



## Israel, Jews and Peace in Palestinian Authority Schoolbooks and Teachers' Guides By Dr. Arnon Groiss

June 8, 2020

### Main Findings

This document is aimed at summarizing the contents of the Palestinian Authority's schoolbooks and teachers' guides, as far as the conflict with Israel is concerned, from 2013 up to this day. **It is based on the examination of close to 400 schoolbooks published between 2013-2020 and over a hundred of teachers' guides published mostly in 2018** (and see below a list of the Center's publications that deal with the findings of the examined Palestinian schoolbooks). These schoolbooks are in use in the Palestinian Authority's territories in Judea and Samaria, in the territories under Hamas' control in the Gaza Strip, and in most schools in East Jerusalem. Their use is mandatory in all Palestinian private schools and in the schools operated by UNRWA.

► There are three prominent fundamentals as far as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is concerned: **De-legitimization of the State of Israel's existence** and the very presence of Jews in the Land of Israel, including the denial of the existence of Jewish holy places in the Land of Israel; **demonization of Israel and the Jews**: "The Zionist enemy, according to the description appearing in the schoolbooks, is wholly evil and constitutes an existential threat to the Palestinians who are depicted as the ultimate victim, with no shared responsibility for the conflict; **and education for a violent struggle for the liberation of the Land of Israel (Palestine) with no education for peace and co-existence**. In none of the PA's schoolbooks has **any call for the resolution of the conflict peacefully, or any mentioning of co-existence with Israel been found**. The teachers' guiding manuals that were checked, widen our perspective, as they deal not only with these fundamentals, but also with **the actual educational process**, and they reveal **a variety of methodologies used by the teachers for the indoctrination of the Palestinian younger generation**.

► The study of the schoolbooks' contents over time has found that there has been an **intensification of the said fundamentals since 2016 regarding the conflict with Israel**.

Following are several examples:

- ◆ **The schoolbooks vehemently deny the Jewish past of the Land of Israel and call it "legends".** This is a new argument, as the former schoolbooks included pieces that dealt with Jewish history in the Land of Israel in antiquity. The **non-recognition of Jerusalem as a holy city to Jews**, however, has been there all along.

“...[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، وَشَرَدَ أَبْنَاءَهُ، وَنَهَبَ ثَرَوَاتِهِ، وَشَوَّهَ هُويَّتَهُ، وَبَنَى لِنَفْسِهِ كِيَانًا مُصْطَنَعًا يَسْتَمِدُّ هُويَّتَهُ، وَشُرْعِيَّةَ  
وُجُودِهِ مِنْ حِكَايَاتٍ، وَأَسَاطِيرَ، وَأَخْيَلَةٍ، حَاوَلَ بِأَسَالِيبَ وَطُرُقٍ شَتَّى إِيْجَادَ شَوَاهِدَ مَادِّيَّةٍ حَيَّةٍ عَلَى  
هَذِهِ الْأَسَاطِيرِ، أَوْ أَدْلَى اثْرِيَّةٍ مَعْمَارِيَّةٍ، تَثْبُتُ صِحَّتَهَا وَمُصَدِّقَتَهَا، وَلَكِنْ دُونَ جَدْوَى.

“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.

- ◆ **The name "Israel" has been replaced most of the times by the epithet "the Zionist occupation".** By that, the non-recognition of Israel as a legitimate state has been deepened. Moreover, the struggle against the State of Israel has thus become a struggle against Zionism that is perceived as a mythical and a wholly evil entity, which creates feelings of fear and hatred. Following is an example describing the Rhodes Armistice agreement:

“...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، وانسحبت 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

- ◆ **Reference to terror is more explicit in the newer schoolbooks.** Terrorist operations perpetrated throughout the years of conflict with Israel are presented as heroic actions in the framework of the "revolution", "resistance" and "self-sacrifice". These actions include hijacking of civilian planes, the attack on the Israeli Olympic team in Munich, and the murder of 37 civilians, including 13 children, on Israel's Coastal Highway **under the command of al-Fatah activist Dalal al-Mughrabi** (who enjoys a special halo in the Palestinian schoolbooks).

A teacher's guide clarifies that Dalal al-Mughrabi has earned a higher status than Izz al-Din al-Qassam, the historical source of inspiration for Hamas organization. Following is a text in a grade-5 textbook which mentions Izz al-Din al-Qassam, Dalal al-Mughrabi and Yasser Arafat (marked in red):

مَنْ مَنَا يَنْسَى خَالِدَ بْنَ الْوَلِيدِ، وَأُمَّ عُمَارَةَ نُسَيْبَةَ بِنْتَ كَعْبٍ  
الْأَنْصَارِيَّةَ، وَخَوْلَةَ بِنْتَ الْأَزْوَارِ، وَطَارِقَ بْنَ زِيَادٍ، وَصَلَاحَ الدِّينِ  
الْأَيُّوبِيِّ، وَقُطُزَ، وَعُمَرَ الْمُخْتَارَ، وَعِزَّ الدِّينِ الْقَسَّامَ، وَدَلَالَ  
الْمُغْرَبِيَّ، وَيَاسِرَ عَرَفَاتَ، وَغَيْرَهُمْ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأَقْمَارِ الَّتِي لَا تَغِيْبُ،

- ◆ **Insertion of these fundamentals**, including the demonization of Israel and the Jews, **into technical school subjects and in sciences on a more extensive scale than before:**

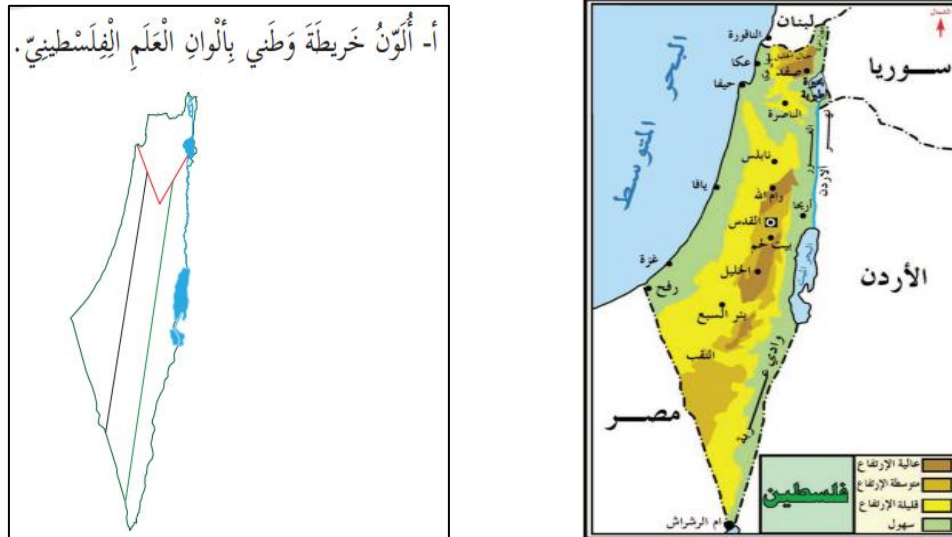
“3. One of the settlers shoots at [Palestinian] cars that pass on one of the roads. If the probability of his hitting a car in one shot is 0.7, and the settler shot at 10 cars, what will you expect to be the number of cars that were hit?”

(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")

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؟

► **Schoolbooks are specifically important in societies in conflict**, because they indicate the narrative the leadership and society strive to instill in the minds of the younger generation. The schoolbooks issued by the Palestinian Authority indicate, then, **the essence of the narrative as far as the conflict with Israel is concerned**. It is learned from the PA schoolbooks and teachers' guides that **the education of the younger Palestinian generation prepares it consciously for a continuous and long-range confrontation against the State of Israel** in order to achieve the final goal, which is **the establishment of the State of Palestine that will stretch on the entire territory of the Land of Israel**. There is no trace in the schoolbooks **of the argumentation disseminated by the Palestinian Authority in the international arena that the Palestinian Authority is committed to "a just peace" based on the two-state solution**<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the document by the Information Center dated February 17, 2020: "Abu Mazen's speech at the UN Security Council: Rhetoric vis-à-vis Reality".



The maps in the PA schoolbooks prove that Palestine stretches throughout the entire territory of the Land of Israel, with no trace of the State of Israel. On the right: A map of Palestine (Social Studies, Grade 6, Part 1 (2019) p. 57). The Jewish cities in the State of Israel, including Tel Aviv, are absent from the map (Jaffa appears there). On the left: "...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)

### Other publications by the Meir Amit Intelligence and Terror Information Center dealing with the Palestinian schoolbooks

- ▶ "Jews, Israel and the Conflict in Teachers' Guides Issued by the Palestinian Authority's Ministry of Education", by Dr. Arnon Groiss (February 3, 2010).
- ▶ "The Attitude to Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority's Schoolbooks for Grade 11, 12 Published in the Years 2017-18", by Dr. Arnon Groiss (October 11, 2018).
- ▶ "Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority: The Attitude to Jews, Israel and Peace (Completion and update, June 2018)" by Dr. Arnon Groiss.
- ▶ Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority: The Attitude to Jews, Israel and Peace (December 26, 2017)", by Dr, Arnon Groiss and Dr. Ronni Shaked.
- ▶ "On a research conducted by a German institute on schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority", by Brigadier-General (ret.) Amos Gilboa (April 20, 2016)
- ▶ "The examination of Palestinian schoolbooks reveals the continued denial of Israel's right to exist and the fostering of the violent struggle against it", by Noa Meridor (March 7, 2006).

### Dr. Arnon Groiss, Researcher of the Palestinian Schoolbooks

- ▶ Dr. Arnon Groiss is an expert in Middle Eastern affairs holding a Ph.D. degree in this field from Princeton University's Dept. of Near Eastern Studies, as well as an MPA degree from

Harvard University. He is a retired journalist who worked 42 years in the Voice of Israel Arabic radio station, where he acquired additional experience in the field of Middle Eastern affairs. Since 2000, he has studied the attitude to the "other" and to peace in various Middle Eastern curricula and authored many reports dealing with this subject, having examined over a thousand schoolbooks and teachers' guides. **During the last five years Dr. Groiss has focused** on the schoolbooks issued by the Palestinian Authority.

► Dr. Groiss has presented his findings to policy makers at the United Nations, the United States 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 at various research institutes.

## The Study Construction

► The study includes three chapters:

- ◆ **Chapter One:** De-legitimization of Israel's existence in the Palestinian schoolbooks.
- ◆ **Chapter Two:** Demonization of the State of Israel and the Jews in the Palestinian schoolbooks.
- ◆ **Chapter Three:** Education for a violent struggle for the liberation of the Land of Israel (Palestine) in the Palestinian schoolbooks.

► The two appendices:

- ◆ **Appendix A:** List of sources quoted in the study.
- ◆ **Appendix B:** UNESCO principles regarding education for peace and tolerance.

## Chapter One: De-legitimization of Israel's existence in the Palestinian schoolbooks.

► 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 لطرد جدي من أرضه، وتحرق الزرع، وتهجره إلى بلاد بعيدة).

- ◆ “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)**



❶ السؤال السادس: (الاستيطان ليس هدفاً في حد ذاته فحسب، بل أيضاً وسيلة للاستيلاء السياسي على فلسطين، لذلك يجب علينا أن نسعي 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.
- أُبين هدف الاحتلال الصهيوني من تعزيز الاستيطان: هدف الاحتلال وغايته الإحلال وتهجير الشعب الفلسطيني، من أجل توطين الوافدين الصهاينة بدلاً منه في فلسطين.

♦ 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
<b>The territories occupied in 1948</b>	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 ١٩٤٨ م
٥,٥٩٤,٦٨٣	الشتات في الدول العربية
٦٩٥,٦٧٧	الشتات في الدول الأجنبية
١٢,٧٠٦,٤٠٧	مجموع الفلسطينيين

الجهاز المركزي للإحصاء الفلسطيني عام ٢٠١٦ م

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

◆ **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، وانسحبت 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 reminder 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*)

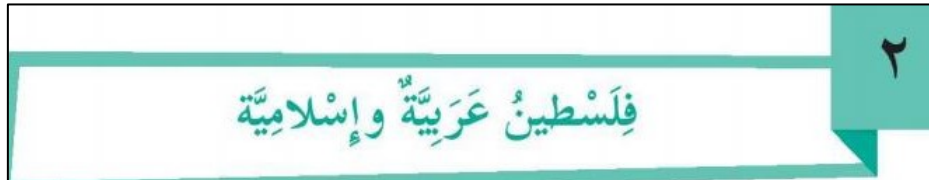
**الاحتلال الإسرائيلي :**

حلّت بالمجتمع الفلسطيني نكبة عام ١٩٤٨م على يد المُنظّمات الصهيونية، حيث هُجّر معظم الفلسطينيين من أرضهم، وأنشئت دولة إسرائيل في قسم من فلسطين، وضمّت الضفة الغربية إلى الأردن عام ١٩٥٠م، وأُلحق 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:

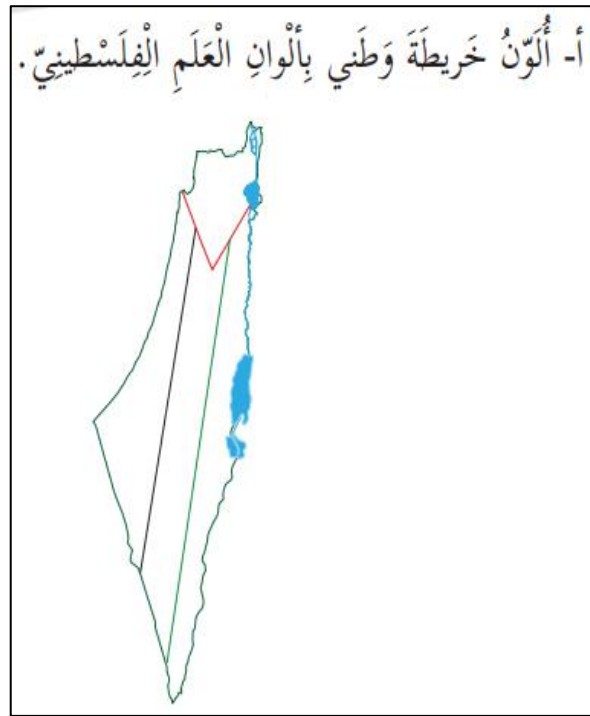
- “Palestine is Arab and Muslim”
- “States of the Arab Homeland”
- “Palestine”

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



- “A. I will color the map of my homeland with the colors of the Palestinian flag”

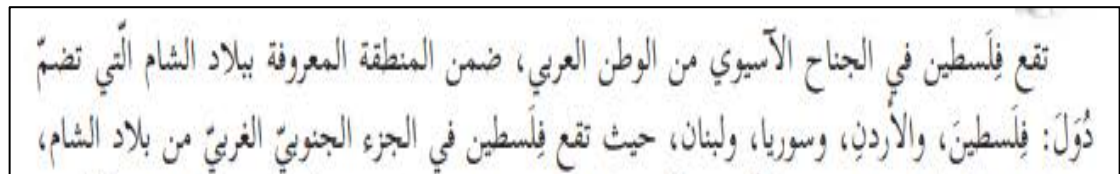
(National and Life Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2019) p. 8)



- “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.”

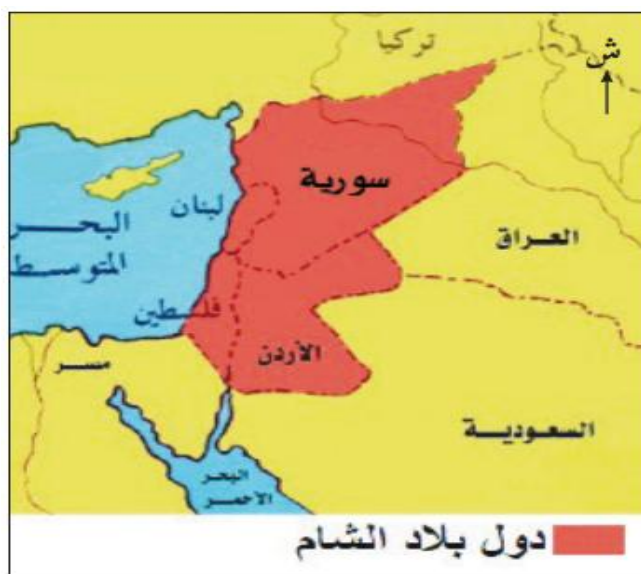
**(Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 10, Part 1**

**(2019) p. 7)**



- And on the map: “States of the Levant” “Syria”, “Lebanon”, “Jordan”, “Palestine”

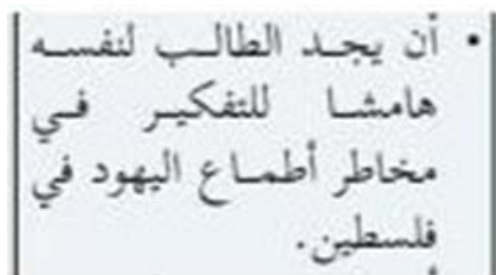
(Social Studies, Grade 6, Part 1 (2019) p. 43)



### 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)



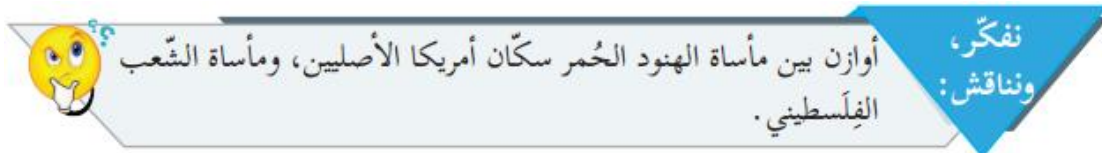
- And a revised version of the same page in a more recent example:



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

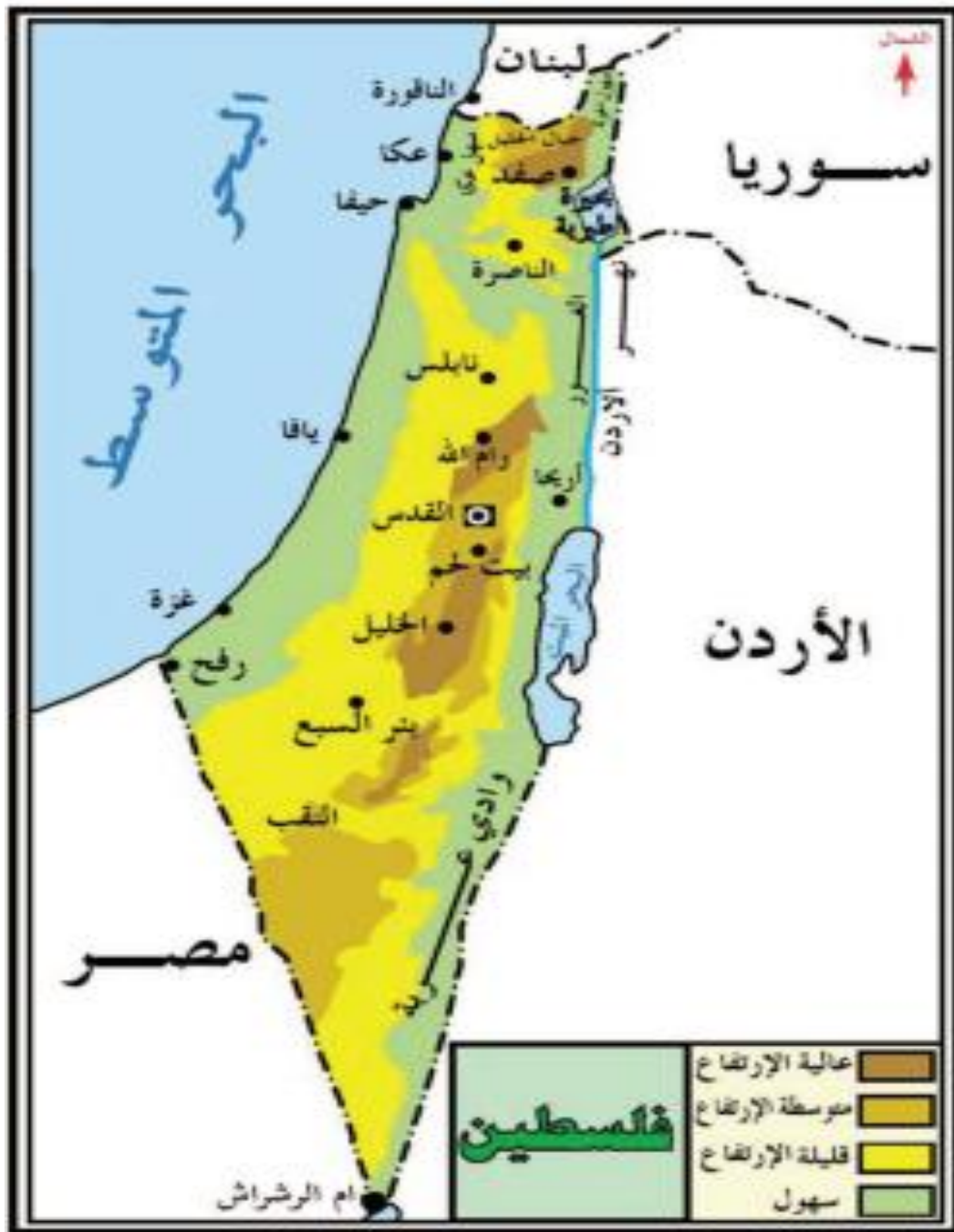
- ◆ “I will compare the tragedy of the Indians, America’s original inhabitants, to the tragedy of the Palestinian people.”

**(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 (١):

أمرز قلبي 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

Northern kingdom of Israel

923 - 722 BC

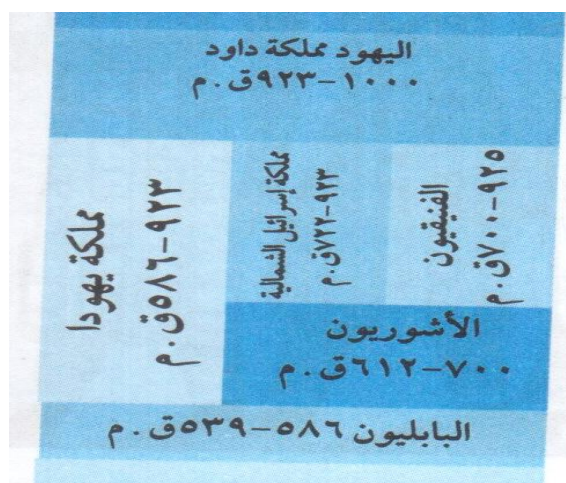
The Phoenicians 925 – 700 BC

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 هُويَّتَهُ، وَبَنَى لِنَفْسِهِ كِيَانًا مُصْطَنَعًا يَسْتَمِدُّ هُويَّتَهُ، وَشَرْعِيَّةَ  
وُجُودِهِ مِنْ حِكَايَاتٍ، وَأَسَاطِيرَ، وَأَخْيَلَةٍ، حَاوَلَ بِأَسَالِيبَ وَطُرُقٍ شَتَّى إِيجَادَ شَوَاهِدَ مَادِّيَّةٍ حَيَّةٍ عَلَى  
هَذِهِ الْأَسَاطِيرِ، أَوْ أُدْلَةَ أَثَرِيَّةٍ مَعْمَارِيَّةٍ، 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 أَخَادِيدَ كاذبة، وأدَّعَاءَ باطلة، وأقاموا فوق  
تراثها تراثاً مُزَيَّفاً، وواقِعاً مَدَّعوماً بالقُوَّة والجَبَروت.  
ربوعها؛ لتُظَلَّ في وعي الأمة مُقَدَّسَةً تَتَرَفَّعُ عن بؤس الأمر الواقع، والزَّوَايَا  
المَشْهُوَّة، والتَّوَارِيخِ المَغْتَصَبَةِ، وقُبْضَةِ الغَزَاةِ الَّذِينَ لَا يَأْلُونَ جَهْداً في تزييف  
التَّارِيخِ، وتسويق الأوهام، وإطلاق العنانِ لآلاتِ الدِّمارِ كي تُشَوِّهَ 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)



- ◆ “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  $v$

نشاط ١:

## Chapter Two: Demonization of the State of Israel and the Jews in the Palestinian schoolbooks.

### 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:
  - ◆ “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، وتشرد 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- يُهاجِمُ الجنودُ الأَطْفَالَ خَوْفًا مِنْ أَحْلَامِهِمْ.

- ◆ 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.



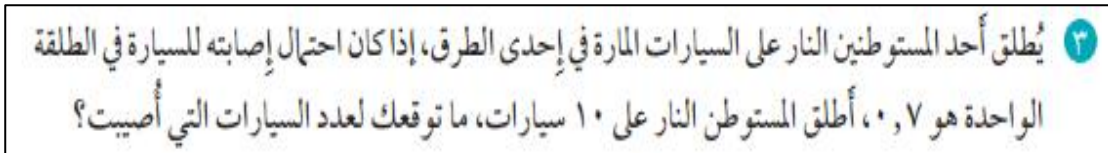
**(Biology, Grade 11, Part 1 [Sciences] (2018) p. 77)**



► 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")

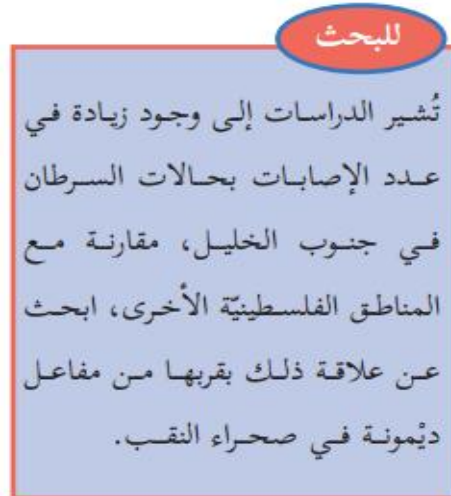


► An assignment in the subject of scientific education:

- ◆ “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)



► 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.

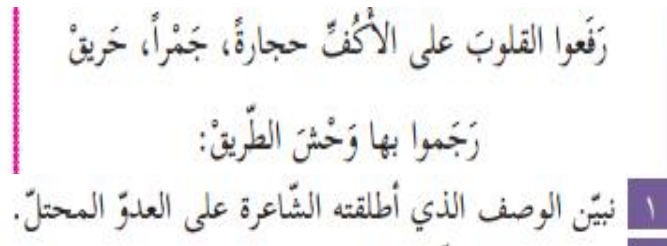
(Social Studies, Grade 9, Part 1 (2019) p. 19. The item is marked in red within the text.)

الأسواق الصَّهْيُونِيَّة، كالسيَّارات، والموادَّ الغذائيَّة، وإطلاق قطعان الخنازير التي ألحقت الضَّرر بالسُّكَّان، 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:

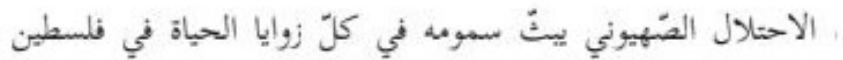
- ◆ “[The martyrs] carried [their] hearts on [their] palms like a stone, an amber, a burning fire And threw them at the highway’s wild beast. ...
- ◆ [Assignment:] 1. We will explain the description of the occupying enemy given by the poetess.”

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



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

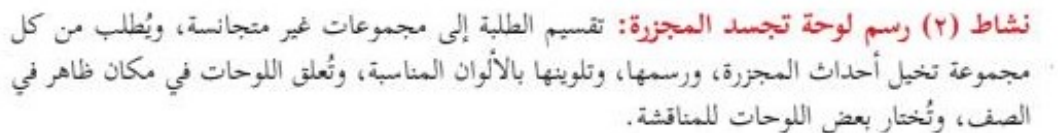
(Teacher’s guide, Arabic Language, Grade 8 (2018) p. 121)



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

- ◆ 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)



- 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)

فعاثت تلك العصابات في المدينة تخريباً وتدميراً، وغرزت أنياب حقدتها في جسدها الطاهر،

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

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

- ◆ By emphasizing the cases of children in the conflict, and 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."

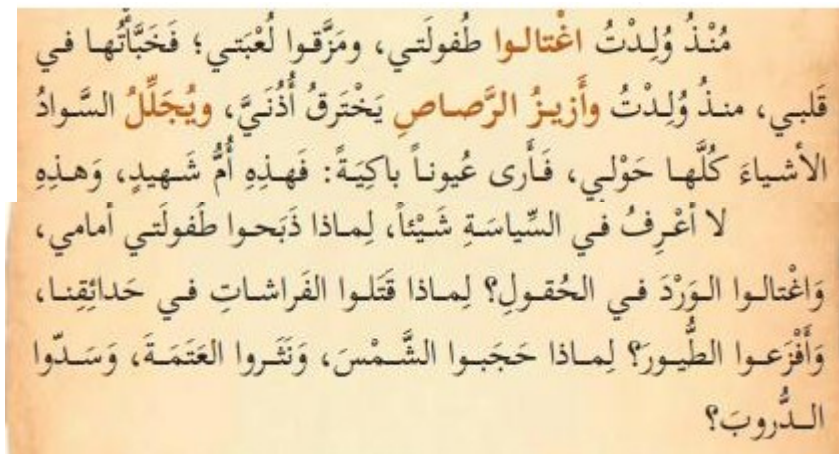
(Teacher's guide, Arabic Language, Grade 9 (2018) p. 106)

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 للسيطرة 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)

١ أقام الصهاينة كياناتهم على الإرهاب والإبادة والاستعمار، تبين 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)	مرضي (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 القرى 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].”



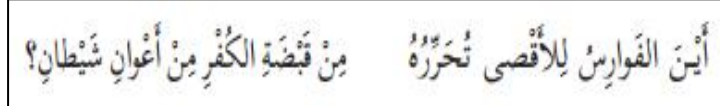
(Islamic Education, Grade 5, Part 2 (2019) p. 65)



► 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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?”

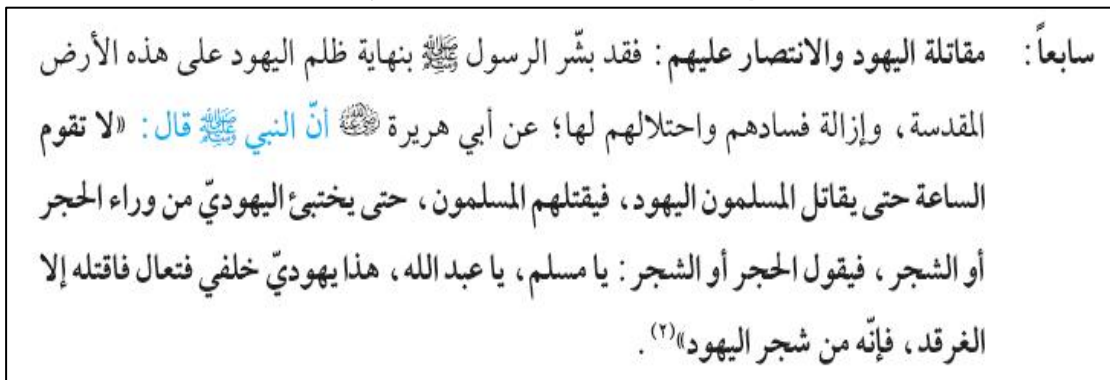
(Arabic Language, Grade 7, Part 1 (2019) p. 67)



► 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)



## Chapter Three: Education for a violent struggle for the liberation of the Land of Israel (Palestine) in the Palestinian schoolbooks.

► 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 تلتزم 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 تعدّ 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)



بِعَصْفِ الرِّيحِ وَنَارِ السَّلَاحِ  
وَإِصْرَارِ شَعْبِي لِيَخُوضَ الْكِفَاحِ  
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 أَعُودَ  
فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي \*\*\*\*\* يَا أَرْضِي يَا أَرْضَ الْجُدُودِ  
فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي \*\*\*\*\* يَا شَعْبِي يَا شَعْبَ الْخُلُودِ

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  
وَأَشْوَاقِي دَمِّي لِأَرْضِي وَدَارِي  
صَعْدَتُ الْجِبَالَ وَخُضَّتُ النَّضَالَ  
قَهَرْتُ الْمُحَالَ حَطَّمْتُ الْقُيُودَ  
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)

نَغْنِي



أَطْفَالُ فَلَسْطِين

إِبْرَاهِيمُ الْغَلِي

وَهَبْنَا الرُّوحَ لِلثَّوْرَةِ	أَنَا شَيْلٌ أَنَا زَهْرَةٌ
لَنَا فِي أَرْضِنَا الْحُرَّةِ	بَنَى أَجْدَادُنَا دَوْرًا
حَمَلْنَا جَمْرَةَ الثَّوْرَةِ	أَنَا شَيْلٌ أَنَا زَهْرَةٌ
إِلَى الْأَقْصَى إِلَى الصَّخْرَةِ	إِلَى حَيِّفَا 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)

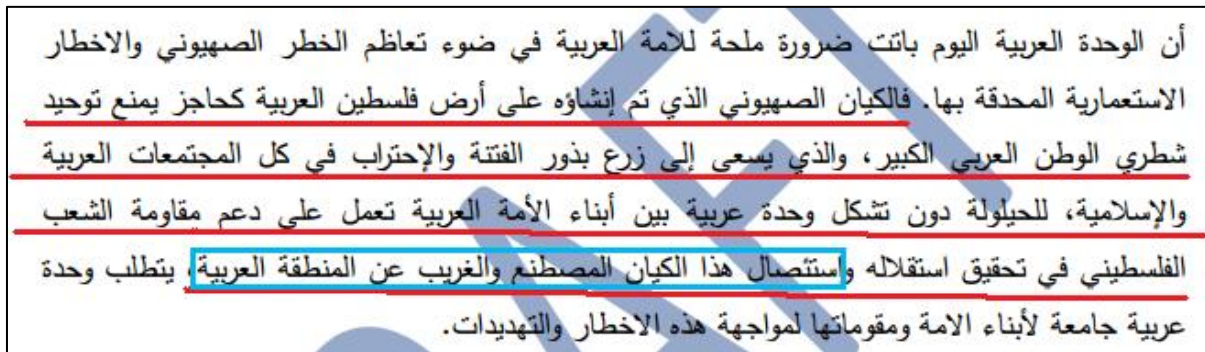




► A revealing text in a draft textbook talks explicitly about the need to eliminate Israel, but the authors carefully deleted it in the final edition of the book:

“...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”.)

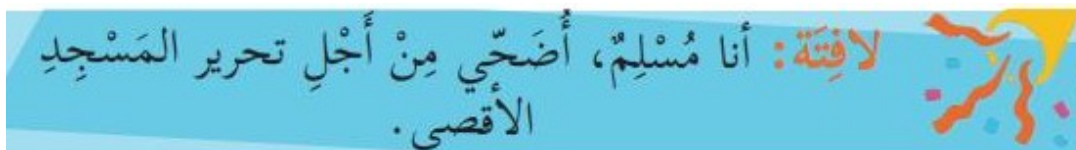


### Inserting Religious Elements into the Struggle

► 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)

الحلول المقترحة	الصعوبات المتوقعة وآلية علاجها:
<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 الثُّسُورِ الْمُحَلَّقَةِ، سَنَعُودُ مَعَ الرِّيحِ الْعَاتِيَةِ، سَنَعُودُ  
إِلَى الْكَرْمِ وَالزَّيْتُونِ، سَنَعُودُ؛ لِنَرْفَعَ عَلَمَ فَلَسْطِينَ، إِلَى جَانِبِ زَهْرَةِ  
الْحَنُونِ عَلَى رَوَابِينِ 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.”)

رِوَصَانِعٌ مِنْهُ الْغَدَا	أَنَا صَاحِبُ الْحَقِّ الْكَبِيرِ
وَطَنًا عَزِيزًا سَيِّدَا	سَأُعِيدُهُ .. وَأُعِيدُهُ
وَأَسِيرُ جَيْشًا أَوْحَدَا	سَأُزْلِزُ الدُّنْيَا غَدَا
هَيْهَاتَ أَنْتَسَى الْمَوْعِدَا	لِي مَوْعِدٌ فِي مَوْطِنِي

- ◆ “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، أَوَلَيْسَ 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)

يَهْتَفُ بِعِبَارَةٍ (سَنَعُودُ حَتْمًا) الَّتِي قَالَتْهَا لَيْلَى لِلْفَرَاشَاتِ.
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### 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 *fida'i*...”

(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 عيلبون، تلتها سلسلة من العمليات الفدائية، وتحول  
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، وردت 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 *fida'is* 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)



► 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-Mughrabu and Yasser Arafat are mentioned (marked in red):

(Arabic Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2019) p. 15)

مَنْ مِمَّنْ يَنْسَى خَالِدَ بْنَ الْوَلِيدِ، وَأُمَّ عُمَارَةَ نُسَيْبَةَ بِنْتَ كَعْبٍ  
الْأَنْصَارِيَّةِ، وَخَوْلَةَ بِنْتَ الْأَزْوَجِ، وَطَارِقَ بْنَ زِيَادٍ، وَصَلَّاحَ الدِّينِ  
الْأَيُّوبِيِّ، وَقُطُزَ، وَعُمَرَ الْمُخْتَارَ، وَعِزَّ الدِّينِ الْقَسَّامَ، وَدَلَالَ  
الْمُغْرَبِيَّ، وَيَاسِرَ عَرَفَاتَ، وَغَيْرَهُمْ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأَقْمَارِ الَّتِي لَا تَغِيبُ،

► 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 المغربي

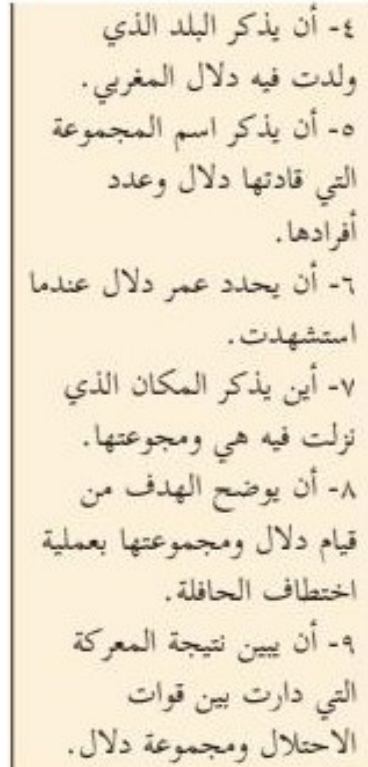
► Izz al-Din al-Qassam is thus omitted, leaving Dalal al-Mughrabi and Yasser Arafat as the leading Palestinian heroes.

► 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، وتجذب بالمقابل دولاً أخرى عديدة تعتبر مقاومة الشعب الفلسطيني مشروعة، وحقاً قانونياً يُقرّه المجتمع الدولي والقوانين الدولية.

### 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)

أَرْضُ الْكُرَمَاءِ

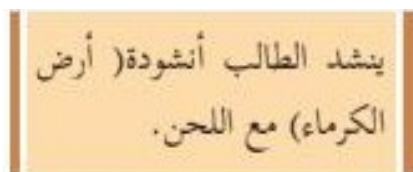
نُغَنِّي وَنَحْفَظُ:



قَسَمًا سَأَضْحِي بِدِمَائِي      لِأَرْوِّي أَرْضَ الْكُرَمَاءِ  
وَأَزِيلُ الْغَاصِبَ مِنْ بَلَدِي      وَأُيَيِّدُ قُلُوبَ الْغُرَبَاءِ  
يَا بَلَدَ الْأَقْصَى وَالْحَرَمِ      يَا مَهْدَ النَّخْوَةِ وَالْكَرَمِ  
صَبْرًا صَبْرًا فَالْنَصْرُ لَنَا      وَانْفَجَرُ 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)



- 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"



- 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 التَّجَوُّلِ لَا يَشْمَلُنَا فِي (الشَّرْفَةِ) مَفْرُوضٌ عَلَى  
 (التَّارِيشِ) عَلَى مَا يَبْدُو هُنَاكَ حَفْلَةٌ شَوَاءٍ بِالْقَنَابِلِ الْحَارِقَةِ لِإِحْدَى  
 حَافِلَاتِ مُسْتَعْمَرَةٍ (بَسَاغُوتِ) عَلَى الْجَبَلِ الطَّوِيلِ.



## Appendix A: List of sources quoted in the study

### List of Sources Quoted in This Study

#### Schoolbooks

##### Arabic

- ▶ Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1, Part 2 (2019)
- ▶ Our Beautiful Language, Grade 2, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3, Part 2 (2019)
- ▶ Arabic Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ Arabic Language, Grade 5, Part 2 (2019)
- ▶ Arabic Language, Grade 7, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ Arabic Language, Grade 8, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ Arabic Language, Grade 8, Part 2 (2019)
- ▶ Arabic Language, Grade 9, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ Arabic Language, Grade 9, Part 2 (2019)
- ▶ Arabic Language – Academic Path, Grade 10, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ Arabic Language – Academic Path, Grade 10, Part 2 (2019)
- ▶ Arabic Language 1, Grade 11, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ Arabic Language 1 – Academic Path, Grade 12 (2019)

##### Social Studies

- ▶ National and Life Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ National Education, Grade 5 (2014)
- ▶ Social Studies, Grade 5, Part 2 (2019)
- ▶ Social Studies, Grade 6, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ National Education, Grade 7 (2013)
- ▶ History of the Middle East, Grade 7 (2014)
- ▶ Social Studies, Grade 8, Part 2 (2019)
- ▶ Social Studies, Grade 9, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 10, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 10, Part 2 (2019)

- ▶ History Studies, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017)
- ▶ History Studies, Grade 11, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ History Studies, Grade 11, Part 2 (2019)
- ▶ History Studies, Grade 12 – Draft (No date [2018])
- ▶ History Studies, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2019)

### **Religious Education**

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

### **Sciences**

- ▶ Sciences and Life, Grade 3, Part 1 (2019)
- ▶ Mathematics, Grade 6, Part 2 (2019)
- ▶ Mathematics, Grade 11, Part 1 [Sciences] (2019)
- ▶ Mathematics, Grade 11, Part 2 [Sciences] (2019)
- ▶ Mathematics, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2018)
- ▶ Scientific Education, Grade 11 (2017)
- ▶ Biology, Grade 11, Part 1 [Sciences] (2019)

### **Teachers' Guides**

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

## Appendix B: UNESCO principles regarding education for peace and tolerance.

### 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>2</sup>
- ▶ Does the curriculum develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution? <sup>3</sup>
- ▶ Does the curriculum promote peace? <sup>4</sup>
- ▶ Does the curriculum promote international understanding and cooperation and motivate the student to understand and bear responsibility for the keeping of peace? <sup>5</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>6</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>7</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>8</sup>

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<sup>2</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>3</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-eight session, Paris, November 1995, Article 9, and on the afore-mentioned "Declaration of Principles on Tolerance", Article 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Article 6.

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

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Articles VI 39, X 45 and "the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance", Article 4.3.

<sup>8</sup> Based on the afore-mentioned "UNESCO Recommendations", Article V 14.