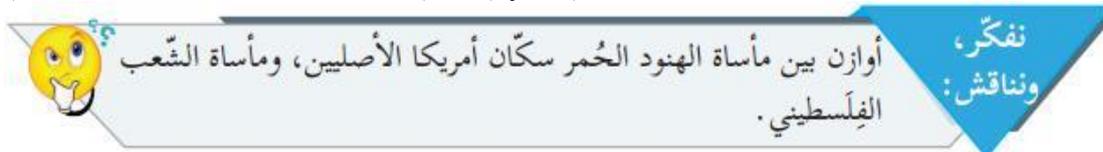
And a revised version of the same page in a more recent example:



(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2019) p. 9)

“I will compare the tragedy of the Indians, America’s original inhabitants, to the tragedy of the Palestinian people.”

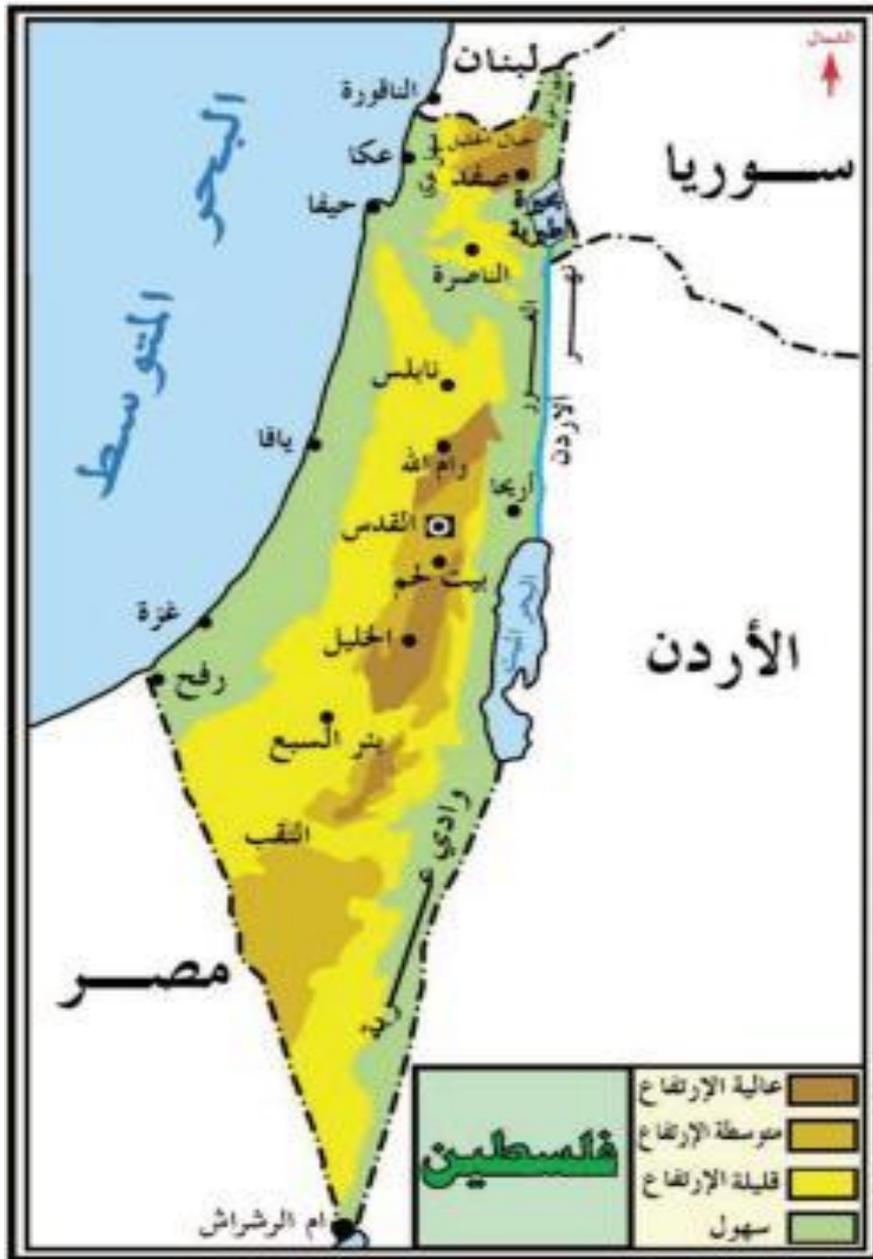
(*Social Studies*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2019) p. 34)



Non-recognition of the legitimacy of the Jews' presence in the country is expressed by the absence of Jewish cities from the map, including Tel Aviv, or their appearance under Arabic names, like the Israeli city of Eilat which is still referred to by the name of the desolate place where it was later built:

“Palestine”

“Umm al-Rashrash”



(Social Studies, Grade 5, Part 2 (2019) p. 36)



(Social Studies, Grade 6, Part 1 (2019) p. 57)

The Jews' national language, Hebrew, is erased, literally, from historical documents that treat it as an official language in the country historically. Following is a British Mandatory coin from which the Hebrew inscription has been erased when reproduced in a PA textbook:



نشاط (1):

أمرّز قلمي على الدائرة فيما يأتي:



أناقش: كيف يُمكنني قياس محيط قطعة النقد، باستخدام المسطرة فقط؟
وباستخدام خيط ومسطرة؟



(Mathematics, Grade 6, Part 2 (2019) p. 75)
And a photocopy of the original coin:



Worsening: The post-2016 PA textbooks deny vehemently the Jewish past in the country, dubbing as "legends" any information about that. This line of argument is new, as former books featured sporadic pieces talking about Jewish history in the country in antiquity. The following chart exemplifies that:

“The Jews – David’s kingdom
1000 – 923 BC

Kingdom

Northern kingdom

The Phoenicians

המרכז לחקר מדיניות המזרח התיכון

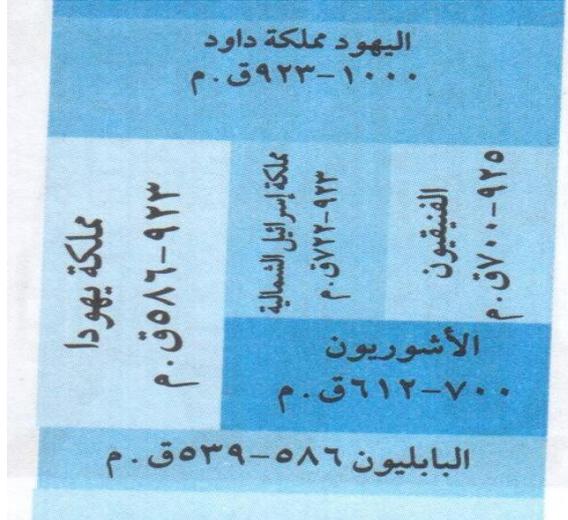
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of Israel 923 - 722 BC 925 – 700 BC
 Judea 923 – 586 BC The Assyrians 700 – 612 BC
 The Babylonians 586 – 539 BC”

(National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 3. A similar chart with identical items also appears in History of the Middle Ages, Grade 7 (2014) p. 74)



Today's books, however, are different:

"...[The occupier] has built for himself an artificial entity that derives its identity and the legitimacy of its existence from tales, legends and false visions, and has tried through various methods and ways to create live material evidence for these legends, or archaeological and architectural proofs that would confirm their truth and substantiality, but in vain."

(Arabic Language – Academic Path, Grade 10, Part 2 (2019) p. 68)

أَرْضُهُ، وَشَرَّدَ أَبْنَاءَهُ، وَنَهَبَ ثَرَوَاتِهِ، وَشَوَّهَ هُوِيَّتَهُ، وَبَنَى لِنَفْسِهِ كِيَانًا مُصْطَنَعًا يَسْتَمِدُّ هُوِيَّتَهُ، وَشَرْعِيَّةَ
 وُجُودِهِ مِنْ حِكَايَاتٍ، وَأَسَاطِيرَ، وَأَخْيَلَةٍ، حَاوَلَ بِأَسَالِيبَ وَطُرُقٍ شَتَّى إِيجَادَ شَوَاهِدَ مَادِّيَّةٍ حَيَّةٍ عَلَى
 هَذِهِ الْأَسَاطِيرِ، أَوْ أُدْلِيَّةٍ أَثَرِيَّةٍ مِعْمَارِيَّةٍ، تُثَبِّتُ صِحَّتَهَا وَمُصَدِّقَاتِهَا، وَلَكِنْ دُونَ جَدْوَى.

Within this context, the Jews' ties to their historical capital and holy city – Jerusalem – are denied too:

“Jerusalem is an Arab city built by our Arab ancestors thousands of years ago. Jerusalem is a holy city to Muslims and Christians.”

(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 1 (2019) p. 29)

الْقُدْسُ مَدِينَةٌ عَرَبِيَّةٌ بَنَاهَا أَجْدَادُنَا الْعَرَبُ مِنْذُ آلَافِ السِّنِينَ.
 الْقُدْسُ مَدِينَةٌ مُقَدَّسَةٌ عِنْدَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمَسِيحِيِّينَ.

“Even if the enemies dig in its history false [archaeological] excavations and baseless claims, and build on its soil a forged heritage and a reality supported by force and tyranny...”



“...so that it [Jerusalem] will remain in the nation’s consciousness sacred, high above the misery of the *fait accompli*, the distorted narratives, the usurped histories and the grip of the invaders who do not spare any effort in falsifying history, marketing illusions and letting loose the tools of destruction, so that they would distort geography.”

(*Arabic Language 1: Reading, Grammar, Prosody and Expression – Academic Path, Grade 12* (2019) pp. 39, 40, respectively)

وإن حَفَرَ الأعداءُ في تاريخها أَخاديدَ كاذبة، وأدعاءاتٍ باطلة، وأقاموا فوق
ترايبها تُراثاً مُزيفاً، وواقِعاً مُدعوماً بالقُوَّة والجَبَروت.

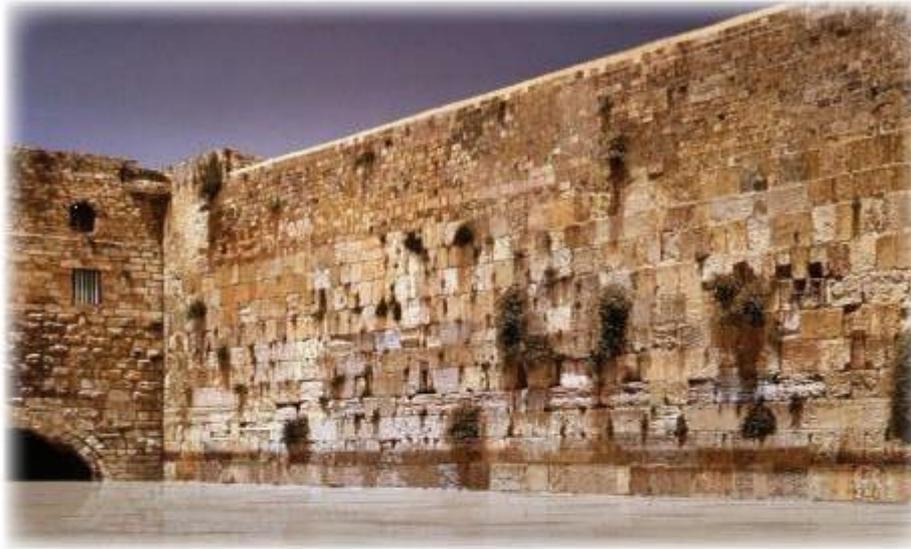
ربوعها؛ لتظلَّ في وعي الأمة مقدَّسةً تترَفَع عن بؤس الأمر الواقع، والرّوايات
المشوّهة، والتّواريخ المغتصَّبة، وقبضة الغزاة الذين لا يَأَلون جهداً في تزييف
التّاريخ، وتسويق الأوهام، وإطلاق العنان لآلات الدّمار كي تُشوّه الجغرافية،

Moreover, the very existence of Jewish holy places in the country, such as the Western Wall in Jerusalem and the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, is denied, and these places are described as exclusively Muslim:

“Al-Buraq Wall”

“Illumination: Al-Buraq Wall is thus named after Al-Buraq [the divine beast] that carried [according to Islamic belief] the Messenger [Muhammad] in the *Isra' and Mi'raj* Journey [nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, from which he ascended to Heaven having tied Al-Buraq to the Wailing Wall]. The Al-Buraq Wall is part of the western wall of Al-Aqsa Mosque and it is the exclusive right of the Muslims alone.”

(*Islamic Education, Grade 5, Part 1* (2019) p. 63)



حائط البراق

إضاءة: سُمِّي حائطُ البراقِ بهذا الاسم؛ نسبةً إلى البراقِ الَّذي حملَ الرَّسولَ ﷺ في رحلةِ الإسراءِ والمعراجِ، وحائطُ البراقِ جزءٌ من السورِ الغربيِّ للمسجدِ الأقصى وهو حقٌّ خالصٌ للمسلمين وحدهم.

“The sacred place of Abraham [*Al-Haram al-Ibrahimi* – the Cave of the Patriarchs] is a holy place to Muslims...”

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11, part 2 [Sciences] (2019) p. 97)



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 $\sqrt{57}$ متراً تقريباً. افرض أن طول الحجر s وعرضه v

Demonization of Israel

Any society in conflict demonizes the adversary society by its very presentation as an enemy and the narration of its past attacks. But if the schoolbooks also contain some objective information about the adversary society, with some recognition of its status, if its members are described as ordinary human beings and if there is some extent of self-criticism of past actions done against the adversary society – then, the demonization is somewhat blurred. All that can be found in the Israeli schoolbooks in the context of the conflict with the Palestinians. None of that, however, exists in the Palestinian schoolbooks. There, the Zionist adversary is wholly evil and constitutes an existential threat to the Palestinians who are depicted as the ultimate victim, with no shared responsibility whatsoever for the conflict.



During the study of the Palestinian schoolbooks, over 40 accusations against Israel have been found, beginning in its very establishment on a usurped land, the massacre and expulsion of that country's inhabitants and the destruction of their cities and villages, through murder of Palestinian children, assassination of Palestinian leaders, aggression, house demolition, uprooting trees, targeting various Palestinian economic branches, as well as Palestinian heritage and vital services such as education and health, desecrating holy places, imposing siege and limiting free movement, arrests, torture and maiming, and ending in responsibility for drug abuse and in-family violence in Palestinian society. Following are few examples: The first item, taken from a mathematics textbook, refers to the 1948 massacre of Deir Yassin and is followed by a non-mathematical question. This piece well represents the trend traced among Palestinian educators to introduce aspects of the conflict to school subjects not directly related (and see below an example taken from a biology textbook):

“Activity 1: In that quiet and peaceful village, whose inhabitants were dreaming of their [daily] bread, and which is found at Jerusalem’s outskirts, at that spring day’s morning, when the people were still sleeping, 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 control of their lands.

About what village does the text talk?”

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Sciences] (2019) p. 68)

نشاط ١:
في تلك القرية الهادئة المفعمة بالسلام، الحالم أهلها بلقمة العيش، الواقعة على أطراف القدس
وفي صباح ذلك اليوم الربيعي، حيث كان الناس نياماً، تدخل عصابات العنف والبطش والمكر
للقرية، تقتل ما يقارب ثلاثمائة آمن، وتشرّد أهلها لتفرغ الأرض من ساكنيها، وتستولي على
أراضيهم.

عن أي قرية يتحدث النص السابق؟

Murder of Palestinian children intentionally is an accusation directed at Israeli soldiers. Following is a language exercise "explaining" the reason for such murders, according to the PA educators:

“4. The soldiers attack the children out of fear of their dreams.”

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2019) p. 60)

٤- يُهاجمُ الجنودُ الأطفالَ خوفاً من أحلامهم.

The Palestinian boy Muhammad al-Durrah, who, according to a French TV film, was killed by Israeli fire, appears as an example alongside questions in biology regarding neural impact on physical reactions in the human body under various circumstances.



(*Biology*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Sciences] (2018) p. 77)

And a question in statistics:

“3. One of the settlers shoots at [Palestinian] cars that pass on 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 will you expect to be the number of cars that were hit?”

(*Mathematics*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2018) p. 55. In the teacher’s guide for this class, from the same year, the answer appears on p. 162: "7")

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 أصيبت؟

An assignment in the subject of scientific education:

“For research:

Studies show an increase in cases of cancer in southern Hebron, comparing to other Palestinian areas. I will research the connection of that to its location near the Dimona [nuclear] reactor in the [Israeli] Negev desert.”

(*Scientific Education*, Grade 11 (2017) p. 40)

للبحث

تُشير الدراسات إلى وجود زيادة في عدد الإصابات بحالات السرطان في جنوب الخليل، مقارنة مع المناطق الفلسطينية الأخرى، ابحث عن علاقة ذلك بقربها من مفاعل ديمونة في صحراء النقب.



Demonization sometimes reaches the quarters of wild imagination:

“[The occupation]... lets loose herds of wild boars that caused damage to the [Palestinian] inhabitants and their crops.

(*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2019) p. 19. The item is marked in red within the text.)

الأسواق الصهيونية، كالمسيارات، والمواد الغذائية، وإطلاق قطعان الخنازير التي ألحقت الضرر بالسكان،
ومحاصيلهم، وقصف المشاريع الإنتاجية.

There are some de-humanizing expressions as well. The first example describes the Israeli enemy as a wild beast. The second – as a snake:

“[The martyrs] carried [their] hearts on [their] palms like a stone, an amber, a burning fire And threw them at the highway’s wild beast.

...

[Assignment:] 1. We will explain the description of the occupying enemy given by the poetess.”

(*Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2019) pp. 74, 76, respectively)

رَفَعُوا الْقُلُوبَ عَلَى الْأَكْفِ حَجَارَةً، جَمْرًا، حَرِيقًا
رَجَمُوا بِهَا وَحَشَنَ الطَّرِيقَ:
١ نَبِّينَ الْوَصْفِ الَّذِي أَطْلَقَتْهُ الشَّاعِرَةُ عَلَى الْعَدُوِّ الْمُحْتَلِّ.

“The Zionist occupation spreads its venom in all corners of life in Palestine.”

(Teacher’s guide, *Arabic Language*, Grade 8 (2018) p. 121)

الاحتلال الصهيوني يث سمومه في كل زوايا الحياة في فلسطين

The teachers' guides enhance the demonization in various ways, as follows:

1. Through assignments:

“**Activity 2: Drawing a picture that would embody the massacre:** Divide the students into non-homogenic groups and each group will be required to imagine the events of the massacre, draw them and paint them with the appropriate colors. The pictures will be posted in a visible place in class. Some of the pictures will be chosen for discussion.”

(teacher’s guide, *Arabic Language*, Grade 7 (2018) p. 153. The red-marked words are in the original)

نشاط (٢) رسم لوحة تجسد المجزرة: تقسيم الطلبة إلى مجموعات غير متجانسة، ويُطلب من كل مجموعة تخيل أحداث المجزرة، ورسمها، وتلوينها بالألوان المناسبة، وتعلق اللوحات في مكان ظاهر في الصف، وتختار بعض اللوحات للمناقشة.

2. By repetitions of demonizing details in statements, questions and answers. Example:

The text: “These gangs spread destruction in the city and dug their fangs of hostility in its pure body.”

The question: “5. We will clarify the beauty of the description: ‘They dug their fangs of hostility in its pure body’.”

(Teacher’s guide, *Arabic Language*, Grade 9 (2018) p. 193)



The answer: “[The writer] likened the Zionist gangs to a beast of prey and the city of Safad to the prey on which it pounces and digs its fangs in its body.”
(Teacher’s guide, *Arabic Language*, Grade 9 (2018) p. 150)

فَعَاثَتِ تِلْكَ الْعَصَابَاتُ فِي الْمَدِينَةِ تَخْرِيْبًا وَتَدْمِيرًا، وَغَرَزَتْ أُنْيَابَ حَقْدِهَا فِي جَسَدِهَا الطَّاهِرِ،

٥. نوضح جمال التصوير: وغرزت أنياب حقدها في جسدها الطاهر.

— شبه العصابات الصهيونية بالحيوان المفترس له أنياب، ومدينة صفد بالفريسة التي ينقض عليها ويغرز أنيابه في جسدها.

3. By emphasizing the cases of children in the conflict, and
4. Encouraging the creation of "appropriate" feelings vis-à-vis the demonizing items:
“Each student will be requested to describe his feelings vis-à-vis the occupation’s crimes against the Palestinian children.”
(Teacher’s guide, *Arabic Language*, Grade 9 (2018) p. 106)

٢- يطلب من كل طالب ان يصف مشاعره
تجاه جرائم الاحتلال بحق الأطفال الفلسطينيين

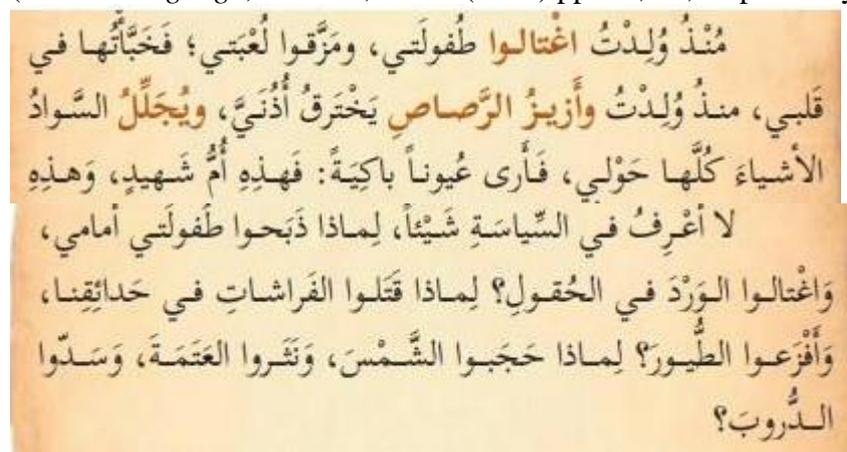
Demonization is given a vivid dimension in a piece featuring extreme manifestations of victimhood, which inevitably demonize the perceived victimizer. It is a lesson titled "A Letter from a Palestinian Little Girl to Children of the World", in which "She describes the suffering caused to her and to children of her age..."

Excerpts:

"Since I was born, they have assassinated my childhood. They tore my doll apart and I hid it in my heart. Since I was born the bullets' whistle has pierced my ears and blackness has covered everything around me..."

...Why did they slaughter my childhood in front of my eyes and murdered the rose in the fields? Why did they kill the butterflies in our gardens and frighten the birds? Why did they veil the sunlight, spread darkness and block the roads?"

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2019) pp. 47, 48, respectively)





Demonization of Jews

Within the context of the conflict, Zionists/Jews are presented as racist with genocidal intentions towards the Palestinians, which makes them an existential threat:

“...or due to the strengthening of the racist spirit, especially when a certain group thinks that it is the best race on earth, or [due to] carrying out of colonialist projects of control over a land and [its] inhabitants, like the Zionist colonialist Imperialism [*al-isti'mar al-istitani*] in Palestine.”

(*History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2019) p. 5, and see the question on p. 6 regarding the basic motive for “the Zionist aggressions against the Palestinian people.”)

من النصر. أو بسبب تنامي الروح العنصرية، خاصة عندما تعتقد جماعة ما، أنها الجنس الأفضل على سطح الأرض أو تنفيذ مشاريع استعمارية للسيطره على الأرض والسكان، كالأستعمار الاستيطاني الصهيوني في فلسطين.

“1. The Zionists based their entity on terror, extermination [*ibadah*] and colonialism [*isti'mar*]. We will explain that.”

(*Arabic Language – Academic Path*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2019) p. 28)

أقام الصهاينة كيانهم على الإرهاب والإبادة والاستعمار، نبيّن ذلك.

“The Jews perpetrated war crimes against our people incessantly.”

(Teacher's guide, *Arabic Language*, Grade 9 (2018) p. 150)

– ارتكب اليهود جرائم حرب في حق شعبنا، دون هوادة.

A teacher's guide features a student evaluation chart of which one of the items (marked in red) gives the student the highest degree if he/she connects the massacres perpetrated by "Zionist gangs" to Jewish religious thinking:

“Clarification of the Zionist gangs' goals in perpetrating massacres:

Good (3): [The student] connected accurately the perpetration of the Zionist massacres to the Jewish religious thinking.

Satisfactory (2): [The student] connected accurately the thinking of the Zionist gangs to their perpetration of massacres.

Unsatisfactory (1): [The student] defined accurately the Zionist gangs' goals of perpetrating massacres [but did not connect that to the Jewish or Zionist thinking!]

(Teacher's guide, *Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10 (2018) p. 164)



جدول (٢): مصفوفة مستويات الأداء:

المحك/ مستوى الأداء	جيد (٣)	مرضى (٢)	غير مرضي (١)
تعداد أسماء شخصيات عربية وفلسطينية دافعت عن فلسطين.	ذكر أسماء قياديين دافعوا عن فلسطين بشكل دقيق وصحيح.	معظم المعلومات التي قدمها عن القادة صحيحة.	معظم المعلومات التي قدمها عن مفهوم الالتزام غير صحيحة.
تفسير أسباب سقوط المدن والقرى الفلسطينية بيد العصابات الصهيونية.	المعلومات التي قدمها عن سبب سقوط المدن والقرى دقيقة وصحيحة.	معظم المعلومات التي قدمها عن سبب سقوط المدن والقرى صحيحة.	معظم المعلومات التي قدمها عن سبب سقوط المدن والقرى غير صحيحة.
توضيح هدف العصابات الصهيونية من ارتكاب المجازر.	ربط بين ارتكاب المجازر الصهيونية والفكر الديني اليهودي بشكل دقيق.	ربط بين فكر العصابات الصهيونية وارتكابها للمجازر بشكل صحيح.	حدّد هدف العصابات الصهيونية من ارتكاب المجازر بشكل صحيح.

But Jews are demonized as well outside the context of the conflict. They are described as a corrupt nation in its essence:

“Spreading corruption on earth is of the Children of Israel’s nature.”

(*Holy Qur’an and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar’i stream*] (2013) p. 149)

الإفساد في الأرض من طبع بني إسرائيل .

They are also described as enemies of Islam from its early days:

“Let us watch the video clip from the attached disc about the Jews’ attempt to kill God’s Messenger [Muhammad].”

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2019) p. 65)

هيا بنا نشاهد مقطع فيديو من القرص المرفق، لمحاولة قتل اليهود رسول

الله ﷺ .



Such demonization is very powerful in a society that is mostly traditional and has a direct impact on painting the conflict in religious colors, with detrimental effect on the issue of peace. A major theme in this context is the perceived need to liberate Al-Aqsa Mosque from the "Devil's aides", as said in a poem taught to 7th grade students:

“Where are the horsemen [who would ride] to Al-Aqsa [Mosque] to liberate it from the grip of infidelity, from the Devil’s aides?”

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2019) p. 67)

أَيْنَ الْفَوَارِسُ لِلْأَقْصَى تُحَرِّرُهُ مِنْ قَبْضَةِ الْكُفْرِ مِنْ أَعْوَانِ شَيْطَانٍ؟

Another item in this field is a Prophetic Saying (*Hadith*) which describes the future killing of Jews by Muslims and which is widely used in nowadays Islamic anti-Jewish propaganda. This *Hadith* appears in a textbook used in the *Shar’i* stream of the PA high school stage that trains would-be imams and preachers:

“...7. The fighting against the Jews and the victory over them: The Messenger [Muhammad] announced [the good news of] the end of the Jews’ oppression in this holy land and the removal of their corruption and their occupation there. [It was related] by Abu Hurayrah [one



of Prophet Muhammad's companions] that the Prophet had said: 'The End of Days shall not come until the Muslims fight the Jews and the Muslims will kill them, and even if a Jew would hide behind a rock or a tree, the rock or the tree would say: 'O Muslim, O God's servant, there is a Jew [hiding] behind me, so come and kill him', except the salt bush, for it is [one] of the Jews' trees'."

(*Faith*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i stream*] (2013) p. 94)

سابعاً: مقاتلة اليهود والانتصار عليهم: فقد بشر الرسول ﷺ بنهاية ظلم اليهود على هذه الأرض المقدسة، وإزالة فسادهم واحتلالهم لها؛ عن أبي هريرة رضي الله عنه أن النبي ﷺ قال: «لا تقوم الساعة حتى يقاتل المسلمون اليهود، فيقتلهم المسلمون، حتى يختبئ اليهودي من وراء الحجر أو الشجر، فيقول الحجر أو الشجر: يا مسلم، يا عبد الله، هذا يهودي خلفي فتعال فاقتله إلا الغرقد، فإنه من شجر اليهود»^(٢).

War Indoctrination instead of Peace Education

With an enemy such as the one described here, peace is not an option. With such an enemy, a violent struggle should be waged until its total removal. The legitimacy for violence is religious – in the name of the defense of Islam and its holy places (Al-Aqsa Mosque), moral – due to the adversary's inherent evil, legal – because the adversary is regarded as a foreign occupier in contradiction to international law, and logical – since it constitutes an existential threat.

Absence of Peace Education

Indeed, none of the PA schoolbooks includes a call for a peaceful resolution of the conflict or a mentioning of coexistence with Israel – contrary to the situation in Israeli schoolbooks as far as the conflict with the Palestinians is concerned. There are one or two expressions in favor of peace in general, but not in the context of the conflict. Even the description of the Oslo process, which includes Arafat's letter to Rabin, shortly before they both signed the agreement, in which he recognized Israel's right to exist in peace and security and renounced terror, is not utilized for advocating peace and coexistence with Israel. In fact, the emphasis within the discussion of the Oslo Accords is on the return of thousands of Palestinians to the homeland and the establishment of the PA, rather than on its being a first step towards peace. The relevant passage in Arafat's letter to Rabin given in one of the PA textbooks:

"...The Palestinian Liberation Organization recognizes the State of Israel's right to live in peace and security. The Organization accepts the UN Security Council's resolutions Nos. 242 and 338. The Organization commits itself to the peace process in the Middle East and to the peaceful solution to the conflict between the two parties and declares that all the political issues related to the permanent situation will be resolved through negotiations. Accordingly, the Organization denounces the use of terror and other acts of violence..."

(*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2019) p. 77, and see the full letter below:)



خطاب اعتراف منظمة التحرير بإسرائيل، بتاريخ ١٩٩٣/٩/٩م:

من الرئيس ياسر عرفات إلى إسحق رابين رئيس وزراء إسرائيل:

إنّ التوقيع على إعلان المبادئ، يفتح عهداً جديداً في تاريخ الشرق الأوسط. وبقناعة راسخة، أؤكد على التزامات منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية الآتية:

تعترف منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية بحقّ دولة إسرائيل في العيش بسلام وأمن جديد، وتقبل المنظمة قراراً من مجلس الأمن الدولي رقمي ٢٤٢ و٣٣٨. إنّ المنظمة تُلزم نفسها بعملية السلام في الشرق الأوسط، وبالحلّ السلمي للصراع بين الجانبين، وتعلن أنّ كلّ القضايا الأساسية المتعلقة بالأوضاع الدائمة سيتمّ حلها من خلال المفاوضات... وطبقاً لذلك، فإنّ المنظمة تُدين استخدام الإرهاب، وأعمال العنف الأخرى... وتؤكد منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية أنّ الفقرات الواردة في الميثاق الفلسطيني التي تنفي حق إسرائيل في الوجود لم تُعدّ سارية المفعول، وتتعهد منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية برفع التعديلات الضرورية في الميثاق الوطني إلى المجلس الوطني الفلسطيني للمصادقة الرسمية عليها.

ياسر عرفات رئيس منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية

Education to Violent Struggle for Liberation

The main item in this education is the PA official anthem titled "*Fidai*", which includes violent expressions of war and revenge (emphasized in the following text). The term itself is traditional Islamic one meaning "a self-sacrificing person" and is used nowadays in Palestinian parlance to denote members of the Palestinian terrorist organizations:

"*Fidai, fidai, fidai*, O my land, O land of the forefathers

Fidai, fidai, fidai, O my people, O people of eternity

With my determination, **my fire and the volcano of my revenge** [*tha'r*]

And my blood's yearning for my land and my home

I have climbed mountains and went into struggle

I defeated the impossible and shattered the shackles

Fidai, Fidai, Fidai, O my land, O land of the forefathers

Fidai, fidai, fidai, O my people, O people of eternity

In the winds' storm and **the weapon's fire**

And my people's determination to carry on the struggle

Palestine is my home and **the road to my victory**

Palestine is my revenge [*tha'ri*] and the land of steadfastness

Fidai, Fidai, Fidai, O my land, O land of the forefathers

Fidai, Fidai, Fidai, O my people, O people of eternity

By the oath under the flag's shadow

By my land and my people, and by the pain's fire

I shall live as a *Fidai* and I shall continue as a *Fidai*

And **I shall die as a *Fidai*** until I return

Fidai, fidai, fidai, O my land, O land of the forefathers

Fidai, fidai, fidai, O my people, O people of eternity"

(*National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 1* (2019) pp. 16-17. **Emphases added**)



نَعْرِفُ نَشِيدَنَا الْوَطَنِيَّ

نشاط (١): نَسْتَمِعُ، وَنُرَدِّدُ:



فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي ***** يَا أَرْضِي يَا أَرْضَ الْجُدُودِ
فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي ***** يَا شَعْبِي يَا شَعْبَ الْخُلُودِ
بِعَزْمِي وَنَارِي وَبُرْكَانِ ثَارِي
وَأَشْوَاقِ دَمِّي لِأَرْضِي وَدَارِي
صَعَدْتُ الْجِبَالَ وَخُضْتُ النَّضَالَ
فَهَرْتُ الْمِحَالَ حَطَمْتُ الْقَيْودِ
فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي ***** يَا أَرْضِي يَا أَرْضَ الْجُدُودِ
فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي ***** يَا شَعْبِي يَا شَعْبَ الْخُلُودِ



بِعَصْفِ الرِّيَّاحِ وَنَارِ السَّلَاحِ
وَإِصْرَارِ شَعْبِي لِخَوْضِ الْكَيْفَاحِ
فِلَسْطِينُ دَارِي وَدَرْبُ انْتِصَارِي
فِلَسْطِينُ ثَارِي وَأَرْضُ الصُّمُودِ
فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي ***** يَا أَرْضِي يَا أَرْضَ الْجُدُودِ
فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي ***** يَا شَعْبِي يَا شَعْبَ الْخُلُودِ
بِحَقِّ الْقَسَمِ تَحْتَ ظِلِّ الْعَلَمِ
بِأَرْضِي وَشَعْبِي وَنَارِ الْأَلَمِ
سَاحِيَا فِدَائِي وَأَمْضِي فِدَائِي
وَأَقْضِي فِدَائِي إِلَى أَنْ أَعُودِ
فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي ***** يَا أَرْضِي يَا أَرْضَ الْجُدُودِ
فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي ***** يَا شَعْبِي يَا شَعْبَ الْخُلُودِ

The struggle as presented to first graders, with no text:



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2019) p. 83)

Liberation of the whole country, not just the West Bank and Gaza

It is not the 1967 territories but, rather, the country in its entirety that should be liberated. The anthem of Al-Fatah youth movement mentions the Revolution (i.e., Al-Fatah's terrorist activity which started in 1965) and Haifa and Jaffa:

“Let us sing:

Children of Palestine

I am a lion cub; I am a flower;

We gave the soul to the Revolution

Our forefathers built houses

For us in our free land [in the past].

I am a lion cub; I am a flower;

We carried the Revolution's ember

To Haifa, to Jaffa,

To Al-Aqsa, to the [Dome of the] Rock”

(Lion cub: Male member of Al-Fatah's youth movement

Flower: Female member of that movement

Revolution: Al-Fatah's terrorist activity that began in January 1965)

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2019) p. 44)



أطفال فلسطين

إبراهيم النغني

وَهَبْنَا الرُّوحَ لِلثَّوْرَةِ	أَنَا شَيْبِلٌ أَنَا زَهْرَةٌ
لَنَا فِي أَرْضِنَا الْحُرَّةِ	بَنِي أَجْدَادُنَا دَوْرًا
حَمَلْنَا جَمْرَةَ الثَّوْرَةِ	أَنَا شَيْبِلٌ أَنَا زَهْرَةٌ
إِلَى الْأَقْصَى إِلَى الصَّخْرَةِ	إِلَى حَيْفَا إِلَى يَافَا

And the return of Jaffa is mentioned in a language exercise:

“It would be appropriate for Jaffa to return to our bosom.”

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2019) p. 102)

٢- حَرَى يَافَا أَنْ تَعُودَ لِأَحْضَانِنَا.

In free Palestine there is no room for Israel, as is well stated in the following picture that shows a map of the whole country, including Israel's pre-1967 territory, covered with the Palestinian flag, with an inscription saying: "Free Palestine" in English:

(*Sciences and Life*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2019) p. 65)



A revealing text in a draft textbook talks explicitly about the need to eliminate Israel, but the authors carefully deleted it in the final edition of the book:

“...The Zionist entity, which was established on the land of Arab Palestine as a barrier preventing the unification of the great Arab homeland’s two parts, and which aspires to spreading the seeds of civil strife in all Arab and Muslim societies in order to prevent the formation of Arab unity among the sons of the Arab nation that would work for the support of the Palestinian people’s resistance with a view to achieving its **Independence and for uprooting this artificial and foreign entity from the Arab region...**”

(*History Studies*, Grade 12, Draft (No date [2018]) p. 145. The **emphasized part** has been deleted and replaced by the word “goals”.)

أن الوحدة العربية اليوم باتت ضرورة ملحة للامة العربية في ضوء تعاظم الخطر الصهيوني والاطار الاستعمارية المحدقة بها. فالكيان الصهيوني الذي تم إنشاؤه على أرض فلسطين العربية كحاجز يمنع توحيد شطري الوطن العربي الكبير، والذي يسعى إلى زرع بذور الفتنة والإحتراب في كل المجتمعات العربية والإسلامية، للحيلولة دون تشكل وحدة عربية بين أبناء الأمة العربية تعمل على دعم مقاومة الشعب الفلسطيني في تحقيق استقلاله واستتصال هذا الكيان المصطنع والغريب عن المنطقة العربية. يتطلب وحدة عربية جامعة لأبناء الامة ومقوماتها لمواجهة هذه الاخطار والتحديات.

Inserting Religious Elements into the Struggle

Islamic traditional ideals, such as Jihad and martyrdom, as well as the stressed need to liberate Al-Aqsa Mosque, are made part and parcel of the struggle:

“Poster: I am a Muslim; I sacrifice for the sake of the liberation of Al-Aqsa Mosque.”

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2019) p. 65)





A teacher's guide clarifies further the martyrdom indoctrination process by advising the teacher as to the ways that should be pursued in order to make the student aware of martyrdom's qualities:

“Expected difficulties and the mechanism of their treatment:

The Expected Difficulties

Some of the students do not know the qualities given by God to the martyrs exclusively.

The Suggested Solutions

Encouragement of research, either by resorting to the Internet or to reference books, or to the teacher of Islamic Education, in order to become familiar with the status of the martyr and what is given to him exclusively by God out of respect to him and to his family.”

(Teacher's guide, *Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11 (2018) p. 74)

الصعوبات المتوقعة وآلية علاجها:

الحلول المقترحة	الصعوبات المتوقعة
<p>• تشجيع البحث والتنقيب سواء أكان ذلك بالرجوع للشبكة العنكبوتية، أم للكتب المعرفية، أم لمعلم التربية الإسلامية؛ للوقوف على مكانة الشهيد، وما اختصه الله به إكراماً له ولأهله.</p>	<p>• بعض الطلاب لا يعرف الخصال التي اختص الله بها الشهداء.</p>

The presentation of Jews as enemies of Islam – as has been already shown – serves this goal as well.

The Right of Return as Part of the Liberation

The issue of the refugees is part and parcel of the curriculum, beginning in the description of their flight/expulsion, through the unbearable life in the refugee camps and the yearning to their former places of residence, and ending in their violent return to those places. All those elements are spread all over the curriculum.

Worsening: The books that have been published since 2016 emphasize very clearly that the refugees will return to liberated Palestine, rather than to Israel. Following are three examples: “We shall return; we shall return with the soaring eagles; we shall return with the wildly blowing wind; we shall return to the vineyards and the olive trees; we shall return in order to raise the flag of Palestine, alongside the anemone flower, on our green hills.”

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2019) p. 84)

سَنَعُودُ، سَنَعُودُ مَعَ النُّسُورِ الْمُحَلِّقَةِ، سَنَعُودُ مَعَ الرِّيحِ الْعَاتِيَةِ، سَنَعُودُ
إِلَى الْكَرَمِ وَالزَّيْتُونِ، سَنَعُودُ؛ لِيَتَرَفَعَ عَلَمَ فِلَسْطِينَ، إِلَى جَانِبِ زَهْرَةِ
الْحَنُونِ عَلَى رَوَائِنِ الْخَضْرَاءِ.

“I am the owner of the great right from which I will make the future
I shall reclaim it; I shall reclaim it as a precious and sovereign homeland
I shall shake the world tomorrow and shall march as a unified army
I have an appointment with my homeland and it is impossible for me to forget the
appointment.”

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2019) p. 86, and see among the accompanying questions: “The poet determined the form of the return. Let us clarify it as it appears in the poem.”)



أنا صاحب الحق الكبي
رِوَصَانِعٌ مِنْهُ الْعَدَا
سَأَعِيدُهُ .. وَأَعِيدُهُ
وَطَنًا عَزِيزًا سَيِّدَا
سَأُزَلِّلُ الدُّنْيَا غَدًا
وَأَسِيرُ جَيْشًا أَوْحَدَا
لي موعِدٌ في موطني
هَيْهَاتَ أَنْسَى الْمَوْعِدَا

“I am crazy indeed. Is the one expelled from one’s homeland and then agrees to return to it as a guest among the robbers who had taken ownership over it, not crazy indeed?”

(*Arabic Language – Academic Path, Grade 10, Part 1 (2019) p. 58*)

- حَقًّا إِنِّي لَمَجْنُونٌ، أَوْلَيْسَ مَنْ يُطْرَدُ مِنْ وَطَنِهِ، ثُمَّ يَرْضَى أَنْ يَعُودَ إِلَيْهِ ضَيْفًا عَلَى اللُّصُوصِ الَّذِينَ

تَمَلَّكُوهُ... مَجْنُونًا حَقًّا؟

A teacher's guide reveals the powerful indoctrination in this respect, with an unusual assignment, following a related story:

“[The student] will shout the expression ‘we shall definitely return!’ said by Layla to the butterflies.”

(Assignment, teacher’s guide, *Our Beautiful Language, Grade 4 (2018) p. 41*)

يهتف بعبارة (سنعود حتماً)
التي قالتها ليلي للفرشات.

Worsening: Terror as an Integral Part of the Struggle

Terror – purposeful attacks on civilians – is an integral part of the liberation struggle. It is mentioned implicitly in the older books and discussed explicitly in the newer ones. Al-Fatah's terrorist activity is exalted under the titles "revolution", "resistance" and "self-sacrificing operations [*amaliyyat fidaiyyah*]". There is no hesitation whatsoever on the part of Palestinian educators to refer to specific actions in this context, such as hijacking civilian aircrafts, the attack on the Israeli Olympic team in Munich in 1972 and the attack on an Israeli civilian bus on the Coastal highway in 1978, led by a female commander – Dalal al-Mughrabi:

“The contemporary Palestinian revolution erupted in 1965 and the Palestinian people started the phase of the organized armed struggle against the Zionist occupation with the first self-sacrificing operation [*amaliyyah fida'iyyah*] on 1.1.1965, when Al-Asifah forces [the military wing of Al-Fatah movement] blew up the Eylabun Tunnel [of the National Water Carrier – the operation failed] and a series of [additional] self-sacrificing operations followed suit. The Palestinian [individual] was transformed from a refugee to a *fidai*...”

(*History Studies, Grade 11, Part 2 (2019) p. 51*)



انطلقت الثورة الفلسطينية المعاصرة عام ١٩٦٥م، وبدأ الشعب الفلسطيني مرحلة الكفاح المسلح المنظم ضد الاحتلال الصهيوني، بانطلاق أول عملية فدائية في ١/١/١٩٦٥م، عندما قامت قوات العاصفة بتفجير نفق عَيْلبون، تلتها سلسلة من العمليات الفدائية، وتحوّل الفلسطيني من لاجئ إلى فدائي، ينطلق من قواعد مجاورة للأرض المحتلة، وقد برزت أهمية الثورة في كونها اعتمدت

“...The Palestinian organizations reacted [to Israel’s attacks against them in Lebanon] with several operations against Zionist targets, including aircraft hijacking operations...”
(*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2019) p. 61)

والمدن والمراكز الاقتصادية اللبنانية، وردّت الفصائل الفلسطينية بعدد من العمليات ضد الأهداف الصهيونية، من بينها عمليات اختطاف الطائرات، ونفذ الاحتلال الصهيوني عملية (فردان) عام ١٩٧٣م؛

“The Palestinian Resistance resorted to many methods in its resistance to the Zionist occupation. The *fidais* used the guerrilla method in most of their confrontations with the Zionists inside the Palestinian territories. They also resorted to hitting the Zionist interests abroad, like **the Munich operation** [against Israeli athletes in the Olympic Games] in 1972 and the direct confrontation in many battles, such as the battle of Karameh [in Jordan] in 1968.”

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2019) p. 52. **Emphasis added.**)

لجأت المقاومة الفلسطينية إلى أساليب عديدة في مقاومتها للاحتلال الصهيوني؛ فقد انتهج الفدائيون أسلوب حرب العصابات في معظم مواجهاتهم للصهاينة داخل الأراضي الفلسطينية، كما لجؤوا إلى ضرب المصالح الصهيونية في الخارج، كعملية ميونخ عام ١٩٧٢م، والمواجهة المباشرة في معارك عديدة، مثل معركة الكرامة عام ١٩٦٨م،

“Dalal al-Mughrabi

[By] the authors [of the schoolbook]

In front of the text:

Our Palestinian history is full of many names of martyrs who gave their souls as a sacrifice for the homeland. Among them [was] the female martyr Dalal al-Mughrabi who painted with her struggle a picture of challenging and heroism which have made her memory eternal in our hearts and minds. The text in front of us talks about an aspect of her struggle path.”

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2019) p. 51)



דלאל המغربي

(المؤلفون)

بين يدي النص

يُحفلُ تاريخنا الفلسطيني بكثيرٍ من أسماء الشهداء الذين قدموا أرواحهم فداءً للوطن، منهم الشهيدة دلال المغربي التي سطرَتْ بِضالِها صورةً من صورِ الشحدي والبطولة؛ ما جعلَ ذِكْرَها خالداً في قلوبنا وعقولنا. والنص الذي بين أيدينا يتحدّثُ عن طَرْفٍ من مسيرةِ بضالِها.



٥٦

A teacher's guide further clarifies that Dalal al-Mughrabi, who caused the murder of 37 Israeli civilians, including 13 children, has become a super-heroine, equal to Yasser Arafat and higher in status than Izz al-Din al-Qassam, the historic inspirational figure of Hamas terrorist organization. Following is a text in a grade 5 schoolbook, in which Izz al-Din al-Qassam, Dalal al-Mughrabi and Yasser Arafat are mentioned (marked in red):
(*Arabic Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2019) p. 15*)



מَنْ مِثَّا يُنْسِي خَالِدَ بْنَ الْوَلِيدِ، وَأُمَّ عُمَارَةَ نُسَيْبَةَ بِنْتَ كَعْبِ
الْأَنْصَارِيَّةِ، وَخَوَلَةَ بِنْتَ الْأَزْوَورِ، وَطَارِقَ بْنَ زِيَادٍ، وَصَلَاخَ الدِّينِ
الْأَيُّوبِيِّ، وَقُطْرُزَ، وَعُمَرَ الْمُخْتَارَ، وَعِزَّ الدِّينِ الْقَسَّامَ، وَدَلَالَ
الْمُغْرَبِيَّ، وَيَاسِرَ عَرَفَاتَ، وَغَيْرَهُمْ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأَقْمَارِ الَّتِي لَا تَغِيْبُ،

The piece is followed by a question in which the student is required to mention just two names out of the given three:

“2. We will name two Palestinian heroes mentioned in the text.”

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2019) p. 16)

٢. نُسَمِّي بَطْلَيْنِ فِلَسْطِينِيِّينِ وَرَدَّ ذِكْرُهُمَا فِي النَّصِّ.

The answer given in the corresponding teacher's guide:

“2. Yasser Arafat, Dalal al-Mughrabi”

(Teacher's guide, *Arabic Language*, Grade 5 (2018) p. 191)

٢- ياسر عرفات، دلال المغرربي

Izz al-Din al-Qassam is thus omitted, leaving Dalal al-Mughrabi and Yasser Arafat as the leading Palestinian heroes.

Dalal al-Mughrabi is a role model for Palestinian children and emphasis is put on minute details in her case, in order to entrench her memory in the students' minds. The following piece, taken from the goal-list in the corresponding teacher's guide, reveals that very clearly:

“4. [The student should] mention the place where Dalal al-Mughrabi was born.

5. Mention the name of the group commanded by Dalal and the number of its members.

6. Give Dalal's age when she fell as a martyr.

7. Mention the place where she and her group members landed.

8. Clarify the goal of the commandeering operation of the bus by Dalal and her group.

9. Give the result of the battle that took place between the occupation forces and Dalal's group.

(Teacher's guide, *Arabic Language*, Grade 5 (2018) p. 110)

Ideologically, an attempt is made to confront Western concept of terrorism by presenting that as resistance to occupation:

“Some states and their communication media regard the actions taken by the national liberation movements as terrorist actions. In the Palestinian case, the Zionist occupation, and some states that support it regard the Palestinian people's struggle to liberate its homeland as a terrorist activity that should be resisted and eliminated by all means. On the other hand, you will find many other states that regard the resistance of the Palestinian people as legitimate and as a legal right approved by the international community and the international laws.

...

An issue for discussion: Some people interpret the resistance actions carried out by the liberation movements as terrorist actions. How would you answer that?”

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2019) p. 12)



تلجأ بعض الدول ووسائل إعلامها إلى اعتبار الأعمال التي تقوم بها حركات التحرر الوطني أعمالاً إرهابية، وفي الحالة الفلسطينية، فإن الاحتلال الصهيوني، وبعض الدول الداعمة له تعتبر كفاح الشعب الفلسطيني من أجل تحرير وطنه عملاً إرهابياً يجب مقاومته، والقضاء عليه بالوسائل كافة، وتجد بالمقابل دولاً أخرى عديدة تعتبر مقاومة الشعب الفلسطيني مشروعاً، وحقاً قانونياً يُقرّه المجتمع الدولي والقوانين الدولية.

قضية للنقاش:

يُفسّر البعض أعمال المقاومة التي تقوم بها الحركات التحررية بأنها أعمال إرهابية. كيف نردّ على ذلك؟



Worsening: Concrete Reference to the Adversary

Unlike their predecessors, the schoolbooks published after 2015 make few short references to the Israeli-Jewish adversary, while discussing the liberation struggle.

The first following piece is a poem studied in grade 3 which mentions the annihilation of the "foreigners' defeated remnants [*fulul al-ghuraba*]":

“We will sing and learn by heart:

The Land of the Noble Ones

I swear! I shall sacrifice my blood
In order to water the land of the noble ones
And to remove the usurper [*Ghaseb* - Israel] from my land
And to exterminate [*ubid*] the foreigners' remnants
O land of Al-Aqsa [Mosque] and the holy place [*haram*]
O cradle of pride and nobility
Patience, patience, for victory is ours
And dawn is peeping from the darkness”
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2019) p. 66)



نُعْنِي وَنَحْفَظُ: أَرْضُ الْكُرَمَاءِ



قَسَمًا سَأُضْحِي بِدِمَائِي لِأُرْوِي أَرْضَ الْكُرَمَاءِ
وَأَزِيلَ الْغَاصِبَ مِنْ بَلَدِي وَأُيَيْدَ فُلُولَ الْغُرَبَاءِ
يَا بَلَدَ الْأَقْصَى وَالْحَرَمِ يَا مَهْدَ النَّخْوَةِ وَالْكَرَمِ
صَبْرًا صَبْرًا فَالْنَصْرُ لَنَا وَالْفَجْرُ يُطِلُّ مِنَ الظُّلَمِ

The corresponding teacher's guide reveals that this poem has a melody and the students sing it in class:

“The student will sing the poem ‘The Land of the Noble Ones’ in [its] melody.”
(Teacher’s guide, *Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3 (2018) p. 56)

ينشد الطالب أنشودة (أرض
الكرماء) مع اللحن.

There are dozens of YouTube clips from various schools in the West Bank showing the children doing that. Following is one example:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yan7tf3E6UU>

A printed screen of this YouTube piece with the following inscription:

"The song 'the Land of the Noble Ones', Grade 3 Elementary, Melody by Rabi' Abu Bakr"



חיפוש



الشوذة أرض الكرماء الصف الثالث الأساسي الحان الإسلام ربيع أبو بكر

2017 צפית 5,248 • 22 בנוב' 2017

The second example is a passage in a story taught to grade-9 students which describes the burning of Jews in a civilian bus by Molotov Cocktails near the West Bank city of Ramallah by the expression "barbecue party [*haflat shiwa*]":

“The neighbor: ‘The curfew does not include us in al-Shurafah [neighborhood]. It is imposed on al-Natarish [neighborhood]. It seems that there is a barbecue party there with Molotov Cocktails on one of the buses of Psagot colony [*musta'marah*] on Mount al-Tawil.”
(*Arabic Language, Grade 9, Part 1* (2019) p, 61. The “barbecue party” expression is marked in red)

الجار: حَظَرُ التَّجْوِيلِ لَا يَشْمَلُنَا فِي (الشَّرْفَةِ) مَفْرُوضٌ عَلَى
(النَّارِيشِ) عَلَى مَا يَبْدُو هُنَاكَ حَفْلَةٌ شِوَاءٍ بِالْقَنَابِلِ الْحَارِقَةِ لِإِحْدَى
حَافِلَاتِ مُسْتَعْمَرَةِ (بَسَاغُوتِ) عَلَى الْجَبَلِ الطَّوِيلِ.

Conclusion

- According to the PA schoolbooks, the conflict is a life-or-death struggle between two unequal parties. On the one hand, a native population, and, on the other hand, a mythical evil power – Zionism – represented by foreign settlers who try to create false evidence – historical and archaeological – in order to legitimize their false claim of belonging to the country. Their motive in their aggression is described as basically racist and genocidal.
- This foreign population occupied most of Palestine in 1948 and the rest of it in 1967, massacred the natives, expelled hundreds of thousands of them in what is depicted as "ethnic cleansing", destroyed their houses and villages and settled there instead of them. That catastrophe – Nakbah in Palestinian parlance – had two results: the

establishment of "the Zionist entity" on the land of Palestine and the creation of the Palestinian refugee problem. In order to put an end to the catastrophe and make Palestine free, both should be eliminated. Moreover, the PA vision includes not only the erasure of the State of Israel, but rather the "removal" of its six million Jewish citizens from the country.

- This is an ominous curriculum. It is clear from the material found in the schoolbooks, especially those ones that were published recently, and more so – from the teachers' guides, that the PA prepares its school children for a total war against Israel and against the Jewish population in the country, with grave implications for the younger generations of both Jews and Palestinians.
- This kind of "education" should cease if we aspire to solving the conflict peacefully.

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? ¹
- Does the curriculum develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution? ²
- Does the curriculum promote peace? ³
- Does the curriculum promote international understanding and cooperation and motivate the student to understand and bear responsibility for the keeping of peace? ⁴
- 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? ⁵
- 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? ⁶
- 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? ⁷

List of Sources Quoted in This Study

Schoolbooks

Arabic

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

² 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-eight session, Paris, November 1995, Article 9, and on the afore-mentioned "Declaration of Principles on Tolerance", Article 5.

³ Ibid., Article 6.

⁴ 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.

⁵ Ibid., Articles III 6, IV 7, VII 39, and the afore-mentioned "Integrated Framework", Article 18.

⁶ Ibid., Articles VI 39, X 45 and "the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance", Article 4.3.

⁷ Based on the afore-mentioned "UNESCO Recommendations", Article V 14.



1. *Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2019)
2. *Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2019)
3. *Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2019)
4. *Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2019)
5. *Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2019)
6. *Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2019)
7. *Arabic Language*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2019)
8. *Arabic Language*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2019)
9. *Arabic Language*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2019)
10. *Arabic Language*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2019)
11. *Arabic Language – Academic Path*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2019)
12. *Arabic Language – Academic Path*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2019)
13. *Arabic Language 1*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2019)
14. *Arabic Language 1 – Academic Path*, Grade 12 (2019)

Social Studies

1. *National and Life Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2019)
2. *National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2019)
3. *National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2019)
4. *National Education*, Grade 5 (2014)
5. *Social Studies*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2019)
6. *Social Studies*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2019)
7. *National Education*, Grade 7 (2013)
8. *History of the Middle East*, Grade 7 (2014)
9. *Social Studies*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2019)
10. *Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2019)
11. *Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2019)
12. *Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2019)
13. *History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017)
14. *History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2019)
15. *History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2019)
16. *History Studies*, Grade 12 – Draft (No date [2018])
17. *History Studies*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2019)

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1. *Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2019)
2. *Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2019)
3. *Faith*, Grade 11 [Shar'i Stream] (2013)
4. *Holy Qur'an and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [Shar'i Stream] (2013)

Sciences

1. *Sciences and Life*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2019)
2. *Mathematics*, Grade 6, Part 2 (2019)
3. *Mathematics*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Sciences] (2019)
4. *Mathematics*, Grade 11, Part 2 [Sciences] (2019)



5. *Mathematics*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2018)
6. *Scientific Education*, Grade 11 (2017)
7. *Biology*, Grade 11, Part 1 [Sciences] (2019)

Teachers' Guides

1. *Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2 (2018)
2. *Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3 (2018)
3. *Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4 (2018)
4. *Arabic Language*, Grade 5 (2018)
5. *Arabic Language*, Grade 7 (2018)
6. *Arabic Language*, Grade 8 (2018)
7. *Arabic Language*, Grade 9 (2018)
8. *Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10 (2018)
9. *History Studies*, Grade 11 (2018)

The Author



Dr. Arnon Groiss is an expert on Middle Eastern affairs, having earned his Ph.D. and MA degrees from Princeton University's Department of Near Eastern Studies, as well as an MPA degree from Harvard University. He is also a retired journalist, having worked for 42 years at the Voice of Israel – Arabic Radio, where he acquired additional experience in this field. Since 2000 he has been studying the attitude to the "other" and to peace in various Middle Eastern curricula and authored numerous reports dealing with this issue, having examined over a thousand schoolbooks and teachers' guides. Dr. Groiss presented his findings to policy makers at the United Nations, the US Congress, the European Parliament, the British House of Commons, the French Assemblée nationale, the Canadian and Swedish parliaments and the Israeli Knesset, as well as to people of the press and in various research institutions. Over the past five years, the Center for Near East Policy Research has commissioned Dr. Groiss to examine all of the Palestinian Authority's newly issued textbooks. That examination changes our perspective as to the possibility of a peaceful resolution of the conflict.