



Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority (PA): The Attitude to the Jews, to Israel and to Peace

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No recognition of the existence of the State of Israel: the map of the countries of the Arab homeland as it appears in a PA textbook published in 2017. Palestine appears on the map with the Palestinian flag. Israel is not mentioned. The textbook is called National and Social Fostering, for the fourth grade, Part One (2017), p. 7.

Overview

► A comprehensive study was recently issued on PA schoolbooks' attitude to the Jews, Israel and peace. The study covers PA schoolbooks published in the past four years (the PA has not yet completed issuing new textbooks). The study was conducted by Dr. Arnon Groiss and Dr. Ronni Shaked from the Truman Institute at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. It was undertaken at the request of the Center for Near East Policy Research and was recently issued in Hebrew by the Center in conjunction with the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies at Bar Ilan University. The study was made possible by a grant from the Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

According to the findings of the study, PA schoolbooks' attitude to the Jews, Israel and peace is based on three fundamentals: de-legitimization, demonization and indoctrination to violent struggle. There is no call for peace or coexistence with neighboring Israel. A Palestinian narrative has been constructed based on the fundamentals. It represents the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a distorted manner historically and does not leave any hope for ending it in peaceful coexistence of the two parties involved.

► The findings are consistent with other studies of Palestinian textbooks conducted in the past decade (some of which were issued in Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center bulletins). The studies repeatedly show a deep-rooted hostility to Israel in the Palestinian educational system. It is a function of the Palestinian ethos on which generations of Palestinians have been educated, including the present generation. The Palestinian ethos had led to a culture of hatred for the State of Israel and the Jewish people, thus fueling terrorism, violence and incitement against Israel.

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Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority (PA): The Attitude to the Jews, to Israel and to Peace

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(September 2017)**

Executive Summary

The present research covers the expressions of the attitude to the Jewish-Israeli "other", and to the issue of peace with it, found in the most updated schoolbooks issued by the Palestinian Authority for use in all schools in the West Bank and Gaza, and also in East Jerusalem schools that follow the PA curriculum. The said schools are both governmental and non-governmental, that is, schools operated by the various Christian churches, the Islamic charity associations, private organizations, and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). 201 textbooks of various school subjects, taught in grades 1-12, were examined and all forms of text, including language exercises, assignments and footnotes, as well as photographs, illustrations, maps, tables and graphs have formed the source material of this research. 77 of the books checked were published in the years 2016 and 2017, as part of an ongoing project initiated by the PA with a view to renewing its entire curriculum.

The authors of this research strongly believe that a meaningful peace must start with education: the younger generation on both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should be given a chance to understand the wider background of the conflict in which their societies are entangled and be shown the mutual benefits of its peaceful resolution. That entails a clear-cut recognition of the adversary, alongside a respectful description of its identity, beliefs and interests. The sole purpose of this research is the promotion of peace education on both sides, and the authors hope to add to the present research a similar one on Israeli schoolbooks soon.

The findings of this research show that the PA schoolbooks' attitude to Jews, Israel and peace is based on three fundamentals: **De-legitimization, demonization and indoctrination to violent struggle instead of peace**. Based on these fundamentals, a narrative has been built that presents the conflict in a distorted manner historically, and does not leave any hope for ending it in a peaceful coexistence of the two parties involved, with grave implications as far as their future, and their children's future, is

concerned. These findings also reveal the PA's goals on the long run and the extent of UNRWA's involvement in pursuing these goals.

De-legitimization of the Jews is expressed by non-recognition of their being a nation having rights in the country they regard as their ancient homeland. Rather, their attachment to it is described as "greedy ambitions (*atma*)". Their national movement - Zionism - is portrayed as a colonialist movement in the service of Western Imperialism aiming at gathering the world's Jews in the country and expelling the Palestinians from it. It is thus presented as an existential threat. The new 2017 schoolbooks even change the conflict's name from "the Arab-Israeli conflict" into "the Arab-Zionist conflict", probably with a view to presenting the conflict to the students as a struggle for mere existence, which makes the possibility of ending in peaceful coexistence less likely.

Before 2016, there were very few references in the PA schoolbooks to the Jews' presence in the country in antiquity, while the Palestinians were described in those books as descendants of the ancient Canaanites who were presented as originally Arab. The Palestinians' "Canaanite connection" has been discarded in the 2016-2017 books, but the argument of the Canaanites' Arab ethnicity has been retained, thus creating an impression that the Arabs preceded the Jews in the country in antiquity as well. Moreover, the new schoolbooks have omitted the few former references to the Jewish past in the country and now argue, instead, that Jews' historical claims regarding their presence there in antiquity are false.

The Jewish holy places, such as the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron and Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem, are not recognized as such. Rather, they are presented in the books as Muslim holy places usurped by the Jews. The text of a 2017 books even leaves the impression that the Wailing Wall and the Jewish synagogues in the Old City of Jerusalem were actually invented by "the Zionist Occupiers" in 1967 and did not exist there in the past.

The 6 million Jews living in the country are not counted among its inhabitants - contrary to millions of Palestinians who live abroad. Their cities are not shown on the map except rarely, as foreign settlements. Even the Jews' national language - Hebrew - is erased, literally, from a British Mandate stamp reproduced in a PA textbook, and in another case it is presented as a threat to Jerusalem's Arab character, while the Jewish inhabitants of the city are presented as occupiers and infiltrators. The Jews' presence in today's Palestine is thus presented as illegitimate and, by implication - temporary. That is actually the basis of the "Right of Return" argument: The foreign Jews should leave and the legitimate inhabitants, that is, the descendants of the Palestinian refugees who live abroad, should return and take their place.

The Jews' state - Israel - is not recognized as a sovereign state and its name does not appear on maps, except for one case in which it is depicted as an occupying entity since 1948. Israel is sometimes replaced by Palestine as the sovereign state in the region both in text and on maps, and the latter is supposed to cover all of Israel's territories after their liberation from occupation. Regions, sites and cities within Israel's pre-1967 borders are presented exclusively as Palestinian, even as occupied, and instead of the term "Israeli territory" the books often use circumlocutions such as

"the Lands of 1948", "the Interior" and "the Green Line". Moreover, since 2016, the name "Israel" has disappeared from most texts, even the demonizing ones, and has been replaced by the expression "Zionist occupation" - probably with a view to removing from the books the remnants of Palestinian recognition of Israel by virtue of the Oslo Accords.

Demonization: Jews are demonized in the PA schoolbooks as enemies of Islam's revered prophets, namely, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, which automatically places them in the camp of the forces of evil and prepares for their further demonization within the context of the conflict. The PA schoolbooks attribute to the Jews who immigrated to Palestine in the 19th century intentions of exterminating the Palestinian inhabitants and portray them as an existential threat to the Palestinian individual. They are de-humanized as wolves and snakes in this context. This very line continues in the 2016-2017 books as well (the expression "Devil's aides", for instance).

Israel is severely demonized by means of over thirty accusations found in the books, starting with its usurpation of Palestine and the expulsion of the original inhabitants, through massacres, murder of Palestinian children, assassination of Palestinian leaders, aggression against neighboring Arab states, destruction of Palestinian cities and villages, desecration of Muslim and Christian holy places, mass arrests, attempts at the elimination of Palestinian identity and cultural heritage, besieging the Palestinians by the separation fence, damaging Palestinian economy and harming Palestinian society, and ending in perpetuating the state of ignorance among Palestinians and responsibility for intra-family violence and drug abuse in Palestinian society. The new schoolbooks of 2017 add new accusations: The Israeli nuclear reactor in Dimona is responsible for cancer cases in Hebron, the "Zionist occupation" releases wild boars to destroy the Palestinians' crops, etc. The newly released books also feature stories full of strong graphic descriptions of arrests, killings, violent deportation and brutality that were not that common in the books before 2016.

The demonization effort is further intensified by the almost total absence in the PA schoolbooks of substantial objective information about the Jews and Israel that would counter-balance the numerous demonizing pieces. Also, the Jewish-Israeli "other" is treated as a group only, without any reference to Jewish or Israeli individuals as ordinary human beings, which is bound to create in the students' mind the impression of an alien and a threatening entity. No attempt is made either to understand the adversary's motives, and the PA books are totally devoid of self-criticism that might have explained, for example, that Israel has built the separation fence following the suicide bombing attacks by Palestinians in the early 2000. Israel and the Jews are depicted as the ultimate criminal party and the Palestinians are the ultimate victim.

Indoctrination to violent struggle instead of peace: The PA schoolbooks are devoid of any support of the goal of peace and coexistence with the State of Israel. On the contrary, they talk of a violent struggle for liberation without limiting it to the areas of the West Bank and Gaza. Rather, they refer to places inside pre-1967 Israel, such as Acre, Haifa and Jaffa as ones that are supposed to be liberated. Even the return of the refugees has violent connotations, and in this particular case it is the pre-1967 territories of Israel that are meant. The new textbooks even intensify this line by a text talking of the return of the refugees to the (Palestinian) homeland's sovereign territory where the Palestinian flag is to be hoisted.

In this framework traditional Islamic concepts such as Jihad and martyrdom are utilized in order to give the liberation struggle a religious character and thus, make it further intensified. That religious character of the war reaches its peak in an 11th grade textbook with a traditional Prophetic Saying (*Hadith*) by which the Muslims will kill all Jews, with the active help of trees and rocks, as a precondition to the End of Days.

Though explicit support of terrorist attacks against Israel is rare in the books, such actions are implicitly encouraged by praising their perpetrators who are called "ones who sacrifice themselves (*fidai*)". Those who are killed in action, or imprisoned, are named "martyrs (*shahid*)" and "prisoners of war (*asir*)", respectively, and are much exalted in the books. The newly issued books of 2017 add to that a new theme - name mentioning of present-day terrorists: The female leader of the terrorist group that perpetrated the massacre of over thirty men, women and children in a bus on Israel's Coastal Highway in 1978 is presented to the students as a heroine and martyr.

A new theme appearing for the first time in the 2016 books is the fate of the Jews in the country after its supposed liberation: the complete removal of the usurper (Israel) and the extermination of the foreigners' defeated remnants, namely, those who will survive from among the six million Jews who now live there. The worsening of the attitude to the Jewish-Israeli "other" in the new books in the context of the fighting against it is also expressed by the description of an attack with Molotov cocktails on an Israeli bus as "a barbecue party".

In other words, the PA schoolbooks prepare the students intellectually and mentally for a violent struggle for the liquidation of Israel and the "removal" of its Jewish citizens under the slogan "liberation of Palestine from Zionist occupation". In view of this situation it is clear to any intelligent person that no advancement towards a peaceful solution to the present conflict is to be anticipated without total change in this line of thought that the PA has been systematically inculcating into its students' minds for over twenty years by now.

But if the demand for a change in the PA attitude is dependent on the negotiation process and on the political circumstances prevailing between the two parties to the conflict, this is not so regarding UNRWA, which is not a party to the conflict and is supposed to be committed to the UN principles of its peaceful resolution. Therefore, it is unconceivable that texts calling for a violent struggle against Israel and exalting Jihad will be taught in its schools, especially when the perceived struggle includes the internationally recognized territories of sovereign Israel. UNRWA is also obliged, as a UN organization, not to allow the presentation of a member state - Israel - to its students as a delegitimized entity. A schoolbook in which Israel is not marked on the map should not enter an UNRWA school in the first place. Even if Israel itself allows for the use of such books in schools in East Jerusalem under its declared sovereignty, for political or other considerations, UNRWA does not have such a privilege. As an international relief agency, UNRWA is not supposed to follow any political line.

To that, one should add UNRWA's educational failure professionally, by adopting questionable material, to say the least, such as the attribution of a fabricated Canaanite origin to present-day Palestinians, and the crude falsification of a historical document - the Mandatory stamp. Moreover, by allowing the circulation in its schools of

textbooks educating its students for a future war with Israel, UNRWA has betrayed its moral obligation to protect the Palestinian children in its care from such calamities.

In conclusion of this point, there are things that UNRWA should not teach! Therefore, it is high time that the textbooks used in its schools be immediately revised, no matter what the PA does in this field. It is anticipated that the democratic donor states that are financing UNRWA's educational activity demand just that.

Contents

Executive Summary	1
Contents	6
Preface.....	9
The Research Subject and its Importance	9
Research of the PA Schoolbooks	9
Source Material of the Present Study.....	11
Method of Research	12
Introduction: The Palestinian Authority's Educational System	14
Administration and Statistics	14
Curriculum	15
Tables.....	16
Chapter One: The Conflict.....	18
The Palestinian Problem	18
The Refugee Problem	35
1. The cause of the refugee problem:	35
2. The expulsion.....	36
3. The refugees' living conditions and the attitude to their current places of residence	41
4. The attitude to the refugees' former places of residence.....	46
5. The notion of the "Right of Return":	47
6. The 1967 displaced Palestinians	54
Jerusalem.....	54
Israel's Palestinian Citizens.....	60
Chapter Two: Judaism and Jews.....	62
Judaism	62
The Jews in Antiquity	65
The Jews in Islamic Contexts	72
1. The general attitude to Jews/Children of Israel	72
2. The Jews of Arabia vis-à-vis Muhammad	74
3. References to Jews after Muhammad	79
4. Positive references to Jews of the Islamic period	80
The Jews in Christian Contexts.....	81
1. References to Jews in the context of Old Testament events:.....	81
2. References to Jews in the context of the New Testament events	83
The Jews in Modern Times.....	86
The Jews in the Context of the Conflict.....	87
The Holy Places	102
Zionism	107
Chapter Three: Israel.....	117
Israel and Palestine	117
1. General perspective.....	117
2. Israel/Palestine on maps.....	119
3. Israel/Palestine in texts	134
4. Circumlocutions.....	137
5. References to places inside pre-1967 Israel.....	138
Israel's Image	142

1. Israel was established out of occupation of Palestinian land, destruction of Palestinian cities and villages, expulsion of their residents, and construction of Israeli settlements in their place:.....	142
2. The main accusation against Israel stems from the continued occupation and from the suffering it causes:.....	144
3. The occupation is an expression of "the logic of power" and of Israel's violence that penetrates, in its turn, into Palestinian society;	146
4. Israel is also perceived as aggressive to the Arab world in general:	149
5. A repeating element in Israel's demonization – "killing" of Palestinian cities and villages	153
6. Israel murders Palestinian children	155
7. Israel assassinates Palestinian leaders, including an implied accusation that it was responsible for Yasser Arafat's death	157
8. Israel is responsible for physical and mental disabilities in Palestinian society:	158
9. The occupation treats the occupied brutally	158
10. Israel is responsible for drug abuse cases in Palestinian society:	159
11. Israel expels Palestinians from their homeland	159
12. Israel besieges the Palestinians and limits their movements	160
13. Israel demolishes Palestinians' houses	165
14. Israel uproots trees:	168
15. Israel is the source of suffering for Palestinian prisoners and their family members:.....	170
16. The occupation harms Palestinian women and Palestinian families in general:....	174
17. Israel continues to rob the Palestinians of their lands:.....	176
18. Israel steals the Palestinians' water:	177
19. Accusations against Israel in fields related to Palestinian economy:	178
20. A new accusation: Harming the Palestinians by means of wild boars	183
21. Poverty in Palestinian society is also a result of Israel's occupation to a great extent:.....	183
22. Israel is responsible for the state of ignorance among the Palestinians:.....	184
23. Israel imposes restrictions on Palestinian communication media.....	187
24. Israel attempts at the obliteration of Palestinian cultural heritage:	187
25. Israel desecrates Palestinian holy places, both Muslim and Christian:	188
26. The settlements in the West Bank (and formerly in the Gaza Strip) are part of the damage caused to the Palestinians by Israel:	190
27. The settlements in particular, and Israel in general, pollute the Palestinian environment	193
28. Israel violates international law and human rights:	195
29. Israel neglects the health services and prevents the Palestinian rescue teams from fulfilling their duties:.....	196
30. Racial discrimination:	197
31. Oppression of Israel's Palestinian citizens:	198
32. Direct demonization:.....	200
Chapter Four: Tolerance and Peace	203
Tolerance.....	203
Peace with non-Muslims	205
Peace with Israel	206
Chapter Five: War.....	211
Islam's Principles of Conduct during War	211
Struggle for Liberation.....	213

Jihad	220
1. Jihad: General perspective	220
2. Jihad in the Palestinian context.....	223
Martyrdom (Shahadah)	228
Terror	234
Conclusion	245
Appendix:.....	254
UNESCO Principles of Education for Peace and Tolerance	254
List of Sources	255
Arabic Language	255
Mathematics	256
Sciences.....	256
Technology	256
Chemistry.....	256
Biology.....	256
Islamic Education.....	257
Christian Education.....	257
National Education.....	258
Civics	258
Social Studies.....	259
History.....	259
Contemporary Issues.....	259
Geography.....	259
Textbooks of the Shar'i Stream	259
The Authors	260
Arnon Groiss	260
Roni Shaked.....	260

Preface

The Research Subject and its Importance

This research was initiated by the Center for Near East Policy Research,¹ and owes its very existence to the generous contributions made by the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Middle East Forum. It deals with the attitude of the schoolbooks issued by the Palestinian Authority (PA) to the Israeli-Jewish adversary in the framework of the ongoing conflict and to the possibility of reaching a peace agreement with it. The rationale behind this research is the assumption that peaceful resolution of conflicts is the politicians' task, but the basis for a real peace is provided by education. Only by consistent education of the younger generation for peace can a society free itself from the residues of past conflicts and create permanent peaceful relations with the opposing "other". That is what happened during the second half of the twentieth century between France and Germany after decades of a bitter conflict that involved three destructive wars between the years 1870-1945. Education for peace is a primary goal of the United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) that has set forth a number of criteria and bench marks for implementation (see the Appendix).

Schoolbooks constitute only part of the educational system, and not necessarily the decisive one. Much influence should be accorded to the discussion in class by both teachers and students, who, in their turn, are influenced by what is said at home, on the street, during activities in organizations they are members of, in houses of prayer they attend and in the media - including the social ones. But schoolbooks are the most palpable indication of the values and perceptions a society would wish to instill in its youngsters' minds within the educational system. In places where schoolbooks are almost exclusively issued by the authorities, as the case is in the PA territories, they form a clear indication as to the political line followed by the regime in the framework of the conflict and to its commitment to a peaceful solution. Hence the importance of schoolbook research around the world.

Research of the PA Schoolbooks

Between the years 2000-2006 the Palestinian Authority accomplished, with the assistance and financial support of foreign bodies, a publishing project of new schoolbooks that gradually replaced the older Jordanian and Egyptian books used in the West Bank and Gaza schools, respectively. Since the end of that project in 2006, new reprints have constantly appeared in which some changes have been sometimes made, and in 2016 the PA embarked on a new project of rewriting its schoolbooks. So

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

far, 77 new books have been issued and included in the present research that will be updated each time a new batch of books is being released by the PA.

From its very beginning, that project was closely monitored by several studies in an attempt to trace the PA educational guidelines regarding the conflict. Some of these studies also tried to compare the PA schoolbooks with those of Israel in this particular field, like those ones published by the Eckert Institute in Germany and later, the comprehensive study initiated by the Council of Religious Institutions of the Holy Land (CRIHL) and financed by the US State Department (which later distanced itself from the study's findings).² These comparative studies generally agreed that the Israeli schoolbooks complied with UNESCO's directives regarding the attitude to the rival "other" and to the issue of peace more than their Palestinian counterparts. However, some of these studies tended to blur the gap between the two curricula by omitting some "incriminating" material found in the Palestinian books, on the one hand, and by highlighting such materials found in the independent Ultra-Orthodox stream in Israel, on the other hand. Other researchers tried to justify that gap by various arguments, such as the Palestinians' conditions under occupation, or their current developmental stage of nation-building, comparing to Israel that has already passed that stage.

Other studies focused on the PA schoolbooks alone (though the sponsoring institutions also issued at times parallel studies of Israeli schoolbooks). Prominent among those studies are the ones issued by the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (CMIP), later known as the Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT-SE). Most of its studies were written by one of the authors of the present report and appeared in English.³ Three other studies were issued by the Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI): The first one appeared in 2003 and covered the books of grades 1-3, 6-8, the second study - on the books for grades 4 and 9 - appeared in June 2004, and the third one was published in July 2006 and covered the books for grades 5 and 10. Another study, by Noa Meridor, on the PA schoolbooks for grades 5 and 10, was published by the Israeli Intelligence and Terror Information Center in February 2006. The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) issued in 2002 its own study: Goetz Nordbruch, *Narrating Palestinian Nationalism: A Study of the New Palestinian Textbooks*, which

² Falk Pingel (ed.), *Contested Past, Disputed Present: Curricula and Teaching in Israeli and Palestinian Schools* (Hannover, Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 2003); Ruth Firer and Sami Adwan (ed. by F. Pingel), *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in History and Civics Textbooks of Both Nations* (Hannover, Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 2004); *Victims of Our Own Narratives? Portrayal of the "Other" in Israeli and Palestinian School Books - Study Report*, by Prof. Bruce Wexler (Yale University), Sami Adwan (Bethlehem University) and Daniel Bar-Tal (Tel Aviv University), February 2013.

³ Arnon Groiss, *Jews, Israel and Peace in Palestinian School Textbooks* (2001); *Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Textbooks and High School Final Examinations* (2002); *Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks - The New Textbooks for Grades 3 and 8* (2003); *Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks - The New Textbooks for Grades 4 and 9* (2004); *Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks - The New Textbooks for Grades 5 and 10* (2005); *Jews, Israel, the West and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks for Grades 11, 12 and Muslim Schools in the West Bank* (Draft report, 2007); *Palestinian Textbooks: From Arafat to Abbas and Hamas* (2008). See also Arnon Groiss, "De-legitimization of Israel in Palestinian Authority Schoolbooks", *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 18, Issue 3 (July 2012) pp. 455-484. The institute issued in 2011 an updated study of the PA schoolbooks by Eldad Pardo, and another study of the new PA schoolbooks issued in 2016, also by Eldad Pardo, was published in April 2017.

dealt with the new PA schoolbooks that appeared up to that year. Professor Nathan J. Brown of George Washington University studied as well the PA schoolbooks during the early phase of the publishing project.⁴ All the said studies agreed that the PA schoolbooks did not educate for peace but they disagreed whether they teach hatred of the Jewish-Israeli "other". Professor Brown rejected that notion in his studies and IPCRI's studies as well tended to follow that line, while all the other afore-mentioned studies claimed the opposite.

The past studies by CMIP/IMPACT-SE were unique, compared to all their counterparts, by putting in front of the reader the entire relevant source material organized in thematic categories, so that the reader could pass his or her judgment, not only on the single expression's language and tone, but also on its frequency of appearance and contexts. It was meant that the source material would exclusively speak for itself with no omission or possible biased interpretation. The present study has adopted this method as well for the books that were issued until the end of 2016. However, due to technical reasons related to pre-fixed deadlines, the material gathered from the thirty 2017 books includes representative quotations only and not all the references appearing there to the issues dealt with by the study.

Source Material of the Present Study

The present study encompasses 201 schoolbooks of Palestinian Authority (See the full list of the examined books at the end of this study). It started in early 2015 and was planned to check the latest editions that were published mainly in 2014-2015. For that purpose, we purchased 113 schoolbooks issued by the PA Ministry of Education and Higher Education's Curricula Center for grades 1-12 in school subjects dealing with fields related to various aspects of the conflict: language and grammar, national education, Islamic education, Christian education (for use by Christian students), civics, history, geography and what is termed "contemporary issues" - a school subject for grades 11 and 12 that includes articles on various issues. These books were purchased. The study also includes 11 additional books issued by the said Center and downloaded by us from Palestinian governmental and private Web sites. Nine of these books are used in grades 11 and 12 of the religious *shar'i* high school stream, and were mostly published in 2013. The other two are Christian education textbooks for grades 11 and 12 that were not available on the market.

While the study was still going on, the PA started a project of writing anew all its schoolbooks. Accordingly, 44 new textbooks for grades 1-4 that were issued in 2016 were added to the source material of this study. They include textbooks in the subjects of Arabic, Islamic and Christian education, national education (now renamed "national and life education" in grades 1 and 2 and "national and social upbringing" in grades 3 and 4), as well as mathematics and sciences - which were not always included in former studies. These new books were available on the Net.⁵ Three

⁴ Nathan J. Brown, "Democracy, History and the Contest over the Palestinian Curriculum", Paper presented at the Adam Institute Conference on *Attitudes toward the Past in Conflict Resolution*, (Jerusalem, November 2001); Nathan J. Brown, *Palestinian Politics after the Oslo Accords* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003).

⁵ See the Web sites:

<http://www.wepal.net/vb/showthread.php?t=34299>, www.pcdc.edu.ps/ar_new/index.php?p=textbooks

technology textbooks published in 2016 were also studied. The study was actually completed in August 2017, but then the PA issued 30 new books. They were all carefully scrutinized and the relevant material there was added to the study's source material. Some of these books were first classified as "draft", and it is still unclear whether they have already replaced the former books in all schools. We have learned from our past experience that a newly published textbook does not automatically replace the older one. Consequently, we have included in the present study the books that are intended to be replaced by the new ones. In terms of their number and their didactic level they still constitute the core of the Palestinian curriculum

These books are taught in all schools in the West Bank and Gaza, and also in many schools in East Jerusalem that follow the Palestinian curriculum. They are mandatory textbooks in the entire school system in the PA-controlled West Bank and the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip - including non-governmental schools operated by the Islamic religious endowment [*Waqf*] institutions, the various Christian churches, other private schools and the schools belonging to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for the 1948 Palestinian refugees (UNRWA) - that include grades 1-9 only. These books are therefore extremely important as indicators of the PA policies regarding the transmission of its principles to the younger generation as far as the conflict is concerned, and for measuring the extent of the devotion on the part of UNRWA to the UN principles.

Schools that do not directly belong to the PA may add their own textbooks to the curriculum. Hamas, for instance, have introduced into the schools in the Gaza Strip, including UNRWA schools there, textbooks for grades 8-10 in the subject of national education, the parallel of which do not exist in the PA schools in the West Bank. These books include crude inciting material against Israel and Jews. UNRWA has introduced into its schools in the West Bank and Gaza textbooks that teach tolerance and acceptance of the "other" in reference to various aspects in Palestinian society, without extending the discussion in these issues to include Israel and the Jews. These books were investigated too but are not part of this study, which focuses exclusively on the books issued by the PA Curricula Center in Ramallah.

Method of Research

The study's subject - the PA schoolbooks' attitude to the "other" and to peace within the context of the conflict - is divided into thematic categories that had been already defined in formerly conducted studies. These thematic categories constitute the various chapters and sub-chapters of this study that serve as frames into which all the relevant references found in the books are inserted, mostly as non-paraphrased quotes, after being translated. Within each of the sub-chapters an attempt has been made - whenever possible - to organize the quotes according to grades in order to enable interested readers to try to decipher the way the narrative is constructed by the PA educational system in accordance with the students' ages. The source material

and see also at the PA Curricula Center's site:
www.pcdc.edu.ps/ar_new/index.php?p=textbooks ,
www.pcdc.edu.ps/ar_new/index.php?p=textbooks2# ,
www.pcdc.edu.ps/ar_new/index.php?p=textbooks3

includes all forms of written texts, such as didactic pieces - including those ones referring to religious texts while the religious texts themselves were not included in the source material, stories, poems, language exercises, questions and assignments, footnotes, etc. Non-textual material such as photographs, illustrations, maps, tables and graphs has also been included.

Any reference, be it "positive", "negative" or "neutral", has earned the same extent of attention and has been included in the report as is, with almost no additional discussion, save for short explanatory remarks whenever necessary. The Conclusion chapter presents the general picture created by the gathered and classified material, analyzes its meaning and implications as far as the future of the conflict is concerned, and puts it in the light of the principles adopted by UNESCO regarding the attitude to the "other" and to peace (see the Appendix). Findings of former studies, in which schoolbooks of various countries⁶ were surveyed, have made it possible to make comparative analysis which has brought about the crystallization of comprehensive research criteria and also enabled us to trace relevant material missing from the schoolbooks.

It should be emphasized that the present study does not include messages of Palestinian patriotism, as well as messages related to the Palestinian, Arab and Muslim identity not in the context of the conflict (examples: love of the homeland, attachment to Jerusalem, referring to the country as a whole as "Palestine" historically or geographically - but not politically - as Israeli schoolbooks use the term "the Land of Israel" in this regard, prideful expressions regarding Palestinian cultural heritage, Islamic religious polemics against "infidels" in general, etc.). Also, the study does not include references to the non-Jewish/non-Israeli "other" (examples: Christianity, the Crusaders, the West headed by Britain and the United States - except for their involvement in the conflict, etc.).

Note: The material between the quotes appears in this work in a different font.

⁶ *Peace and the "Other" in Syrian School Textbooks* (2001); *the West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks* (2003); *Jews, Christians, War and Peace in Egyptian School Textbooks* (2004); *the War Curriculum in Iranian Schoolbooks* (2007); *Peace and the "Other" in Tunisian Schoolbooks* (2009). They were all written by Arnon Groiss and published by IMPACT-SE/CMIP and found on its website. See also *Arabs and Palestinians in Israeli Textbooks* (2000); *Arabs, Palestinians, Islam and Peace in Israeli School Textbooks* (2002) that were written by Amos Yovel and published by the said organization. They are found as well on that organization's website, alongside another comprehensive study on Israeli schoolbooks by Yael Teff-Seker done in 2011. A new study by IMPACT-SE's Eldad Pardo on 93 schoolbooks used in Ultra-Orthodox schools in Israel appeared in May 2017 and is found there too.

Introduction: The Palestinian Authority's Educational System

Administration and Statistics

The Palestinian Authority (PA) was established in May 1994. In August that year the governmental authorities in the field of education were handed over to it by the Israeli Civil Administration. The educational network in the territories of the West Bank and Gaza included (and still does) governmental schools, schools under the supervision of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), and private schools operated by various bodies, such as Christian churches, Islamic charity foundations, foreign institutions, and local public and private organizations. Education today is divided into a mandatory Basic stage that encompasses grades 1-10, and a Secondary one, with grades 11-12. Initially, the higher education institutions were the responsibility of a separate ministry, but in 2002 the two ministries were united into one called "The Ministry of Education and Higher Education" (the Arabic name includes two different synonyms for "education").

According to the PA Central Bureau of Statistics, the Palestinian educational system included in the school year of 2015/2016 - without kindergartens and the higher education institutions - 2,914 schools with 1,192,808 students, as follows:

Region	Government Schools	UNRWA Schools	Private Schools	Schools Total	Basic Stage Students	Secondary Stage Students	Students Total
WB	1,740	96	358	2,194	610,088	83,077	693,165
Gaza	395	257	68	720	443,425	56,218	499,643
Total	2,135	353	426	2,914	1,053,513	139,295	1,192,808

The number of students in UNRWA school in that year was 286,835 (in grades 1-9 only. UNRWA does not teach higher grades in the PA territories), 48,776 in the West Bank and 248,059 in Gaza. In other words, UNRWA provides about a quarter of the student body in the PA territories with educational services.

Additional data by the PA Central Bureau of Statistics:

Total number of classrooms:	39,689
Average number of students per classroom:	30.1
Total number of teachers:	55,160
Average number of students per teacher:	21.6
Percentage of school dropouts:	1.4 (2014/15)
Percentage of students repeating a school year:	0.9 (2014/15)
Literacy percentage among 15-year olds and up	96.7 (2015) ⁷

http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/site/lang_en/708/default.aspx ⁷

Curriculum

The curriculum in the lower grades includes Arabic, English, Mathematics, Sciences, Islamic Education (or Christian Education for Christian students) and National Education (until, and including, grade 7). Until the school year of 2015/16 Civics was part of the curriculum of grades 1-9. It seems that in the framework of the newly designed curriculum, it is scheduled to be embedded in the National Education subject, beginning in the 2016/17 school year for grades 1-4. The subjects of History, Geography, Information Technology and Arts and Crafts started - within the pre-2016 curriculum - to be taught in grade 5, and in grade 7 the subject of Health and Environment is introduced. Within the new curriculum, the subjects of History and Geography are joined together in a subject named "Social Studies", probably until grade 10, and in grade 7 a new subject is added - Technology. In grade 10, the subject of Sciences is subdivided into its specific parts: Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Scientific Education, and in the two subsequent high school grades students follow their selected streams with emphasis on several specific subjects. In the Humanities we find the "Contemporary Issues" subject that includes articles on various issues accompanied by questions and assignments. Other subjects in other streams are Economy and Management, and Scientific Education. In former years the PA Ministry of the Endowments and Religious Affairs had its own schools that trained the students to become clerics and preachers, and the books used there were issued in Jordan. Starting in 2014, the religious studies were integrated as a specific high school stream in the Ministry of Education's schools and their textbooks have been published since then by the PA Curricula Center that issues the PA schoolbooks in general.

Until 1967 the Jordanian curriculum was followed in the West Bank, and the Egyptian curriculum was followed in Gaza. The two curricula were kept by the Israeli authorities after that but the textbooks underwent a cleansing process by which all pieces inciting against Israel and the Jews were taken out. After the takeover by the Palestinian Authority in 1994 the censored books were removed and the original Jordanian and Egyptian books were reintroduced. In 2000 the PA started a new project of gradual replacement of these books with ones of its own. In fact, already in 1995 and 1996 the PA replaced the Jordanian and Egyptian national education textbooks with Palestinian national education ones. But these were temporary and were discarded after the new project had begun. The books for grades 1 and 6 came out in 2000 and in each following year the books for two additional grades appeared. The project was accomplished with the appearance of the grade 11 books in 2005 and those for grade 12 in 2006. The PA founder and first president, Yasser Arafat, died in 2004, having seen the new books for grades 1-10. The books for grade 11 were issued under the rule of his successor Mahmud Abbas, and those for grade 12 - under the PA Hamas-led government that was established following the free elections of January 2006. The changes in power had some influence on the books' attitude to various aspects of the conflict (see in the Conclusion). After 2006 the books were reprinted, with some changes being introduced at times, and in 2016 the PA started its schoolbook rewriting project.

Tables

Following are tables of the PA Central Bureau of Statistics with more detailed data on various aspects of Palestinian Education. Most data refer to the school year of 2015/16:



Selected Indicators for Education in Palestine

Indicator	Year	Value
Number of Schools	2015/2016	2,914
Number of Schools Students	2015/2016	1,192,808
Number of Schools Classes	2015/2016	39,689
Average Number of Students Per Class	2015/2016	30.1
Dropouts Rate	2014/2015	1.4
Repetition Rate	2014/2015	0.9
Number of Students in Universities and University Colleges	2015/2016	204,745
Number of Graduates from Universities and University Colleges	2014/2015	39,672
Number of Students in Community Colleges	2015/2016	11,283
Number of Graduates from Community Colleges	2014/2015	3,872
Literacy Rate for Persons (15 Years and Over)	2015	96.7



Number of Schools by Region, Supervising Authority and School Gender, 2015/2016

Region	Supervising Authority	Total	School Gender		
			Males	Females	Co-ed
Palestine	Total	2914	1029	954	931
	Government	2135	840	818	477
	UNRWA	353	144	106	103
	Private	426	45	30	351
West Bank	Total	2194	733	727	734
	Government	1740	663	655	422
	UNRWA	96	35	48	13
	Private	358	35	24	299
Gaza Strip	Total	720	296	227	197
	Government	395	177	163	55
	UNRWA	257	109	58	90
	Private	68	10	6	52

The data do not include the Israeli Municipality and Culture Committee Schools in Jerusalem

Number of Students in Schools by Region, Supervising Authority, Stage and Sex, 2015/2016

Region	Supervising Authority	Grand Total			Basic			Secondary		
		Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Palestine	Total	1192808	591117	601691	1053513	530083	523430	139295	61034	78261
	Government	781169	376032	405137	649389	319025	330364	131780	57007	74773
	UNRWA	296835	147230	149605	296835	147230	149605	.	.	.
	Private	114804	67855	46949	107289	63828	43461	7515	4027	3488
West Bank	Total	693165	341434	351731	610088	306155	303933	83077	35279	47798
	Government	548820	265555	283265	472549	233856	238693	76271	31699	44572
	UNRWA	48776	20054	28722	48776	20054	28722	.	.	.
	Private	95569	55825	39744	88763	52245	36518	6806	3580	3226
Gaza Strip	Total	499643	249683	249960	443425	223928	219497	56218	25755	30463
	Government	232349	110477	121872	176840	85169	91671	55509	25308	30201
	UNRWA	248059	127176	120883	248059	127176	120883	.	.	.
	Private	19235	12030	7205	18526	11583	6943	709	447	262

The data do not include the Israeli Municipality and Culture Committee Schools in Jerusalem
(.): Not Applicable.

Chapter One: The Conflict

The source of the conflict, according to the PA schoolbooks, is what they refer to as "the Palestinian problem" and, within it, what they term as "the occupation" and the struggle against it. Other aspects of the conflict are also discussed in the books, some in more detail than others. They are: the refugee problem, the struggle over the city of Jerusalem and the status of Israel's Palestinian citizens.

The conflict itself is defined in the schoolbooks that were issued before 2016 as "the Arab-Israel conflict" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 48; *Contemporary Issues*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 25). This definition is absent in the books that came out later and is replaced by "the Arab-Zionist conflict" (*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) pp. 59, 87), which fits the general line of the PA curriculum since that year of deepening the de-legitimization of the Israeli party to the conflict (and see below throughout the study). Accordingly, the expression "the Israeli occupation" referring to 1948 (*National Education*, Grade 5 (2014) p. 30; *National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 12) has also been changed into "the Zionist occupation" (*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) pp. 44, 59; *History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p.9).

The Palestinian Problem

The essence of the problem, according to the schoolbooks, is the usurpation of Arab Palestine from its rightful Palestinian owners by foreigners who were supported by Western Imperialism. Following are the relevant quotes gathered from the PA schoolbooks:

"Palestine [is] Arab."
(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2013) p. 7)

"The Palestinian people has a historical prerogative over its land."
(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique*, Grade 12 (2014) p. 19)

"Imperialism [*Isti'mar*]⁸ made an effort, before World War I and after, to divide the Arab homeland into several states (political units) in order to make it easier to rule. It imposed many agreements to achieve that, such as the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, the Balfour Declaration of November 1917 with a view to establishing a national home for the Jews in Palestine, and later, the San Remo agreement of 1920.

The Arab peoples waged a struggle and wars against Imperialism in all its forms and positions in the Arab homeland. The majority of the Arab states gained their independence one after the other following the Second World War, except Palestine that was supposed to achieve its independence in 1948, that is, after the evacuation of

⁸ "*Isti'mar*" is the term used in Arabic to denote both "Colonialism" and "Imperialism" (although the latter term is also called "*Imbaryaliyyah*"). The translation in this report has been done according to the context of the specific text appearing in the source material. See also *History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 5: "The concept of Imperialism [*Isti'mar*]: The term *Isti'mar* in Arabic is used [as an equivalent] for two terms in the European languages, *Al-Kulunyaliyyah* (Colonialism) and *Al-Imbaryaliyyah* (Imperialism)".

the forces of British Imperialism from it. But Britain had worked with all its power during its Mandate period in Palestine to establish a Jewish state in Palestine as an implementation of the Balfour declaration."

(*Geography of the Arab Homeland*, Grade 9 (2015) p. 8)

"There was a liberation movement in the Arab states for the achievement of independence. Then, they entered the phase of building and revival in various fields in order to get rid of what Imperialism had left behind, except Palestine that is still struggling to gain its independence."

(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 63)

The specific case of Palestine is explained in the context of the global phenomenon of Imperialism and Colonialism:

"Forms of Imperialism [*Isti'mar*]:

...

6 - Colonization [*istitan*]: It includes taking control of a land, expulsion of its owners⁹ and replacement by force of the original inhabitants by colonizing elements, like the Zionist colonization in Palestine."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of the World*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 48)

"Colonialist Imperialism [*Al-Isti'mar al-istitani*]: The phenomenon of colonialist Imperialism is epitomized by the existence of foreigners inside the environment of the country's original inhabitants. They have a sense of purity and superiority, pursue various forms of racial discrimination against the original inhabitants, and do not recognize their national entity.

Colonialist Imperialism in modern times is found in Palestine, South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).there constitutes a fateful challenge for the Their existence¹⁰ peoples on whom they impose themselves in order to gain land by every means, because land is the material platform of the settlements [*mustawtanat*] as much as the settlers [*mustawtinin*] are their human platform. It should be noted that the Imperialist entity's policy of encouraging the immigration of settlers does not open the door to all those who want to settle. Rather, it looks for a certain kind of settlers. In the case of Israel, it is preferred that the Jew will be European or American.

The act of bringing in settlers is accompanied by forcing the original inhabitants to emigrate, denying [them] citizenship [rights] and exploiting them economically as cheap labor."

(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 5)

⁹ "*Istitan*" means "settlement" (the act itself, not the place) and Israeli official bodies use this word in Arabic material they produce. But in Arabs' eyes the word has a negative connotation and they usually use it to denote settlement of Israelis. This report uses both "colonization" and "settlement" as a translation according to the context, while putting the original term in brackets. And see the translation of *Istitan* as Colonization in English within the emblem of the "Colonization and Wall Resistance Commission" - *History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 94.

¹⁰ It is interesting to see that even today, years after handing the rule in South Africa and Rhodesia over to the African majority, the authors of the PA schoolbooks still regard the white inhabitants there as colonialist foreigners.

"...Forcing the original inhabitants to emigrate and making the citizens of the Imperialist states settle, while providing them with all the facilitations in order to guarantee their continued flow to the colonies [*musta'marat*] and their staying there, such as colonialist Imperialism [*Al-Isti'mar al-istitani*] in Palestine."
(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 6)

The 2017 history textbook for grade 11 is wholly dedicated to the issue of modern Imperialism and a whole chapter within it titled "Zionist Colonial Imperialism in Palestine [*Al-Isti'mar al-Istitani al-Suhyuni*]" (pp. 87-96) intensively portrays Israel and the Jews as a foreign Colonialist power. Following is a relevant part of this chapter:

"Activity 2: We will read, look attentively and discuss:
[A quoted paragraph from a book titled "*Colonization is Zionism's Practical Implementation*" p. 2:] Colonization [*Istitan*] constitutes the main point in the Zionist idea and a practical implementation of Zionism. Hence, it could be described as Zionism in theory and practice and an implementation of their saying 'the truth is that there is no Zionism without colonization and there is no Jewish state without the Arabs' evacuation and the confiscation and fencing of their lands.'
Zionist colonization has been unique, comparing to other [cases of] modern colonization, as it was not restricted to the construction operation only, but rather was accompanied by the destruction of Arab-Palestinian society, in harmony with the philosophy of the Zionist racist idea, that is based on the denial and uprooting of the 'other' rather than on co-existence with it or the acceptance of its existence. [That is so] because its goal is evacuation and replacement, to force the Palestinian people to emigrate in order to make the coming Zionist settle in their place in Palestine [end of quote]."

The concept is illustrated within a caricature showing a dense built area in a process of covering the Palestinian flag. This illustration is connected in the book to a larger set of illustrations, each representing a different form of modern Imperialism (*Isti'mar*). The caption reads:

"Colonization [*istitan*]: Replacing a people by another people and taking hold of its land - the Zionist occupation in Palestine."



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

The same illustration reappears at the beginning of another chapter dealing with Colonial Imperialism (*Al-Isti'mar al-Istitani*) in general, with the following caption:

"Unit 2: Colonialist Imperialism [*Al-Isti'mar al-Istitani*] and its applications: We will think and look attentively: The land is the pivot of Colonialist Imperialism, as it strives with all its might to take possession of it by all means, even if it is done by the extermination and destruction of the inhabitants."



نفكر.. ونأمل

الأرض محور الاستعمار الاستيطاني.. فهو يسعى بكل ما أوتي من قوة إلى امتلاكها وبمختلف الوسائل حتى لو كان ذلك بإبادة السكان وإفنائهم.

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 56)

According to the new PA schoolbooks, Zionist colonization started in 1856, with the establishment of the Mishkenot Shaananim neighborhood (Montifyoriyyah in Arabic) by the Zionist movement (The neighborhood was actually built several years later by the British-Jewish donator Sir Moses Monefiore, but well before the appearance of the Zionist movement):

"Since the establishment by the Zionist movement in 1856 of its first settlement [*mustawtanah*] known by the name Montefioriyyah south-west of the Jerusalem city wall, the series of actions for the fragmentation of Palestine has not stopped. It [the Zionist movement] established settlements that included training camps and weapon arsenals, and after the 1948 Catastrophe [*Nakbah*] it ruled over more than 78% of

Palestine's area. Over 850 thousand Palestinians were forced to emigrate and they and their families have lived in refugee camps in Palestine and in the Diaspora. Nothing was left of it [Palestine], except for the Gaza Strip and the West Bank that were occupied [as well] in 1967."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 10)

The meaning of all this - the very presence of Jews in the country constitutes an existential danger for the Palestinians there. The conclusion drawn from that - defense of the Palestinians' existence in the land necessitates that they fight against the Jews' presence there, with immediate negative implications as far as the chances for a future peace between the two peoples are concerned.

Alongside the scientific tone, there are also literary images. In a story titled "the Nest" two sparrows build a nest and then, "a strong bird came and drove away the two birds after [they had shown] fierce resistance. The aggressive bird was happy. It spread its wings arrogantly... Thus the aggressive bird slept every night in the nest without paying attention to the two sparrows that looked at it from afar..." Later, the occupying bird has gone and among the possible explanations: "the two sparrows killed the bird because of its oppressive occupation... or it has left it [the nest] with no return because it did not feel affinity to it..." (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2015) pp. 12, 13)

The birds' war motif reappears in grade 10:

"The hawks returned from their daily travel of looking for food and found out that the vultures had already seized their nests and expelled their chicks from them. The hawks asked for an explanation and the leader of the vultures then announced that they had decided to settle in this mountain and asked the hawks to look for another place for themselves... the eyes of the hawks' leader flashed out of astonishment and he said: 'But this is our homeland!'" At the end of the story the Hawks retrieve their nests and the vultures leave. (*Reading and Texts*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2015) pp. 21-24. The quoted piece appears on p. 21)

The story of the usurpation of Palestine is inserted within this framework. It begins with the first organized Jewish immigration to the country in 1882 and reaches its peak in the war of 1948:

"The first group of Jewish settlers came to Palestine from Russia in 1882, and the second group was in 1905. The coming of the Jewish throngs to Palestine continued until 1948 and their goal was taking control of the Palestinian lands and then taking the original inhabitants' place after having them expelled or exterminated [*ba'da tardihem aw ibadatihem*]. That caused the appearance of the Palestinian problem, which is the problem of the Palestinian people that has been subjected to an operation of invasion and expulsion and was supposed to disappear or submit to invasion and oppression. But contrary to all expectations, it has neither disappeared nor submitted to invasion and oppression. It has continued resisting the settlers in order to stress the legality of its presence on this land."
(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 20)

"The struggle against the [British] Mandate and Zionism continued until the Disaster [*Nakbah*] took place on May 15, 1948. The Palestine war ended in holocaust

[*karithah*] unprecedented in history: The Zionist gangs usurped Palestine, expelled its people from their cities and villages, destroyed more than five-hundred villages and cities and established what is named the State of Israel."

(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique, Grade 12 (2014) p. 69*)

"The poet expresses in the poem the Disaster [*Nakbah*] that took place in 1948, when the Jews occupied Palestine, established their state upon its soil, expelled the Palestinian people into exile and to the neighboring countries after having tortured it, perpetrated massacres against it and robbed it of its land, homes and holy places."

(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique, Grade 12 (2014) p. 75*, and see the question on p. 76: "The poet talks in the first part [of the poem] about the suffering of the Palestinian people as a result of the Zionist occupation of its homeland. I will expound the manifestations of this suffering.")

"...The story 'the Land of the Sad Orange' by Ghassan Kanafani, in which he described the tragedy of the Palestinian people, its dispersal, its refugee camps, its resistance to occupation and its dream of liberation and independence."

(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique, Grade 12 (2014) p. 84*)

This motif of occupation and Palestinian resistance to it reappears again and again, and its beginning is sometimes predated to 1917:

"Important events experienced by the Palestinian society in modern times:

Year Event

1917 British occupation

1948 The *Nakbah* (dispersal of the Palestinians)

1967 Occupation of the rest of Palestine (the West Bank and the Gaza Strip)

1987 The first *Intifadah*

1994 Entrance of the Palestinian Authority (to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip)

2000 The second *Intifadah* (*Intifadat al-Aqsa*)"

أحداث مهمة تعرّض لها المجتمع الفلسطيني في العصر الحديث

العام	الحدث
١٩١٧ م	الاحتلال البريطاني
١٩٤٨ م	النكبة (تشريد الفلسطينيين)
١٩٦٧ م	احتلال بقية فلسطين (الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة)
١٩٨٧ م	الانتفاضة الأولى
١٩٩٤ م	دخول السلطة الوطنية (في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة)
٢٠٠٠ م	الانتفاضة الثانية (انتفاضة الأقصى)

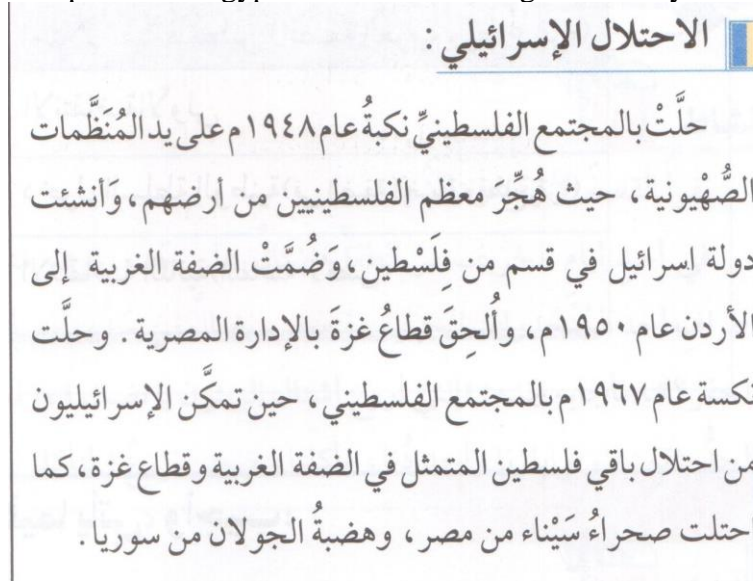
(National Education, Grade 5 (2014) p. 29)

"British occupation

The Palestinian society fell in 1917 under the British occupation that lasted until the Israeli occupation in 1948.

Israeli occupation

The Disaster [Nakbah] of 1948 by the Zionist organizations hit the Palestinian society, as most Palestinians were made to emigrate from their lands and the State of Israel was established on part of Palestine. The West Bank was annexed to Jordan in 1950 and the Gaza Strip was put under Egyptian administration. The set-back [Naksah] of 1967 hit the Palestinian society, as the Israelis managed to occupy the rest of Palestine - 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 (2013) p. 30)

"In 1948 the British Mandate forces withdrew from Palestine having facilitated the handing over of the country to the Jews, except for the West Bank that was attached to Jordan and the Gaza Strip that was put under Egyptian administration. In 1967 the Israelis managed to occupy the [West] Bank and the Gaza Strip. In 1994 the Palestinian National Authority entered parts of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip."

(National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 5)

"...By that [the 1948 war] Palestine came to be consisting of three parts:

The first part: was ruled by the Jews who established there the State of Israel... 77.4% of Palestine's territory.

The second part: the West Bank that was later annexed to Jordan... 20.3% of Palestine's territory.

The third part: the Gaza Strip that came under Egyptian administration... 2.3% [of Palestine's territory]."

(Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014) p. 56)

"King Abdullah son of Hussein [the first] annexed in 1951 to his kingdom the territories located in the west bank of River Jordan, following the defeat of the Arab

armies in the Palestine war in 1948. They remained [annexed] until they fell in the hands of Zionist occupation in 1967."

(Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014) p. 44)

We see that the occupation of Palestine by the Jews, according to the PA schoolbooks, took place in 1948 and not in 1967. The 1967 occupation was just "the worsening of the tragedy":

"The Disaster [*al-Nakbah*] took place in the forty-eighth year of the twentieth century."

(Linguistic Sciences, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 59)

"On June 5, 1967 the tragedy was worsened as the Zionist entity occupied what was left of Palestine: the West Bank and the Gaza Strip."

(Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique, Grade 12 (2014) p. 69)

And there are more expressions emphasizing that. For instance, the discussion of the establishment of the PLO in 1964 - three years before the Six-Day War and the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip - in order to liberate occupied Palestine, namely, Israel's territories before 1967:

"The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was established in Jerusalem in 1964 in order to serve as leadership for the Palestinian Arab people, guide it and mobilize the resources for its struggle for the realization of its aspirations to liberate its homeland and regain its rights it had lost since being hit by the 1948 Disaster [*Nakbah*]."

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2015) p. 65)

"During the convention of the first Palestinian conference in Jerusalem on May 28, 1964 [then under Jordanian rule] the Palestine Liberation Organization was established." And among the questions: "1. When was the Palestine Liberation Organization established? 2. Let us expound the goal of its establishment."

(National Education, Grade 6 (2014) p. 20)

Additional expressions viewing Israel in its pre-1967 borders as an occupying entity:

"The occupation authorities arrested the poet Mahmud Darwish several times beginning in 1961."

(Reading and Texts, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 58)

"Tawfiq Zayyad is a Palestinian poet who was born in the city of Nazareth... The poet suffered a lot in the occupation's jails as a result of his steadfastness in his homeland. The text [titled] 'Nocturnal Conversation in Jail' is considered an example of the [Palestinian literary genre called] 'Jail Literature'. The poet wrote it in 1958... when he was detained... following a demonstration that collided with the police of the military government..."

(Reading and Texts, Grade 10, Part 1 (2015) p. 48)

The students are made to take a stand against the perceived usurpation by way of assignments and exercises:

"No [waiver] of our right over Palestine."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 2 (2014) p. 26)

In a certain language exercise the student is requested to answer by "Yes" or "No" several questions, including the following one:

"Usurpation of a homeland and violation of the rights of others are legally permitted acts."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2015) p. 69)

In an expression exercise the student is requested to write sentences in exclamation mode. Among the objects he/she is requested to describe in this mode - "the occupation's ugliness", i.e., writing the sentence "how ugly the occupation is!" using the Arabic grammatical rules that apply to this mode (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 13).

The occupation has indeed faced resistance:

"The Palestinian People resisted British rule and Israeli occupation, led several revolts and sacrificed thousands of martyrs and wounded persons."

(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 12)

"The Palestinians have resisted occupation and oppression [for] many decades until they have become a model of resistance [in general]."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 20)

"The little hero struck the occupier with a stone and hit him."

(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) p. 62)

"The Palestinian people is leading a struggle for freedom."

(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique*, Grade 12 (2014) p. 11)

Freedom appears as one of Palestinian society's values:

"The Palestinian people believes in freedom and works for its achievement by resisting the occupation and by acting to put an end to it."

(*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014) p. 43, and see on p. 42 an illustration of men, women and children in a demonstration in which they carry Palestinian flags and banners with the slogan "Free Palestine", "Yes to Unity")

And the newly published *National Education* schoolbooks for grades 3 and 4 play a role within the struggle for liberation from the occupation, as declared in their preface:

"This book intends to build and strengthen the set of values and nationalism among the younger generation of our sons, the students, so that it would [be able to] accompany the political, economic, social, cultural and technological changes and confront the various challenges imposed by the occupation that lies upon our land and uses various means in order to continue its hegemony and control over our fate and resources and put an end to all the local, regional and international efforts aiming at the liberation, construction and establishment of the Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital..."

جاء هذا الكتاب لبناء المنظومة القيمية والوطنية وتعزيزها لدى الناشئة من أبنائنا الطلبة لتواكب المتغيرات السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية والثقافية والتكنولوجية، وتواجه التحديات المختلفة التي يفرضها الاحتلال الجاثم على أرضنا، باستخدامه وسائل مختلفة تهدف إلى استمرار هيمنة وسيطرته على مقدراتنا وثرواتنا، وتقويض كل المحاولات الوطنية والإقليمية والدولية الرامية إلى التحرر والبناء وإقامة الدولة الفلسطينية وعاصمتها القدس.

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Parts 1&2 (2016) p. IV [unnumbered] and also in *National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Parts 1&2 (2016) p. IV [unnumbered])¹¹

Palestinian art as well has a role in the struggle against occupation:

"Our country Palestine has been blessed by having a large number of artists... The picture, the placard, the statue and the word... have all traveled around the world conveying our cause to the whole universe, as well as the suffering of our people that is chained by the occupation's shackles, and [thus,] the artist has contributed to unveiling this suffering..."

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2014) p. 35, and see the question on p. 37: "How has the Palestinian artist used his art to express his cause?")

A poetic expression in this respect by the late Palestinian national poet Mahmud Darwish: "Why is the green orange grove being dragged to jail, to exile, to the harbor?" (*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 44).

And hope is expressed for ending the occupation and for liberation:

"The colonialist [*musta'mir*] will go away humiliated from our country."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 81)

"Patience, O Palestinians, patience; The Palestinian people has resolved to liberate its land."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 65)

"We, upon this blessed land, are in our journey to liberate our land from the usurping occupier..."

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 108)

"Palestine will be freed by its men and women, its young and old people."

(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 25)

"What is the way to liberating Palestine?"

(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 99)

A verse written by the Arab Israeli poet Samih al-Qassem as a language exercise:

"Armies like you attacked here, armies before you fled from here"

(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 14)

¹¹ The authors of the PA schoolbooks had refrained from using strong nationalist expressions of this kind in the prefaces to the books that were issued before 2016. This change in tone indicates a new approach in this regard.

The rest of the Arabs express their solidarity with the Palestinian people in its struggle:

"The Arabs have agreed among themselves to support Palestine."
(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) p. 47)

Alongside the pan-Arab national solidarity with the Palestinian struggle against occupation there appears as well the Islamic religious sentiment, which has a role too in the creation of solidarity by all Muslims with the Palestinians. This matter is emphasized in the books much more than the solidarity on the Arab national basis.

Following is an excerpt taken from a poem titled "Good Morning, O my homeland":

"...Good morning, O my homeland
A morning of Al-Aqsa Mosque, a lofty prisoner, which is still [like that]
The shackles have not broken its pride
Its minarets call me: 'Your absence has lasted a long time'
They cry out to me: 'Come, come'..."
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 10)

Among the questions accompanying this poem is this one:

"What is Al-Aqsa Mosque asking from its sons?"
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 11)

"Will... the Muslims around the world... hurry to help Al-Aqsa Mosque and its people, to liberate it from the usurpers?"
(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 122, and see the question on p. 124: "Whose responsibility is the liberation of Al-Aqsa Mosque?")

"It is unbecoming that all Muslims worldwide will neglect the liberation of Al-Aqsa Mosque, because it is the second mosque that was built on earth [according to Muslim belief, Adam built the mosque in Mecca and forty years later - the mosque in Jerusalem], the Muslim first direction of prayer [to be changed later to Mecca] and the third [in holiness] after the two holy places [in Mecca and Medina]. Its liberation is the responsibility of all Muslims and we will all be asked about that [on the Day of Judgment]."
(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) pp. 141-142, and see the question on p. 142: "I will explain when [in the past] Al-Aqsa Mosque fell under occupation and who liberated it.")

A verse taken from a poem:

"Al-Buraq [Islamic name of the Wailing Wall] is rising from the blood..."
(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique*, Grade 12 (2014) p. 73)

"The Muslims' hearts all over the world are attached to Palestine and they aspire to its liberation..."
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2014) p. 75)

Islam has encouraged the love of the homeland and established its defense as an obligation of every Muslim, even if only an inch thereof has been usurped. I am a Palestinian Muslim who loves my country Palestine, and at the same time regards any Arab and Muslim land as part of my greater homeland which I love, respect and aspire to its unity... Islam has established the defense of the homeland as a religious obligation and regarded anyone who has been killed in its defense as a martyr of the highest ranking."

(Islamic Education, Grade 6, Part 1 (2015) p. 68)

"Imagine the Muslim world becoming one state. What will then be Palestine's situation?"

(Islamic Education, Grade 6, Part 1 (2015) p. 70)

"[Assignment:] I will explain the Muslims' duty vis-à-vis their brethren who face occupation and aggression on the part of the enemies."

(Islamic Education, Grade 7, Part 2 (2015) p. 38)

Beyond the Muslim states, the Non-Aligned Block expresses its solidarity too with the Palestinians:

"[One] of the resolutions of the Havana Summit, 1979:

The conference has stressed anew that the Zionist occupation and the usurpation of Palestine and of her people's rights constitute the heart of the conflict in the Middle East, which makes it impossible to solve as long as the Palestinian people does not realize its unchangeable national rights, including the right of return, the right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in Palestine."
(History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth century, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 61. Among the issues to be explained by the student: "The position of the Non-Alignment movement regarding the Palestinian cause.")

And internationally:

"Resistance to oppression and occupation is guaranteed under international law. I will discuss this statement in light of our reality in Palestine."

(Reading and Texts, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 51)

"The problem of Palestine has become the problem of the whole world."

(Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2015) p. 70)

"The Imperialists [*al-Musta'mirun*] used to say in the past: 'We occupy the others' land and the world's peoples in order to teach them culture!' Today, no one says that and no one contests the peoples' right to freedom and independence. Yet, there is always someone who would act in order to deny the peoples of this right, but his efforts will always fail! We see in most world capitals enormous demonstrations demanding the end of occupation and the removal of hegemony from over the oppressed peoples around the world. People all over the world unite in order to achieve freedom for the peoples.

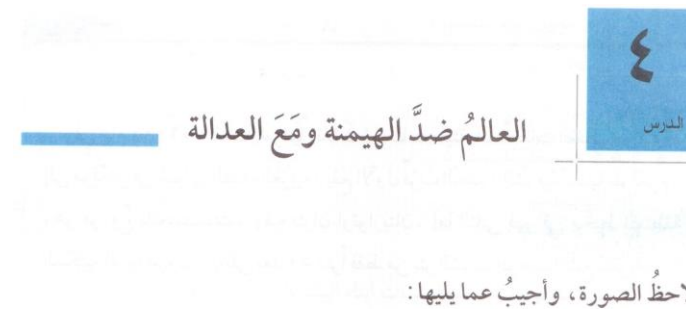
There is no nation in the world that has not defended and struggled for its independence and its homeland's freedom while constantly calling for justice. The

Palestinian people has united and built its first national institutions since it started to defend its homeland against the British Mandate and later [against] Israeli occupation. The values of freedom, independence and justice unite the world's nations against oppression and suppression. Most international covenants include the nations' right to self-determination and resistance to occupation."

(Civics, Grade 6 (2015) p. 57, and see the question on p. 58: "The world opposes seizure and occupation, and the Palestinian problem is a good example. What does it mean to us, Palestinians, that the world expresses solidarity with our just cause?")

"Lesson 4: The world is against hegemony and for justice

I will examine the picture and answer the following: What is expressed by the participation of foreigners in the demonstrations?



ماذا تمثل مشاركة الأجانب في هذه المسيرات؟

(Civics, Grade 6 (2015) p. 56)

"The Palestinian problem at the UN

The Palestinian problem constitutes one of the political problems influencing the international arena and its solution will contribute to stability on the regional and international levels. [The issue of] the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict has entered the international circles through a number of resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly and never implemented. In spite of the adoption of these resolutions Israel has continued its policy which is based on expansion, control of the Palestinian land and the establishment of settlements there.

[In a separate information box:] Among the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly regarding the Palestinian problem is the Palestine partition resolution No. 181 of 1947 that determined the establishment of two states, one Arab and one Jewish, on Palestine's soil and the adopted resolution No. 194 that established the Palestinian refugees' right of return and compensation. Later, the Security Council resolution No. 242 was adopted, which determines Israel's withdrawal from the Palestinian territories it had occupied in 1967.¹²

The Oslo agreement was signed between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel in 1993 regarding the establishment of an autonomous Palestinian authority for a transitional period and, later, negotiating on the issues of the final settlement - the borders, the settlements, the refugees, Jerusalem, water, and security arrangements - during a maximal period of five years. But the negotiations between the two parties reached a dead end due to the procrastination [*mumatalah*] policy pursued by Israel, which brought about the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa *Intifadah* in 2000 and its ramifications, such as the re-occupation by Israel of the West Bank and the... withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in 2005 as a unilateral move. The United States presented its plan, known as 'the Road Map', to solve the conflict between the two parties, in which it called for ending the violence and returning to the negotiation table to be ended with the establishment of the Palestinian state until 2005. A new series of negotiations started between the two parties, which lasted until the end of 2010, but it faced the same fate that had prevailed following the agreements in the wake of [the] Oslo [Accords].

[Assignment:] Let us discuss: There are many international problems that were solved by means of international resolutions and negotiations, but the solution of the Palestinian problem still fails."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 25)

"...The procrastination policy pursued by Israel during the negotiations for peace with the Palestinians, which led to their failure and [made it] last over two decades without reaching an agreement on the issues of the final situation."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 27)

In the context of the international plans to solve the conflict, the establishment of the Palestinian state on the territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is sometimes mentioned. For example, in the following piece it is mentioned as part of a statement by the Arab League on this subject. It should be noted that the restriction of the territory of the future Palestinian state to these territories alone is never discussed by the schoolbooks. It is mentioned only within the framework of resolutions on the international level and never as a Palestinian goal.

"Supporting the Palestinian people's right to establish its independent state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip."

(*National Education*, Grade 5 (2014) p. 40)

The PA schoolbooks regard the establishment of the PA, following the Oslo Accords, and the entrance of the PLO forces into the PA territory as the beginning of the move towards Palestine's liberation:

¹² The said resolution did not mention the term "Palestinian" in this context.

"The establishment of the independent Palestinian entity in the liberated Palestinian territories."

(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 21)

"After the signing of the Oslo agreement between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel in September 1993, most forces of the Palestinian Liberation Army entered Palestine."

(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 21)

The same book features in this context two photographs. The first one shows women hugging a man in the midst of a crowd in the presence of media people under the title: "A liberated prisoner-of-war [*asir* in Arabic]". The other photograph shows army forces in a parade under the title: "The Palestinian forces returning to the liberated soil of Palestine." One of the questions says:

"What is the feeling of a citizen after the liberation of himself and of his homeland from the colonialists [*musta'mirin*]?"

The PA schoolbooks regard the territory under the control of the Palestinian Authority as a state to all intents and purposes, ignoring the fact that the PA is considered legally an autonomous government under the control of the IDF, which is the legal sovereign on the ground. The clearest expression of that attitude is the inscription appearing on the cover and title page of each book that reads "State of Palestine - Ministry of education and Higher Education [*Dawlat Filastin - Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa al-Ta'lim al-Aly*]":



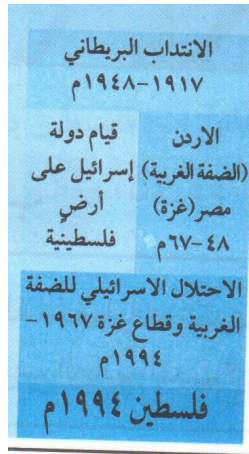
(The example given here: *History of the Ancient Civilizations*, Grade 5 (2014) front cover)



(The example given here: *National Education, Grade 5 (2014)* title page)

And there are textual examples as well. For instance, Palestine is mentioned, alongside China and Japan, as a state in the Asian continent (*Physical Geography, Grade 5 (2014)* p. 29); the PA administration is presented as the administration of "the State of Palestine" (*National Education, Grade 6 (2014)* p. 37); another book mentions the need to develop Palestinian tourism industry by touristic publications and agreements for tourist exchange between "the Palestinian state and other states" (*National Education, Grade 7 (2013)* p. 84); there is "mutual benefit between the Palestinian state and the other states" in commerce (*Geography of Palestine, Grade 7 (2014)* p. 75). One of the books presents an official request form for identity card of the State of Palestine (*Reading and Texts, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015)* p. 70) and for a Palestinian passport (*Reading and Texts, Grade 10, Part 2 (2015)* p. 32); in a table showing the population growth in states of the Arab world, Palestine appears too (*Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9 (2015)* p. 38); Palestine is mentioned as a state alongside other Arab ones (*Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014)* p. 72). The number of inhabitants in both Palestine and Lebanon are given with the following question: "What is the total number of inhabitants in the two states together?" (*Mathematics, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016)* p. 41).

Finally, in a historical timetable the Israeli occupation of Palestine ends in 1994, with the appearance of Palestine:



(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 3; *History of the Middle Ages*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 74)

This attitude apparently stems from the Palestinian Declaration of Independence by the PLO in Algiers in November 1988, as the establishment of the Palestinian Authority by virtue of the Oslo Accords is considered an implementation of that declaration that mentioned the "State of Palestine". The declaration is discussed in *National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 30, and its text appears in full in *Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) pp. 39-40. Following is the relevant excerpt:

"By virtue of the Palestinian Arab people's natural, historical and legal right to its homeland Palestine, [by virtue] of the sacrifices made by its consecutive generations in defense of their homeland's freedom and independence, on the basis of the resolutions by the Arab Summit conferences, by virtue of international legitimacy expressed in the United Nations resolutions beginning in 1947, and in exercise of the Palestinian Arab people's right to self determination, political freedom and sovereignty over its land - the [Palestinian] National Council hereby declares, in the name of God and in the name of the Palestinian Arab people, the establishment of the State of Palestine upon our Palestinian soil, with Jerusalem as its capital..."
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 39)

Yet, further on in the said declaration, the State of Palestine calls upon the Arabs: "...to assist it in accomplishing its actual birth, by concentrating the resources and strengthening the efforts to put an end to Israeli occupation" and calls upon the world: "to assist it in achieving its goal and put an end to its people's tragedy by... acting to end the occupation of Palestinian territories by Israel" (*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 40)

It should be noted in this context that the declaration does not specify at all where the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel end. Nor does it not include any recognition of the legality of Israel's existence in any part of the country. Also, the commentary on the declaration on the following page in the textbook, which mentions the UN Partition Resolution of 1947 as the basis of the declaration (and see the general reference to that in the declaration itself), says: "The Palestinian National Council, in its nineteenth session in Algiers in November 1988, presented a peace proposal based on Resolution No. 181 known as the Partition Resolution, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly on November 29, 1947, and which stipulated the establishment of an independent Palestinian state" (*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p.

41). In other words: The textbook ignores the fact that the said resolution did not mention at all the establishment of a Palestinian state, but, rather, the establishment of two states in Palestine: one Arab and one Jewish.

The PA, and, formerly, the PLO, was accepted as a member in various international organizations. Its attempt in 2011 to become a full member of the UN was failed by the Security Council, but was successful at the General Assembly a year later, as it became an observer (and see the details in *Contemporary Issues*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) pp. 26-29).

Summing up this point in a book published in 2016:

"Our state Palestine is on its way to complete independence. Some of the manifestations of Palestine's independence are: the existence of a flag, president, capital, legislative council (parliament), a Palestinian army, passport, ministries and a specific coin of its own [sic]."

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 40)

The Refugee Problem

"The number of Palestinians inside and outside of Palestine has reached at the end of 2016 about 12.7 million. The Palestinian refugees constitute about 5.6 million and they are officially registered by UNRWA. That is, about half of the Palestinians are refugees."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017) pp. 37-38)

1. The cause of the refugee problem:

It should be noted that rarely do the authors of the schoolbooks admit that the 1948 war, during which the refugee problem was created, broke out at the Palestinians' initiative, with the encouragement of the Arab states that later joined the war themselves, in defiance of the UN partition Resolution:

"...The Palestinian resistance following the resolution to partition Palestine into an Arab state and a Jewish one. This resolution was adopted by the United Nations on November 29, 1947..."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 21, and see the Partition map on p. 22 under the title "Map of the partition of Palestine according to the 1947 UN Resolution". Indicated on the map are: "the Arab State", "the Jewish State", "the International Region of Jerusalem".)

It is usually said in the PA schoolbooks that "a war broke out", or not even that:

"The UN adopted in 1947 a resolution to partition Palestine between Arabs and Jews. Accordingly, the British Mandate over Palestine ended and the Mandate government withdrew. Then, war broke out [*qamat al-harb*] between the Arabs and the Jews in 1948, which ended with the Jews having taken over part of Palestine and with the occurrence of the Disaster [*al-Nakbah*] which forced most of the Palestinian people to emigrate."

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

"The 1948 War

The Arab armies were defeated in 1948 and tens of thousands of Palestinians were driven out as refugees to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and a large part of them - outside Palestine..."

(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 56)

"The Palestinians showed the most wonderful example of fraternity and mutual responsibility when the refugees were forced to emigrate from their land and homes in 1948 and were helped by their brethren in Palestine and the other Arab countries who shared with them their residence and bread."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2014) p. 78)

The only exception is a history textbook for grade 11 that says explicitly:

"The Arab League decided that the [UN] partition resolution is null and void [*batef*] and should be abrogated. Also, the Palestinian people should be assisted. The Palestinians rejected the partition resolution and [their] resistance increased under the leadership of the 'Holy Jihad' forces commanded by Abd al-Qader al-Husseini, and the '[Arab] Salvation Army [*Jaysh al-Inqadh*]' that was composed of volunteers from the neighboring Arab states under the command of Fawzi al-Qawuqji."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 25)

"The Arab governments decided to send their forces into Palestine in order to support the Palestinian people in defense of its land and to prevent the establishment of a Jewish state on it."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 29)

"...the partition which was rejected by the Arabs who unanimously agreed to oppose and overthrow it, even by force."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 31)

2. The expulsion

"...Forcing the Palestinian people to emigrate from its native home [*mawtin*] in 1948..."

(*Mathematics*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016) p. 23)

"The Palestinian people was expelled from its land as a result of the Israeli occupation of Palestine, suffered massacres and was forced to emigrate to the neighboring countries."

(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 12)

"Forcing the Palestinians to emigrate in 1948 and 1967 has brought about a decrease in the number of Palestine's inhabitants and an increase of the number of inhabitants in the Arab states to which they were forced to emigrate, such as Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. Also, the immigration of Jews from [various] countries of the world to Palestine brought about an increase in their number there."

(*Human Geography*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 21, and see the related questions on p. 23)

"The Palestine war brought about the emigration of a large number of Palestinians outside of their homeland."

(*Human Geography*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 22)

"The Palestinians had to suffer, in the wake of the 1948 and 1967 wars, forced emigration to many Arab states, such as Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, and to other states as well."

(*Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 43, and see the related question on p. 44)

"Forcing over a million Palestinians to emigrate from their country in the wake of the 1948 and 1967 wars."

(*Geography of the Arab Homeland*, Grade 9 (2015) p. 40, and see the assignment on p. 41: "I will write a short report on the reasons for the forced emigrations of the Palestinian people, and their impact on Palestinian society.")

"Under the impact of these battles [in 1948] the Zionist terror organizations forced thousands of Palestinians to emigrate from their country under the threat of arms, which brought about the emergence of the refugee problem."

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

"The 1948 war (*Nakbah*) brought about the forced emigration of over 800 thousand Palestinians from their places of residence, out of a million and four hundred who were living in the territories occupied by the Zionists, and the destruction of more than 531 Palestinian cities and villages. The Zionists perpetrated 34 massacres during the war and resorted to terrorizing and frightening the inhabitants with a view to causing them to depart. The Zionist gangs forced some of them to leave and transported them by buses beyond the border."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017) p. 37)

"In order to empty Palestine of its inhabitants, the Zionist gangs perpetrated since 1948 many massacres against the Palestinian villages and forced their inhabitants to emigrate, as happened to the village of Lubiya in the district of Tiberias that was erased from the map, to the village of Tantura in the Haifa district and to the village of Deir Yassin in the Jerusalem district where the Zionist perpetrated an ugly massacre that contributed greatly to the terrorization of the inhabitants and to their forced emigration."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2017) p. 36)

An assignment:

"Let us discuss:

- A. the goal behind forcing the Palestinians to emigrate
- B. The means used in order to force the Palestinians to emigrate."

(*Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 51)

"The Zionist forces used various means in order to empty the Palestinian territories of their original inhabitants, including psychological warfare through the "Haganah" [organization]'s radio station that spread rumors, and acts of murder perpetrated

against the inhabitants of some of the cities and villages, as happened in Deir Yassin, Tantura, Lydda and other places, which caused the dispersion of about a million Palestinians to areas inside and outside Palestine, including the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq and various places around the world." (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 32, and see the question on p. 35: "Let us discuss: The impact of the psychological warfare waged by the Jews against the Palestinians.")

"Wars too influence the distribution of the inhabitants and force them to emigrate from one area to another, as happened in Palestine following the Disaster [*Nakbah*], when thousands of Palestinians were forced to live in overpopulated camps in what was left of Palestine and in the neighboring Arab states."

(*Physical and Human Geography*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 42)

A textbook for grade 12 puts the Palestinian refugee problem in the category of ethnic cleansing:

"Ethnic cleansing causes in many cases the creation of political problems of which the solution is difficult in the long run, because it prevents the expelled groups from returning to their homeland, as is the case of the Palestinian refugees."

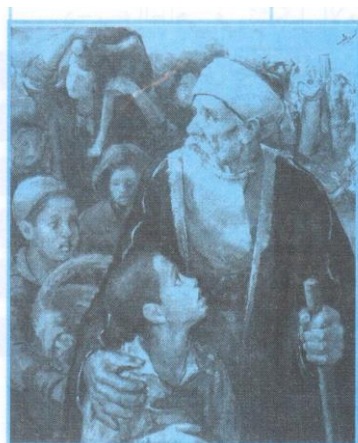
(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 94)

There are also artistic expressions of this issue, such as the poem saying:

"We have left Haifa with the intention to return and God is the [only] one who knows what will become of us."

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 39)

And the following picture by the Palestinian artist Ismail Shammut that describes the exodus of the refugees in 1948:



لوحة للفنان الفلسطيني
إسماعيل شموط

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2014) p. 35)

The refugee issue also appears within literary pieces in the lower grades. Following is a story titled "Hasanah's Doll":

"Hajjah Hasanah sat in the refugee camp Ein al-Hilwah in Lebanon with her grandchildren around her. Her grandson Mahmud said to her: 'Tell us about the *Nakbah*, O grandma.' Then, a tear dropped from her eye and she said: 'I was nine years old and it was springtime. I went with my girlfriends to a nice orchard in Jaffa and when we were tired of playing we sat under a big orange tree and my friend Fatmah said: 'Let us make a doll of cloth.' When we were making the doll we heard [the sound of] many explosions made by the Zionist gangs during their attack on the city and we heard shouting [coming] from all places. Our family members came looking for us and my father dragged me fast. I started crying: 'Daddy, Daddy, my doll, my doll', but my father hurried with me to the eastern side of the city. He brought us here and it has never occurred to me that our stay in exile would last that much. I am still waiting for the day on which I will return to complete the creation of the doll under the orange tree. God willing, we shall return, even if after a long time.'" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 56, and see the questions on p. 57: "2. Why did Hajjah Hasanah not lose the hope of returning? 3. How can we realize the dream of the return?" In an assignment on p. 60 the student is required to copy a sentence saying: "I am still waiting for the day on which I will return.")

The 2017 edition of this book adds illustrations related to the story, including the two following ones (p. 55).



Another story is accompanied by an illustration of a grandfather with his granddaughter in front of an open box with documents:

"Sana' entered her grandfather's room who lives in the Yarmuk refugee camp in Syria and found a box in front of him. She asked him: 'What is this box, O grandpa?' Grandfather: 'This is a box where I keep items dear to my heart.' Sana': 'And what are these items, O grandpa?' Grandfather: 'This is the key to our house in Jaffa.' Sana': 'And why did you leave Jaffa, O grandpa?' Grandfather: 'We lived in Jaffa peacefully, but the Zionist occupier besieged us, killed many of us and expelled us from our land. So, we went out carrying few things of ours and went on foot long distances.' Sana': 'And what happened next?' Grandfather: 'We arrived here, where tents were built for us to live in with the hope of returning to our homes. When our expectation stretched longer, we moved to narrow and crowded houses with their roofs made of zinc. They were called refugee camps, and we still [live] in them to this day.' Sana': 'When did it happen, O grandpa?' Grandfather: 'It happened in 1948, which is the year of the Disaster [*Nakbah*] of the Palestinian people.'" Sana': 'I see old papers in the box.' Grandfather: 'These are the papers [attesting to] our ownership of our land and home in Jaffa, and we shall return to them, God willing.'" (*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) pp. 31-32, and see the question on p. 33: "What is indicated by Grandfather and Sana's keeping of the key to their house in the box?")

The book says further on:

"I have learned: The Palestinians were forced to leave their cities and villages in Palestine in 1948 because of their oppression and the killing of many of them by the Zionist occupier. They moved to live in refugee camps and they are still there. The Palestinians who were expelled from their land are called refugees and they still keep the keys to their houses and the papers attesting to their ownership of their lands and houses from which they were forced to emigrate, and they have the right to return to them."

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 33)

The 2017 schoolbooks intensify the tone of this issue by presenting more graphic descriptions:

"I will not forget the date whose events inflicted pain on my heart... Savage Zionist gangs that came from a foreign world full of hostility and hatred to Arabs and Palestinians invaded it [the land] without permission... Convoys of people moved eastwards leaving their houses and looking for safety in view of massacres that were perpetrated savagely against them and in view of events [the news of which] were passed over from one's mouth to another's ear [telling] about the destruction of villages upon their owners' heads. There were among them those ones whose mothers forgot them because they were too frightened and too panic-stricken, those ones who fell as martyrs on the way, and those ones from whom news have stopped coming and they became missing. Whenever I recall their crying my heart is shaken... and whenever I recall their pale faces and their looking back to their houses in farewell, the foundations of my soul are shaken."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 9, PART 1(2017) P. 23)

"I sit every morning here, at the camp's gate, living [through] my memories that have never left me for years. They come to me every day, take me by the hand there, to Safed. I find myself standing in front of my house's doorstep, entrusting in God's hands everything in it until my return. My sojourn in exile will not be long – so I was told. I left everything I loved inside my house, closed its door, put the key in my pocket and carried my memories with me. I left Safed against my will with my heart full of panic, bewilderment and pain.

I left behind my friends' corpses and my neighbors' body parts. I could not burry them, since everyone was running with fear covering the faces and pain squeezing the hearts while we were moving hurriedly.

I did not know then that I would get older in a house that is not my own and that I would bring my children to the world in a place called 'refugee camp'. I did not know that I would hide my house's key under my pillow for over sixty years. I did not know that the promises would be empty and shrouded with lies."

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

3. The refugees' living conditions and the attitude to their current places of residence

"[Lesson No.] 5 [titled:] "A Refugee in the Camp". One of the lesson's goals: "It is expected from the student at the end of the lesson to be able to recognize the reasons for the existence of the refugee camps." Further down on this page there are two photographs under a title saying: "Activity [No.] 1: Let us observe and discuss" and below them the following assignments: "We will mention the name of the place where the Palestinians gathered after they had been forced to emigrate from their homes; we will describe the Palestinian refugees' suffering when they were forced to emigrate."

نشاط (١): نلاحظ ونناقش:



- نذكر اسم المكان الذي تجمّع فيه الفلسطينيين بعد تهجيرهم من ديارهم؟

- نصفّ معاناة اللاجئين الفلسطينيين أثناء تهجيرهم.

(*National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 30*)



"The refugees lived under difficult political, economic and social circumstances in the areas they had fled to. They lived in tents provided by the UN and suffered shortage of vital means of existence. That caused the UN to establish on December 8, 1949 the relief and works agency for the Palestinian refugees - UNRWA - that started rendering its services in 1950."

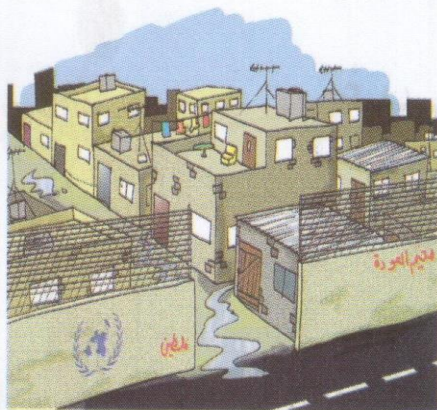
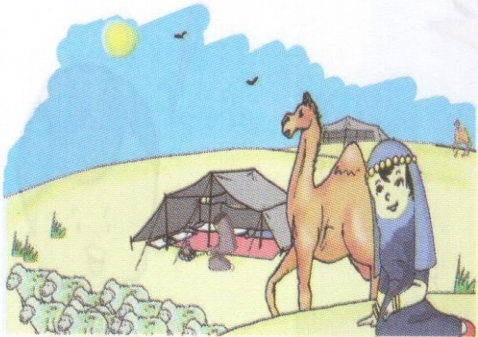
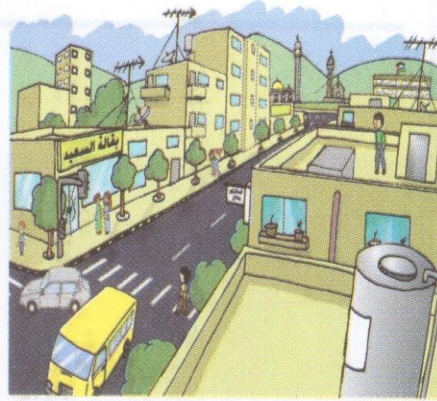
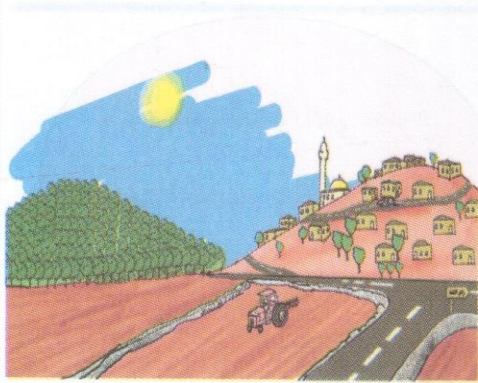
(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 33. The caption under the photographs on that page says: "Pictures of the Palestinian refugees' suffering in 1948.")

A poem expressing solidarity with the refugees' suffering by the Israeli-Arab poet Hussein Muhanna:

"When I come home in the evening my wife meets me with a smile... I take her in my arms and hug her... sailing in her green eyes, but... my eyes see the eyes of a refugee woman from my wandering people who waits in frantic motherly anxiety for the return of the missing ones."

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2015) p. 28, and see the language exercise on p. 29: "The Palestinian refugee woman in the third part [of the poem] waits for the return of the missing ones who were forced to emigrate from their homeland.")

The refugee camp is one out of four forms of settlement in Palestinian society, alongside the city, village and the Bedouin encampment, as presented to first grade children. On the camp's wall an inscription reads: "Al-Awdah [Return] Camp, Palestine" and the UNRWA logo appears as well. The sewage flowing on the street appears too:



(*National Education, Grade 1, Part 2 (2015) p. 21*. The theme of the four forms of settlement reappears on pp. 62-63 with a photograph of a refugee camp on p. 63 and in *National Education, Grade 5 (2014) p. 34*. The 4 characteristic photographs are also found in *Human Geography, Grade 6 (2014) p. 43* and in *National and Life Education, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016) p. 37*)

In a lesson titled "Palestine's Refugee Camps" the following definition appears: "The [refugee] camp: A place established for the Palestinian refugees who had been forced to leave their cities and villages in Palestine and are determined to return to them." (*National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 36*)

And again:

"The camps: These are incidental [*tare'ah*] places of residence as a result of the forced emigration of the Palestinian inhabitants from their cities and villages in 1948." (*National Education, Grade 5 (2014) p. 35*)

"The camp is not regarded as the Palestinian refugee's original place of residence. Rather, it is an interim place where he was forced to live. All Palestinians expect the return of every Palestinian to his city or village from which he was forced to emigrate."



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

These refugee camps are found inside and outside Palestine:

"I have learned: The Palestinian refugee camps are found in Palestine and in other Arab states, like the Aqbat Jabr refugee camp in Jericho, the Nahr al-Bared refugee camp in Lebanon, Al-Baq'ah refugee camp in Jordan, and Al-Yarmuk refugee camp in Syria."

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 37, and see on p. 36 the assignment in which the student is required to write the names of the refugee camps in Palestine, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, and another assignment on p. 38 of preparing colored paper signs with the names of the refugee camps of Al-Arub, Jenin (West Bank), Shati (the Gaza Strip) and Al-Yarmuk (Syria))

"Some of the refugee camps of my country [are the following]: Jibalia, Al-Jalazun, Al-Bureij."

من مخيمات بلادي: جباليا، والجلزون، والبريج.

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 50)

Reference to the refugee camp issue is made as well in a mathematics textbook, with non-mathematical questions:

"Deir Ammar and Aqbat Jabr are some of the Palestinian refugee camps. The number of the inhabitants of the Deir Ammar camp reached 2,400. As for the Aqbat Jabr camp, the number of its inhabitants reached 6,736. Answer the following [questions]:

- What is meant by 'refugee camps'?
- When were the camps' inhabitants forced to emigrate from their original homes?
- I will mention the names of other camps.
- What is the total number of the inhabitants of the two camps mentioned above?"

مِنْ مَخِيْمَاتِ اللُّجُوءِ الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّ دَيْرِ عَمَّارٍ وَعَقْبَةِ جَبْرِ، بَلَغَ عَدَدُ سُكَّانِ
مُخَيِّمِ دَيْرِ عَمَّارٍ ٢٤٥٥ نَسَمَةً، أَمَّا مُخَيِّمُ عَقْبَةِ جَبْرِ فَبَلَغَ عَدَدُ سُكَّانِهِ
٦٧٣٦ نَسَمَةً. احْبِبْ عَمَّا يَلِي *:



(ت) مَا الْمَقْصُودُ بِمُخَيِّمَاتِ الْأَجْيَانِ؟

.....

(ث) مَتَى هُجِّرَ سُكَّانُ الْمَخِيْمَاتِ مِنْ بُيُوتِهِمُ الْأَصْلِيَّةِ؟

.....

(ج) اذْكُرْ أَشْمَاءَ مُخَيِّمَاتٍ أُخْرَى.

.....

(د) كَمْ بَلَغَ مَجْمُوعُ سُكَّانِ الْمَخِيْمَاتِ الْمَذْكُورَيْنِ؟

(Mathematics, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 46)

The distressful living conditions of the refugees in the camps are emphasized:

"Activity [No.] 3: Let us observe and draw a conclusion: We will draw a conclusion regarding the difficult living conditions in the Palestinian refugee camps from the two pictures; we will expound the rights of the Palestinian refugee."

نشاط (٣): نُلَاحِظُ وَنَسْتَنْجِحُ:

- نَسْتَنْجِحُ الطُّرُوفَ الصَّعْبَةَ
فِي الْمَخِيْمَاتِ الْفِلَسْطِينِيَّةِ
مِنْ خِلَالِ الصُّوْرَتَيْنِ.

- نُبَيِّنُ حُقُوقَ الْأَجْيَانِ
الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّ.

(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 34)

"I have learned: The living conditions in the camps are difficult because the buildings are crowded and stuck to each other, they are built of loam and are unhealthy, and the alleys are very narrow, which exposes the refugees to harsh conditions."

(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 34)

Under such conditions, the importance of the UN Relief and Works Agency for the Palestinian refugees - UNRWA - increases:

"I have learned: In the Palestinian refugee camps there are schools and clinics supervised by the UN Relief and Works Agency for the Palestinian refugees (UNRWA)."

(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 35)

4. The attitude to the refugees' former places of residence

Contrary to the refugees' places of residence today, their former ones are described as orphaned:

"Beloved Palestine, how will I live
Away from your valleys and heights...
Your orphaned cities call me
Your villages with the domes call me..."

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

"We visited the deserted Palestinian villages.
The village of Asqalan is one of the deserted villages."
(Our beautiful Language, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 37)

"Yazur is one of the destroyed Palestinian villages."
(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 51)

"...The vegetable garden wept after us and the garden has become desolate...
The night's stars no longer attend to [mount] Carmel
Every man has a home, dreams and a lute
But I carry my country's history and stumble
And on every road still [wandering] with unkempt hair and covered with dust"
(Reading and Texts, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 30)

"In the gates of Jaffa, O my beloved ones
In the chaos of the houses' debris
Among the rubble and the thorns
I stood and said to the eyes: O eyes
Stop and let us weep
On the ruins of those who have left and moved away
Which call upon those ones who had built them as home"
(Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique, Grade 12 (2014) p. 71)

Expressions of yearning to family members who did not go to exile are found in a poem titled "A Letter from Exile" by the Palestinian national poet Mahmud Darwish. The poet, who grew up as an Israeli citizen and later left the country and joined the PLO, expresses his yearning to his family members who stayed in the country and mentions the radio programs that conveyed in the 1960s and 1970s greetings beyond the borders (excerpts):

"I tell the radio: 'Tell her [the poet's mother] I am OK...' I heard over the radio that everyone said: 'We are all OK'... I heard over the radio the greetings of the expelled to the expelled. All are OK. But I am sad. Thoughts are almost eating me. The radio has not carried from you [any] news, even a sad one, even a sad one."

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2015) pp. 7-9)

The yearning is also expressed by the deserted places:

"Look, here is Jaffa in the mirror, she will be seen and then will ask about the faces of the missing ones."

(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 62)

It is noteworthy that among the second and third generation of the refugees' descendants it is quite common to relate themselves to their forefathers' places of residence although they themselves were born outside these places. This habit finds its expression in the following question in a mathematics textbook:

"1. The teacher asked his students about their original cities and their answers were as follows [answers of 25 students]. I will arrange the above-given data in a sign-table" The cities appearing in the table are Beer Sheba, Al-Majdal (today's Ashkelon), Isdud (east of today's Ashdod), Lydda, Jaffa.

العدد	الإشارات	اسم البلد
		بئر السبع
		المجدل
		أسدود
		اللد
		يافا

(*Mathematics*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 147)

A question titled "My Homeland Palestine":

"In one of the schools in the refugee camps the teacher asked his students about their original cities and villages. The answer was: 21 students are from Beer Sheba, 7 are from Jaffa, 8 from Majdal, and 5 are from Safed. I will present the details in the following table.

Town's Name	Number of Students

What is the total number of the class' students?

(*Mathematics*, Grade 2, part 2 (2016) p. 106)

5. The notion of the "Right of Return":

The Palestinian refugees' yearning for their former places of residence is not an expression of passive nostalgia, as is usually the case with emigrants throughout history. Rather, it serves as an emotional platform for the notion of the refugees'

"right of return", which is much emphasized in the PA schoolbooks. First and foremost, it is presented as a fundamental principle in the Palestinian draft constitution:

"32. The Palestinian refugee's right to return to his homeland and his forefathers' homeland is one of the natural rights that do not become antiquated and it is not permissible [for others] to dispose of it on his behalf or to assent to depriving him of it."

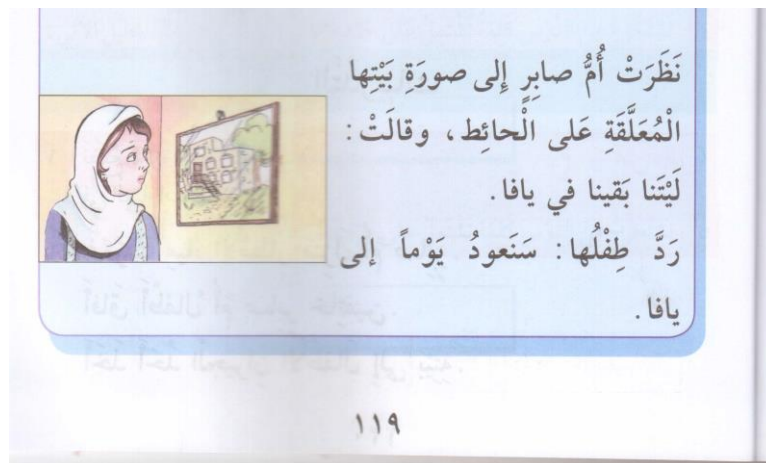
(*Civics*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 46)

And there are many other appearances of this notion in the PA schoolbooks:

"It is the right of the Palestinian refugee to return to his homeland."

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 40)

"Umm Saber looked at the picture of her [former] house that was hanging on the wall and said: 'We should have stayed in Jaffa.' Her son replied: 'We will return to Jaffa one day'."



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2014) p. 119, and there is a question on p. 120: "Where was Umm Saber's family living before the refugee camp?")

"All the birds are returning, pursuing their way
While I - a persisting usurper stands in my way
He always blockades my way
To stop me from returning to my homeland
But I, in spite of my wound, will always continue shouting and calling"
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2015) p. 15)

"O my sister, do not cry over our country, the brown soil is waiting for us"
(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 126)

Following is a verse in a poem titled "I have a land":

"I have sworn: you will return, my homeland, and daylight will come after the night."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2014) p. 16)

Language exercise sentences:

"[The refugee] dreams to return to his homeland."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2015) p. 91)

"The one who had left cried: 'We are returning!'"
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2015) p. 92)

In the following exercise the student is requested to complete sentences by inserting given words. One of the sentences reads:

"The refugees [are returning]."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 29)

A story titled "A homeland that resides within us":

"Yasser and his sister Abir agreed to participate in a journalistic writing contest by writing an essay about Palestine.

Abir: 'What will we write in the essay?'

Yasser: 'We will write about the homeland that resides within us [while] we do not reside there.'

Abir: 'And how would we write about a homeland that we cannot reach?'

Yasser: 'We will ask grandfather and grandmother and the [other] elder people about Acre, Haifa, Jaffa, Safed and other places.'

Abir: 'And we will not forget to express our dream and right to return to our homeland and live there'."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part2 (2016) p. 6)

Questions:

1. "Why couldn't Yasser and Abir reach the homeland?"
2. Why did Yasser and Abir ask grandfather and grandmother about the homeland?"
3. What does it mean: "The homeland that resides within us [while] we do not reside there"?"
4. What is Yasser and Abir's dream?"

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) p. 7)

Some of the sentences within an exercise following that story:

- "My grandfather left Acre in the year of the Disaster [*Nakbah*]."
- Yasser's grandfather was living in the city of Haifa.
- Abir lives in the refugee camp."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) p. 8)

Another sentence in this context in a different exercise:

"Yasser and Abir dream of returning to the homeland."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) p. 11)

And another text reads:

"The expression 'we shall return' repeats itself in the lesson's last paragraph four times. What does it indicate?"

(*Arabic Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 84*)

A repeating motif is the handing over of the key to the abandoned house and its ownership deeds to the younger generation as a trust, in order to guarantee their return. The following example is taken from a mathematics textbook:


"The second lesson: Number components up to 9

[An illustration of a grandfather handing over a key to his grandson and granddaughter]

I see in the picture... The grandfather talks with his grandchildren about... The number of people in the picture... The number of males... The number of females...

الدرس الثاني مكونات الأعداد حتى ٩



أرى في الصورة  يتحدّث الجدُّ مع أحماده عن عدد الأشخاص
في الصورة ، عدد الذكور وعدد الإناث

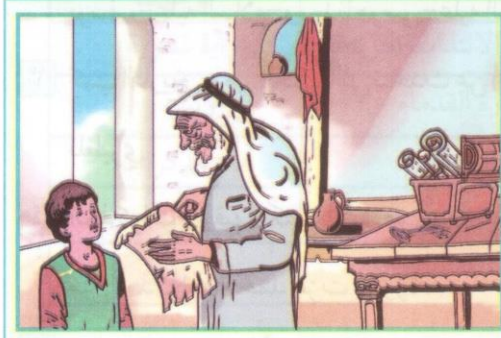
(*Mathematics, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016) p. 67*)

"Jihad: 'What is in the box, O Grandpa?'

Grandfather: 'Papers (deeds) of the land owned by us in the Coastal Plain, which is registered in the official land ownership registers at the Land Registry Department, and also the key to our house that we have left behind. These are a trust under your responsibility, so keep them.'

Jihad: 'Yes, Grandpa, I will keep them and shall not neglect them, God willing, whatever happens.'

Grandfather: 'Well said, my son!'



جهد: ماذا يوجد في ذلك الصندوق
يا جدي؟

الجد: مستندات (قواشين) الأرض
التي نملكها في السهل
الساحلي، وهي مسجلة في
دفتر الطابو الرسمية في دائرة

تسجيل الأراضي، ومفتاح بيتنا الذي هجرنا منه هي أمانه في عنقك، فحافظ عليها.

جهد: أجل يا جدي سوف أحافظ عليها ولن أفرط فيها- إن شاء الله- مهما يحصل.

الجد: أحسنت يا بُني.

(*History of the Ancient Civilizations*, Grade 5 (2014) p. 7, and see also *National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) pp. 31-32 and the question on p. 33)

The following example expresses certain submission to fate by emphasizing the need to cherish the memory of the old house, if not to actually return to it. In a story titled "The Key" members of a refugee family laugh at their grandmother who is bent on carrying the key to her old house: "What is the use of the key? They have already removed the door, O mother, and also the house and the garden and the whole village." But when she dies, one of her grandchildren hurries to take the key, ties it to his neck and says: "We have followed your will, O Grandma. No power in the world will be able to erase our memory, at least that." (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 2 (2014) p. 22, and one of the questions that follow the story on p. 23 still raises the return issue indirectly: "7. What is the dream that every Palestinian refugee has?")

The "Right of Return" is perceived as a self-contained right, not related to the peace process and not dependent on Israel's good will. Moreover, the return to Israel's pre-1967 territory is perceived as a violent event, as proven by the following excerpts taken from a poem titled "We Shall return":

"...Tomorrow we shall return and the generations will listen
To the footfalls during the return
We shall return with the thundering storms
With the sacred lightening and the shooting star
With the winged hope and the songs
With the hovering vulture and the eagle
Indeed, thousands of victims shall return
The victims of oppression shall open every door."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 28, and see the related questions on p. 29, the language exercise on p. 30 which repeats the last verse, and a similar exercise with the sentence: "We Shall return with the thundering storms, with the sacred lightening and the shooting star" in *Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2014) p. 39)

Violence is more clearly expressed in the following poem titled "We are Returning":

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

المحفوظات

إِنَّا لَعَائِدُونَ

(هارون هاشم رشيد)

<p>القلاع: مفردهما قَلْعَةٌ، وهي مكان مرتفع يُسْتَعْمَلُ لأغراض حربية.</p> <p>المحصون: مفردهما حصن، وهي كل مكان تَحْتَمِي مَنع.</p> <p>نازحون: مفردها نازح، وهو الفلسطيني الذي شَرَفَ من وطنه بَعْدَ حَرْبِ عام ١٩٦٧م.</p> <p>السَّخَّار: المنذخ بِمَكَارِمِ الأخلاق.</p> <p>الرُّبَا: مفردها رُبُوَّةٌ، وهي المكان المرتفع.</p> <p>الهضاب: مفردها هَضْبَةٌ، وهي مكان متوسط الارتفاع بين الجبل والسَّهْلِ.</p> <p>الصَّيَا: مرحلة عُثْرِيَّةٌ قبل مرحلة السَّيَاب.</p> <p>النَّجَاد: المرتفع من الأرض.</p>	<p>عَائِدُونَ عَائِدُونَ إِنَّا لَعَائِدُونَ فَالْحُدُودُ لَنْ تَكُونَ وَالْقِلاعُ وَالْحُصُونُ فاصْرُخُوا يَا نَازِحُونَ إِنَّا لَعَائِدُونَ عَائِدُونَ لِلدِّيَارِ لِلشُّهُولِ لِلجِبَالِ تَحْتَ أعلامِ الفِخَارِ وَالجِهَادِ وَالنُّضالِ بِالدِّمَاءِ وَالفِداءِ وَالإِخفاءِ وَالوَفاءِ إِنَّا لَعَائِدُونَ عَائِدُونَ يَا رَبُّيا عَائِدُونَ يَا هِضابِ عَائِدُونَ لِلصَّبا عَائِدُونَ لِلشَّبابِ لِلجِهَادِ فِي النَّجادِ وَالْحِصَادِ فِي البِلادِ إِنَّا لَعَائِدُونَ</p>
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٥٠

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

Two of the questions accompanying this poem:

- "1. Where does the poet want to return to?
 2. Will the borders constitute an obstacle in the way of the return?"
- (Our Beautiful Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2015) p. 51)

Verses of this poem used in language exercises:

"Returning, O hills; returning, O heights
Returning to childhood, returning to youth"
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 53)

"Returning, returning, we are returning
Borders shall not exist, nor citadels and fortresses
Cry out, O those who have left: 'We are returning'."
(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2014) p. 19)

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

We shall return with the soaring vultures; we shall return with the strongly blowing wind; we shall return to the vineyard and the olive trees; we shall return to raise the flag of Palestine... on our green hills."
(*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 82)

"I shall not live as a displaced person, I shall not stay shackled
I, I have a morrow, and tomorrow I shall advance as a revolutionary [or: avenger – *tha'ir* in Arabic] and a rebel

...

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

(Excerpts from the poem "A Refugee's Cry" by Harun Hashem Rashid, *Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 85, and see among the accompanying questions the following one: "The poet has determined the way of the return. We will clarify it as it appears in the poem.")

Moreover, there is clear rejection of a return under occupation:

"Is he not crazy, the one who is driven out of his homeland and then is ready to return to it as a guest with the robbers who had seized it?"
(*Arabic Language*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 57)

The Palestinian national poet Mahmud Darwish imagines the situation after the return in one of his poems:

"Where is my family? They went out of the tent of exile and returned"
(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 85)

Also in language exercises where sentences should be completed with given words:

"The refugee [returned] to his homeland."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 151)

"The refugees [returned] to the homeland's soil."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 47)

Even the old Greek legend of the Phoenix bird that lives for a thousand years and then dies in flames and reappears from the ashes is transformed (though by an Egyptian writer and not by the schoolbook authors themselves) and presented as a Canaanite story according to which the bird lives away of its country and finally returns to live "under the shadow of liberty and independence". A question following the story reads: "To what extent does the story of the Phoenix bird apply to the Palestinian people in the Diaspora, where it lives?"
(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 7)

6. The 1967 displaced Palestinians

The 1948 refugees were joined by those ones who left the West Bank to Jordan following the Six-Day War in 1967. These are named "those who have moved away [*Nazihin*]" and they are entitled to the same rights enjoyed by the 1948 refugees:

In a story titled "The Last Bullet" the hero recounts his participation in the battle for the defense of (East) Jerusalem against the "tyrants [*tughah*]". He later moved to Jordan, and the meaning of the term is explained to the students as follows: "Moving away [*nuzuh*] - the Palestinian exodus [*rahil*] after the Zionists' occupation of Palestine in 1967"¹³ (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 2 (2014) p. 92).

"Thousands of Palestinians moved away from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to the Arab states [after the 1967 war]."
(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) P. 45)

Jerusalem

According to the PA schoolbooks, Jerusalem is an Arab city established by the "Arab Jebusites", and the Jews there are foreign settlers, "infiltrators" and occupiers. The books do not recognize the existence of Jewish holy places in the city. There is only one book recognizing the Jews' historical ties to Jerusalem and another one implying that.

In a language exercise the student is requested to complete sentences by connecting them to separately given words. The first sentence is: "Jerusalem is..." and the fitting word is: "Arab" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2015) p. 54)

Another example with the same sentence:

"Jerusalem [is] Arab."
(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2013) p. 7)

¹³ This is a rare expression not found elsewhere in the PA schoolbooks, namely, that Palestine was occupied in 1967. In all other cases Palestine is said to have been occupied in 1948, and the 1967 occupation was just an added tragedy, a Setback [*Naksah*], compared to the Disaster [*Nakbah*] of 1948.

"Jerusalem is an Arab city built by our Arab ancestors thousands of years ago. Jerusalem is holy to Muslims and Christians."
(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 28)

"Jerusalem is a Palestinian city and Palestine's capital. The Palestinian flag will be hoisted on its walls after its liberation from Israeli occupation, God willing."
(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 26)

Another expression of the Palestinian claim for exclusive ownership over Jerusalem appears in a grade 1 textbook through illustrations that describe various activities with a photograph of the Dome of the Rock hanging on the wall at the background carrying the slogan "Jerusalem is ours [*Al-Quds lana*]". Following is one example out of five such illustrations appearing in the book:



(*National Education*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2013) p. 25. The other illustrations appear on pp. 26, 53, 57 and 58. In another textbook for this grade, on the other hand, the same photograph appears without that slogan - *Civics*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2014) p. 7)

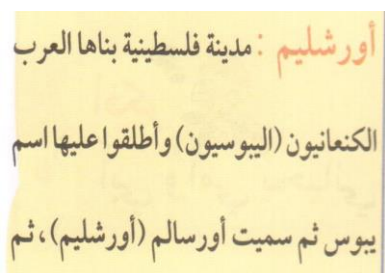
Jews are absent as well from Jerusalem's history, save for being presented as occupiers:

"The Arab Canaanites were among the most ancient nations that resided in Palestine, already 3500 years before God's prophet Jesus was born. The Canaanites built cities and villages in Palestine, such as Jerusalem, Gaza, Ashkelon, Megiddo and Nablus. Jerusalem was given many names including 'Jebus' after the name of the Arab Jebusites who built it. The Muslims conquered Jerusalem and liberated it from the rule of the Romans [Byzantines] who had named it 'Aelia [Capitolina]'... The Muslims named it 'Al-Quds' or 'Bayt al-Maqdis'. Later, the Franks [Crusaders] occupied it until its liberation by the Muslim hero Salah al-Din [Saladin] al-Ayyubi... It is still under Israeli occupation waiting for the one who will liberate it."
(*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014) p. 50)

Even a *Christian Education* textbook used by Christian students in the PA schools, which could have been expected to show certain awareness of Jewish historical presence in Jerusalem, totally ignores the Jews' historical ties to the city:

"Jerusalem [Urushalim in traditional Christian Arabic terminology] is a Palestinian city built by the Arab Canaanites (Jebusites) who called it Jebus and later Ursalem

(Urushalim). Later, it was given many names like 'the City of Justice', 'the Holy City' and 'Noble Jerusalem [Al-Quds al-Sharif]", but the prevalent name is 'Al-Quds'."



(*Christian Education*, Grade 2 (2010 - the latest edition of this book during the PA former publishing project) p. 11)

"Urushalim is an ancient name of the city of Jerusalem [Al-Quds]. It is composed of two words: 'ur' which means 'city' and 'Shalim' which is a god's name among the Canaanites. It was built by the Jebusites who were one of Canaan's tribes."

(*Christian Education*, Grade 3 (2002 - the latest edition of this book during the PA former publishing project) p. 91)

"Jerusalem is an Arab land that was occupied by the Romans..."

(*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014) p. 56)

The following piece, which forms part of the authors' preface to a *National Education* textbook, totally ignores the Jews' religious ties to Jerusalem, while emphasizing the city's Arab character:

"...Jerusalem [Bayt al-Maqdis], the city of peace and Islam and the city of the Messiah [Jesus Christ] - Muslims and Christians from all over the world come to it in order to worship God alone, enjoy the charm of its ancient buildings, grasp the importance of its status and the sacredness of its holy places that are represented by Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Holy Sepulcher, as well as the splendor of its walls and buildings that emphasize daily its deeply-rooted Arab character."

(*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014) p. IV in the preface)

A review of the holy places in Jerusalem describes extensively the Muslim Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock and the Christian Holy Sepulcher. Not a word is said about the Jewish holy places in the city (*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014) p. 53).

A description of Jerusalem in a PA geography textbook also mentions the Muslim and Christian holy places only (*Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 82).

The Jews' ties to Jerusalem are mentioned in the PA schoolbooks twice only, once very briefly in an *Islamic Education* textbook and, with more detail, in a history textbook for grade 11. Following are the two cases:

"because the Children of Israel did not observe God's commandments to do good and to thank Him for His favors bestowed upon them, and they continued their corruption [in the form] of murder, violation of the Lord's prohibitions and non-obedience to Him, He sent to them for a second time someone who would enter Jerusalem and humiliate them..."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 14)

"After him [David] came Prophet Solomon who ruled from 963 until 923 BC and after his death his state was divided into two parts: The Kingdom of Israel in the North (Samaria [Al-Samirah]) and the Kingdom of Judea in the south (Jerusalem [Al-Quds]). The Kingdom of Judea faced an attack by Pharaoh Shoshenk [I] who besieged Jerusalem [Urushalim (Al-Quds)]. Palestine faced an Assyrian attack in 722 BC under the command of Sargon II and he took into captivity most of the Jews who resided in the Kingdom of Samaria. He besieged Jerusalem [Al-Quds] but did not enter it. Palestine faced a ruinous attack by the Chaldean-Babylonian leader Nebuchadnezzar [II] in 586 BC who destroyed Jerusalem [Al-Quds] and sent the Jews into exile in Iraq..."

The Jews in Jerusalem [Al-Quds] started several revolts to which the Romans reacted by force. In 70 AD the Roman commander Titus attacked them and captured Jerusalem [Al-Quds] with the support of Malik II, King of the Nabateans. The Jews revolted again under the leadership of Bar-Kokhba in the reign of the Roman emperor Hadrian in 132 AD who crushed the revolt and destroyed Jerusalem [In fact, it had been destroyed by Titus in 70 AD]. He established the city of Aelia Capitolina in its place and forbade the Jews to live there."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) pp. 9-10)

As for the situation in modern times, there is one reference to the existence of Jews in Jerusalem during the 1948 war, but they are referred to as a "community of immigrants" - *Jaliyah* in Arabic - which indicates non-rootedness. It is said within the discussion of the Jews' achievements due to the first truce in the 1948 war: "Lifting of the siege on the Jewish community of immigrants [*jaliyah*] in Jerusalem and providing it with food and water" (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 30)

Israel strives to Judaize Jerusalem and eliminate its inhabitants' Palestinian identity by increasing the number of Jews in the city. It also threatens Al-Aqsa Mosque:

"...The Judaization of Jerusalem and the elimination of its inhabitants' Palestinian identity."

(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 16)

"Settlement [*istitan*] in Jerusalem

[Jewish] settlement in the Old City of Jerusalem started with the demolition of the Moroccans' Neighborhood on June 9, 1967. It [Israel] also took control of other neighborhoods in order to establish the new Jewish Quarter and forced many Arab citizens in the city to leave their houses. It took control of vast tracts of land in the Holy City and in the Arab cities and villages around it and established many settlements in order to encircle it by a colonialist [*istitani*] ring. Israel now acts to accomplish the project named 'the Holy Basin' that the [archeological] excavations underneath Al-Aqsa [Mosque] are considered part thereof.

[In a box on the same page:] The Moroccans' Neighborhood [Harat al-Magharibah]

It is located on the southern side of the Old City near the Temple Mount [Al-Haram al-Sharif]. It was settled by Moroccans who came from North Africa and Spain during

the Ayyubid period [end of the 12th and first half of the 13th centuries]. The Israeli authorities confiscated it in 1968 under the pretext of public interest with a view to establishing the new Jewish Quarter on the ruins of the Muslim-Arab neighborhoods (Al-Sharafah and the Moroccans' neighborhood)."
(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 52)¹⁴

"[Assignment:] I will research and write [a report] about the Israeli policy of Judaization of the city of Jerusalem beginning in 1967."
(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 56)

The schoolbooks of the 2017 edition expand on this issue and it is inferred from the text appearing there that the Wailing Wall, as well as Jewish synagogues, simply did not exist in Jerusalem's Old City before 1967 but were rather made so after that year's occupation that also changed some of the city wall's stones in order to create for it a new Jewish past.

"The Zionist occupation has pursued a policy of erasing the Arab and Islamic features of Palestine in general, and in Jerusalem in particular. Since the first day of the occupation of Jerusalem, the Zionists have started changing the identity of the Arab-Muslim city and transforming it into one with Zionist character. They confiscated Palestinian land and built settlements [*mustawtanat*] upon it; they harassed the Palestinian inhabitants in order to force them to leave Jerusalem and the settlers will take their place; they demolished houses and forced the inhabitants to emigrate; they took their identity cards and Jerusalem was separated from its Arab environment. They annexed the Islamic features to the list of Zionist heritage [as] they transformed the Al-Buraq Wall into the Wailing Wall; they destroyed the Maghribi neighborhood and changed its Arab-Muslim character; they removed some of the stones from Jerusalem's city wall and replaced them with other ones carrying Zionist decorations and forms; they opened Jewish synagogues in the Old City of Jerusalem, and they strive vigorously these days to take control of the Noble Shrine [*Al-Haram al-Sharif* – the Temple Mount] by allowing the Zionist settlers to enter it daily in preparation for taking full control over it and preventing any Muslim connection to this place that is holy to Muslims."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 62, and see the exercise on p. 63 with the following sentence: "The Zionist occupation changed the name 'Al-Buraq Wall' into 'the Wailing Wall [*Hait al-Mabka* in Arabic - the place of mourning]' with the assignment: "I will specify some of the Zionist measures aimed at erasing the Arab and Islamic features in the city of Jerusalem.")

One of the means for the Judaization of Jerusalem is isolating it from its Arab hinterland in the West Bank:

"Zionist occupation has isolated Jerusalem completely from its Arab environment, and the Palestinians [from the West Bank] have been prevented from arriving there under baseless pretexts of security, especially during the Al-Aqsa *Intifadah* of 2000.

¹⁴ The Jewish Quarter constituted part of the Old City of Jerusalem for centuries and was systematically destroyed by the Jordanians after they had occupied it in 1948. Its re-establishment in its old place is presented here as if it was established for the first time on the ruins of Arab neighborhoods, which is a clear distortion of what really happened. The Arab neighborhoods mentioned here were located outside that Quarter and were not annexed to it. They were destroyed to create the existing space in front of the wall and their inhabitants were mostly resettled in the nearby Silwan neighborhood.

Jerusalem's gateways have been all closed and the Palestinians from the West Bank could no longer reach it due to the army's permanent checkpoints located at all its entrances. In addition, the settlements and the [separation] wall have encircled the city on all sides and harassed the Jerusalemites with a view to driving them out of it." (*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 91)

And more:

"...The transitory invaders and the usurping tyrants who took it alternately in the past, and to this day still pour on it their malice bowls and their despicable licentiousness, thinking that they have taken control over it, attained superiority in its realm and managed, due to oppressive power and by jumping over the centuries, to fold over its pure Arab cultural records page by page in order to connect a distorted and disconnected past to a present based on robbery, coercion, forgery and usurpation. They do not know that they delude themselves... Jerusalem has Arab roots... This is Jerusalem, and it will remain stubborn against the aggressors, the more the tyranny meanness sticks to it, as well as the malice harbored by the forgers who infringe on its Muslim and Christian holy places and on its history and its archaeological sites that attest its genuine Arab origin since thousands of years... Jerusalem will remain the pivot of the conflict and the greatest challenge to us all. There is no peace and no stability in the region without Jerusalem." (*Arabic Language*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) pp. 18-20)

In light of the Jewish threat to Jerusalem, as described in the PA schoolbooks, the need arises for a counter-struggle:

"Our duty toward the city of Jerusalem: to defend it, to safeguard it and its holy places, to prey there and strengthen its folks' steadfastness until we liberate it from occupation," (*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 30)

Excerpts from a poem describing Jerusalem's Jewish inhabitants as occupiers and infiltrators:

"I am hers [Jerusalem's] even though the flag of misery has fallen on her... I shall not accept its humiliation by occupiers and infiltrators." (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 52)

Questions that follow a text titled "A Tour of Jerusalem's Markets" and featuring a description of those markets in the eyes of a boy and his grandfather:

- "Why did Grandfather sigh at the end of the tour?"
- What does Jerusalem symbolize to us?
- Why cannot we go to Jerusalem whenever we want to?
- What is the message we direct at our people in Jerusalem to support their steadfastness and their challenging stand vis-à-vis the occupation?" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 45)

In a poem titled "Palestine" that calls for Jihad, Jerusalem is personified as a threatened girl:

"O brother, we have a sister in Jerusalem to whom the slaughterers have prepared the daggers."

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

The accompanying questions further develop this motif:

"The poet described Jerusalem in the sixth verse [of the poem] as the Arabs and Muslims' sister whom the enemies sharpen their knives to slaughter. What does the poet expect [those] brothers to do regarding their sister?"

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 46)

And in this context:

"What is the Muslims' duty towards Jerusalem?"

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2014) p. 4)

"The Islamic Conference Organization established the Jerusalem Committee, owing to Jerusalem's special status in the Muslims' eyes, [because of] the Judaization attempts and for the protection of its Islamic character and its steadfastness."

(*National Education*, Grade 5 (2014) p. 44)

The Arab League's activities regarding Jerusalem include the following:

"Supporting the Palestinian people's steadfastness [*sumud*] on its land and confronting the Judaization of Jerusalem and the transformation of its Arab-Islamic characteristics."

(*National Education*, Grade 5 (2014) p. 40)

The sense of religious duty toward Jerusalem is passed on to the student personally:

"What is my duty towards Al-Aqsa Mosque?"

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2014) p. 76)

Until the city's liberation takes place - a few words of consolation:

"O Jerusalem, your wound is our wound and hymn; arm yourself with patience and consolation."

(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 43)

Israel's Palestinian Citizens

Israel's Palestinian citizens do not attract much of the PA educators' attention. Consequently, they are mentioned in the PA schoolbooks relatively few times, although they are defined there as an integral part of the occupied Palestinian people. Part of the material in the books is poems written by Israeli Arab citizens in which they express their defiance against the reality imposed on them as a national minority in their own country. A poem titled "Identity Card" by the Palestinian national poet Mahmud Darwish is a monologue by an Arab worker vis-à-vis an Israeli security man, apparently. The questions that follow the poem include more explicit expressions related to the conflict that do not appear in the poem itself:

- "1. The poet refers in the first part [of the poem] to a phenomenon causing suffering to the Palestinian people. What is it?
2. The poet hints by the word 'rock' at the Palestinian people's difficult life. I will clarify the manifestations of this difficulty.
3. ...
4. How did the poet express his position vis-à-vis the usurper [*mughtasib*]?"¹⁵
(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 6, Part 2 (2014) p. 96, and see excerpts of this poem as language exercises in Linguistic Sciences, Grade 10 (2015) pp. 104, 114 and also in Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11 (2014) p. 53)

Tawfiq Zayyad, a member of the Communist Party in Israel and mayor of the Arab city of Nazareth in 1975-1994, wrote a poem in jail too, following his arrest during a demonstration by his party in Nazareth in 1958. In this poem, titled "Nocturnal Conversation in Jail" he expresses solidarity with the Palestinian people in general:

"O my people... we remain loyal to the covenant. We would not have felt content with the prison cell's torment, and with oppression's shackles and bars, and we would not have been ready to suffer hunger and deprivation - had it not been for breaking the crucified moon's chains and for returning to you your usurped right."
(Reading and Texts, Grade 10, Part 1 (2015) p. 47, and see these verses as language exercises in Linguistic Sciences, Grade 10 (2015) p. 37; Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2015) p. 19)

Beyond these poems only few references to the Arabs in Israel appear in the PA schoolbooks. All of them describe various forms of oppression against them on the part of Israeli authorities - see the part on Israel's image within Chapter Three below.

¹⁵ "*Mughtasib*" is a term identifying Israel in post-1948 Arabic literature, but it does not exist in the poem itself.

Chapter Two: Judaism and Jews

Contrary to schoolbooks of other Arab nations, like Syria and Saudi Arabia, and even Egypt and Jordan with whom Israel has signed peace treaties, the PA schoolbooks hardly contain explicit anti-Jewish slander. It might be the result, probably, of the fact that the 2000-2006 schoolbook publishing project was partly financed by European bodies, chiefly the Belgian government. This assumption was substantiated in 2004, when a new history textbook for grade 10 featured a chapter on the history of Zionism with the following sentences: "There is a group of confidential resolution adopted by the [first Zionist] congress and known as 'the Protocols of the Elders of Zion', the goal of which was dominating the world. They were disclosed by Sergey Nilos and were translated into Arabic by Muhammad Khalifah al-Tunisi (*Modern and Contemporary History of the World*, Grade 10 (2004) p. 63).¹⁶ Following the appearance of a report on that book by one of the authors of the present work, he¹⁷ was requested by the Belgian embassy in Tel Aviv to send them a photocopy of the relevant page accompanied by an English translation. Several months later, the PA issued a new version of the book without these sentences.

But even though the PA schoolbooks do not contain anti-Jewish hate expressions on the scale and intensity found in schoolbooks of other Arab countries that were studied (save for Tunisian schoolbooks of the former regime where no anti-Semitism whatsoever was identified), it does not mean that the attitude to Jews in the PA schoolbooks is positive. On the contrary: one can find in the books quite a few negative references to them - especially in books of the higher grades - including demonization and de-humanization expressions. The vast majority of references treat the Jews as a group and, in the very few cases where individuals are mentioned, the attitude to them is usually negative. No Jewish individual is presented as an ordinary human being. The present chapter discusses the references in the PA schoolbooks¹⁸ to Judaism and Jews in various periods and contexts, and within the conflict. Other issues discussed in this chapter are the books' attitude to the Jewish holy places in the country and to the Jewish national movement - Zionism.

Judaism

Judaism is mentioned alongside Christianity and Islam in a chapter on human diversity (*Civics*, Grade 6 (2015) p. 49, and see the question on p. 51: "Mention three different religions"). A history textbook says: "The Jewish religion existed [in Arabia] before Islam in Yathrib [today's Medina], Khaybar and Yemen..." (*History of the Arabs and the Muslims*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 4).

The Torah, Psalms and the Christian Gospel are considered holy books in Islam because it is believed that they were given by God to Moses, David and Jesus Christ,

¹⁶ Sergey Nilos was a Russian priest who had created the 'Protocols' for the Tsarist Russian police at the beginning of the twentieth century as a means for diverting the Russian public opinion against the Jews as a scapegoat following the increase of the anti-government revolutionary activity.

¹⁷ Arnon Groiss, *Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks - The New Textbooks for Grades 5 and 10* (The Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace, 2005).

¹⁸ Contrary to what is claimed in some other studies of PA schoolbooks, the expressed attitude of adoration towards prominent figures in Jewish tradition such as Abraham, Moses and David, cannot be regarded as treating Jewish individuals positively, because such figures are sanctified in Islamic tradition as 'Muslim' prophets and are completely detached from their own Jewish people.

respectively, who were God's messengers to the Children of Israel, while the Koran was given to Muhammad who was God's messenger to all humankind. This is what the students are taught (*Islamic Education, Grade 4, Part 2* (2016) p. 3)

"God gave the Torah and then the Koran."
(*Our Beautiful Language, Grade 7, Part 2* (2014) p. 56)

"God gave Moses the Torah for guiding the Children of Israel and for bringing them through it from the darkness of ignorance and unbelief to the light of knowledge and belief..."
(*Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1* (2015) p. 13)

But it is also said that "Some of the Divine Books, like the Torah and the Gospels, were subjected to distortions and changes. As for the Koran, God has promised to guard it against perdition and distortion" (*Islamic Education, Grade 3, Part 1* (2015) p. 18), and: "The Koran has mentioned in more than one verse that some distortions have been introduced into the Torah" (*Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1* (2015) p. 40)

"The Jews believe in what is called 'the Old Testament' which is made of 39 books divided into four parts:

1. The five books called 'Torah' by the Jews, which are the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.
2. The historical books which relate the history of the Children of Israel.
3. The books of wisdom and poetry, which include hymns, proverbs, preaching and religious songs.
4. The books of the prophets, which tell of the missions of the prophets of the Children of Israel and their history from the Jewish point of view..."

(*Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1* (2015) p. 43)

"The Torah: A Hebrew term meaning instructions, or law. This is the book given [by God] to our lord Moses... The Torah has been mentioned in the Koran in many verses... Psalms [*Zabur* in Arabic] is the book that was given to our lord David... These books are... the source given by God to His messengers Abraham, Moses, David and Jesus. But the contemporary books passed on among the People of the Book [a Koranic term meaning Jews and Christians] are distorted."
(*Faith, Grade 11 [Shar'i stream]* (2013) pp. 61-62)

"The Old Testament is the Jews' holy book and it is divided into three parts:
First, the Torah, which includes 5 books: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.
Second, the books of the first prophets, and the sayings of the other prophets. They talk about the history of the Children of Israel after Moses' death, about the judges who ruled after him, the prophets who came afterwards, the Babylonian captivity, etc.
Third, Hagiography that includes David's hymns - a collection of hymns and religious songs, Solomon's proverbs - a book attributed to Solomon, Job's biography, etc.

The introduction of distortions into the former Divine Books

The real Torah given by God to Moses was distorted by omissions, additions and changes, due to the weakness of the religious limitations, the pursuit of personal

inclinations and the love for this world and its seductions among the [Jewish] religious scholars."

(*Faith*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) pp. 62, 64)

"Examples of the Distortions in the Torah

The Jews introduced into the Torah [various] sorts of distortions: exchanges [of texts], additions, omissions, concealments and distorted interpretations. They fabricated lies against God and His prophets, and did not leave any of their prophets without attributing to him a conduct improper for an ordinary person, let alone an infallible prophet [according to Islamic belief].

Among the distortions they have introduced into the Torah, which involve fabricating lies against God, is their saying that 'God, having seen man's corruption on earth, repented that He had created him and said 'I will destroy man whom I have created on earth... for I greatly repent that I have made them' - and God is highly beyond what they say.¹⁹

One of the lies they have fabricated against God is that 'He became tired after the creation of heaven and earth' saying that God rested on the seventh day following the creation of heaven and earth...²⁰

One of their distortions is their description of God by [terms of] poverty and miserliness [this sentence is followed by Koranic verses saying that about the Jews].

Among their distortions is their description of God by [terms of] inattention and sleep, as they say in part of their prayers: 'Wake up, how much will You sleep, O Lord, arise from your sleep' and they were insolent to the Lord as if they were telling Him that He had chosen sleepiness for Himself and that He sleeps...²¹

Among their distortions their slander against the prophets whom God has made infallible, such as their defamation against Lot, God's prophet [according to Islamic tradition] 'that he drank wine until he became drunk and he fornicated with his two daughters!' ²² and their saying about Aaron [who is also a prophet according to Islam] 'that he is the one who made the calf for them!' ²³

...

The Position regarding the Distorted Divine Books

We have said that there were many distortions in the Jews and Christians' books, and, yet, these books still contain remnants of Divine inspiration, though we cannot find our way to it and become acquainted with it. Therefore, anything in these books that its truth has been proven to us - we believe in it and say that it is true, and anything we know to be false and contradicting what is certain among us - we must not adopt it. As for matters that nothing is said about them [in the Koran] and we cannot know whether they are true or false - we do not believe in them [either], as our religion [already] has everything we need without resorting to all these [matters]."

¹⁹ See Genesis 6:5-7. Attribution of repentance to God contradicts His all-knowing character according to Islam.

²⁰ See Exodus 20:11. Fatigue and rest are not part of God's characteristics.

²¹ See Psalms 44;24 (KJV - 23).

²² Genesis 19:31-36.

²³ Exodus 19:3-4.

(*Faith*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) pp. 65-66)

A *Christian Education* textbook features the following sentence: "The Old Testament is a book we share with the followers of the Jewish religion" (*Christian Education*, Grade 7 (2001 - the first edition that so far has not been changed) p. 20).

The Jews in Antiquity

There are very few references in the PA schoolbooks to the Jewish presence in the country in antiquity. Thus, for example, Unit 3 that deals with the Levant on pp. 25-35 in the *History of the Ancient Civilizations* textbook for grade 5 (2014), has three chapters. The first one includes geographical details, the second deals with the Canaanites, and the third - with the Arameans. That is also the case with lessons Nos. 1 and 2 on pp. 4-11 in the *National Education* textbook for grade 7 (2013) that cover the country in ancient times and limit the discussion to the Canaanite culture, without any reference to the Jewish presence there in that period (but see below the discussion of the historical time-table that appears on p. 3 in the same book, which mentions the Jewish kingdoms in the country in antiquity).

An important element in the teaching of Palestine's history until 2016 is the emphasis put on the Canaanites. They are said to have been originally Arab and are described as the country's first inhabitants. The Jebusites, whom modern scholars tend to assume as Indo-European by origin, are also defined as Arab in the schoolbooks. By the Arabization of the Canaanites, the authors of the PA schoolbooks create direct ties between them and today's Arab Palestinians who are declared to be their immediate descendants. Thus, the authors undermine in the students' eyes the Jews' claim of precedence over the Arabs in the country's history, since the Canaanites were already there when the Children of Israel arrived from Egypt:

"First Lesson: History of Palestine

[Illustration of a Canaanite family in its house with the caption: "A Canaanite family in the city of Jericho five thousands years ago"]

- Palestine is the forefathers' land
- The Arab Canaanites were the first to settle in Palestine

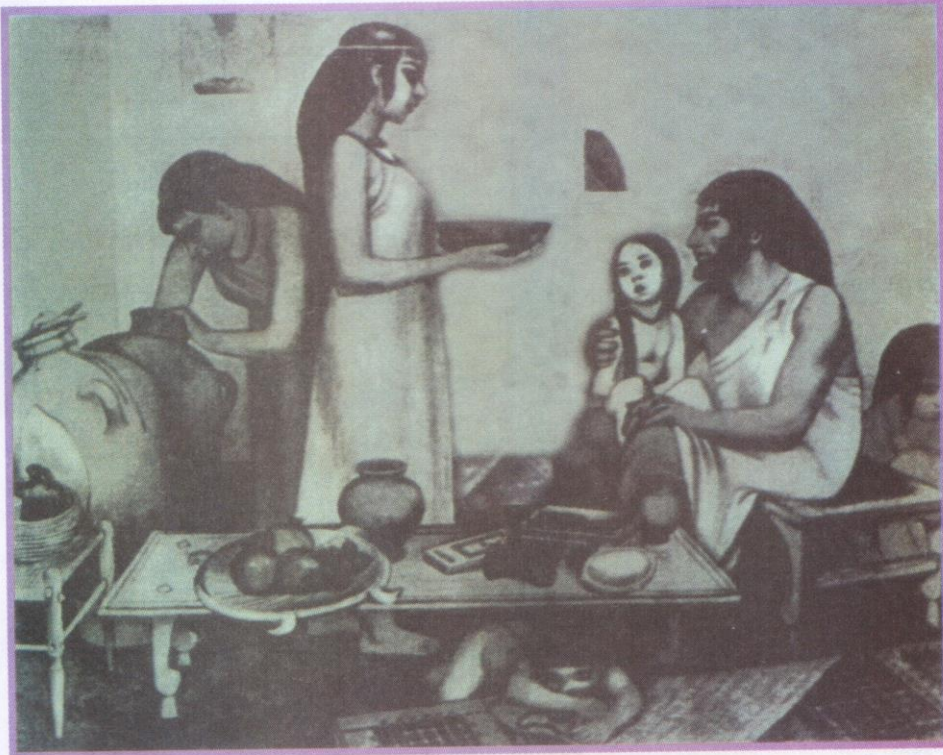
[Notes for the teacher:] Goals:

1. The students should connect the land of Palestine to the Canaanite people that inhabited it.
2. The students should mention several cities built by the Canaanites in Palestine."

تاريخ فلسطين

١

الدرس
الأول



عائلة كنعانية من مدينة
أريحا قبل خمسة آلاف عام

- فلسطين أرض الآباء والأجداد .
- العرب الكنعانيون أول من سكن فلسطين .

الأهداف:

- ١- أن يربط التلاميذ بين أرض فلسطين والشعب الكنعاني الذي سكنها .
- ٢- أن يذكر التلاميذ عدداً من المدن التي بناها الكنعانيون في فلسطين .

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(National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 4)

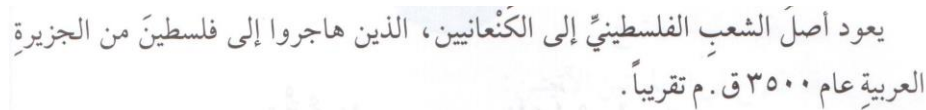
"The Canaanites built many cities, among which [were] the city of Jerusalem [Al-Quds in this text] and they called it Jebus."

(National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 5)

"The Canaanites were part of the Arab Amorites who had emigrated from the Arabian Peninsula to the lands of the Levant [*Al-Sham* in Arabic] and settled there around 3500 BC."

(*History of the Ancient Civilizations*, Grade 5 (2014) p. 29)

"The origin of the Palestinian people is the Canaanites who immigrated to Palestine from the Arabian Peninsula in 3500 BC approximately."



يعود أصل الشعب الفلسطيني إلى الكنعانيين، الذين هاجروا إلى فلسطين من الجزيرة العربية عام ٣٥٠٠ ق.م تقريباً.

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

"Nablus... is one of the Arab Canaanites' cities."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 71)

"Jerusalem is a city built by the Arab Jebusites five thousands years ago."

(*Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 82)

"Lesson No. 2: The Palestinian Canaanite people are the agents of civilization ... The Canaanite Palestinians are those who invented the alphabet in the ancient world..."

The Palestinian Canaanite people in ancient history... [and see other such references on this page and in the subsequent questions]."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) pp. 8-9)

"The Palestinian national identity is characterized by its solid roots and sources in Palestine's soil from time immemorial."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 26)

"Palestine - its civilization has been Arab for thousands of years."

(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) p. 9)

"The Canaanites granted Palestine its first Arab identity."

(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 49)

"Palestine is considered to be very much important due to its geographical location, because it serves as the continents' meeting point and their central point, having been the passageway between the African and Asian continents. Due to its unique position, invaders came to it consecutively from all directions. But they left it one after another defeated and could not change its Arab and Muslim identity. Its first Canaanite-Arab civilization, and its Muslim civilization that merged with it later, have remained living witnesses to its Arab-Muslim rootedness... The Arab Canaanites were the first to have settled in Palestine."

(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2015) p. 6)

The ancient Hebrew *Sheqel* is thus perceived as Arab:

"The *Sheqel*: A Canaanite-Arab payment unit used by Palestine's inhabitants in the past. The Torah mentions that our lord Abraham bought from Efron the Hittite-

Canaanite the cave where he buried his wife for an amount of four-hundred silver *sheqels*."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of the World*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 53)

As already mentioned, the new PA schoolbooks that started to appear in 2016 no longer attribute the Palestinian people's origin to the ancient Canaanites. Thus, a chapter titled "Lesson 3: Palestine (the Land of Canaan)" gives a historical description without the claim that the Palestinians are descendants of the Canaanites, contrary to the line prevailing until 2016 (*Social Studies*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017) pp. 52-58). Yet, the 2017 schoolbooks still use the Canaanites in order to negate the ties of today's Jews to the country's ancient history. That same chapter mentions the names of several cities of the Canaanite period which are identical to their present Hebrew names as used in modern Israel. But, instead of considering it a proof of the Jews' connection - linguistically at least - to the country's ancient history, it is said:

"The Zionist occupation adopted these Canaanite names for its settlements, [thus] having stolen and falsified Palestinian national heritage."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017) p. 54)

And within this context the occupiers are accused of falsifying the country's history for their purposes and their efforts in this field should be opposed as part of the Palestinian struggle for liberation:

"The Zionist occupation is aimed at our history and existence. It turns the facts and the historical events upside down, falsifies and distorts them, and weaves a false history that corresponds to its goals. Therefore, we must be aware of our history and be acquainted with the real events that took place on our soil, so that we would differentiate between what is true and what is false and learn the lessons that will enable us to build our future and establish our independent state with Jerusalem as its capital."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017) p. 18)

Yet, the schoolbooks sometime admit that there lived in Palestine more than one nation, without specifying:

"The olive tree had an important place in the life of the peoples that lived in Palestine, as testified by the Scriptures."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 37)

"There [in Palestine] met cultures of peoples and tribes who became acquainted with one another in its lands..."

(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique*, Grade 12 (2014) p. 17)

But there are also numbered references to the Jewish past in the country, at least in the books that were published before 2016. A table titled "Historical [Time-] Table: Palestine throughout the Ages" includes the Jewish kingdoms as well: "The Jews - David's kingdom 1000 - 923 BC; the northern kingdom of Israel 923 - 722 BC; the kingdom of Judea 923 - 586 BC" and also the occupation of the kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians and the occupation of the kingdom of Judea by the Babylonians:

The table in its entirety:

المسطرة التاريخية فلسطين عبر العصور	
الرومان ٦٣ ق.م - ٣٩٥ م	الكنعانيون ٣٥٠٠ - ١٤٨٦ ق.م
البيزنطيون ٣٩٥ - ٦٣٦ م	
فتح القدس والخلافة الراشدة ٦٣٧ - ٦٦١ م	
الخلافة الأموية ٦٦١ - ٧٤٧ م	
الخلافة العباسية ٧٤٧ - ١٠٩٩ م	الفراعنة ١٤٨٦ - ١٢٠٠ ق.م
الفرنجية ١٠٩٩ - ١٢٩١ م	الفلسطينيون The Philistines ١٢٠٠ - ٩٧٥ ق.م
الأيوبيون ١١٨٧ - ١٢٥٣ م	اليهود مملكة داود ١٠٠٠ - ٩٢٣ ق.م
المماليك ١٢٥٣ - ١٥١٦ م	ملكه يهوذا ٩٢٣ - ٥٨٦ ق.م
العثمانيون ١٥١٦ - ١٩١٧ م	ملكه اسرائيل الشمالية ٩٢٣ - ٧٢٢ ق.م
الانتداب البريطاني ١٩١٧ - ١٩٤٨ م	الفينيقيون ٩٢٥ - ٧٠٠ ق.م
الاردن قيام دولة (الضفة الغربية) إسرائيل على مصر (غزة) فلسطينية ٤٨ - ٦٧ م	الأسوريون ٧٠٠ - ٦١٢ ق.م
الاحتلال الاسرائيلي للضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة ١٩٦٧ - ١٩٩٤ م	البابليون ٥٨٦ - ٥٣٩ ق.م
فلسطين ١٩٩٤ م	الفرس ٥٣٩ - ٣٣٢ ق.م
	اليونانيون ٣٣٢ ق.م - ٦٣ ق.م

The quoted item:

اليهود مملكة داود م. ١٠٠٠-٩٢٣ ق.م.
مملكة يهوذا م. ٩٢٣-٥٨٦ ق.م.
مملكة إسرائيل الشمالية م. ٩٢٣-٧٢٢ ق.م.
الفتحيون م. ٧٠٠-٧٢٥ ق.م.
الآشوريون م. ٧٠٠-٦١٢ ق.م.
البابليون م. ٥٨٦-٥٣٩ ق.م.

(*National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 3*)

A table with identical items appears in *History of the Middle Ages, Grade 7 (2014) p. 74* as well.

The only place in the PA schoolbooks where the Jews' presence in the country in antiquity is more widely mentioned is that of a history textbook for grade 11. Following a brief review of Abraham and Lot's arrival at the country and the burial of Abraham, Sarah and Isaac in Hebron, and under the title "Palestine in the Reign of Prophet David", the following text is given:

"Palestine's ancient history witnessed the entrance of the Children of Israel under the leadership of Joshua the son of Nun in the twelfth century BC. They fought the Canaanites and Palestinians [that is, the Philistines]. During the latest third of the eleventh century BC Saul the son of Kish assumed the leadership of the Children of Israel and fought the Palestinians [Philistines] under the leadership of Goliath. They managed to kill him with his sons at the end of the eleventh century BC. After his death Prophet David, son of Jesse, assumed leadership of the Children of Israel and established a kingdom over part of Palestine under his command. Prophet Solomon came after him and ruled from 963 to 923 BC, and after his death his state was divided into two parts: the Kingdom of Israel in the north (Samaria) and the Kingdom of Judea in the south (Jerusalem [Al-Quds]).

The Kingdom of Judea faced an attack by Egypt's Pharaoh Shoshenq [I] who besieged Jerusalem [Urushalim (Al-Quds)]. Palestine faced an Assyrian attack in 722 BC under the command of Sargon II who took most of the Jews living in the Kingdom of

Samaria into captivity. He besieged the city of Jerusalem [Al-Quds] but did not enter it.

Palestine faced a ruinous attack in 586 BC by the Babylonian Chaldean Nebuchadnezzar who destroyed Jerusalem [Al-Quds] and sent the Jews into exile in Iraq. The region soon submitted to Persian rule in 538 BC, so Cyrus, the Persian ruler, permitted the Jews who desired that to return to Palestine."

An information box on the same page reads:

"The Return of the Jews by Cyrus

Cyrus believed that the Jews' existence in Palestine would counter-balance those [local] inhabitants who supported Egypt's Pharaohs. In addition, the Jews assisted him against the Babylonians. Some say that his wife was Jewish and she influenced him to let the Jews return to Palestine."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) pp. 8-9)

A map of the country titled "Palestine in the reign of Prophet David" appears next to the text:



فلسطين في عهد النبي داود

تولى النبي داود بن يسي قيادة بني إسرائيل، وأسس مملكة على قسم من الأراضي الفلسطينية تحت قيادته، ومن بعده جاء النبي سليمان الذي حكم منذ عام ٩٦٣ ق.م وحتى عام ٩٢٣ ق.م وبعد وفاته انقسمت دولته إلى قسمين: مملكة إسرائيل في الشمال (السامرة)، ومملكة يهوذا في الجنوب (القدس).

وقد تعرضت مملكة يهوذا لهجوم الفرعون المصري شيشنق الذي حاصر أورشليم (القدس)، وتعرضت فلسطين لهجوم آشوري عام ٧٢٢ ق.م بقيادة سرجون الثاني، وسبي معظم اليهود الذين كانوا يقطنون في مملكة السامرة، وحاصر مدينة القدس ولكنه لم يدخلها.

وتعرضت فلسطين لهجوم مدمر على يد القائد الكلداني البابلي نبوخذ نصر عام ٥٨٦ ق.م الذي قام بتدمير القدس، وسبي اليهود إلى العراق، ولم تلبث تلك المنطقة أن خضعت للحكم الفارسي عام ٥٣٨ ق.م، حيث سمح قورش الحاكم الفارسي لمن أراد من اليهود العودة إلى فلسطين.

The book continues the historical narration with the conquest of the country by the Greeks and, later, by the Romans, who made Herod the Edomite king of the country (p. 9). As regard the Jews the book says:

"The Jews in Jerusalem started several revolts to which the Romans reacted by force. In 70 AD the Roman commander Titus attacked them and captured Jerusalem [Al-Quds] with the support of Malik II, king of the Nabateans.

The Jews revolted again under the leadership of Bar Kokhba in the reign of the Roman emperor Hadrian in 132 AD. He put an end to the revolt and destroyed Jerusalem [in fact, Titus had destroyed it earlier]. He established the city of Aelia Capitolina in its stead and forbade the Jews to live there."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 10)

"Palestine submitted to the rule of the [Sassanid] Persians who managed to take over Jerusalem with the Jews' help in 614 AD..."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 10)

By that the review of Jewish history in the country in antiquity ends (and see below additional details about the Jews in the Islamic and Christian contexts). It should be noted that not a single reference to any Jewish presence in the country in antiquity has been encountered so far in the schoolbooks that started to appear in 2016, and it is possible - in the light of their worsening attitude to the Jewish-Israeli "other" in other fields - that this particular issue will not be touched in the books that are scheduled to appear later on.

The Jews in Islamic Contexts

1. The general attitude to Jews/Children of Israel

The first, though indirect, reference to Jews in an Islamic context within the PA schoolbooks is found in an *Islamic Education* textbook for grade 1. There, on p. 9, the Koran's opening chapter - *Surat al-Fatihah* - is given, in which references are made to "those who have incurred [God's] wrath" and to "those who have gone astray". Among the accompanying questions are the following ones: "2. Who are those who have incurred God's wrath? 3. Who are those who have gone astray?" The Islamic traditional commentary specifies Jews and Christians, respectively, and one may assume that this is what the teacher will say in class (*Islamic Education*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2014) p. 10, and see a similar piece with the same questions in *Islamic Education*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2016) p. 9).

Two consecutive lessons bring an excerpt taken from the Koran (*Surat al-Bayinah* 1-8) which denounces those ones who did not believe [in Muhammad's mission] from among the "People of the Book" (who are, as explained to the student on p. 18, Jews and Christians) and, therefore, they shall end up in Hell. The accompanying exercises and questions discuss that but do not repeat the terms "Jews" or "Christians" (*Islamic Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2015) pp. 18-23).

Another kind of information about the Jews is the one appearing in the Koran in reference to the Children of Israel. It says:

"God announces to the Children of Israel that they will spread corruption on earth twice by way of murder, oppression, tyranny and sacrilege... and, each time they will act corruptively, God will give power over them to those among His servants who will defeat and destroy them."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 13)

God still desires their well being if they repent, according to that book:

"God says while talking to the Children of Israel, in spite of their corruption: 'God may have mercy on you and forgive you if you repent and return to God and obey Him'."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2015) p. 14)

But within the same context the following demonizing sentence appears in another textbook as a lesson learned from that affair:

"Spreading corruption on earth is part of the Children of Israel's nature."

(*Holy Koran and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 149)

And further on:

"The noble verses talk to the Children of Israel and clarify that, if they do good by obeying God and His Messengers and by walking the right path according to His religion, God will not abandon them. But if they do wrong by corruption, disobedience and aggression - they will incur the results of their misconduct in this world and in the Hereafter. Yet, they did not learn the lesson of what had hit them in the first time, as they returned to their corruption again, which made God's promise concerning them come true, for He sent someone from among His servants that would make them taste the severity of torment and destroy their entity and state. God has promised them that that punishment would remain in force so long as they continue [their] corruption... The latest part of the noble verses clarifies that the destruction that befell the Children of Israel because of their corruption on earth twice might be the path to having mercy on them and a cause of their repent if they open their hearts to truth and learn the lesson of past events... Your Lord might have mercy on you and forgive you, O Children of Israel, when you worship Him and obey Him loyally and improve your words and deeds..."

(*Holy Koran and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) pp. 151-152)²⁴

But they did not repent:

"They returned to unbelief, going astray and disobedience by turning away from the preaching of truth brought to them by the Messenger [Muhammad]. They were not satisfied with that turning away but rather plotted to kill him and supported anyone who plotted against Islam and the Muslims. The result of that was that the Prophet and his Companions punished them by what they deserved - exile, expulsion and killing."

(*Holy Koran and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 153)

An anti-Jewish demonizing piece:

²⁴ On p. 152 one finds as well verse No. 7 of that *Surah* [*Al-Isra'*] which says that those enemies of the Children of Israel will enter the mosque as they entered it at the first time, and the accompanying commentary says "Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem [*Al-Masjid al-Aqsa alladhi fi Bayt al-Maqdis*]. In other words, the twice destroyed Temple is identified with today's Al-Aqsa Mosque. It is a Koranic confirmation - contrary to the claims presently voiced by Muslim clergymen - that there indeed was on the Temple Mount a house where the Children of Israel worshipped God, although it is named "a mosque" by the Koranic text.

"Sectarianism and racist tendencies clearly find their expression among non-Muslims, as those Jews... distinguish in their interactions [with others] between those who are affiliated with their religion and those who are not."

(*Methods of Missionary Preaching and the Art of Oration*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 13)²⁵

"The Chapter of the Women [*Surat al-Nisa'* in the Koran] has directed [our] attention to the danger [posed by] the People of the Book [Jews and Christians in Islamic tradition], especially the Jews, and revealed their position vis-à-vis God's venerable messengers [throughout history], their attacks against God's prophets, [their] distortion of the [essence of the prophets'] mission and their perverted character in violating treaties and covenants."

(*Holy Koran and its Sciences*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 104)

2. The Jews of Arabia vis-à-vis Muhammad

In history and Islamic education textbooks, and, later, in textbooks of the *Shar'i Stream* in high school, the Jews of Arabia are referred to in the context of their political rivalry with the prophet of Islam. The books first mention the influence of the Jews in the city of Yathrib (later to be renamed "Medina") on their neighbors regarding the belief in one God and in the prospected appearance of a prophet (most likely the Messiah) whom their neighbors identified with Muhammad. The Jews themselves, however, did not believe in him:

"- What do we understand from the Jews' expectation of the appearance of a prophet?
- Why did the Jews not believe in God's Messenger [i.e., Muhammad] although they had mentioned his time [of appearance] and announced his coming?"

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2015) p. 84)

And elsewhere:

"The Jews in the Arabian Peninsula were praying to God that He give them victory through the prospected prophet, so that they would follow him and fight the pagan Arabs, because they knew that God would grant him victory and conquest [*fath*]. When the prophet came from among the Arabs [themselves], and was not one of the Children of Israel, they envied them [i.e., the Arabs] for that and denied him..."

(*Faith*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 85)

Following Muhammad's immigration to Medina he arranged the affairs of government there, including the relations with the Jewish inhabitants of the city:

"Medina's society then was composed of three types of inhabitants:

- A. the Immigrants [*Muhajirun*] who had left their houses and family members in Mecca and emigrated to Medina.
- B. The Supporters [*Ansar*] - the original inhabitants of the city from the Aws and Hazraj tribes who embraced Islam.

²⁵ This is, in fact, a self-reproach, as textbooks of the *Shar'i Stream* in PA schools stress the difference in attitude to Muslims and non-Muslims and even feature slander to the latter, and see the next quotation.

C. The Jews who lived in Medina and who had economic influence there...

The Prophet arranged the [affairs of] the civil society and took several measures such as: ...respecting the Jewish inhabitants in Medina as far as their religion and property were concerned so long as they remained committed to the document [of the treaty with Muhammad]."

(*History of the Arabs and Muslims*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 14)

Later, however, it is briefly said:

"After their victory in the battle of Uhud, the Quraysh [tribesmen of Mecca, Muhammad's opponents] started their preparations for the liquidation of the power that had been left with the Muslims, and they concluded a treaty with the Jews and with some Arab tribes and lay a siege to Medina."

(*History of the Arabs and the Muslims*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 18)

"[The Koran] revealed the Jews' plotting with the pagans [of Mecca against the Muslims]."

(*Holy Koran and its Sciences*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 37)

Muhammad's relations with the Jews in more detail:

"God's Messenger [Muhammad] regulated the relations between the Muslim as a distinct nation and the Jewish tribes that were living in the city of Medina and its surroundings. These tribes did not welcome the emigration of God's Messenger and the Muslims from Mecca to Medina, but did not show any opposition or rivalry [either]. In a document done between him and them they were given complete freedom in the affairs of their religion and property. Among the important clauses appearing in that document [were the following]:

- The Jews have their own religion and the Muslims have their own religion.
- They should support each other against anyone who would fight those related to this document, or against anyone who would attack Yathrib [Medina]..."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2015) p. 57, and see the assignment: "I will look into [Muhammad's] biography books and write a report about the position of the Jews regarding these relations". See also the questions on p. 58)

"He [Muhammad] advised [his secretary] Zayd Bin Thabet to learn the Jews' script [i.e., the Hebrew script]."

(*History of the Arab-Muslim Civilization*, Grade 8 (2014) p. 69)²⁶

It is said later on that the Jews in Medina tried to cause divisions among the Muslims there, by attempts to refresh past inter-tribal rivalries:

"...The rivalry that erupted between a group of [the tribe of] Aws and [the tribe of] Hazraj regarding water [resources], by the Jews' plot, in order to cause divisions

²⁶ This issue is referred to in the PA schoolbooks two or three times, and there is a version saying that the man studied the language of the Jews in Medina and not just their script. In one of the first editions it was said that that was done as a precaution against the Jews' trickery [*makr*] (*History of the Arabs and the Muslims*, Grade 6 (2000) p. 133). In subsequent editions this remark was omitted.

among the Muslims. They called to one another: 'To arms!' 'To arms!' Then, came down [upon Muhammad] Koran verses... warning against listening to the People of the Book [Jews and Christians] and clarifying that listening to them brings about division and controversies..."

(*Holy Koran and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 50)

"The Jew Shas Bin Qays passed by a group of Supporters [*Ansar* of Muhammad in Medina from the tribes of] Aws and Hazraj and it was difficult for him to see the love and friendship between them after the hostility and the wars that prevailed between them before Islam. So he started reminding them of their past and stirring the feelings of the old hostility until they called one another to bear arms and fight one another. God's Messenger [Muhammad] became aware of the matter and he hurried to reach them saying: 'Are you still [holding to] the pre-Islamic arguments while I am amongst you? Has not God honored you by Islam and made your hearts connected?' Then, their souls calmed down and they repented of what they had done and they embraced one another like brothers who love one another."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 12 (2014) p. 12)

The war against the Jews is not yet discussed in the books, and the teacher is requested to do that in class by himself:

"The teacher will discuss with the students the attack on the [Jewish tribe of] Bani Qaynuqa': its causes, its events and its ensuing lessons."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 42)

"The teacher will discuss with the students the attack on [the Jewish tribe of] Bani Nadir: its causes, its events and its ensuing lessons."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 51)

The details are given in a higher grade:

"After the expulsion of the [Jewish tribe of] Bani Nadir from Medina because of their attempt to assassinate the Prophet [Muhammad], a group thereof started moving around the Arab tribes, instigating them to fight the Muslims. They first approached the infidels of [the tribe of] Quraysh [in the city of Mecca] who responded positively to their request and agreed with them upon fighting the Muslims. After that they approached [the tribe of] Ghatfan and other Arab tribes, and a great number [of those] responded positively to them. An army of ten thousands warriors was gathered and it started moving towards Medina..."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 45)

"[Assignment:] I will prepare a sermon about the attack against [the Jewish tribe of] Bani Nadir:

Important ideas [outline]:

- The reason for this attack
- The date of this attack
- The events of this attack and its results
- Lessons of this attack..."

(*Methods of Missionary Preaching and the Art of Oration*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 114)

"The Position of [the Jewish Tribe of] Bani Qurayzah [in Medina]

There was a treaty between the Prophet [Muhammad] and Bani Qurayzah regarding the defense of Medina against any enemy attacking it. Yet, the leader of [the expelled Jewish tribe of] Bani Nadir, Huyay Bin Akhtab, came to Ka'b Bin Asad, leader of Bani Qurayzah, and incited him to violate the contract with the Muslims. Ka'b refused to do that in the beginning... and then Huyay continued inciting Ka'b... until he convinced him to do that and Bani Qurayzah joined the Groups [*Ahzab* - the epithet given in Islamic historiography to the attackers of Medina in that battle who belonged to various tribes], which constituted a grave danger to the Muslims, since the Bani Qurayzah side was the only one through which the Groups could penetrate into Medina. By Bani Qurayzah's violation of the contract, the Muslims became surrounded by enemies on all sides and were exposed to danger all around..." (*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 46)

"[Question:] What does Bani Qurayzah's violation of their contract with the Prophet prove?"²⁷
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 51)

"Lesson 11: The Attack on Bani Qurayzah The Reasons for the Attack

The violation of the contract with God's Messenger on the part of Bani Qurayzah on the day of the battle with the Groups left a grave impact on the Muslims' souls and [had] much influence upon their hearts... Because Bani Qurayzah's was the only side and opening through which the Groups could penetrate Medina, uproot the Muslims and annihilate them, and, by that, put an end to Islam's mission...

Immediately after the Prophet had returned to Medina [from battle] and disarmed himself, [Angel] Gabriel came to him at noontime... and said to him: 'Did you disarm yourself, O God's Messenger?' He said: 'Yes', and then Gabriel said: 'But the angels have not yet disarmed themselves. God commands you, O Muhammad, to go to Bani Qurayzah and I intend to shake them.' Then, God's Messenger ordered the herald and he heralded to the people: 'No one will pray the afternoon prayer except at Bani Qurayzah's [that is, gather there by that hour].'

Thus the Muslims moved toward Bani Qurayzah until they joined God's Messenger. They were three thousand men with thirty horsemen. When Bani Qurayzah realized that, they fled to their fortresses and the Muslims besieged them twenty five nights.

The Surrender of Bani Qurayzah

When the siege of Bani Qurayzah intensified they surrendered and submitted to the Prophet's judgment, though they could stand and resist under siege for a longer period of time in light of the strength of their fortifications and the abundance of their supplies and provisions, especially so when the Muslims suffered from the cold, having been in the open during the cold and dark nights and were tired and exhausted because they had continued their military activity since they had prepared for the battle of the Groups until that time.

²⁷ No answer to this question is to be found in the chapter, but in parallel schoolbooks in some Arab countries the Jews in this context are presented as crooks then and today and one may assume that the teacher will say that in class.

But the war against Bani Qurayzah was a war of nerves, because God had cast fear into their hearts and their morale began to collapse in spite of the number of their men and their equipment. They numbered close to seven hundred fighters with a thousand and five hundred swords, two thousand spears, three hundred armor plates and five hundred shields. They were able to fight and stop the Muslims, but their power weakened, fear and trembling gripped them and their firmness disappeared, because God and His angels fought them.

God's Verdict on Bani Qurayzah

The Prophet empowered Sa'd Bin Muadh, leader of [the tribe of] Aws, to issue the verdict upon them. The Aws [people] had asked God's Messenger to do that, because Bani Qurayzah were [in the past] their allies and friends. Therefore, the Aws [people] asked the Prophet that their leader Sa'd Bin Muadh would be the arbitrator regarding Bani Qurayzah, having believed that Sa'd would have compassion for them. The Prophet responded positively to their request... Sa'd had been wounded by an arrow that hit him during the Battle of the Trench [with the Groups] and he was carried to the Prophet. They [the Aws people] started saying to him: 'O Abu Amr [his epithet], treat your allies well and show good [will] towards them, for God's Messenger has appointed you as arbitrator in order to do them good.' But Sa'd said: 'It is time for Sa'd [having approached death] not to be accused by God at all' and issued his verdict that their fighters be killed and their property confiscated [the other part of his verdict that the women and children be enslaved has been omitted from the text here]. Then the Prophet said: 'You have issued God's verdict against them.'

[The rest of the traditional story that describes their execution by decapitation over a trench that was dug in the city is omitted, and following is the ending piece:] Bani Qurayzah cooperated with the Hypocrites [a term coined to denote the Arab inhabitants of Medina who converted to Islam superficially] who did not cease day and night spreading the seeds of controversy and division in Medina's society, trying to cast doubt regarding the Prophet's personality and mission and distancing the people from God's religion [i.e., Islam] by crooked means of envy, trickery and deceit."

(Islamic Education Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) pp. 49-50)

After the liquidation of the Jewish presence in Medina, and during the armistice with Mecca, a war was started against the strong Jewish settlement at the Khaybar oasis, under the pretext that "When the Prophet and his Companions headed to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage rites [according to the armistice clauses], the leaders of Khaybar seized the opportunity and started to incite the Arab tribes to attack Medina that was empty of army and men." (*Islamic Education, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) p. 41*). The description of the battle is restrained and the word "Jews" is replaced by "the people of Khaybar". It is mentioned twice only, once at the beginning and then at the end of the piece:

"Khaybar is situated 160 km north of Medina. There were castles and fortresses there, fields and date [groves]. It was also inhabited by the Jews who had been expelled from Medina [by Muhammad]. It was their largest settlement in the Arabian Peninsula." (p. 41) "Among the implications of the attack on Khaybar: ... 2. The rest

of the Jews in the Arabian Peninsula entered into agreements with the Muslims without war or bloodshed." (p. 43)

There are few references to Muhammad's attitude to Jewish individuals with whom he had contact. The goal of these stories is demonstrating his gentleness. One of them was a Jew in Medina to whom Muhammad gave his armor plate as a pawn to ensure the payment of a debt (*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) p. 60)²⁸ Another story tells of a Jewess who tried to poison Muhammad but he forgave her (*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 64).

3. References to Jews after Muhammad

The agreement between Caliph Omar and the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, following the conquest of the city by the Muslims in 638 AD, reiterated the 500-year old ban on Jews to live there (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 13), but that ban was never kept.

Abdullah Ibn Saba was a Jew who converted to Islam. He is mentioned in one of the books as one of the leaders of the mutiny against Caliph Uthman (644-656). He is described as "of Jewish descent who posed as a Muslim". The beginning of that piece reads: "Some of those who held grudge against Islam, among those ones who posed as Muslims and harbored hostility and hatred to the Muslims, wanted to raise contention in order to undermine the Muslims' unity and rule..." (*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 71).

Another accusation against Jews who converted to Islam in its initial phase is that they strove to invent false traditions and attribute them to Prophet Muhammad after his death, for various reasons (and it should be remembered that these traditions - *Hadith* - serve as a basis for Islamic law alongside the Koran):

"The first lies emerged on the part of the Jews and the Hypocrites [a term coined to denote the Arab inhabitants of Medina who converted to Islam superficially] in Medina, where they established the falsehood sections [*firaq al-kidhb*] that appeared following the assassination of [Caliph] Uthman [656 AD]. Since they could not distort the Holy Koran that is guarded [against distortion] by Sublime God, they directed their tricks towards the Prophetic tradition in order to insert within it what does not belong to it. They thus started to introduce invented *Hadiths*... The reasons for inventing *Hadiths* are numerous, such as:

1. Plotting against Islam and casting doubt regarding it, as one would add to a *Hadith* By God's Messenger [Muhammad] an expression that would guarantee that... like the *Hadith* by God's Messenger: "I am the seal of [all] prophets, there is no prophet after me." To that real *Hadith* they added the expression "so long as God wills".
2. Supporting the erroneous sections [*al-firaq al-dallah*], as those sections increased following the assassination of Caliph Uthman Bin Affan and each

²⁸ The traditional story features a piece not included in the book according to which the Jew came to Muhammad while he was sitting with his Companions and demanded the return of the payment. When one of those Companions tried to attack him for his insolence Muhammad himself prevented him from so doing.

section tried to support its own school through *Hadiths* that would spread its ideas and belief...

3. Some ignorant people did that in order to cause people to do good... and their argument regarding the invention of *Hadiths* was that they were lying for the sake of the Messenger [Muhammad] and not against him...
4. Obtaining personal benefits, such as money or position, or flattering the rulers, or advertising a certain commodity...
5. Ethnic or local fanaticism, such as preference of Persian to Arabic, or praising a [certain] city or country...
6. Intention of taking revenge against certain people...

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) pp. 35-36)

A Jewish figure of that period is depicted negatively at first: A Jew claimed ownership of an item belonging to Caliph Ali. Having won the case in court due to technical reasons, he was so impressed by Islam's justice, converted to Islam and admitted that that item was not his. The implicit message in this story: The conversion to Islam annulled the negative side of that Jew's personality (*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2015) p. 46, and also *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) p. 81. In another book - *Islamic Systems*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2012) p. 24 - that same person is described as one of the People of the Book, a term denoting both Jews and Christians, rather than as a Jew).

4. Positive references to Jews of the Islamic period

References to Jews that can be interpreted as positive in Islamic contexts are very rare:

"[Caliph] Omar Bin al-Khattab [once] saw an old Jew asking people for charity. He asked him about the reason for that [behavior] and understood that old age and neediness had caused him to do that. He then took him and went with him to the person in charge of the Muslims' treasure house and ordered him to allocate him and his likes [a sum of money] from the treasure house that would be sufficient for them and improve their situation. He [Omar] said in this context: 'We did not treat him justly. We took poll tax from him when he was young and then we abandon him in his old age.'"

(*Islamic Systems*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2012) p. 48)

"He [Abbasid Caliph A-Ma'mun - 9th century] used to show respect to Jewish and Christian men of sciences."

(*History of the Arabs and the Muslims*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 82)

And it is stated in the context of the permission given to Muslims to marry women of the People of the Book (Jews and Christians):

"As for the People of the Book - they enjoy a special treatment specified in the Koran. It has permitted us to eat their food and permitted the Muslim to marry women from among them. This matter is considered the peak of religious tolerance towards them, as it is possible that a Muslim's wife, that is, his companion for life and the mother of his children, would be of the People of the Book and her family members would become his in-laws and his children's grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles and aunts."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 99)

The Jews in Christian Contexts

1. References to Jews in the context of Old Testament events:

Christian Education textbooks studied by Christian students in the PA school system usually avoid mentioning the name "Jews" or "Israelites" in the context of Old Testament stories. This ignoring attitude goes hand in hand with the general Palestinian line that hardly mentions the Jews' historical presence in the country.

For example, the chapter that deals with the Ten Commandments mentions Moses who helped "his people" against Pharaoh's oppression, walked out of Egypt with "his people", climbed up Mount Sinai to pray for "his people" and gave "his people" the Ten Commandments (*Christian Education*, Grade 3 (2002) pp. 8-9). This phenomenon repeats itself in the questions at the end of the chapter (p. 10). See also: "God called upon Moses to lead the people out of slavery to freedom." (*Christian Education*, Grade 7 (2001 - latest edition so far of this book) p. 18)

Although one can find several references to "Moses' people" and to "Moses and those who [were] with him" in a textbook of *Islamic Education*, grade 5, part 2 (2015) pp. 54-55, the name "the Children of Israel" is mentioned at the beginning of the story (p. 51). The Children of Israel are also referred to alongside Moses in *Reading and Texts*, grade 8, part 2 (2015) p. 32 and in *Islamic Education*, grade 9, part 2 (2015) p. 5: "The story about Moses [in the Koran], for example, is brought sometimes in detail, sometimes in brief, it once begins with his birth, on one occasion the Koran focuses on his [Moses'] story with Pharaoh and on another it [the Koran] focuses on the Children of Israel - their stubbornness and deviation." Hence, the phenomenon of "hiding" the ethnic identity of the Israelites/Jews in the stories of the Old Testaments that are included in the PA *Christian Education* textbooks is a phenomenon unique to them alone.

This line in *Christian Education* textbooks continues as well in later events of the Old Testament: "The people lived at that time among pagan nations that were worshipping idols." (*Christian Religious Education*, Grade 6 (2000 - the first and so far the latest edition of this book) p. 47); "Solomon built the Temple and completed it... and held with his people a great celebration on the occasion of completing the construction." (*Christian Education*, Grade 4 (2005) p. 34); "The prophets urged the people to mention God's name, sanctify His name and worship Him by heart rather than by the tongue... The prophets announced to the people that they would be dispersed as a result of their disobedience of God's orders." (*Christian Education*, Grade 4 (2005) p. 36); "The King of Babylon besieged Jerusalem [Urushalim (Al-Quds)] and destroyed it. He took its inhabitants to Babylon." (*Christian Education*, Grade 4 (2005) p. 40, and see the exercise on p. 43: "The Babylonian captivity: Taking the people of Jerusalem as guests to Babylon" [the student should write "right" or "wrong" next to each sentence]); "Then came the King of Babylon, took over Jerusalem, destroyed the temple and sent the inhabitants to exile in Babylon. The people lived in exile for a long time and when it returned, it lived under foreign rule (Persian, Greek, Roman)..."

ومن ثم جاء ملك بابل واستولى على اورشليم
وهدم الهيكل وجلا السكان إلى بابل . عاش الشعب طويلا في المنفى . ولما عاد، عاش تحت
سلطة الحكم الأجنبي (الفارسي ، واليوناني ، والروماني)

(*Christian Education*, Grade 7 (2001 - latest edition so far of this book) p. 19)

And more:

"God sent great men to lead the people to redemption. The most important [person] among them was Moses... The people deviated from God's path and then He sent them the Judges first and, later, the kings, beginning with David and the kings who followed him like Solomon... God sent the prophets to guide the people to the path of redemption... The Holy City fell in the hands of the Babylonians in 587 BC and the inhabitants were sent into exile..."

(*Christian Education*, Grade 10 (2013) pp. 50-51)

"Religious life concentrated around the Temple. On holidays people were coming from all places to celebrate the holidays in the Holy City. The most important holidays [were]: Passover (redemption from slavery by Moses), Pentecost (granting of the [religious] law), Tabernacles (the wandering in the desert)... There were many religious sections among the people..."

(*Christian Education*, Grade 7 (2001) p. 58)

Following is a historic table of the Middle East during Biblical times titled "Comprehensive View of the Old Testament". It describes the events in "Egypt", "Mesopotamia" and "the Old testament". The name of the country itself is missing, as well as the name of the people whose "forefathers" are "Abraham", "Isaac", "Jacob" and "Joseph", whose "kings" and "prophets" are "Saul", "David", "Solomon", "Isaiah", "Jeremiah", "Ezekiel", "Hosea" and "Amos". It also mentions "the Northern Kingdom (Samaria)" and "the Southern Kingdom (Jerusalem [Urushalim])", as well as "Moses", "Joshua", "the Judges", "the Exile", "Cyrus permits the return", "Ezra", "Nehemiah", "Prophet Daniel" and "the Maccabees":



(*Christian Education, Grade 10 (2013) p. 52. All names and terms given here in English are quoted from the Arabic text.*)

The Children of Israel are mentioned once as the ones who left Egypt, alongside a sole mentioning of the twelve Hebrew tribes (*Christian Education, Grade 7 (2001) p. 19*). The same book also mentions that "the Passover holiday among the Jews is the holiday of getting out of slavery" (p. 79) and also "the Pentecost holiday among the Jews..." (p. 92). Another book mentions "the Hebrews" instead of the Jews: "The Hebrews lived together with other peoples in the land of Canaan and God chose David as a king for them." (*Christian Education, Grade 4 (2005) p. 29*, and see also *Christian Education, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 40*); "Sons of the Hebrew people in the Old Testament were gathering around the table of the Passover holiday which was reminding them the exodus from slavery to liberty" (*Christian Education, Grade 11 (2005) p. 19*). Another book that uses the term "people" within the description of Old Testament events mentions once "the Hebrew people" (*Christian Education, Grade 12 (2006) p. 29*). But all these cases are exceptional ones.

2. References to Jews in the context of the New Testament events

"As for Palestine, many Jewish religious sects existed there, such as the Pharisees, the Scribes and the Sadducees. Religious life was supervised by the Chamber [the Sanhedrin is probably meant here] and the priests."

(*Christian Education, Grade 10 (2013) p. 61*)

And in the context of the Good Samaritan story in the New Testament:

"The Samaritans: a group living in Samaria [Al-Samirah]. There was great hostility between them and the Jews."

(*Christian Education*, Grade 3 (2002) p. 56, and see this sentence repeated in the context of the religious sects among the Jews at that time - *Christian Education*, Grade 7 (2001) p. 58)

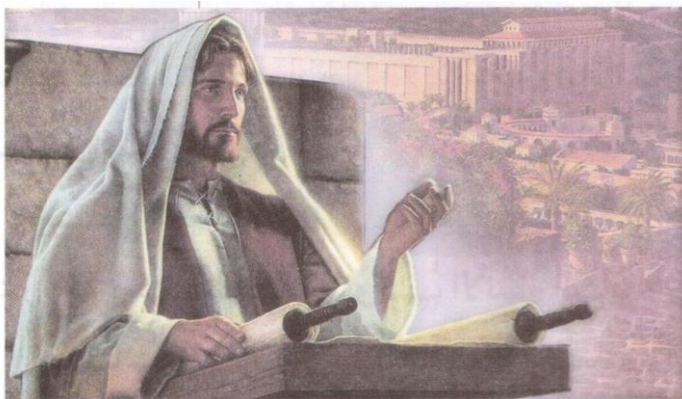
"Towards the New Testament: God chose the Hebrew people to be the tool of this testament... which is the testament established by God with humanity through Jesus Christ."

(*Christian Education*, Grade 11 (2005) p. 55)

"Lord Christ... has given a new meaning to the Jewish Passover."

(*Christian Education*, Grade 11 (2005) p. 19)

Yet, the *Christian Education* textbooks do not mention Jesus and his disciples' Jewish affiliation, except for mentioning the expression "king of the Jews" in the story of the three Magi in the New Testament (*Christian Education*, Grade 3 (2002) p. 90) and Paul's anti-Christian activity as a Jewish youngster before his conversion (*Christian Education*, Grade 2 (2010) p. 99). In addition, the Gospel of Mark quotes Jesus' Jewish credo: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is one" (*Christian Religious Education*, Grade 6 (2000) p. 102, and see also *Christian Education*, Grade 7 (2001) p. 22). But these are exceptional cases. Moreover, in another piece there is an illustrated story about Jesus in the "gathering place [*majma*]" in Nazareth on Sabbath where, according to Luke, he read a prophecy from Isaiah and applied it to himself. Nowhere in the text is it said that it was a Jewish event that took place in a synagogue.



(*Christian Education*, Grade 4 (2005) p. 4, and see also *Christian Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 4, and this issue repeated in *Christian Education*, Grade 9 (2003) p. 44)

It is also said as part of the description of Jesus' life in his family house in Nazareth: "The family participated in the religious ceremonies and observed the religious duties required from every believer at that time" (*Christian Education*, Grade 7 (2001) p. 65) - without any hint at the fact that they were Jewish religious duties.

On the other hand, Jews are always mentioned as such in the context of their description in New Testament stories as opponents of Jesus Christ and his disciples, which gives them negative image in the students' eyes:²⁹

"The doors were closed where the disciples were gathering due to [their] fear of the Jews."

(*Christian Education*, Grade 3 (2002) p. 86)

"The Jews kept the Sabbath's holiness. They made it a day of rest and prayer and prohibited any work on that day, even the performance of good deeds. By curing the sick people on Sabbath, Jesus has taught us that doing good is our obligation on all days..."

(*Christian Education*, Grade 3 (2002) p. 88)

In some cases the authors of these textbooks (who are all clergymen of the various local churches) rely on a religious text that does not explicitly refer to Jews but the authors themselves stress those people's Jewish identity. For example, there is a piece in which Jesus argues with the Pharisees on the topic of divorce and says that Moses permitted divorce in Judaism "because of your tough hearts", namely, the Pharisees'. But in the question following that piece the Jews are referred to, not the Pharisees: "Why did Moses permit the Jews to divorce?" (*Christian Education*, Grade 2 (2010) pp. 43 [the text], 45 [question No. 3]).

Another such item, taken from the same book:

"From the Scriptures: The Verdict on Jesus

Pilate ordered Jesus to be flagellated, perhaps the Jews would be satisfied with that, but they shouted: 'Crucify him, crucify him!' He then handed them Jesus. They put on his head a crown of thorns, made him carry a cross, went with him to the mountain of Golgotha and crucified him between two criminals. They mocked at him while he was on the cross..."

(*Christian Education*, Grade 2 (2010) p. 59. The source of this piece is said to be Luke 23:33-49, but a look into the crucifixion story there reveals that Jews are not referred to explicitly, but rather "the chief priests, the rulers and the people" - Luke 23:13 KJV)

In another case the source is quoted accurately, without any mentioning of Jews, but it is preceded by a description that mentions the Jews, with no source indication:

"During the Jews' Passover holiday the disciple Judas Iscariot handed Jesus over to his opponents... The Jews' priests accused Jesus of blasphemy by saying that he was the Messiah, the son of God..." (*Christian Education*, Grade 7 (2001) p. 71). This piece is given with no source. Later on, within the description of Jesus' sentence and

²⁹ It is possible that the almost complete separation done in *Christian Education* textbooks between Jesus Christ and the Jews is the source that feeds the argument voiced at times by Palestinian figures that Jesus was a Palestinian-Arab persecuted by Jews. We have already seen the argument that the Arab Palestinians are presented as the descendants of the Arab Canaanites who united with their Arab brethren during the Muslim conquest, that is, they were present in the country in Jesus' time - and see the material on the Canaanites elsewhere in this report.

crucifixion, Matthew's Gospel is given as a source and the textbook authors keep the original terms: the people and the priests (pp. 70-71)³⁰

It should be noted that *Islamic Education* textbooks also refer to Jews ("Children of Israel") in the context of Jesus Christ:

"The Position of the Children of Israel vis-à-vis Jesus [Isa in Arabic] Christ [Masih]
God supported Jesus Christ by many miracles, but the Children of Israel said that he was a liar, opposed him and hurt him. No one believed in him except few of them and they were named by the Koran 'Apostles [Hiwariyyin]'. They announced their Islam³¹ and belief in Jesus...

The Plot to Kill Jesus Christ

Those who did not believe were not satisfied with calling Jesus Christ a liar. Rather, they plotted to kill him. But God saved him from murder. God made him ascend to Him and cast his image on some other person. When his enemies [Jews are not mentioned here specifically] who wanted to kill him came, they found that one who looked like him, took him and crucified him thinking they were crucifying Christ..." (*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) pp. 17-18)

Jews are denounced in a textbook of the *Shar'i* high school stream as ones who participated in the oppression of Christianity in its initial phases and who were responsible for the distortion of its mission:

"The oppression that accompanied Christianity following its establishment on the Romans' part, and by instigation on the Jews' part, brought about its loss [i.e., the original Gospel]... When Paul the Jew started [his] preaching activity in the Messiah's name, he began to claim that he was the only one with whom true Christianity and the Gospel were entrusted and started introducing into them false beliefs and ancient philosophies in order to corrupt them. What assisted in the distortion of the Gospel was its being an oral preaching secretly dictated by the Messiah to his disciples under the circumstances of Roman oppression and the Jews' plots."
(*Faith*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i* Stream] (2013) p. 64)

The Jews in Modern Times

There is no direct reference in the PA schoolbooks to Jews in modern times outside the scope of the conflict. This phenomenon is particularly evident by the absence of any reference to the Holocaust. The chapters on World War II in history textbooks for grades 10 and 12 do not mention the Holocaust at all, not even in one sentence (see "Lesson 5: World War II" in *Modern and Contemporary History of the World*, Grade 10 (2015) pp. 64-69 and "Fourth Lesson: World War II (1939-1945)" in *History of the Arabs and the World*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) pp. 34-40). The only indirect reference that could be found was one sentence talking about certain tension in the

³⁰ In any case, the New Testament itself, as quoted in one textbook, clearly puts the responsibility for the crucifixion on the Jews in St. Peter's words - Acts of the Apostles 2:14, 22-23, and see *Christian Education*, Grade 7 (2001) p. 106.

³¹ According to Islam, anyone who believed in God in a correct manner before Muhammad's appearance is to be considered a Muslim, including Abraham and all other Biblical figures respected by Islam.

relations between the European Union and the Arab world due to "the adoption of 'the Jewish problem' by supporting the establishment of Israel on Palestine's soil " (*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2014) p. 34). The Holocaust is not mentioned as well in the chapter discussing Jewish-Arab relations in the country during and following World War II, not even as a factor in international attitude to this subject (and see the chapter "Palestine between the years 1939-1947" in *Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) pp. 22-27). The only expression that may hint at that is the following assignment: "I will draw a conclusion as to how the Jews utilized the circumstances of World War II for political and military preparation for taking over Palestine" (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 27).

The Jews in the Context of the Conflict

The first reference to Jews in relation to the country in modern times, before the outbreak of the conflict itself, appears in a piece discussing the French invasion of Palestine from Egypt in the late eighteenth century. The French commander, General Napoleon Bonaparte, issued a manifesto to the Jews of the world calling upon them to support him and promising to renew their rule of the country under his patronage:

"Napoleon issued a call directed at the Jews in which he urged them to rally around his flag for the purpose of returning them to Jerusalem and rebuilding their temple [there] in return for their assistance to him in taking over the Levant [Al-Sham in Arabic]. It was said in that call: 'Divine Providence that has sent me here at the head of this army has made Jerusalem my headquarters. I do not demand from Palestine's legitimate inheritors to conquer their homeland only. Rather, I demand from them to promise and help this nation [France], so that you will guard it against those who have greedy ambitions against you and so that you will become real masters of your country.' His goal by that was:

1. [His] ambition to attract the Jewish communities in the Orient in order to support his influence and consolidate his rule.
2. To acquire the trust of the Jews in France, as well as their financial support with a view to obtaining loans in light of the French treasury's deficit.
3. Encouraging the Jews to settle in Palestine in order to facilitate the French occupation [there] and support it so that it would constitute a threat vis-à-vis Britain's interests and its transportation routes to India."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 41, and see the questions on p. 42: "5. Napoleon issued a call to the Jews to return to Jerusalem: A. What was Napoleon's goal in that call? B. Was Napoleon serious in his call? Why?")

The book later talks of the British interest in supporting Jewish settlement in Palestine:

"The Zionist penetration [into the country], with the encouragement of European states, especially Britain that began encouraging the Jews to settle in Palestine and establish there a Jewish state under British protection, and using it as a means to securing its interests and its transportation routes to the countries of the Orient... Britain was helped by the Jews to realize its imperialistic greedy ambitions [*atma'iha al-isti'mariyyah*] and, therefore, Jews started immigrating to Palestine and the Jewish

quarter was established in the north-western part of Jerusalem in 1860.³² Nevertheless, the number of Jews in Palestine throughout this period did not exceed 11 thousand. Yet, following the increase of the calls in Europe to settle Jews in Palestine, several institutions for the encouragement of colonization [*isti'mar*] of the Holy Land started to appear, such as the school of Mikveh Yisrael (Israel's Hope) in 1870 on the lands of the village of Yazur near Jaffa, in order to train the Jews in agricultural work for their settlement in Palestine. England built the Zion school in Jerusalem and Austrian Jews established there a Jewish school in 1856 named 'Evelyn Rothschild'."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 46)

And one of the questions following that piece reads:

"I will explain the trickle of lands from the hands of the Palestinians into the Jews' hands during the second half of the nineteenth century."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 48)

According to the PA schoolbooks, Jews have no rights in Palestine, just "greedy ambitions [*atma*]". These ambitions are attributed in the text to the Zionists, rather than to Jews in general:

1. The Zionist colonialist [*istitaniyyah*] greedy ambitions in Palestine started in 1882.
2. These greedy ambitions increased following the convocation of the first Zionist Congress in the city of Basel in Switzerland in 1897. This congress, headed by Theodor Herzl, encouraged emigration to Palestine and the entering into negotiations with the Ottoman Sultan Abd al-Hamid II in order to facilitate Jewish immigration to Palestine. But Sultan Abd al-Hamid II opposed these greedy ambitions in spite of the material temptations [he was offered].
3. The Zionist greedy ambitions increased [further] with the support of British Imperialism. Britain's Foreign Minister, Lord Balfour, issued on November 2, 1917 his declaration that calls for granting the Jews a national home in Palestine."

١ - بدأت الأطماع الصهيونية الاستيطانية في فلسطين منذ عام ١٨٨٢ م .
٢ - ازدادت هذه الأطماع بعد عقد المؤتمر الصهيوني الأول في مدينة بال بسويسرا عام ١٨٩٧ م ، حيث شجع هذا المؤتمر الذي تزعمه ثيودور هرتزل الهجرة إلى فلسطين ، والدخول في مفاوضات مع السلطان العثماني عبد الحميد الثاني لتسهيل هجرة اليهود إلى فلسطين ولكن السلطان عبد الحميد الثاني قاوم هذه الأطماع رغم الإغراءات المادية .
٣ - ازدادت الأطماع الصهيونية بدعم من الاستعمار البريطاني ، حين أصدر وزير خارجية بريطانيا اللورد بلفور تصريحه في ٢ تشرين الثاني عام ١٩١٧ م الداعي إلى إعطاء وطن قومي لليهود في فلسطين .

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 20, and see the question on that page: "In what year did the colonialist greedy ambitions in Palestine start?")

³² The Jewish Quarter has existed in its present place in the south-eastern part of the Old City (and not in its north-western part) since the mid-fifteenth century (and not since 1860).

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

١ - أذكر مواقف الدولة العثمانية من أطماع اليهود في فلسطين .
(National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 22)

On the basis of these ambitions, the Jewish presence in the country in modern times was created, and note the attribution to the Jews of genocidal intentions toward the Palestinians in the piece below:

"The first group of Jewish settlers came to Palestine from Russia in 1882 and the second group was in 1905. The coming of the Jewish throngs to Palestine continued until 1948 and their goal was taking control of the Palestinian lands and then replacing the original inhabitants after their expulsion or extermination [*ba'da tardihim aw ibadatihim*]."

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

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

The Jews who came to the country are dubbed "invading immigrants" and the settlements they established are called "colonies" and "settlements"³³

"Clashes [broke out] between the Arab peasants and the invading immigrants in Hederah, Mlabbes and Yazur. The Jews established colonies [*musta'marat*] on the lands of Palestine, among which was the colony of Petah Tikvah on the lands of the Arab village of Mlabbes in 1882... They settled in Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias and Hebron - which were some of the main cities in Palestine - and established colonies there."

(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 53, and see the question on p. 56: "The settlement [*mustawtanah*] of Petah Tikvah was established in 1882 on the lands of: A. Jaffa, B. Mlabbes, C. Galilee, D. Jerusalem")

"Activity 1: I will turn to one of the historical sources and write down the names of the Israeli settlements that appeared in Palestine during the period of 1870-1914."
(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 54, and note the use of the epithet "Israeli" in the context of those early years!)

The authors of the PA schoolbooks never say, throughout the discussion of the Jewish settlement in the country, that the lands where the Jewish settlements were built, which were mostly neglected and uncultivated, were fully purchased. By that they create the false impression of Arab lands plundered by Jews from their own

³³ The terms "colony" and "settlement" have negative connotations in Arabic in the context of the present conflict as they indicate alienage. Therefore, they are used to denote Jewish residential localities only. Arab such places are termed "cities" and "villages".

cultivators. As regards the cities mentioned in this piece, their Jewish communities had existed there for hundreds of years and were not an outcome of Zionism. No "colonies" were established there.

The official Ottoman position concerning Jewish immigration was negative, but the Jews managed to overcome it:

"[Question:] How would you explain the Zionist penetration into Palestine in spite of the opposing position by Sultan Abd al-Hamid to the immigration of Jews to Palestine and their residing there?"

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 53)

The book further says that, following the deposition of that sultan and the coming to power of the "Young Turks" (1908-1909) most of the limitations were abolished because the Ottoman State needed the Jews' money to pay its debts, and the Jews were also helped by members of the Dönme sect who had much influence then in government circles, according to the book:

"The Dönme Jews: these are Jews camouflaged as Muslims who played a prominent role in the revolution against Sultan Abd al-Hamid [in 1908] and in his deposition in 1909." (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 54)³⁴

Jewish immigration to the country did not stop during the period of the British Mandate, and even increased after the establishment of the Jewish State, as Israel took measures to enlarge its Jewish population and to bring about a demographic overturn:

"Israel took many measures aimed at Judaizing the Palestinian land, securing [its] control by the Jewish element, annulling [its] Arab-Palestinian character, ingathering of the largest number possible of the world's Jews and settling them in Israel with a view of causing a demographic turnover in their favor at the Palestinians' expense. Among these measures were [the following ones]: Encouraging Jewish immigration to Palestine and granting the [immigrating] Jews [certain] facilitations. The Israeli government issued laws of which the most important ones have been the Law of Return of 1950 that confirmed the right of the world's Jews to immigrate to occupied Palestine, and the Citizenship Law of 1952 that grants the Jews who immigrate to Israel Israeli citizenship... Israel [also] started several water projects to ensure the needs of the colonialist residential places [*Al-Tajammu'at al-sakaniyyah al-istitaniyyah*] and of the agricultural lands."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) pp. 36-37, and see the question on p. 38: "2. I will mention [some] examples of the measures taken by Israel following the 1948 war in order to Judaize Palestine and ensure its domination by the Jewish element.")

Contrary to the legitimacy of the Palestinians' presence in the country, according to the PA schoolbooks (and see *National Education Grade 7* (2013) p. 20), the mere

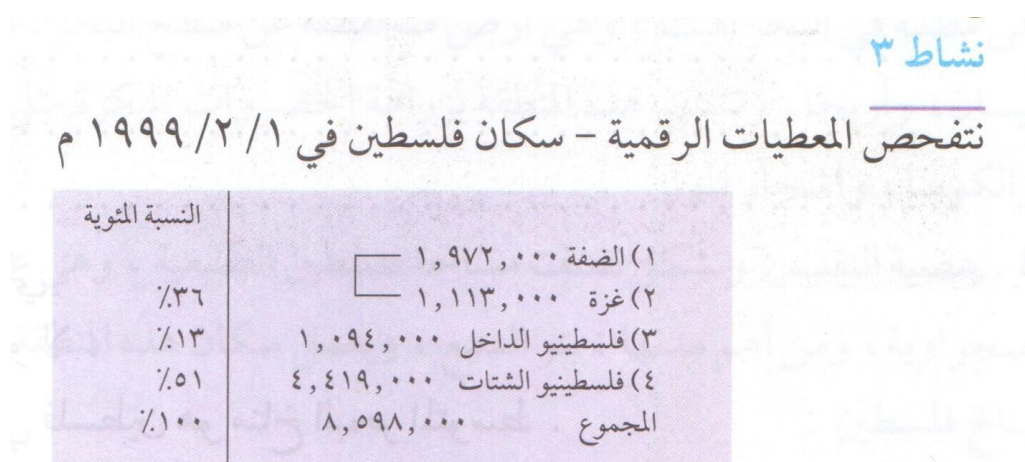
³⁴ Dönme is the Turkish name given to the followers of the false Jewish Messiah Shabetai Tzevi in the 17th century, who, like him, converted to Islam but kept their internal unity as a unique cult until recently. Their centers were in Salonika and Izmir and some of them participated in the "Young Turks" revolution of 1908.

presence of the Jews there is illegitimate – because they are occupiers: "The Jews have occupied our country for quite a time" (*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 25). The illegitimacy of the Jews' presence in the country finds its expression in a table presenting the number of Palestine's inhabitants at the beginning of 1999, which includes even the Palestinians living abroad and also the Palestinian citizens of the State of Israel, alongside the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It does not include, though, the 5.5 million Jewish citizens of Israel at that time who outnumbered all the Palestinians living in the country. One should also note the use of the term "Interior" as a circumlocution to avoid the use of the name "Israel" while defining its Palestinian citizens within its pre-1967 borders:

"Activity [No.] 3

Let us examine the figures – Palestine's inhabitants on 1.2.1999

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



(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 10. A similar table for 2008 is titled "Table of the Geographical Distribution of the Palestinian People", which justifies the absence of the data regarding the Jewish inhabitants of the country – *Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 49)

A more updated table as far as the date is concerned, but certainly not in line with the real data on the ground, appears in a mathematics textbook from 2016. This table too defines Israel's territory by a circumlocution – "the territories occupied in 1948":

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

Region

The West Bank and the Gaza Strip	4,750,000
Inside the territories occupied in 1948	1,470,000
In the Arab states	5,460,000
In foreign [i.e., non-Arab] states	685,000

I will arrange the regions where Palestinians are present in a descending order according to the number of inhabitants."

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

٦ الجدول الآتي
يُوضِّحُ عَدَدَ سُكَّانِ
فلسطين لعام ٢٠١٥م،
حسب مركز الإحصاء
الفلسطيني:

أرتب مناطق تواجد الفلسطينيين تنازلياً حسب أعداد السكان:

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(*Mathematics*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 25. The 2017 edition of this book features the same chart on p. 21 in a different graphic form.)

"Historical Palestine [*Filastin al-Ta'rikhiyyah*]" appears in the states column within a table presenting the number of inhabitants in the Arab world with 10 million inhabitants. A note at the bottom of that page reads:

"The number of inhabitants in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and inside the Green Line [i.e., pre-1967 Israel] is 5,025,376. The number of the Palestinian refugees in Palestine and in the diaspora is 5,447,949, according to the estimates of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics in 2009 that are based on the final results of the 2007 census."

(*Geography of the Arab Homeland*, Grade 9 (2015) p. 43)

In other words, the refugees abroad are counted as the country's inhabitants and the Jews inside the country are absent, notwithstanding the fact that they live in a region that in accordance with the definition "historical Palestine" surely includes Israel - referred to as the Green Line in the text.

All these examples present in a nutshell the ideology that stands behind what is termed "the Right of Return": The "illegitimate" inhabitants in the country - the Jews - are supposed to leave and those "legitimate" ones abroad - the Palestinian refugees and their descendants - are supposed to come and take their place.

The following question reads:

"The majority of Palestine's inhabitants are followers of the religion."

(*National Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 17)

On the face of it, this is an open question, but on the preceding page the name "Palestine" appears next to a map of the country in its entirety and the caption reads: "Most Palestinians are Muslim". This is another example, implicit in this case, that ignores the present Jewish majority in the country.

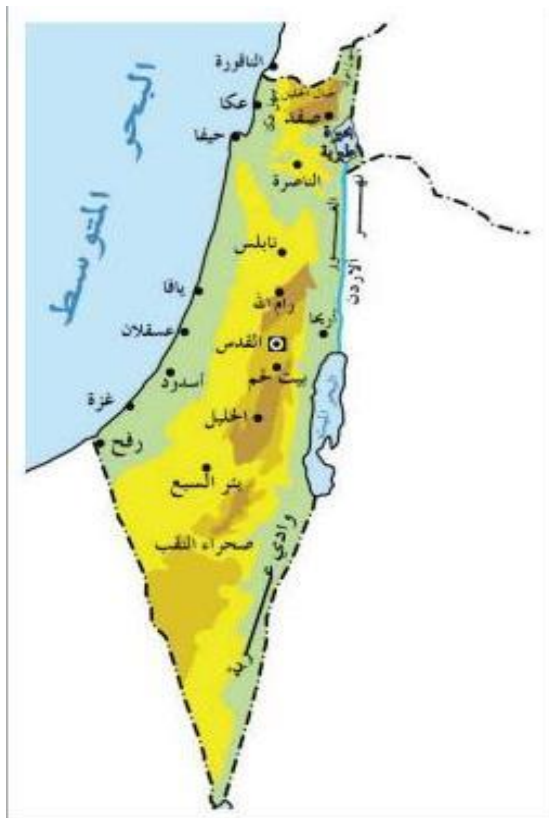
An exceptional recognition of the existence of a Jewish society in Israel today appears in none other than a *Christian Education* textbook, contrary to the line followed by the books of this school subject that "conceals" the Jewish presence in the country in former periods (and see above), though the Jews are mentioned here at the end of the sentence, after all the minorities residing in their midst:

"We, in Palestine, Jordan and any Arab country, are called to [live] in a Christian and Muslim society, and in Israel [we] are called to live in a society in which Christians, Muslims, Druze and Jews [are found]."

(*Christian Education*, Grade 10 (2013) p. 102)

The hiding of the Jews' physical presence in the country today by the PA schoolbooks in general finds its expression as well on maps where one cannot find cities established by Jews in modern times, including the city of Tel Aviv (except for very few cases, and see below). The only cities appearing on the map are the ones that existed before Jewish immigration to the country in modern times: Acre, Haifa, Safed, Tiberias, Nazareth, Nablus, Jaffa, Lydda, Ramleh, Ramallah, Jericho, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Beer Sheba, Gaza, etc. Rehovot, Netanyah, Rishon Letsiyon, Holon, Haderah, Nahariyah, and many other Jewish cities are absent.

Following are a number of maps as an example:



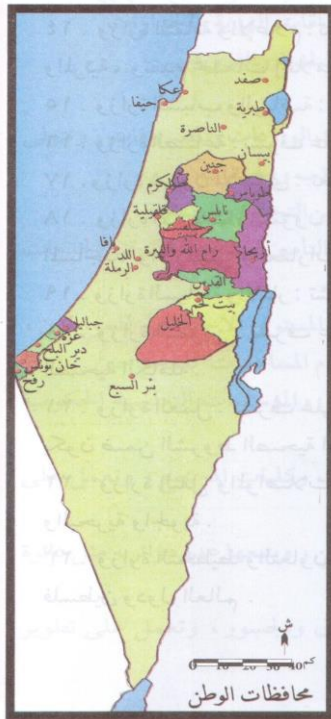
(*National and Life Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 9)



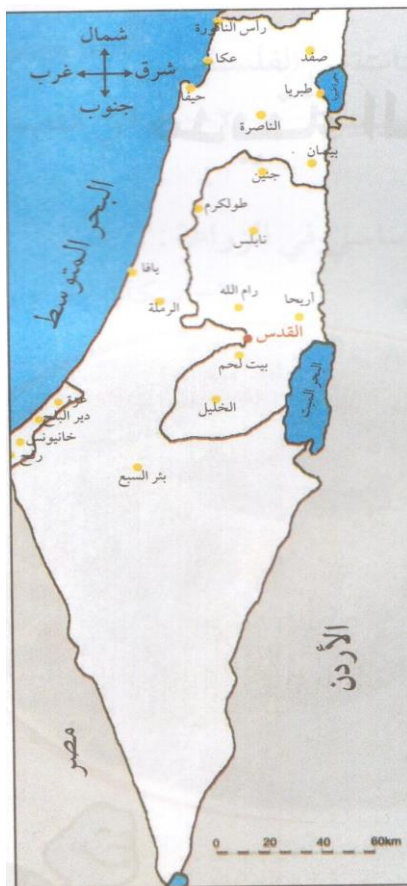
(*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014) p. 25)



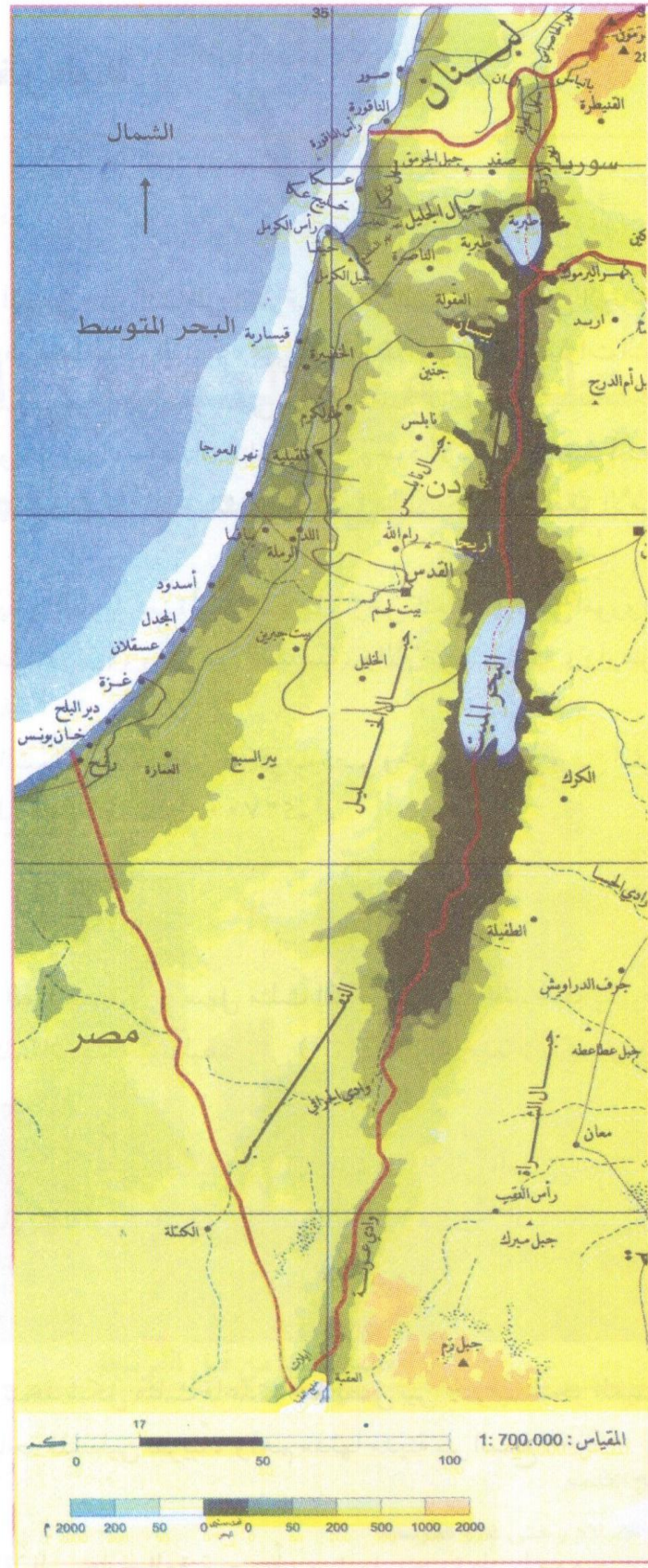
(Human Geography,
Grade 6 (2014) p. 49)



(National Education,
Grade 6 (2014) p. 40)



(National Education, Grade 4,
Part 1 (2014) p. 46)



خريطة فلسطين الطبيعية

(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 4)

It should be noted that the above-given map, titled "Physical Map of Palestine", features the Jewish city of Haderah - whose name is originally Arabic. Also, the name "Eilat" is written along the coast of the Red Sea without specifying the city's location. Tel Aviv and all other Jewish-established cities in modern times are all missing.

This trend continues as well in the new books that were issued in 2016 and 2017, and see the maps in *National and Life Education*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) pp. 58, 77; *Sciences and Life*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016) p. 4; *Social Studies*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017) pp. 8, 13, 21.

In other cases the text ignores the present name of the Jewish city and replaces it with the Arabic place-name that preceded it:

"The Palestinian Rift Valley stretches from the Hula [Valley] in the north to Umm Rashrash [Eilat] on the Gulf of Aqaba in the south."
(*Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 36, and see "Umm Rashrash" on a map in the same book on p. 77, as one of Palestine's port cities on p. 79 and in an assignment on p. 80)

Tel Aviv appears on a historical map presenting "the Zionist settlements [*mustawtanat*] established until the beginning of the British Mandate in 1920". The map shows as well the cities of Acre, Nazareth, Beisan [Beit Shean], Jenin, Tulkarm, Nablus, Qalqilyah, Lydda, Ramleh, Ramallah, Jericho, Bethlehem, Majdal [today's Ashkelon], Gaza and Beer Sheba - marked by a large red circle specifying "a Palestinian city", the cities of Safed, Haifa, Tiberias, Jaffa, Jerusalem and Hebron - marked by a large black circle specifying "a mixed city", places marked by a small red circle specifying "a Palestinian village" and places marked by a small grey circle specifying "a Zionist settlement". Tel Aviv is marked by a large grey circle specifying "a Zionist city".

The distinction between "[Palestinian] villages" and "[Zionist] settlements" repeats itself on the map within the following note:

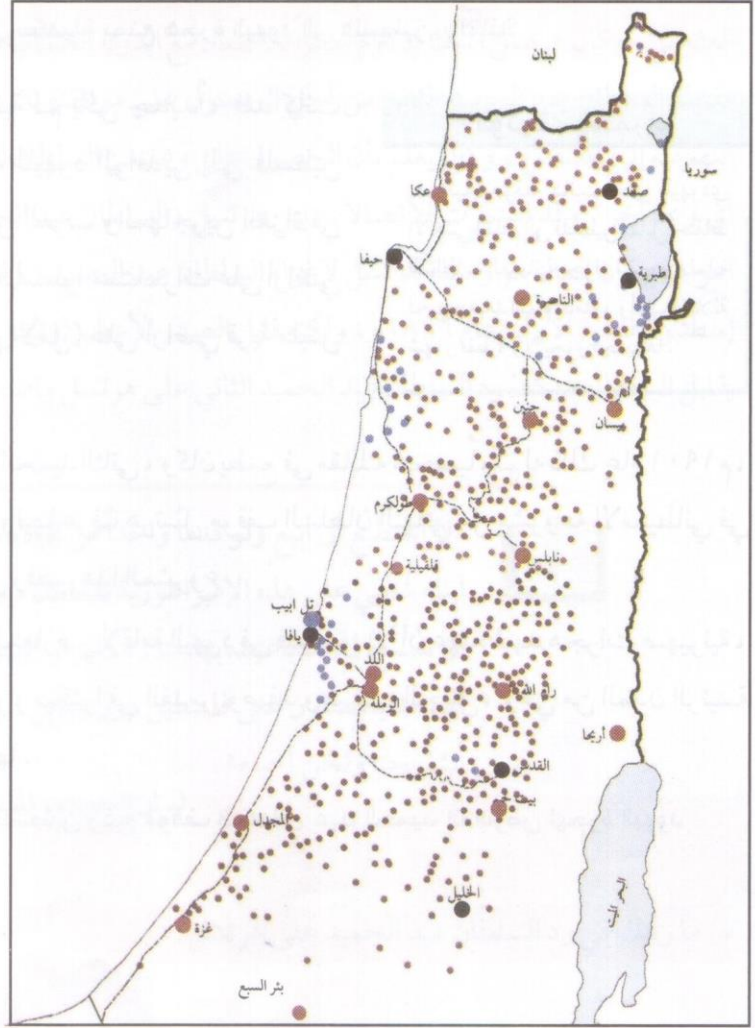
"The size of the circles that mark the locations of the villages and the cities does not represent the number of their [respective] inhabitants, but rather distinguishes the main cities from the villages and the settlements [*al-qura wa al-mustawtanat*]."

فلسطين
المستوطنات الصهيونية التي تم إنشاؤها حتى بدء
الانتداب البريطاني عام ١٩٢٠م.

خط الساحل
حدود دولية
سكة حديد

مدينة صهيونية
مستوطنة صهيونية
مدينة فلسطينية
قرية فلسطينية
مدينة مختلطة

تشير الحدود الظاهرة في الخريطة إلى حدود
فلسطين باستثناء النقب التي حددها الانتداب
البريطاني عام ١٩٢٢م.
إن مساحة الدوائر التي تحدد مواقع القرى والمدن
لا تمثل نسبة عدد السكان فيها، بل تشير إلى المدن
الرئيسة لتمييزها عن القرى والمستوطنات.



٥٤

(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 54)

Only one of all the PA schoolbooks does show on the map cities established by Jews in modern times. An enlarged part of the country, placed next to a small map of the country as a whole, is titled "Map of the State of Palestine (Residential Concentrations [Al-Tajammuat al-Sakaniyyah])" and includes the territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in purple and the Israel's pre-1967 territory in yellow. Cities and towns in Israel are also marked, like those in the West Bank and Gaza. The map is not clear enough to understand and the place names are not readable.

The meaning of the title is unclear. Do the authors mean to mark the territories of the west Bank and Gaza alone as "the State of Palestine", or the title relates to the other map of the whole country, and the different colors on the enlarged part distinguish between the territories that are supposedly "liberated" and those ones that are still "occupied"? In the absence of clear names on the purple and yellow areas, this question cannot be answered.



(*Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 1 (2014) p. 20*)

In this context a short-lived development on a 2016 map should be noted. The city of Tel Aviv, which had not been placed on maps before, except as a settlement, appeared under the name "Tall al-Rabi", which is the Arabic translation of its original Hebrew name. It might be related to certain Palestinian expressions in the Web that presented it as a Palestinian city named Tall al-Rabi' that was occupied in 1948 by the Jews who changed its name into Tel Aviv. A site titled "Palestine Dialogue Net" <https://www.paldf.net/forum/showthread.php?t=791196>, for example, showed photographs of the city under the title "Pictures of the Palestinian city of Tel Aviv" and said, *inter alia*: "The city of Tel Aviv is an occupied Palestinian city located on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea... Israel occupied it in 1948 and its name in the past was Tell al-Rabi'."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

مدينة تل أبيب مدينة فلسطينية محتلة تقع على الساحل المطل على
البحر الأبيض المتوسط. عدد سكانها 376700 نسمة، ومساحتها تقارب
50.5 كم2. اسم المدينة يعني بالعبرية "تل الربيع".

احتلتها اسرائيل في عام 1948
وكانت تسمى قديما (تل الربيع)

Following is the map (the red circle has been added):



(Mathematics, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016) p. 143)

Whatever the intention, the Tall al-Rabi' episode was short-lived and the city of Tel Aviv disappeared again from the maps in the new books that were issued in 2017. Indeed, even the original map no longer exists, as the 2017 reprint of the 2016 book does not include the section where it was shown.

Side by side with the efforts to eliminate the Jews from the country's history and geography, their national language, Hebrew, that was regarded during British Mandatory days as one of the country's three official languages, alongside English and Arabic, is erased, literally. In a British Mandate stamp reproduced in a PA schoolbook the Hebrew inscription appearing at the bottom left corner has been erased, and compare with the original stamp next to it³⁵:



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

Furthermore, Hebrew is not recognized as a full language, but is rather referred to as a dialect [*lahjah*] (National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 55)

And another reference, this time to the Hebrew script that is depicted as a symbol for the occupation of Arab Jerusalem:

"The article draws the attention to the dangers surrounding Jerusalem, such as the foreign centers that overlook its spaces and stifle its breaths, the foreign wall that encircles its expanses, the checkpoints that restrict its movement and the Hebrew

³⁵ The authors of one of the PA schoolbooks accuse the (Jewish) first British high commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, of making Hebrew an official language and of putting the Hebrew name "Land of Israel" on Mandatory coins and stamps (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1(2015) p. 72), and see below the discussion of Zionism. The falsification of the stamp was probably done with a view to "correcting" the "fault" about which they complain. It should be noted that this textbook is supposed to be replaced within the current PA schoolbook renewal project, and one should check the books to be published in the future to make sure that this falsification phenomenon is not repeated.

letter that threatens its culture's character. Yet, this is Jerusalem - a genuine and sacred land that spits out the slag of foreigners and pretenders."
(*Arabic Language*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 17)

The description of the Jews in the context of the conflict sometimes acquires a demonizing and even de-humanizing dimension. Following is an excerpt from a poem written in Mandatory times by the Palestinian nationalist poet Ibrahim Tuqan, in which he characterizes the Jews as compared to the Britons:

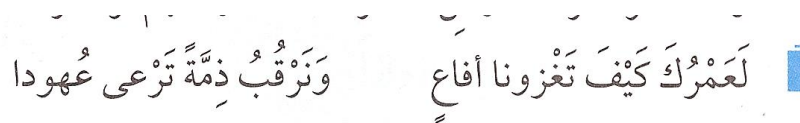
"We have two adversaries: [One] has power and height and the other has [the capabilities of] deceit and seizure of opportunities."
(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 83, and see the same verse again in *Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique*, Grade 12 (2014) p. 68)

Another piece with a similar connotation:

"Guard my homeland against the mishaps of time, for the small bird [the Jews, probably] has considered itself an eagle"
(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 120)

And another language exercise featuring a crude dehumanizing expression against the Jews:

"By your life! How come that snakes invade us..."



لَعْمُرُكُ كَيْفَ تَغْزُونَا أَفَاعٍ وَنَرَقِبُ ذِمَّةَ تَرَعَى عُهودَا

(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 63)

Another demonizing expression appears in a poem in one of the new books of 2017 concerning Jerusalem:

"Where are the horsemen [who will ride] towards Al-Aqsa [Mosque] to liberate it from the fist of unbelief, from the Devil's aides."
(*Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 66)

Demonization of Jews becomes worse in the textbooks of high school *Shar'i* stream that deal with future events, or, rather, the End of Days. Among the signs of the End of Days the following one is also included:

"As for the Anti-Christ [the false Messiah who precedes Jesus Christ's Advent in Christian faith and found in Islam as well under the name *Dajjal*] – he is a man who will appear at the End of Days and will claim divineness... There are in the Prophetic tradition [*Hadith*] texts stating that he will appear in [the Iranian city of] Isfahan and will be followed by seventy thousand [men] of its Jews. He is blind in his right eye..."
(*Faith*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i* Stream] (2013) p. 95)³⁶

³⁶ This tradition might reflect the affair of the Jewish false Messiah Ovadia Abu Issa of Isfahan (8th century).

And the following *Hadith*, being one of the signs of the End of Days too, is much more alarming, because it harbors implications for our own days, as noted by the authors of the textbook:

"...7. The fighting against the Jews and the victory over them: The Messenger [Muhammad] announced the end of the Jews' oppression upon this holy land and the end of their corruption and occupation there. [It is told] by Abu Hurayrah [one of Muhammad's Companions] that the Prophet said: 'The End of Days will 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 will say: 'O Muslim, O God's servant, there is a Jew behind me, so come and kill him!' – except the salt bush [Gharqad], for it is one of the Jews' trees."

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 **أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ قَالَ: «لَا تَقُومُ السَّاعَةُ حَتَّى يَقَاتِلَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ الْيَهُودَ، فَيَقْتُلُهُمُ الْمُسْلِمُونَ، حَتَّى يَخْتَبِئَ الْيَهُودِيُّ مِنْ وَرَاءِ الْحَجَرِ أَوْ الشَّجَرِ، فَيَقُولُ الْحَجَرُ أَوْ الشَّجَرُ: يَا مُسْلِمُ، يَا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ، هَذَا يَهُودِيٌّ خَلْفِي فَتَعَالَ فَاقْتُلْهُ إِلَّا الْغَرَقَدَ، فَإِنَّهُ مِنْ شَجَرِ الْيَهُودِ»**^(٢).

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

The Holy Places

All the references in the PA schoolbooks to the holy places in the country never mention Jewish holy places as such. There is one case in which a note to the teacher says that one of the goals of the lesson involved is "that the students make a connection between Palestine and the monotheistic religions" – but no names are given (*National Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 8). A *Christian Education* textbook features the following question: "Our country is considered holy by other religions [as well], do you know which ones?" – with no mentioning of Judaism in the preceding material (*Christian Education*, Grade 3 (2002) p. 89), but even these references are exceptional.

The holy places belong to Muslims and Christians only. Jews are not mentioned in this context:

"Palestine is part of this world... It has religious places of all monotheistic religions, such as Al-Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher."

(*National Education*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2015) p. 38)

Pages 40-42 of that book provide details and photographs of Al-Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, Ibrahim's Mosque [the Cave of the Patriarchs] in Hebron, the Nativity Church in Bethlehem and the Annunciation Church in Nazareth (that city is considered an integral part of today's Palestine). No mentioning whatsoever of a place holy to the Jewish monotheistic faith is to be found in any of the books.

"Palestine has been known as the cradle of the monotheistic religions and many prophets lived there. Consequently, Palestine has acquired religious importance. It was the destination of the Messenger Muhammad's nocturnal journey [*Isra*], and Al-Aqsa Mosque – the first [Islamic] direction of prayer – is found there... Also, the Ibrahim Mosque [the Cave of the Patriarchs] is found there, in the city of Hebron... Palestine is also the cradle of the Christian religion, since God's prophet Jesus was born in the city of Bethlehem where the Church of the Nativity was built... The Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the city of Jerusalem and the Church of the Annunciation in the city of Nazareth are also found in Palestine."

(*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014) p. 10)

Even *Christian Education* textbooks taught to Christian students in the Palestinian school system, the authors of which might be expected to have been more familiar with Jewish religious ties to the country, do not include references to Jewish holy places there. One of these books mentions the Jewish Temple, *Haykal* in Arabic, in the context of Jesus' visit there in his childhood. The Temple's Jewish character at that time is not mentioned:

"The *Haykal*: A word meaning 'grand house'. It is a place of God's worship, like the church in our time."

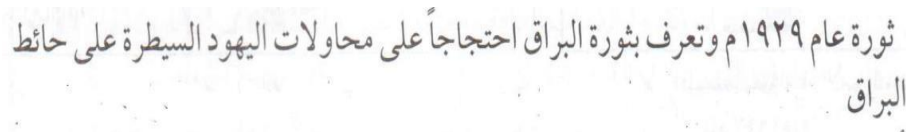
(*Christian Education*, Grade 2 (2010) p. 11)

When the PA schoolbooks do mention the Jewish holy places, such as the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron and Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem, these places are presented as Muslim holy places the Jews strive to take control of:

"The Al-Buraq Wall [the Wailing Wall] is named after Al-Buraq [the divine beast] that carried the Messenger [Muhammad, during the nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, according to Islamic tradition]. This is the wall claimed by the Jews to be the Wailing Wall [in Arabic: *Ha'it al-Mabka* – the wall of the place of mourning – is the traditional Arabic name of the Wailing Wall as a Jewish holy place]."³⁷

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2014) p. 58)

The 1929 revolt "is known as 'the Al-Buraq Uprising [*Thawrah*]' in protest of the Jews' attempts to take over Al-Buraq Wall..."



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

The books place the Wailing Wall within the bounds of Al-Aqsa Mosque and thus make it an Islamic shrine:

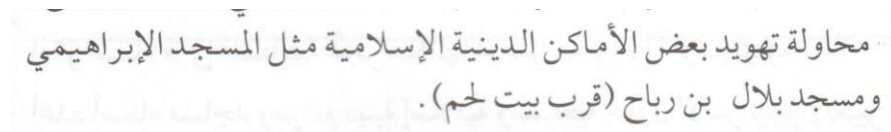
³⁷ The mere existence of a historical Arabic name for the Wailing Wall that indicates mourning there points out the existence of a long-time tradition among the Arabs of Jerusalem recognizing the Wall as a Jewish holy place, because the Jews alone had a reason to mourn there. That Muslim-Arab tradition contradicts today's efforts by Muslim clergymen to deny the Jews' ties to the place by using its other Arabic name – Al-Buraq Wall.

"Al-Aqsa Mosque [also] includes the noble Dome of the Rock... as well as the Marwan Mosque [the ancient underground hall on Temple Mount where the archeological relics of the Second Temple period were destroyed and an additional Muslim prayer place was built in the early 2000s at the initiative of the Islamic Movement in Israel], the courtyards, the buildings and the wall surrounding it, including Al-Buraq Wall [the Wailing Wall]."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2014) p. 75)

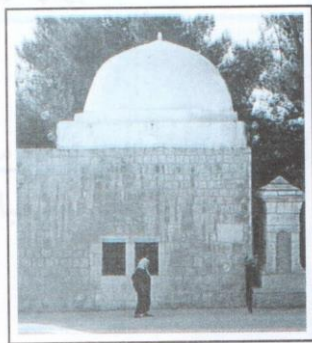
As regards the Cave of the Patriarchs and Rachel's Tomb:

"The attempt to Judaize part of the Muslim religious places such as the Mosque of Ibrahim [the Cave of the Patriarchs] and the Mosque of Bilal Bin Rabbah [Rachel's Tomb] (Bethlehem)."



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

The caption next to a photograph of Rachel's Tomb reads: "the Mosque of Bilal Bin Rabbah (Bethlehem)."



مسجد بلال بن رباح (بيت لحم)

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 54)

It should be noted that in an experimental schoolbook issued by the PA in 1996, prior to the inclusive project of schoolbook publishing in the years 2000-2006, the place is still called "Rachel's Tomb": "Rachel's Tomb [*Qabr Rahil*]: mother of our Lord Joseph and wife of Jacob, peace be upon them."

قبر راحيل: ام سيدنا يوسف وزوجة يعقوب عليهما السلام.

برك سليمان: تقع على بعد ٥ كم إلى الجنوب من بيت لحم على الطريق إلى الخليل وهي عبارة عن ثلاثة خزانات. وتعود نشأتها إلى السلطان العثماني سليمان القانوني.

جبل الفريديس: هو جبل اصطناعي في معظمه، مخروطي الشكل، توجد القلعة على قمته. ويرجع بناؤه إلى بداية الحكم الروماني لفلسطين.

وادي خريطون: يبدأ الوادي على بعد ٧ كم جنوب شرقي المدينة يمتد بين جبلين مرتفعين، تقع على احدهما مغارة خريطون وعلى الآخر مغارة سكنها الإنسان الاول. وتم اكتشاف اول موقد للنار في منطقة الشرق الاوسط في إحدى هذه المغاور.

الأهمية السياحية:

تعتبر مدينة بيت لحم من المدن السياحية الهامة في فلسطين، حيث يزورها السياح طوال السنة. ويشترى السواح المنتوجات الصوفية والخشبية التي تفنن في عملها السكان مثل: المسابح والصلبان والتحف الجميلة واللوحات الدينية التعبيرية والتطريز الذي يعتبر الاجمل في فلسطين.

الناحية الاقتصادية للمدينة:

تمتاز المدينة بأبنيتها الجميلة، تحيط بها تلال تكسوها الأشجار المثمرة مثل: الزيتون والكروم والأراضي المزروعة بالحبوب والخضروات كما تشتهر بتربية الاغنام. يوجد في المدينة بالإضافة إلى الصناعة السياحية، صناعات اخرى مثل: صناعة النسيج والصناعات الغذائية.

(*Palestinian National Education*, Grade 6 (1996) p. 89. The relevant piece has been marked at the head of the page.)

The name was changed into "the Mosque of Bilal Bin Rabbah" in the first edition of *National Education*, Grade 7 (2001) p. 54. Thus, we had the opportunity of witnessing a new Palestinian myth in its very making.

And this same book continues:

"Several Palestinian, Arab and Islamic centers and associations started to work for the revival of Palestinian-Arab heritage with a view to safeguarding Palestine's Arab character, and Jerusalem's in particular. They worked for the issuance of publications and printed material in cultural affairs defending Palestine and its heritage, such as:

Al-Buraq Wall: The Wailing Wall [*Ha'it al-Mabka*]

The Mosque of Bilal Bin Rabbah: Rachel's Dome [*Qubbat Rahil*]"

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 56)³⁸

³⁸ The quoted piece does not specify how these organizations work, but it seems that their goal is inculcating the use of the Arabic-Islamic names of these places at the expense of their Arabic names that indicate the ties of these places to Judaism.

Assignment: "I will mention the names of the Mosques and of [other] Islamic and Christian religious places the characteristics of which the Israelis attempted to change."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 56)

The case of the Wailing Wall in more detail:

"The Revolt of Noble Al-Buraq in 1929"

The Al-Buraq Wall: The western wall of the Noble Holy Place [*Al-Haram al-Sharif* – the Arabic name of the Temple Mount], which is an Islamic endowment [*waqf*]. It was named Al-Buraq after the beast the Messenger [Muhammad] rode in [his] nocturnal Journey and Ascension to Heaven [*Al-Isra' wa al-Mi'raj*, according to Islamic belief] and she brought him to the western wall. The Jews call it the Wailing Wall [*Ha'it al-Mabka* in Arabic: "the Wall of the Mourning Place"].

The Jews exploited the Muslims' tolerance and tried to take hold of Al-Buraq Wall by various means, such as their attempt to purchase the space [adjacent to it] from the Muslims. They offended their [the Muslims'] feelings by placing a screen in Al-Buraq's open space for partitioning between men and women. They placed tables and a wooden shack, lighted candles, brought *shofars* [Jewish ritual horns] and blew them. Therefore, the Arabs submitted to Britain an official complaint against such behaviors and, consequently, anything placed by the Jews in Al-Buraq's space was removed, which brought about a demonstration by the Jews in protest of the British position.

The Muslims convened a conference in Jerusalem in 1928 regarding the Noble Al-Buraq Wall and decided to establish an association to guard Al-Aqsa and the Muslim holy places. Its center was in Jerusalem, and branches were established in various cities in the Muslim world, while the Jews established the association of the Wailing Wall Guardians.

The Jews decided to hold a demonstration near the Wall on 15.8.1929 and the Englishmen allowed them to do that under the claim of prayer. Some 600 Jews participated and called: 'the Wall is ours.' The Muslims reacted with a larger demonstration on the next day. Thousands of Muslims arrived at Al-Aqsa Mosque the next week, on 23.8.1929, and following the Friday prayer clashes broke out between Arabs and Jews. That day came to be known as 'the Al-Buraq Revolt [*Thawrat Al-Buraq*]' . The clashes spread to the cities of Hebron, Safed, Nazareth, Jaffa and other Palestinian cities.

Telegrams of denunciation and protest were sent from most Muslim states to the British Colonial Office because of these incidents, and the Government of Britain established a military court to judge all those who participated in the clashes. It issued its sentence in Acre Prison to execute Fuad Hijazi, Ata al-Zir and Muhammad Jamjum. More than 800 Arabs were sentenced to various periods in prison.

"[Question:] Why did the Englishmen execute three Arabs and none of the Jews?" (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 8, and see the assignment on p. 12: "I will research and write [a report] on the martyrs Fuad Hijazi, Ata al-Zir and Muhammad Jamjum"; see also the assignment: "We will resort to the historical sources and specify the national role played by each of Muhammad

Jamjum, Fuad Hijazi and Ata al-Zir in the confrontation with the British Mandate [authorities] at the time of the Al-Buraq rebellion in defense of the Al-Buraq Wall." - *Arabic Language*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 130. These three persons are also mentioned among Acre's heroes because they were hanged there, p. 128)³⁹

As already mentioned in the Jerusalem sub-chapter, a text of one of the 2017 schoolbooks (*Social Studies*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) pp. 62, 63) gives the impression that no Wailing Wall and no Jewish synagogues ever existed in the Old City of Jerusalem before 1967 and it was the Occupation that invented them in that year.

Zionism

(Note: The following material is based on the PA curriculum prior to the ongoing new project of rewriting the textbooks. The new books that have appeared so far lack a systematic discussion of Zionism and contain sporadic remarks only, which are given at the end of this sub-chapter.)

The discussion in the PA schoolbooks of Zionism, the Jews' national movement in modern times, starts in a history textbook for grade 9. A specific chapter of four pages titled "The Palestinian Problem" deals with Zionism from its beginning, through the Balfour declaration and the British Mandate to the establishment of Israel and beyond. The discussion starts with a definition of Zionism:

"Zionism is a colonialist [*istitaniyyah*] political movement established by the Jews of Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century and aimed at gathering Jews of various nationalities from all parts of the world and concentrating them in Palestine and in the neighboring Arab countries by way of immigration and the expulsion of the Palestinian people from its country in order to establish the State of Israel."
(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 54)

It should be noted that the Jews are not depicted in this definition as a self-existent nation but rather as holders of various citizenships. Later on, a definition of colonial settlement is given in order to characterize the Jewish immigration to Palestine as colonialist:

"Colonial settlement [*istitan*] is immigration of groups of inhabitants of a powerful foreign state to a weak other [one]. They take control of its land, expel its inhabitants from their homeland or send them into exile by force."
(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 55)

The said chapter provides some details about the establishment of the Zionist movement and says that it was connected to European Imperialism:

"The First Zionist Congress, 1897

³⁹ In fact, no "clashes" broke out. Rather, following the incitement at the mosques on that Friday, Muslim mobs attacked the Jewish neighborhoods in Hebron, Safed and other places and massacred many of their inhabitants. Therefore, the British executed the chief perpetrators. There was no Jewish community in Nazareth, and if there were riots there – they were directed at the local Christian community. The question given here is intended to create an impression among the students of an anti-Arab discriminatory attitude on the part of the British. **One should note the unusual application of the adjective "Noble [*Sharif*]" to the Wall, probably with a view to emphasizing its being an integral part of the Temple Mount, which is traditionally thus designated.**

The Zionist movement convened its first congress in the city of Basel in Switzerland in 1897 under the leadership of its Austrian-Jewish founder Theodor Herzl, and it was resolved there to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. For the realization of this matter Zionism worked for:

1. Encouraging immigration to Palestine
2. Organizing the Jews and connecting them to the Zionist movement
3. Obtaining the Great Powers' consent"

(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 54)

"The European Imperialist [*Isti'mariyyah*] States took upon themselves to spread the Zionist ideas among the Jews themselves in order to hasten the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine due to the conjunction of their interests with the Jews' interests, on the one hand, and in order to get rid of them and send them out of their own countries, on the other hand."

(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 54)

"Palestine won the attention of [the Ottoman] Sultan Abd al-Hamid [the Second, 1876-1909] who followed the plans of [Western] Imperialism and Zionism and acted to prevent their implementation by all means through the issuance of laws and various administrative and political regulations. He made the District [*Sanjaq*] of Jerusalem subordinate directly to the Office of the Prime Minister so that he would supervise it himself and prevent Zionist penetration and immigration to Jerusalem. He issued decisions for its defense, such as the 31-day limitation of sojourn periods of Jewish visitors to the Holy Land. He also appointed loyal officials who would not fall prey to the foreign consuls. This policy, which opposed Zionist immigration, constituted an obstacle to the Zionist project until the First World War."

(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 25, and see the assignment on the same page: "I will go to the library, write a report about Sultan Abd al-Hamid's role in preventing Zionist penetration and Jewish immigration to Palestine and read it on the school's radio")

The chapter goes on telling of the occupation of Palestine in WWI by Britain who had promised the ruler of Mecca, *Sharif* Hussein, to establish an Arab state under his leadership after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire. But -

"The victorious state in WWI ignored its promises and stood by the Zionist movement."

(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 55)

That approach found its expression in the Balfour Declaration:

"The Balfour Declaration, by which the Jews were given a national home in Palestine."

(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 40, and see the assignment on p. 42: "I will write a report on the Balfour Declaration – its causes and results.")

The text of the Balfour Declaration is given, accompanied by the following questions:

"1. Did Britain have the right to give the Jews a homeland in Palestine?"

2. Does this Declaration contradict Britain's promises to *Sharif Hussein*? How?
3. What position you would expect the Arabs to take vis-à-vis the Balfour Declaration? Why?"

(Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014) p. 54)

"This Declaration is considered one of the most bizarre documents in history, as she [Britain] granted by it a country she did not own, Palestine, to a movement that did not have right to it, the Zionist movement, at the expense of the Palestinian Arab people – its owner and the one that has the right to it. That brought about the robbery of a homeland and the expulsion of a whole people in a manner unprecedented in history... The Arabs of Palestine could not bear what they felt as the collapse of their hopes for the independence of the Arabs' countries, including their country Palestine. They had enough of the Zionist movement that threatened their entity, and many revolts then broke out in all parts of Palestine against the Jews and the government of the British Mandate."

(Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014) p. 55)

This narrative continuous with the description of Britain's becoming weakened, as a result of the Second World War, and of the ascendancy of the United States that supported Zionism too (the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee, 1946). The leadership of the Zionist movement then moved to the United States because -

"...a large Jewish community existed in New York and many of the communication media and economy [branches] in the United States were in the hands of the Zionist movement."

(Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014) p. 56, and note the anti-Semitic notion regarding the Zionist Jews' control of vast resources in the US.)

The struggle against Zionism became an all-Arab mission. One of the reasons for the establishment of the Arab League in 1945 was -

"...the increased awareness of the dangers posed by the Zionist movement to the Arab world, and to Palestine in particular."

(Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014) p. 59)

Britain, on its part, supported that move in an attempt -

"...to solve the Jews' problem in Palestine by means of a united all-Arab framework that would be able to come up with concessions."

(Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014) p. 59)

The League's activity in support of the Palestinians in their struggle is reviewed:

"The Arab League Council supported in [its resolution of] 1960 the Palestinian people's right to struggle, and stressed that the Arab-Zionist struggle is a struggle for national liberation aimed at enabling the Palestinians to reclaim their homeland and live there in freedom, security and peace."

(Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014) p. 61)

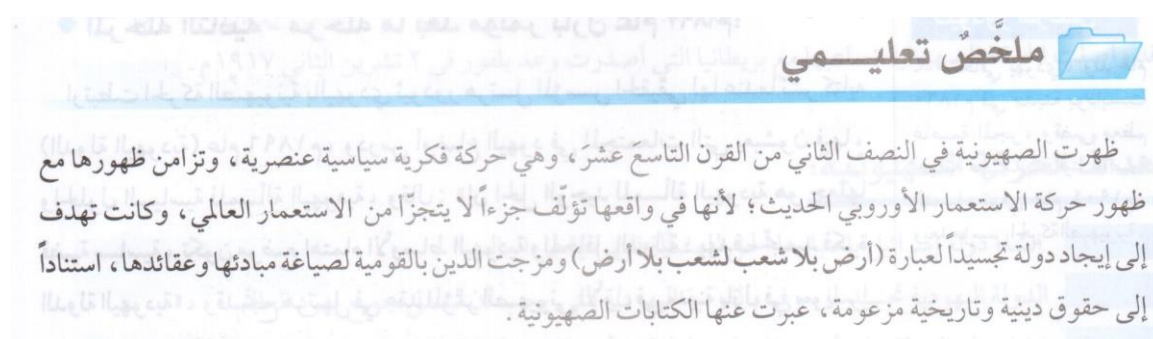
But, notwithstanding that, the League -

"...supported the choice made by the Arab states of Egypt, Jordan and Palestine to pursue negotiations with Israel."

(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 61)⁴⁰

A history textbook for grade 10 also dedicated a chapter to the discussion of Zionism (pp. 51-53 and questions on p. 54). Excerpts:

"Instructional Summary: Zionism appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is a racist intellectual-political movement and its appearance coincided with the appearance of the movement of modern European Imperialism [*Isti'mar*], since it is, in fact, an integral part of World Imperialism. Its goal was the establishment of a state as the realization of the slogan 'a people-less land to a landless people'. It mixed religion with nationalism to shape its principles, based on religious and historical imaginary rights which found their expressions in Zionist writings."



(*Modern and Contemporary History of the World*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 51)

The causes of Zionism's emergence are described further on – the failure of the Enlightenment movement that aimed at the incorporation of the Jews within the societies they were living in, the emergence of Jewish nationalism under the influence of the ascendancy of the nationalist notion in Europe following the French Revolution and with the support of the Imperialistic Great Powers (p. 51), the appearance of Zionism's forerunners, Lovers of Zion activists, Theodor Herzl and the Basel Congress (p. 52), Herzl's failure to obtain German and Ottoman consent to his plan, and, finally, the success related to the Balfour Declaration (p. 53). Also in this chapter:

"Goals of the Zionist Movement

1. Establishment of the State of Israel as a solution to the World's Jewish Problem.
2. The Jewish state constitutes the realization of what was known as Jewish Nationalism and it should include all the world's Jews
3. The establishment of this state on Palestine's soil, which is the [place of the] historical and religious State of Israel

⁴⁰ The League may have let Egypt to enter negotiations with Israel but boycotted Egypt when these negotiations led to a peace treaty between the two countries and transferred its headquarters from Cairo to Tunis until the reconciliation of 1989. The League did not officially oppose, neither Jordan's peace treaty with Israel (1994), nor the Oslo Accords between Israel and the PLO (1993), but it is hard to say that it supported them.

4. This state will control all the basic components of economic and military power which will provide it with defense and attack [means] simultaneously, and [it] will render services to the Imperialistic states."

(Modern and Contemporary History of the World, Grade 10 (2015) p. 53)

"Palestine was chosen as the place for the establishment of the [Jewish] national home for the following reasons:

- A. The proximity of the British Imperialistic interests [there] to the Zionist movement's goal.
- B. Palestine is easier than any other [country to be used] for the gathering of the world's Jews... because it is connected to the Jewish religion and to the ancient historical memories."

(Modern and Contemporary History of the World, Grade 10 (2015) p. 53)

The PA narrative regarding Zionism continues in a history textbook for grade 11 with one interesting innovation: Modern Zionism is said to have been invented, in fact, by non-Jews:

"The notion of establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine spread in Britain throughout the nineteenth century, when several English statesmen and some influential persons adopted it, for instance, the English Zionist [Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Earl of] Shaftesbury, who was among those ones calling for Jewish settlement in Palestine. He is the one who uttered the famous saying: 'There is a land without a people and God, with His wisdom and compassion, is now guiding us to it [that people]', meaning that Palestine is a land without a people and the Jews are a people without a land. That saying was later adopted by the Zionist movement and became one of its slogans.

[Question:] Is this saying correct? Why?

Shaftesbury also tried to convince some European statesmen to adopt his idea of Jewish settlement in Palestine, such as [Lord] Palmerston, who served as Britain's Foreign Minister and, later, as Prime Minister, and who established a [British] consulate in Jerusalem in 1838. He defined the consulate's goals in his letters sent to his ambassadors in the Ottoman State, such as his following dispatch of 1840:

'There is a strong feeling among the Jews who are dispersed all around Europe that the time of their nation's return to Palestine is getting nearer. It is well known that the Jews of Europe own much fortune, and it is obvious that any country where large numbers of Jews will choose to settle will gain many advantages due to the capital those Jews will bring along. If the Jewish people returns under the patronage and with the blessing of the [Ottoman] Sultan, that will constitute a barrier between [Egypt's ruler then] Muhammad Ali, and those who will succeed him, and between the realization of his vicious plan in the future.'⁴¹

[Question:] What was Palmerston's goal behind his call for settling the Jews in Palestine?"

(Modern and Contemporary History of the World, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 50)

⁴¹ England managed in 1840 to force Muhammad Ali to withdraw from Syria which he had occupied from the Ottoman Empire in 1831 with French support.

"Many Englishmen worked for the Jews' immigration and settlement in Palestine, and the matter was not restricted to Britain alone. Rather, it moved to France and found some [people there] who acquired supporters for this notion. The second half of the nineteenth century was a turning point in the history of the Zionist movement, as the notion of establishing the Jewish national home moved over from the [non-Jewish] European circles to the Jews themselves who started working for this goal. Thus, the interests of the Imperialistic [*Isti'mariyyah*] Powers met with the interests of the Jews, which was the decisive factor in the realization of Zionism's dream of establishing the Jews' state on Palestine's soil."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 51)

The book proceeds with a short description of the Jewish forerunners of Zionism, the Lovers of Zion Movement, Herzl's activity and the First Zionist Congress. It is said there, *inter alia*, that the Zionist vision, intended to connect to the Imperialistic Powers, included the whole area between the Nile and the Euphrates rivers:

"Herzl was convinced that the colonialist [*istitani*] project in Palestine would not be able to succeed unless it found support by one of the Imperialist Powers, as that [Jewish] state would be a loyal guardian of its imperialistic interests in the region. To achieve this goal of his, he started his international contacts. He approached Germany, [so] that it would support him in his colonialist project, in light of the existence therein of Jews in large numbers, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, it would intervene with the Ottoman State in order to obtain the Ottoman sultan's consent to grant the Zionist movement the areas stretching from the Euphrates River to El-Arish and the Nile River, and allow the Jews to reside and settle in Palestine. Thus, they will be distanced from the revolutionary movements in Germany, will spread German culture and influence [in the region], and will take care of Germany's interests in the Orient."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part1 (2015) p. 51)

It is also hinted that Zionism under Herzl had, seemingly, a deceitful character and that it tried to conceal certain matters from non-Jews:

"Herzl managed to have an audience with the German Emperor in Jerusalem in 1898 and there he presented his project to the Emperor in a letter in which he said:

'We rightly believe that the realization of the Zionist plan will bring blessing to Turkey. It will bring it financial resources and will work for the blossoming of vast areas of arid land in the future. Additional happiness and civilization will be the result of all that for many people. We are planning to establish a Jewish company for the lands of Palestine and Syria that will undertake the [implementation of this] great project and we are asking for the Emperor's sponsorship of this company. Our idea will not harm anyone's rights, or anyone's religious feelings. It will ensure reconciliation, which has been long anticipated. We understand and respect the ties of all the religions that were established on this soil, upon which our ancestors' religion was established as well.'

[Question:] Did Herzl reveal in his letter the real character of the Zionist project? I will substantiate my answer."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) pp. 51-52)

The Zionist movement's deceitfulness is hinted at as well by the means it took to overcome the Ottoman limitations on Jewish immigration to the country:

"Several factors contributed to the success of the Zionist movement's efforts and to the failure of Ottoman efforts to prevent Jewish immigration, among which [were]:

1. The intervention on the part of the foreign ambassadors in Istanbul, Jerusalem and Beirut, their protests and their adherence to the privileges [of the foreigners residing in the Ottoman Empire – the famous "Capitulations"] disturbed the implementation of the limitations on Jewish immigration to Palestine.
2. The corruption of some of the officers of the Ottoman administrative apparatus in both the capital and the Ottoman provinces of Jerusalem and Beirut, and the acceptance of bribe money from the Jews by some Ottoman officials.
3. The continuous efforts by the Jews to get rid of the limitations imposed on them by trickery, falsification and acceptance of American or English citizenship, or by disembarking in the Levant ports and infiltrating into Palestine by land."

(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 55)

And the narrative continues:

"After the Zionist movement's failure to obtain the consent of Germany and the Ottoman State to settle in Palestine, it turned its eyes to Britain, the largest Imperialist state that might have helped it in achieving its goals. The conjunction of the British Imperialistic interests with the interests of the Zionist movement had a great impact on the success of that movement, as the British Foreign Ministry issued the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917 in the form of a letter from Arthur Balfour, the British Foreign Minister, to Edmond Rothschild, one of the richest Jews [sic. And should be: Lord Lionel Rothschild, President of the Zionist federation in Britain]."

(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 64)

The text of the Declaration is brought in both Arabic and English, followed by questions. One of these reads:

"Does Britain have the right to grant the Jews this promise regarding Palestine? Why?"

(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 65)

Some of Britain's motives regarding the issuance of the Balfour Declaration are given as follows:

"The desire to attract [to the Allies' side] the [Jewish] Zionist elements in Germany and Austria, to attract the Jews of Russia who had played a role in the Communist Revolution [but that revolution started five days after the issuance of the Declaration!], so that Russia would remain as a party to the war on the Allies' side, and to use the Jews in the United States to press the American Administration [in order] to involve it in the war [but the US entered the war already in April that year!]."

(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 66)

The Zionist movement is presented as an active participant in drafting the Declaration:

"The drafting of the Balfour Declaration: The preparation of this declaration lasted several years. The phrasing itself took two full years under the supervision of the Zionist organization [sic.]. The Declaration in its final version was published after having been amended six times."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 66, and see on p. 67 the argumentations against the Declaration's validity legally and historically, and the related questions.)

Following are excerpts from poems written at that period:

"Tell the Jews and those who side with them: the ambitions' glare has misled you
Would that Balfour had given you a land of his, not a land of ours
Because London is more spacious than Jerusalem and you are loved more by London"
(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 113)

"The Balfour Declaration that promised the Jews to establish a national home for them in Palestine was issued on November 2, 1917. That is what [the poet] Abd al-Rahim Mahmud said about it:

Balfour? Who is Balfour? What is his Declaration?"

(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique*, Grade 12 (2014) p. 68)

One of the arguments against Zionism on the part of the Arab local leadership in the country at the beginning of the British rule there was the following:

"We did not fight the Turks... alongside of the Allies so that our country would be given as a present to foreigners who have no ownership right to it..."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 72)

But Britain continued its policy and appointed the Jewish official Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner for that purpose:

"Herbert Samuel: A Jew holding British citizenship. He worked for the Judaization of Palestine: He opened the gates of immigration and confiscated lands. [He was the] founder of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He made the Hebrew language [official] alongside Arabic and English. During his rule the expression 'the Land of Israel' was written on coins and stamps side by side with [the name] 'Palestine' in Arabic and English... He abolished the Ottoman laws and replaced them with new laws that helped to solidify the Zionist project. By the end of his rule in 1952 [sic. And should be 1925] the Jews already owned close to a million Dunams."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 72)

"In July, 1922 the Council of the League of Nations confirmed the British Mandate Instrument that denied the people of Palestine their right to administer the affairs of their country and gave the Mandatory state absolute power of administration and legislation. It then started to prepare the political and economic conditions that would secure the establishment of a national home for the Jews and began facilitating their

immigration to Palestine in order to transform it into a Jewish state after the expulsion of its people or their extermination."

(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique*, Grade 12 (2014) p. 68)

"Britain took practical measures following the imposition of the Mandate over Palestine for the implementation of the Balfour Declaration that had been issued during the war in 1917 and determined the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, by the facilitation of Jewish immigration and by taking over Palestinian lands."

(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 29)⁴²

Reference to Zionism in a later period appears in the books in the context of the UN resolution regarding it. The reference is brief and with no comment:

"Israel was condemned by the General Assembly of the UN in its 30th session in 1975 within Resolution No. 3379 that said: 'The General Assembly of the United Nations confirms that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination'...

Resolution No. 3379: The resolution that regarded Israel [sic., and should be "Zionism"] as a form of racism was abrogated in 1991 according to a proposal made by the United States to the UN General Assembly."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) pp. 64-65)

Following are references to Zionism taken from the new schoolbooks. It should be noted that this material is poor in didactic terms, contrary to the one given in the former books:

"Zionist political idea is based on the creation of purely Jewish state which will gather all the Jews of the world. Therefore, Zionism has striven to encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine. That requires its emptying of its original inhabitants, denying them of their rights, changing the land of Palestine's historical cultural character, and achieving demographic superiority there by way of increasing the Jews' numbers and encouraging them to reside there. That requires, of course, the establishment of settlements for the absorption of the immigrants."

(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 91)

"[A freely quoted paragraph from the *Palestinian Encyclopedia* with no mentioning of pages:] Zionism has been connected to colonization which has been an [integral] part thereof and an important foundation of its project, having been based on three false arguments. The first one: The Jews, in spite of their belonging to many states and societies, constitute one nationalism [*qawmiyyah*] uniquely characterized by Semitic racial traits. The second one: The Jews' relations with other peoples are based on hostility and struggle, which is epitomized by the phenomenon of Anti-Semitism. The third one : There is no solution to the Jewish problem except by the establishment of a

⁴² During Mandatory time there was no Jewish seizure of Arab land. On the contrary, the British imposed limitations on land purchase by Jews, but it continued due to the financial temptation to sell – even by Arab leaders in the country. Even the religious *fatwa* issued by the Muslim clergymen against this phenomenon (quoted in *Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 15) did not help stopping that.

Jewish state, and this state finds its expression in the Promised Land (Palestine) and its colonization, since the basis for the continuation of Zionism is only through the colonization in Palestine [end of quote]."

(History Studies, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 89)

"[Assignment:] We will contradict through [the use of] evidence the Zionist religious and historical arguments regarding Palestine."

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

Chapter Three: Israel

The attitude to Israel in the PA schoolbooks comprises two basic components:

- A. Non-recognition of Israel as a legitimate sovereign state - Palestine replaces it in many cases on maps and in the text.
- B. Demonization on a very wide scope in many fields. The review of the PA schoolbooks in this respect has yielded some thirty accusations against Israel and not a single positive reference.

Israel and Palestine

1. General perspective

A certain piece in one of the textbooks (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 3) reviews the country's various names throughout history: Canaan, Amurru, the Holy Land, the Blessed Land, Land of the Nocturnal Journey and the Ascent to Heaven (by Muhammad, according to Muslim tradition), Southern Syria, and more. "Judea" that was the country's official name under Persians, Greeks and Romans, or "the Land of Israel - *Eretz Yisrael*", which has been the country's name among generations of Jews throughout many centuries, are absent. Further on in this book (p. 8) an attempt is made to present the name "Palestine" as originally Arabic made of the two words: "*fals*", meaning a fish scale or crust in general, and "*tin*" - meaning clay, or soil in general, that is, "soil crust", which distinguishes the agricultural nature of the land. Alongside this artificial "explanation", and other similar ones, the book brings the real source of that name, the Philistines, but claims that they came from Arabia either directly or through Crete. The book does not mention at all the historically wide-known affair by which Emperor Hadrian of Rome changed the land's administrative name from Judea to Palestine in 138 AD in order to eliminate any mentioning of the Jews' ties to the country, following the Jewish revolt under Bar Kokhba (132-135 AD).

A newer book from 2017 brings the true explanation but mistakenly says that it was Emperor Vespasian that introduced the new name in 70 AD. The former name Judaea is not mentioned.

Israel is not recognized as a sovereign state. Although the agreements of Oslo (1993), Washington (1994) and Wye River (1998) between Israel and the PLO are discussed and partly quoted (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) pp. 83-86), and the documents of the mutual recognition between the two parties prior to the signing of the Oslo Accords are quoted there in full (pp. 83-84), this recognition does not find an expression in the curriculum itself. That does not mean that Israel is not referred to in the books. On the contrary, its name does appear many times in the pre-2016 books in negative contexts (and see below the part on Israel's image). There are very few cases where Israel is referred to as an ordinary state and the expression "the State of Israel" is rare. It appears, for example, in Yasser Arafat's quoted letter to Yitzhak Rabin regarding the PLO's recognition of Israel (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 83). There are few other cases in which this term appears in the books, but none of them spells recognition, and see, for instance, the following historical time-table saying: "The establishment of the State of Israel on a Palestinian land":

الانتداب البريطاني ١٩١٧-١٩٤٨ م	
الاردن	قيام دولة
مصر (غزة)	(الضفة الغربية) إسرائيل على
١٩٤٨-٦٧ م	أرضي فلسطينية
الاحتلال الاسرائيلي للضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة ١٩٦٧-١٩٩٤ م	
فلسطين ١٩٩٤ م	

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

Another textbook features the term "the Israeli Entity [*Al-Kiyan al-Isra'ili*]" (*Faith*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 84)

A table produced by the Palestinian Authority's Central Bureau of Statistics specifies the states of origin of the tourists visiting the PA territories, and Israel is mentioned there alongside other states (*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 89). But this is an isolated case. Much more representative is a chapter titled "Commerce in Palestine" that provides export and import figures. The export part mentions "Jordan, Iraq, the Arab Gulf states and many other states of the world". The import part mentions "Egypt, Jordan, China, Turkey, France, Germany and other states in the world". Israel, the PA's main commercial partner, is not mentioned at all (*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014) p. 27. The chapter in its entirety is found on pp. 25-29).⁴³

De-legitimization of Israel is clearly intensified in the 2017 schoolbooks: The name "Israel" and its related combinations hardly appear, even in negative contexts as before, and is replaced by the expression "Zionist occupation". Term counting throughout the source material has found over 80 cases of "Zionist occupation" vs. 3 cases of "Israeli occupation". In the pre-2016 books, by contrast, there are over forty cases of "Israeli occupation" vs. 3 cases of "Zionist occupation" only. The readers of this study will be easily able to trace the differences while looking at the publishing year of each item.

The new books feature another new phenomenon: Putting Israel's name in quotation marks, mainly when quoting other external sources using this name. Yet this practice is followed by the authors of the new schoolbooks even in cases where they quote Israeli persons whose use of such practice seems very unlikely (*History Studies*,

⁴³ According to an international economic source, the PA exported to Israel in 2014 goods and services at a value of 747 million USD, followed by Jordan with 87.4 million USD. During that same year the PA imported from Israel goods at a value of 2.93 billion USD followed by Turkey with 252 million USD only. See:

Observatory of Economic Complexity (OEC) <http://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/pse> ./

Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) pp. 90 (Ben Gurion), 90, 91). There are numbered cases of the use of the adjective "Israeli" in the new books in various contexts, in science textbooks in particular (*Sciences and Life*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2017) p. 70; *Sciences and Life*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 48; *Mathematics*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) pp. 4, 15, 96; *Scientific Education*, Grade 11 (2017) p. 41) whose authors have most probably not yet adjusted to the new approach.

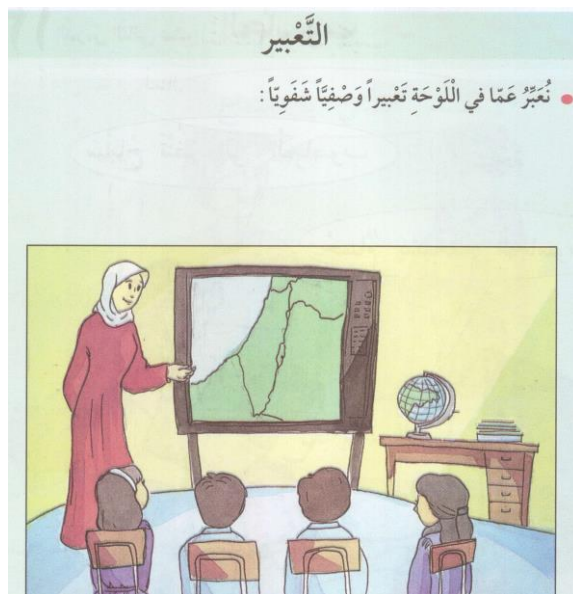
The significance of this change and its implications on the future of the relations between the two people will be discussed in the Conclusion chapter of this study.

2. Israel/Palestine on maps

Quite a few maps of the country appear in the PA schoolbooks. Israel is missing from them all, except for two (and see the explanation below). In many cases, no name appears at all:

"Expression:

Let us give the picture's content a descriptive oral expression:"



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2015) p. 164)

In other cases, the whole country is designated as "Palestine", and, beginning in 2016, this has become a common practice, save for very few cases. For example, a textbook issued in 2016 describes various activities such as "We use the computer" with the screen showing the map of the whole country under the name "Palestine".



(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 73)

A mathematics textbook also issued in 2016 features a question in which a mother and a daughter jointly embroider "the map of Palestine" and, alongside the text, a map of the whole country is shown with its political borders with the neighboring states:



٤
تعاونت الأم وابنتها في تطريز خارطة فلسطين، طرزت الأم ٧٥,٠
من الخارطة، وطرزت ابنتها ٢٥,٠ منها، أيهما ساهمت أكثر في
تطريز الخارطة؟ إوضح إجابتي:

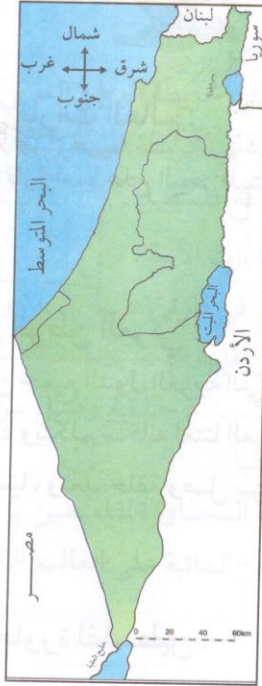
(Mathematics, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016) p. 74)

The following map titled "the Arab states neighboring Palestine" does not provide any name but the neighboring states appear under their names and the questions on the same page treat the whole country, including Israel's pre-1967 territory, as Palestine:

"I will look at the map and answer the following [questions]:

1. What [state] borders Palestine on the north?
2. Where is Jordan located in relation to Palestine?
3. What [state] borders Palestine on the south?
4. Where is the Mediterranean Sea in relation to Palestine?"

الدول العربية المجاورة لفلسطين :



أناأمل الخريطة، وأجيب عن الآتي :

- ١- ماذا يحدّ فلسطين من جهة الشمال؟
- ٢- أين تقع الأردن بالنسبة لفلسطين؟
- ٣- ماذا يحدّ فلسطين من جهة الجنوب؟
- ٤- أين يقع البحر المتوسط بالنسبة لفلسطين؟

(National Education, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014) p. 5)

Further on in the same book a clear statement is made in this context:

"The Arab States Neighboring Palestine

On the north: Lebanon and Syria

On the east: Jordan

On the south: Egypt

Historical Palestine⁴⁴ overlooks the Mediterranean Sea on the west, the Dead Sea on the east and the Red Sea on the south."

⁴⁴ "Historical Palestine" is a term sometimes used by the authors of the PA schoolbooks, probably to stand accusations that they ignore Israel's existence. On the face of it, this is an acceptable logical argument. However, the enormous number of maps without Israel (of which only few have been presented in this research) and the numerous references – in current political contexts as well – to

(*National Education, Grade 4, Part 1* (2014) p. 6. The book includes additional maps of the unnamed whole country, accompanied by a text clarifying its being Palestine - see pp. 11, 46, 48)

Review of the lengths of Palestine's borderlines with the neighboring countries clearly indicates that as well:

- A. "A. The length of the borderline between Palestine and Jordan is 360 km.
- B. The length of the Mediterranean coastline is 224 km.
- C. The length of the borderline between Palestine and Lebanon is 79 km.
- D. The length of Palestine's borderline with Egypt is 240 km."

(*Geography of Palestine, Grade 7* (2014) p. 4)

And this is the case as well with the seas bordering Palestine:

"[There are] states having two seacoasts, like Palestine and Egypt – the Mediterranean and the Red Sea."

(*Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 [Humanities]* (2015) p. 105)

However, one of the books says: "Two seas encircle Palestine: the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea" (*Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3, Part 2* (2015) p. 85), with no mentioning of the Red Sea. But this is a single case in the PA curriculum so far.

In other maps the whole country appears under the name "Palestine", with or without the contours of the 67 lines. The following map is titled "Palestine's Shape" and the writing underneath says: "So that the students recognize Palestine's shape and distinguish between it and other [countries]."

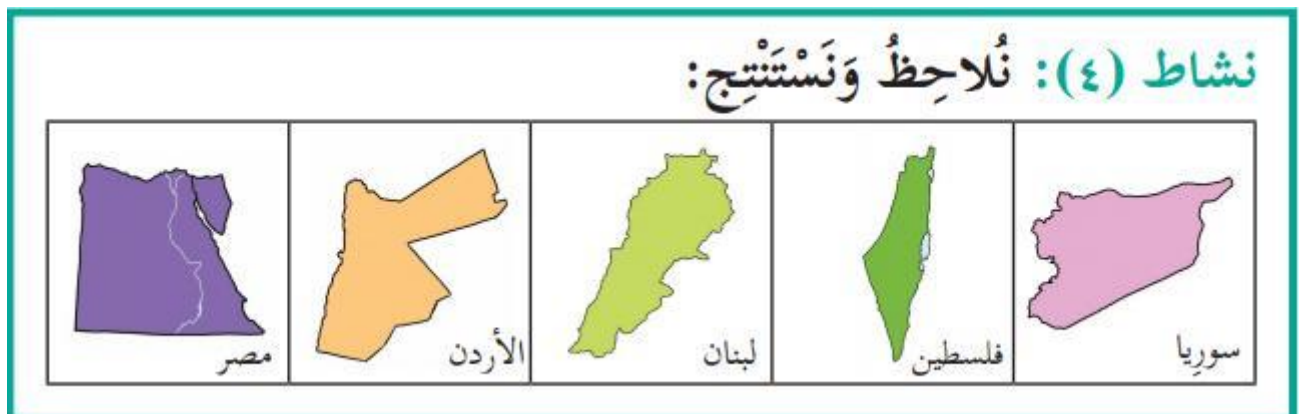
regions, cities and sites within Israel's pre-1967 borders as occupied Palestinian ones, clearly refute this kind of argument (and see below). At any rate, this research does not contain texts and maps in the field of physical geography appearing in the PA schoolbooks, save for those ones that make any objective observer feel uneasy vis-à-vis their tendency to ignore the existence of the State of Israel, after close to seventy years of its actual existence on the ground.



(National Education, Grade 1, Part 2 (2015) p. 54)

And this shape of Palestine's is put as parallel to those of the neighboring Arab states:

"Activity 4: Let us examine and conclude [Following are geographical shapes with the names of Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt]:"



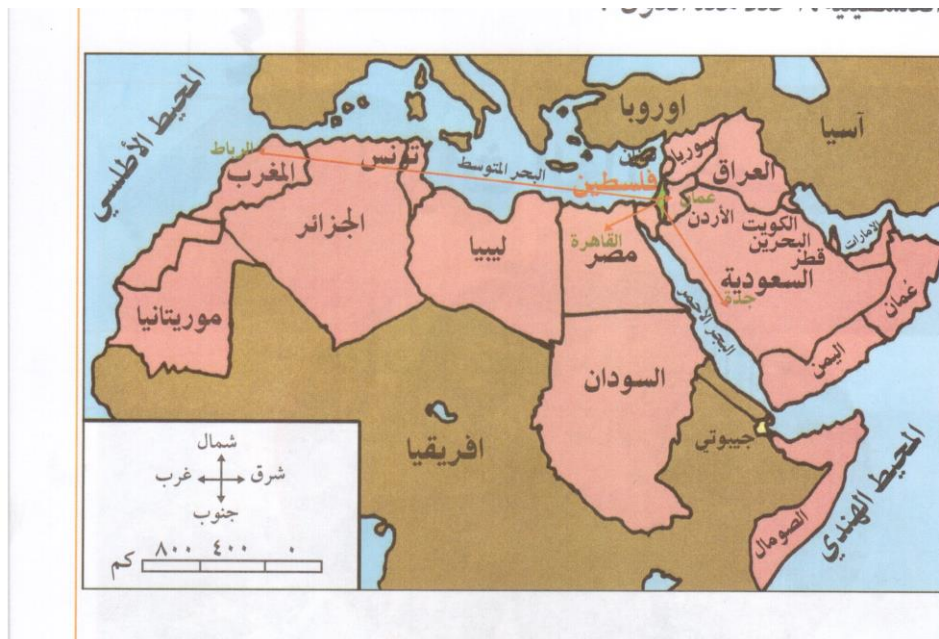
(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 5, and on p. 6 there is a sentence saying: "I have learned: States have different shapes.")

In the following map titled "Palestine's Position in the Arab Homeland" the whole country appears under the name "Palestine":

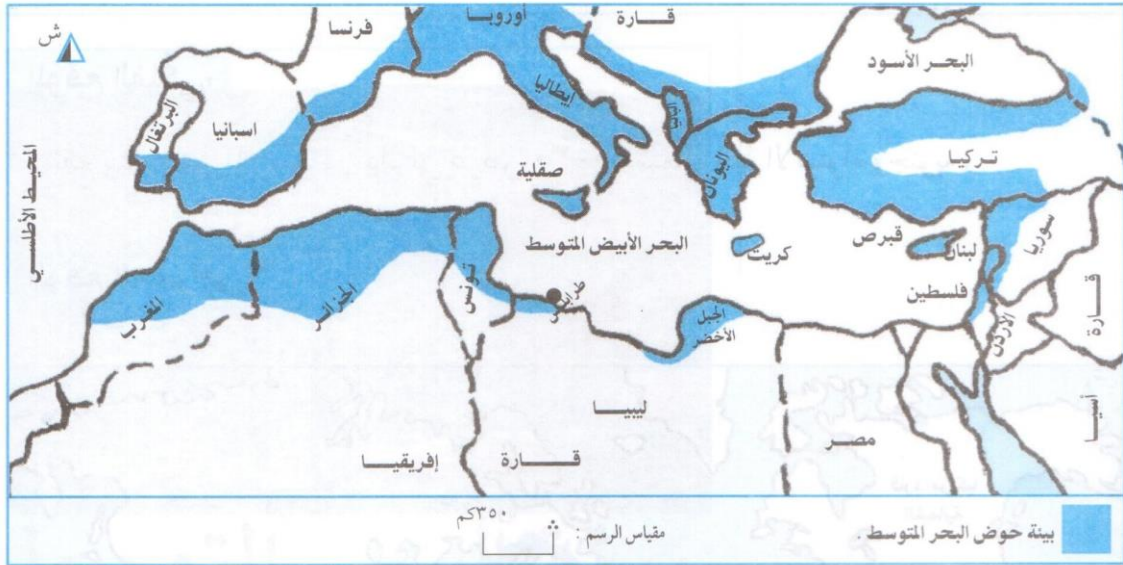


(National Education, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014) p. 4)

More maps:



(National Education, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014) p. 33, and see a similar map on p. 63)



خريطة رقم (٨) دول البحر المتوسط في جنوبي قارة أوروبا وغربي قارة آسيا وشمال إفريقيا

(*Geography of Climatic Zones, Grade 8 (2014) p. 44: "Map No. 8: States of the Mediterranean in southern Europe, western Asia and northern Africa" [the word "States" has been underlined to emphasize the map's political aspect]*)

Such maps also appear in the PA new schoolbooks of 2017. Following is a map titled "Political Map of the Arab Homeland" featuring the whole country as one unit next to the name "Palestine":



خريطة الوطن العربي السياسية

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

A map of "The Arab Homeland Politically" with "Palestine" next to the country in its entirety:



(Social Studies, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 5)

There are more explicit examples. The following one presents the map of the Arab world in green with the whole country, including Israel's pre-1967 territory, colored yellow and the name "Palestine" is written next to it. The title says:

"The Fourth Lesson: Palestine is Arab [and] Muslim
The Palestinian people is part of the Arab-Muslim nation."

The text underneath the map says:

"The Palestinians speak Arabic
Most Palestinians are Muslims while some of them are Christians."

Remarks for the teacher appear at the bottom of that page:

- "1. The students should make a connection between the Palestinian people and the Arab-Muslim nation.
2. The students should specify the language spoken by the Palestinian people."

فلسطين عربية إسلامية

٤

الدرس
الرابع

الشَّعب الفلسطينيُّ جزءٌ من الأُمَّة العربية الإسلاميَّة .



يتحدَّث الفلسطينيون اللُّغة العربيَّة .

يدين مُعظم الفلسطينين بالإسلام ، بينما يدين قسم منهم بالديانة المسيحيَّة .

الأهداف :

١ - أن يربط التلاميذ بين الشعب الفلسطيني والأمة العربية الإسلامية .

٢ - أن يحدد التلاميذ اللغة التي يتحدث بها الشعب الفلسطيني .

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

The same message in a slightly different form:

"[Lesson No.] 2: Palestine is Arab [and] Muslim." A map of the Arab states in different colors titled "States of the Arab Homeland" appears on the same page. The whole country appears in red with the name "Palestine" written next to it and with the Palestinian flag flying above:



(*National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 7*)

Another map of the whole country is given with the following assignment: "I will color the map of my homeland with the colors of the Palestinian flag."



(*National and Life Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 10*)

A later reprint of this book presents this assignment in a clearer form:

أ- ألَوْنُ خَرِيْطَةِ وَطَنِي بِالْوَانِ الْعَلَمِ الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّ.



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

And again:

"I will color the map of Palestine."



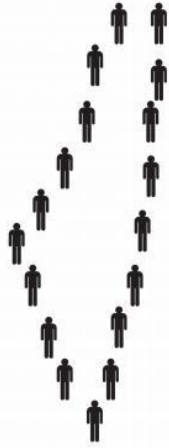
(*Islamic Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 4*)

And also:

"Final Activity: Let us draw the map of our country with our bodies.
With the help of our teacher we will form with our bodies the map of Palestine in the school yard [while listening] to the tones of the song "I am writing your name, O my country".

النشاط الجغرافي: نرسم خريطة بلادنا بأجسادنا

بمساعدة معلّمتنا نُشكّل بأجسادنا خريطة فلسطين في ساحة
المدرسة وعلى أنغام أغنية (بكُشِب اشوك يا بلادي)



(National and Life Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 18)

Palestine appears instead of Israel as well on the map of the Levant region. Following is a map titled "The States of the Levant [*Bilad al-Sham* in Arabic]" with "Syria", "Lebanon", "Jordan" and "Palestine" with the latter encompassing the whole country:



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

More maps carrying a similar message:

"Map No. 2
Palestine's location in relation to the Arab homeland"



(*Geography of Palestine, Grade 7 (2014) p. 3, and see a similar map on p. 6*)

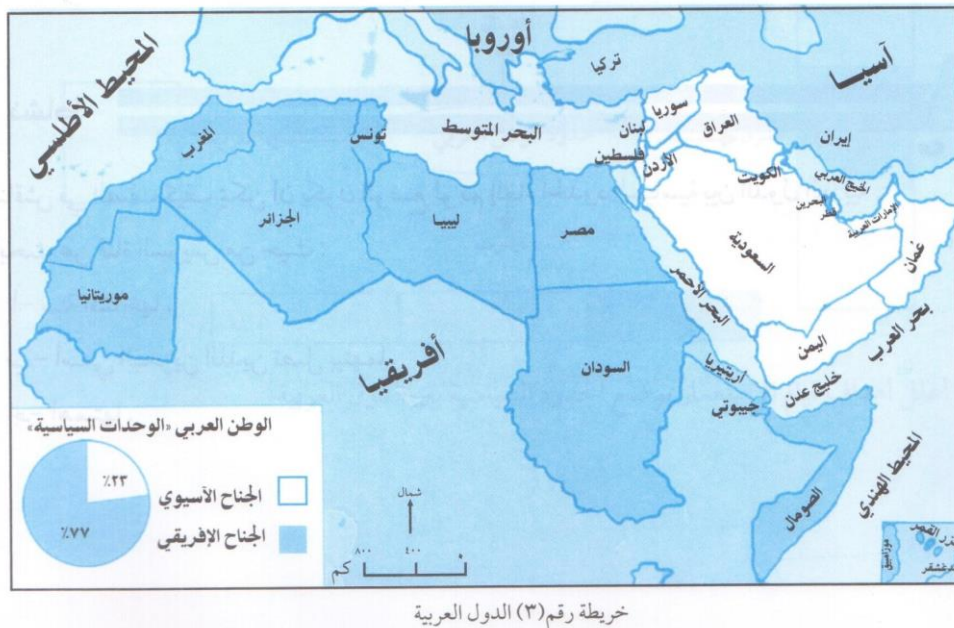
In the following map, titled "the Arab States", the whole country appears in white, within the Asian wing of the Arab world, under the name "Palestine":

The writing inside the map says:

"The Arab Homeland – The Political Units

[In white:] The Asian Wing 23%

[In blue:] The African Wing 77%



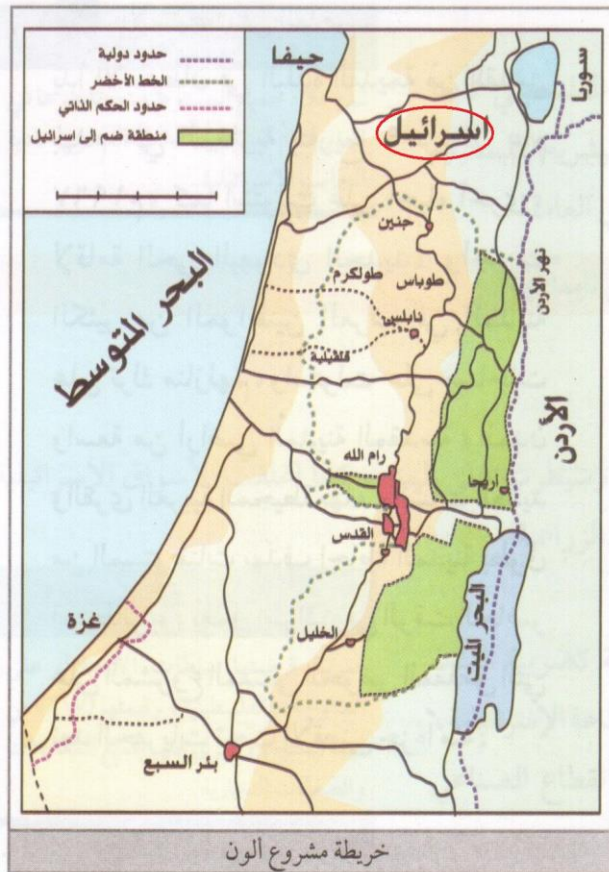
(*Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9 (2015) p. 8*)

In the following map the name "Palestine" is written on both the territory of the West Bank and Israel's pre-1967 territory. Although it is a map of physical geography showing the Syro-African Depression, it designates today's political borders and provides the names of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. Israel's name is missing:



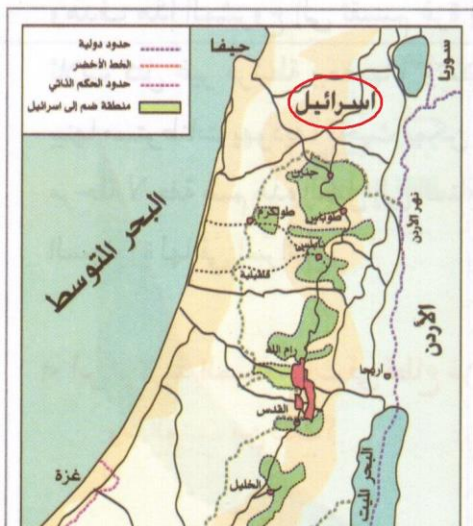
(*Geography of the Arab Homeland*, Grade 9 (2015) p. 14)

The only case in the PA schoolbooks where the name "Israel" appears on two maps on the same page is that of a history textbook for grade 11. The upper map shows the 1968 Alon's Plan for annexation of West Bank territories to Israel and the lower map depicts the 1982 Sharon's Plan of such annexation. Since these two maps are originally Israeli and both deal with annexation plans, it seems natural to distinguish Israel's pre-1967 territory from that of the West Bank. At any rate, the following text appearing between the two maps nullifies the possibility that the maps express Palestinian recognition of Israel: "The Green Line: An imaginary line that appeared on maps after the 1967 War in order to separate between the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel in 1948 and the [Palestinian] territories occupied in 1967."



الخط الأخضر

خط وهمي، ورد باللون الأخضر على الخرائط بعد حرب عام ١٩٦٧ م، ليفصل الأراضي الفلسطينية التي احتلتها إسرائيل عام ١٩٤٨ م عن الأراضي التي احتلتها عام ١٩٦٧ م.



(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 51. The name "Israel" in both maps has been marked for the sake of convenience.)

The emphasis put on Israel's pre-1967 area as an occupied territory repeats itself more clearly in a new 2017 book. Following is a map of the whole country titled "Map of Palestine" with the following assignment (the first one):

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

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



خريطة فلسطين

- نَميِّزُ بين المدن الفلسطينية التي احتلتها الصَّهاينة عام ١٩٤٨م، وتلك التي احتلتها عام ١٩٦٧م.
- نستنتجُ كثرة المدن في وسط فلسطين وشمالها وقلتها في جنوبها.

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

Map of the whole of Palestine is also found as a decorative element, like the one appearing on a student's shirt in the following illustration:



(National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (20125) p. 48)

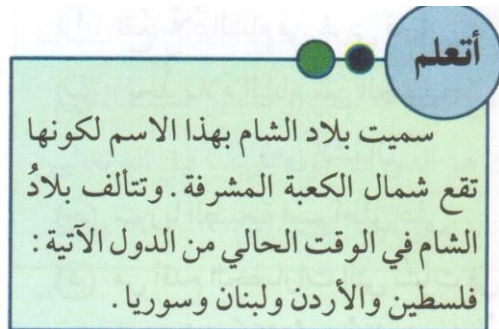
3. Israel/Palestine in texts

Israel is not recognized as a sovereign state in texts as well:

"The lands of the Levant [*Bilad al-Sham* in Arabic] are: Palestine, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014) p. 72, and see the question on p. 73: "I will mention the names of the states that are called 'the lands of the Levant'.")

"...The Lands of the Levant [*Bilad al-Sham*] consist presently of the following states: Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria."



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

"...The region of the Fertile Crescent (Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine) where about 20% of the inhabitants of the Arab homeland live."

(*Geography of the Arab Homeland*, Grade 9 (2015) p. 42)

"What is meant by [the term] the Lands of the Levant [*Bilad al-Sham*]?"









...The historians and the keepers of the ancient traditions defined by the term 'Levant' the area where today's Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine are located."

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*]) (2013) pp. 135-136)

"Palestine is located in the northern half of Earth, in the western part of the Asian continent. It is one of the states of the Levant [*Bilad al-Sham*] (**Palestine, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon**). On the north it is bordered by Lebanon and Syria, on the east – Jordan, on the west – the Mediterranean, and on the south – Egypt and the Gulf of Aqaba"

(*Social Studies*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 23. **Bold** letters in the original.)

Palestine appears in a chart of the Arab states with the total area of the country in its entirety - 27,000 square meters (Marked red):

الجناح الإفريقي		الجناح الآسيوي	
المساحة/كم ^٢	الدولة	المساحة/كم ^٢	الدولة
٢٥٠٥٨١٣	 السودان	٢١٤٩٠٠٠	 السعودية
٢٣٨١٧٤١	 الجزائر	٤٨٢٦٨٣	 اليمن
١٧٥٩٥٤٠	 ليبيا	٤٣٤٩٢٤	 العراق
١٠٨٥٨٠٥	 موريتانيا	٢١٢٤٧٥	 سلطنة عُمان
١١٠٠٠٠٠	 مصر	١٨٥١٨٣	 سوريا
٦٣٧٦٥٧	 الصومال	٩٧٧٤٠	 الأردن
٤٤٦٥٥٠	 المغرب	٨٣٦٠٠	 الإمارات
١٦٣١٦٠	 تونس	٢٧٠٠٠	 فلسطين
٢٢٠٠٠	 جيبوتي	١٧٨١٨	 الكويت
٢٠٣٤	 جزر القمر	١١٤٠٠	 قطر
		١٠٤٠٠	 لبنان
		٦٢٢	 البحرين
١٠١٠٤٣٠٠	المساحة الكلية	٣٧١٢٢٢٣	المساحة الكلية

(Social Studies, Grade 8, Part 1 (2017) p. 9)

In other words, the PA schoolbooks refer to the country in its entirety as "Palestine", and when certain data deal with the territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip alone, a special clarification is necessary:

"Table No. 3: Percentage of age-groups among the inhabitants of some Arab states

State	Children %	Youth %	The Elderly %
*Palestine	42.5	54.4	3.1

...

* Palestine – refers [here] to the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip."
(Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9 (2015) p. 48)

Also, in a chart showing the Arab states with the numbers of their respective populations, Palestine appears with 4.7 million inhabitants, and a comment in parentheses indicates that this number refers to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip only (marked red):

نشاط (١)

نلاحظ الجدول الذي يُبين عدد السكّان في الدّول العربيّة لعام ٢٠١٥م، ونستنتج، ثمّ نُجيب:

الدّول العربيّة الإفريقيّة		الدّول العربيّة الآسيويّة	
عدد السكّان بالمليون	الدّولة	عدد السكّان بالمليون	الدّولة
٨٨,٦	مصر	٢٩,١	السّعوديّة
٣٧,٩	الجزائر	٢٤,٥	اليمن
٣٢,٩	المغرب	٣,٨	عمّان
٣٧,٩	السّودان	٨,٢	الإمارات
٠,٨	جيبوتي	١,٢	البحرين
١٠,٤	الصّومال	٦,٤	الأردن
٠,٨	جزر القمر	٢١,٣	سوريا
٦,٢	ليبيا	٤,٨	لبنان
١٠,٧	تونس	٤,٧	فلسطين (الضّفة وغزّة)
٣,٤	موريتانيا	١,٩	قطر

(Social Studies, Grade 8, Part 1 (2017) p. 33)

4. Circumlocutions

One of the manifestations in the PA schoolbooks of non-recognition of Israel as a sovereign state is the use of circumlocutions for its territories instead of the term "Israeli territory":

A table providing figures related to the country's inhabitants mentions Israel's Palestinian citizens as "the Palestinians of the 'Interior' [*Filastiniyu al-Dakhel*]" (*National Education, Grade 6 (2014) p. 10*) and see the table within the above-discussed part of this study in reference to the PA schoolbooks' disregard of millions of the country's Jewish inhabitants).

Another table titled "Table of the Geographical Distribution of the Palestinian People" features the term "the Territories of the Year 1948" – the third datum in the table:

جدول التوزيع الجغرافي للشعب الفلسطيني

عدد السكان منتصف عام ٢٠٠٨ م	مكان الإقامة
٢,٣٨٥,١٨٠ نسمة	الضفة الغربية
١,٤٤٠,٣٣٢ نسمة	قطاع غزة
١,١٩٩,٨٦٤ نسمة	أراضي عام ١٩٤٨
٥,٤٤٧,٩٤٩ نسمة	الشتات (في الدول العربية والأجنبية)
١٠,٤٧٣,٣٢٥ نسمة	المجموع الكلي

الجدول رقم (٣)

المصدر: الجهاز المركزي للإحصاء الفلسطيني، ٢٠٠٩م، تقديرات مبنية على النتائج النهائية للتعداد العام، ٢٠٠٧م

(*Geography of Palestine, Grade 7 (2014) p. 49, and see this term repeated in the text on p. 50*)

"The Green Line" is another term used as a substitute for Israel's territory
(*Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9 (2015) p. 43*)

Only rarely is the name "Israel" used to denote the territory inside the Green Line:

"Also, it [Israel] reduced into a fifth the number of workers from Gaza and the West Bank who had been permitted to work in Israel."
(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 82*)

5. References to places inside pre-1967 Israel

Cities inside pre-1967 Israel are presented as Palestinian:

A lesson titled "Cities of Palestine" mentions the cities of Jerusalem, Gaza, Khan Yunis, Hebron, Ramallah, Nablus, Tulkarm, Jenin, and also Jaffa and Haifa (*National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 22*)

A story about a school excursion from Jerusalem to Tiberias through Jericho and Beit Shean is accompanied by the following question (No. 3):

"What are the Palestinian cities through which the bus passed?"
(*Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3, Part 2 (2015) p. 78*)

A lesson titled "An Excursion to Acre" features the following sentences:

"Acre is a Palestinian city... Acre was founded in the second millennium BC by the Canaanite Arabs... I visited this beautiful Palestinian Arab city... I took my leave of this eternal city full of hope that it will someday return to its original owners."
(*Our Beautiful Language, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014) pp. 20, 21. The expression "Acre is a Palestinian city" appears as well in the exercises that follow this piece on pp. 24, 27*)

Reading exercise:

"I am Jaffa, Bride of the Sea [Jaffa's epithet in Palestinian narrative – *Arus al-Bahr*]; I am a Palestinian city. I was built by your ancient Arab ancestors six thousand years ago, on the Mediterranean coast..."⁴⁵

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 106, and see the question on p. 107: "When did the Arabs build the city of Jaffa?")

In a table of the holy places in the country the student is requested to fill in the name of the holy place next to the relevant "Palestinian City". Israeli Nazareth appears among those Palestinian cities (*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 13, and see also *Physical and Human Geography*, Grade 12 (2015) p.143)

A lesson titled "Palestinian Cities" discusses in some detail, under the title "the Most Important Palestinian Cities", a number of cities located in pre-1967 Israel: Haifa, Jaffa, Nazareth, Safed and Beer Sheba. In no place does this piece mention that these cities are now found inside Israeli territory (*Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) pp. 81-85). On the contrary, an assignment on p. 86 specifies: "I will draw a map of Palestine and put on it the most important cities."

Both Gaza and (Israeli) Haifa are said to be port cities in Palestine (*Geography of the Arab Homeland*, Grade 9 (2015) p. 82, and see the assignment on p. 83: "An outline map of the Arab homeland will be distributed to the students upon which I will write the names of the Arab States and mark the ports of Haifa, Aden, Basra, Alexandria and Damam.")


This attitude continues as well in the books of the 2016 edition: Among the pictures of Palestinian sites one can find a photograph of the Israeli city of Acre. the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth, the city wall of Acre and the Hasan Bek Mosque in Tel Aviv-Jaffa appear in an assignment of collecting pictures of sites in Palestinian cities (*National and Life Education*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016) pp. 98, 104, respectively, and see a similar message in *National and Life Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 16 and *Mathematics*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 140). Another book features a text in which a teacher asks the students to do research on Palestinian cities, and one of the students says that she will ask her grandmother to tell her about the (Israeli) city of Haifa. In that same book a question reads: "We will mention the names of the Palestinian cities that appeared in the text [Gaza, Hebron, Jericho – and the Israeli city of Haifa]" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) pp. 114, 115, respectively). Haifa also appears among the Palestinian cities in another assignment (*Mathematics*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 91), and (Israeli), and Jaffa is mentioned among Palestinian cities in another mathematical assignment (*Mathematics*, Grade 4, Part 1(2016) p. 133). A question in still another Mathematics textbook opens with the following sentence: "[The Israeli city of] Tiberias is a Palestinian city" (*Mathematics*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016) p. 7).

A book of the same 2016 edition features a map titled "My Homeland, Palestine" in which cities in Israeli pre-1967 territory are also marked. The student is required to write down the names of two Palestinian port cities besides Gaza, and all the given options are located within pre-1967 Israel. He/she is also required to create a triangle

⁴⁵ See the myth of the Canaanites' Arab descent in Chapter Two.

between Jerusalem – "Palestine's eternal capital" – and both Hebron and (Israeli) Ramleh:

وَطَنِي فِلَسْطِينُ



١ القُدْسُ عاصِمَةُ فِلَسْطِينِ الأَبَدِيَّةِ .

(أ) أَكْمَلِ الفِراغِ بما هو مناسب :

- مِنَ المَدِينِ الفِلَسْطِينِيَّةِ الَّتِي تَقَعُ عَلَى سَاحِلِ البَحْرِ الأَبْيَضِ المُتَوَسِّطِ : عَزَّة ، _____ ، _____ ،

أَصِلْ بَيْنَ التَّقَاطِ الَّتِي تُمَثِّلُ كُلَّ مَدِينَتَيْنِ .

- ١- العاصِمَةُ وَالرَّمْلَةَ .
- ٢- العاصِمَةُ وَالخَلِيلَ .
- ٣- الخَلِيلُ وَالرَّمْلَةَ .

(Mathematics, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 123)

One of the new textbooks explicitly talks of an occupied Palestinian city inside pre-1967 Israel:

"The Zionist gangs occupied the city of Ramleh on 21.7.1948 and forced its inhabitants to emigrate under the threat of arms, although the surrender agreement determined that the inhabitants be allowed to remain in their city. But the Zionist gangs did not follow that agreement and the city still succumbs to the yoke of Zionist occupation."

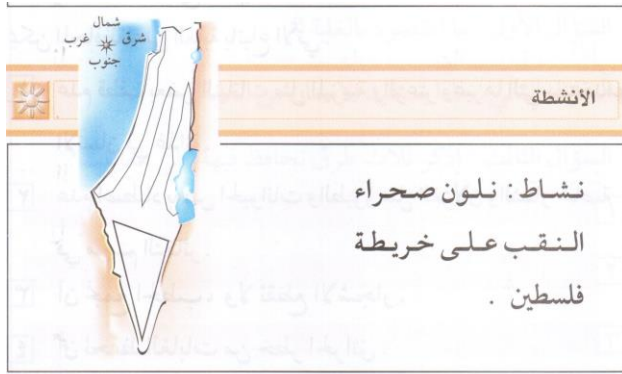
(Social Studies, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 60)

The same applies to regions and sites within Israel's pre-1967 territory, although it is probably possible in this case to explain that as references to "historical Palestine", except when the text's political character is apparent, as is the case with some of the following quotes (**put in bold**):

"In southern Palestine, there is a desert named 'the Negev' [*Al-Naqb*]."

(National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 19)

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



٢٥

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

According to one of the tables titled "Table No. 7: The Most Important Minerals in some of the Arab **States**", the phosphate deposits (in the Israeli Negev region) are found in the **state** of Palestine (*Geography of the Arab Homeland*, Grade 9 (2015) p. 62).

And in the following exercise the coastal plain between Haifa and Gaza is located in the state of Palestine:

"4. I will connect the coastal plain in column A to the Arab **state** where it is found in column B:

The Coastal Plain (A)

Anabah
Between Haifa and Gaza
Al-Malwiyyah
Akkar
Al-Ladhiqiyyah
Tihamah

The Arab State (B)

Syria
Saudi Arabia
Morocco
Lebanon
Algeria
Palestine
Iraq

٤ - أصل بين السهل الساحلي في العمود (أ)، والدولة العربية التي يوجد فيها في العمود (ب):

الدولة العربية (ب)	السهل الساحلي (أ)
سوريا	عنابة
السعودية	من حيفا إلى غزة
المغرب	الملوية
لبنان	عكار
الجزائر	اللاذقية
فلسطين	تهامة
العراق	

(*Geography of the Arab Homeland*, Grade 9 (2015) p. 25. Marking added.)

Caesarea, Haifa and Acre are mentioned among Palestine's touristic sites (*National Education*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2015) p. 61) and so are the Tiberias Hot Springs and the beaches of Jaffa and Acre (*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014) p. 22).

This phenomenon repeats itself regarding geographic sites within pre-1967 Israel, though it is possible – as already said – to see it in the context of physical rather than political geography:

"Mount Al-Jarmaq [Meiron] near Safed is one of the most famous mountains of Palestine."

(*National Education*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2015) p. 10)

"Mount Al-Jarmaq [Meiron] is the highest mountain in Palestine."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 2 (2014) p. 61, and there are additional such references not included in this study.)

Israel's Image

The attitude of the PA schoolbooks to Israel is wholly negative, with no positive tone whatsoever. The student does not get any objective information about Israel that might have counter-balanced, at least slightly, its negative image. Also, there is no reference to the Israeli individual, which leaves the student with an impression of a threatening alien group. Following are more specific details:

1. Israel was established out of occupation of Palestinian land, destruction of Palestinian cities and villages, expulsion of their residents, and construction of Israeli settlements in their place:

- "Imperialism [*Isti'mar*]: Palestine suffered from the British occupation after the First World War and from the Israeli occupation in 1948 with Britain's assistance. The Israeli occupation destroyed most Palestinian villages and cities, expelled the Palestinian inhabitants and forced them to leave their lands and villages.
- Settlement [*istitan*]: Israel pursued a new policy regarding the occupation of Palestinian lands: the establishment of settlements [*mustawtanat*] for agriculture, industry and residence..."

(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 15)

"The first lesson: Repetition of numbers up to 999."

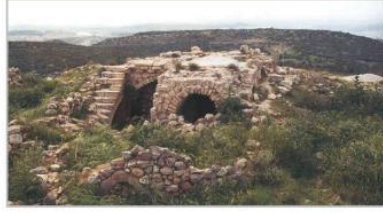
Under this title one finds a photograph of a ruined building with the following text:

"1. The number of Palestinian villages destroyed in 1948 is 396.

- Where did the inhabitants of these villages go?
- I will mention the name of one of these villages.

[Mathematical questions then follow]."

الدَّرْسُ الْأَوَّلُ مُرَاجَعَةُ الْأَعْدَادِ ضِمْنَ ٩٩٩



- ١ عَدَدُ الْقُرَى الْفِلَسْطِينِيَّةِ الْمُدْمَرَةِ عَامَ أَلْفٍ وَتِسْعِمِئَةٍ وَتَمَانِيَةٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ ٣٩٦ قَرْيَةً.
- أَيَّنَ ذَهَبَ سُكَّانُ هَذِهِ الْقُرَى ؟
 - أَذْكَرُ اسْمَ قَرْيَةٍ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْقُرَى ؟

(*Mathematics, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 4. The non-mathematical questions were omitted in the 2017 reprint of this book.*)

"As a result of the Arab-Israeli war in 1948, 479 villages out of the 807 Palestinian villages fell under Israeli occupation. Over 370 of them were destroyed in the years 1948-1950. It is possible to classify the destroyed villages as follows:

- A. Some of the Palestinian villages were destroyed and [Israeli] colonies [*musta'marat*] were established there.
- B. [Some] villages were not completely destroyed and Jewish families took residence there after they had been completely evacuated of their original inhabitants.
- C. In some of the destroyed villages, remnants of the old houses are still apparent after the expulsion of their inhabitants.
- D. In some other Palestinian villages and cities, restrictions were imposed on their inhabitants and they were prevented from building or developing [their houses], as is the case in Jaffa, Lydda, Ramleh, Acre and the villages of Galilee, the Triangle and the Negev."

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

"[Assignment:] Let us mention the names of some Palestinian villages the Israelis destroyed, removed their remnants and established on their lands colonies

[*musta'marat*] and residential concentrations [*tajammuat sakaniyyah*]."⁴⁶

(*National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 54*)

"[Assignment:] I will mention the names of Palestinian villages the inhabitants of which were forced to emigrate, or they were destroyed by the Israelis."

(*National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 56*)

"[Assignment:] I will copy to my copybook and answer by 'Yes' or 'No': Some of the Palestinian villages that were destroyed and became part of Jewish residential areas

⁴⁶ The term "residential concentrations [*tajammuat sakaniyyah*]" has a neutral connotation in Arabic, unlike "settlements [*mustawtanat*]" or "colonies [*musta'marat*]" that indicate foreignness. Its use in the PA schoolbooks in reference to Jewish settlements is very rare.

are: the village of Deir Yassin in the District of Jerusalem and the villages of Salameh and Khayriyyah in the Jaffa District."
(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 56)

"[Assignment:] Let us gather information about some of the Palestinian villages and sites destroyed by the Israelis."
(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 57)

Occupation and destruction were followed by name changing:

"Changing the names of Palestinian villages, cities, sites and physical features. For example, the Al-Uja River came to be known by the name Yarkon."
(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 55)⁴⁷

2. The main accusation against Israel stems from the continued occupation and from the suffering it causes:

Language exercise:

"The occupiers continue their crimes against our people."
(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 45)

"I will mention three negative influences by the occupation."
(*Civics*, Grade 6 (2015) p. 59)

"The Israeli occupation is the main reason for our non-achievement of full independence. The Palestinian people has the right to struggle until it gains its independent state like other peoples in the world."

The same page features four photographs: A permanent checkpoint, an Israeli settlement, arrest of suspects by soldiers and the separation wall:



⁴⁷ The name "Yarkon" is Biblical: Joshua 19:46

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 41, and see the question on p. 45: "What is preventing our state, Palestine, from achieving its independence in full?")

A poetic expression describing the occupation:

"The wind and the fire – the Israeli occupier"
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 59)

And another such expression in Fadwa Tuqan's poem "Hamzah":

"This land that is reaped by the fire of crime
And is withdrawn within itself in sorrow and silence
This land – its betrayed heart shall remain alive and shall not die."
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 8)

And another one:

"O my homeland, you have accustomed me to seeing the enemy's horses every day
Wading through blood – my blood
You have accustomed me to encountering the arrows that come from all directions."
(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2013) p. 12)

"[Question:] The poetess indicates some of the manifestations of the Palestinians' suffering from the occupation. I will mention these manifestations."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 80)

Two assignments following a poem about the occupation of a Moroccan city by Spain:

"The suffering caused by occupation is almost [always] the same. I will illustrate the suffering of the people of Ceuta due to the occupation and compare their suffering to the suffering of the Palestinian people...
By inspiration of the poem 'Ceuta' I will express orally the right of the occupied [person] to defend his homeland."
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) pp. 36, 37, respectively)

Another example:

"I will compare the suffering of the Muslims in Spain in the past, and its cause, to the suffering of the Palestinian people at present and its cause."
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 43)

An impellent for charity vis-à-vis what is indirectly described as damages suffered by the Palestinians and caused by the Israeli occupation:

"If you have money beyond your needs you can contribute some of it to the poor, or to someone hit by a disaster, like a person whose house was demolished, or his crop was spoiled, or his enterprise destroyed, or his son fell as a martyr... We, in Palestine, are so much in need for our helping one another, that the strong would help the weak,

the rich would give to the poor and that we all cooperate in honoring the families of the martyrs, prisoners-of-war [*asra*] and the afflicted ones..."
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2015) p. 65)

The following exercise presents three incidents, accompanied by three options each, and the student is requested to choose one for each incident. Two of the three incidents imply arbitrary actions by Israel:

"My land has been confiscated:

1. I will give it up in return for a large sum of money
2. I will defend it and will not give up
3. I will not interfere because the problem is my family's

...

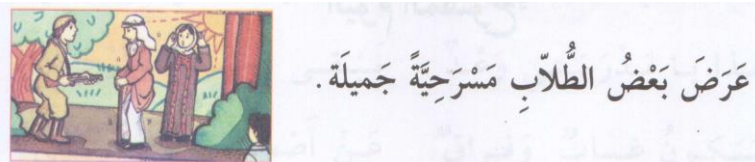
A family's house has been demolished:

1. We will ask others to help that family
2. We will help it as far as we can
3. We will not interfere in others' affairs."

(*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014) p. 44)

3. The occupation is an expression of "the logic of power" and of Israel's violence that penetrates, in its turn, into Palestinian society:

The following picture, taken from a grade 1 schoolbook, describes one of several activities of an "open day" in school by the following sentence: "Some students presented a nice show." The picture portrays an Israeli soldier threatening an old Palestinian couple with his weapon:



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2014) p. 132)

In the following civics lesson Israel is presented as one who follows "the logic of power" versus the Palestinians in various fields, contrary to what is described as "the logic of justice":

"Lesson 3: The logic of justice – the logic of power

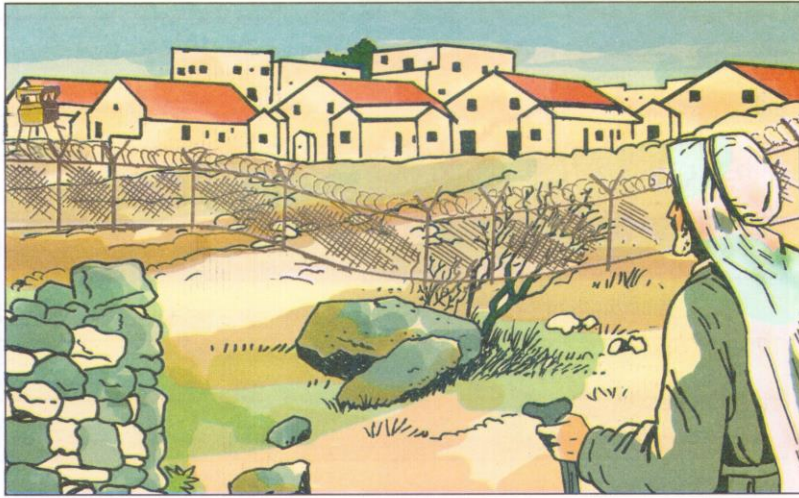
I will examine the picture and answer the [questions] that follow it:

[An illustration portraying an old Arab peasant looking at a fenced area – his land? – in which houses of an Israeli settlement are built]

1. I will express my opinion regarding the picture.
2. How do the settlements express the logic of power?

مَنْطِقُ الْعَدَالَةِ . . . مَنْطِقُ الْقُوَّةِ

ألاحظ الصورة وأجيب عما يليها:



١. أعبر عن رأيي في الصورة.

٢. كيف تعبر المستوطنات عن منطق القوة؟

(Civics, Grade 6 (2015) p. 52)

"[Definitions:] Relations of justice – relations that give any holder of a right what he deserves, with no oppression of anyone;

Relations of power – relations that bring about the oppression of the weak by the powerful, even if justice stands by the weak. [A manifestation of the logic of power:] A strong state that occupies another state and exploits it."

(Civics, Grade 6 (2015) p. 53)

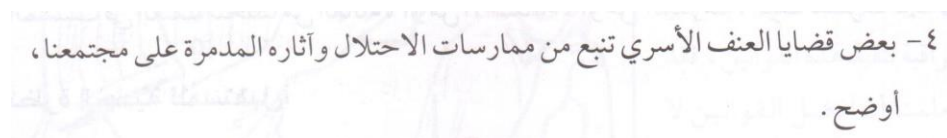
"Types of violence:

There is direct violence such as beating, causing physical or verbal or mental damage – like the violence to which the Palestinian person is subjected under the occupation..."

(Civics, Grade 8 (2013) p. 44)

Even internal violence in Palestinian society is attributed to the occupation:

"[Assignment:] 4. Some of the in-family violence problems stem from the occupation's actions and its destructive impacts on our society. I will clarify [that]."



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

"What is the role of the occupation and of its actions in the intensification of violence [in Palestinian society]?"

(Civics, Grade 8 (2013) p. 56)

A chapter titled "My Right to a Peaceful Life" has the following goals:

"The lesson's goals: It is expected that the student will be able, after the completion of this lesson to: ...2. Mention some of the types of violence to which the Palestinian child is exposed; 3. Specify the occupation's impacts on the violation of the children's right to a peaceful life."

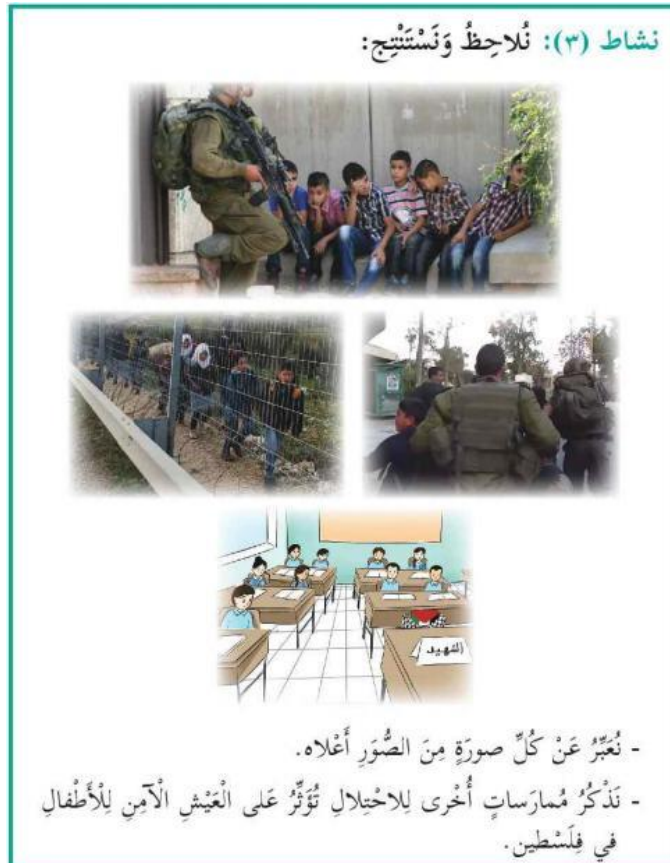
(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 56)

Following are 3 photographs and an illustration of a class of which one chair is vacant and a sign on its desk reads "Martyr". The writing above the pictures says:

"Activity [No.] 3: Let us observe and discuss:" The writing below the pictures:

"- Let us express the content of each of the pictures above.

- Let us mention other actions by the occupation that have an impact on the peaceful life of children in Palestine."



(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 59)

"I have learned: Children in Palestine are exposed to various types of violence because of the occupation which endangers their lives. Some of these types [are]: Murder of children and their arrest, keeping them under blockade for long hours, or imposing house-arrest on them and preventing them from safely reaching their schools, or frightening them and throwing them out to the street as a result of killing their relatives or arresting them and demolishing their houses."

(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 60, and see the questions on p. 63: "3. Why is the occupation endangering the children's peaceful life? 4. What is your opinion regarding: [a long list of violations of children's rights not related to Israel followed by -] A student who cannot come to his school due to the occupation's military checkpoints.")

4. Israel is also perceived as aggressive to the Arab world in general:

"The nationalization of the Suez Canal [by Egypt] in 1956 annoyed the Imperialist states, and France, Britain and Israel carried out the Tripartite Aggression against Egypt in that year with a view to:

1. Reclaiming the Imperialistic control of the Suez Canal.
2. Stopping the attacks [on Israel] by the Palestinian *fidai's* from the Gaza Strip that was under Egyptian rule.
3. Preventing Egypt from providing the Algerian rebels [against French rule there] with material and moral assistance.

The aggression failed to achieve its goals thanks to the Egyptian people's brave resistance and to the Arab and Muslim nation's support of Egypt."

(Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014) p. 48)

"Israel occupied [in 1956] the Gaza Strip during the Tripartite Aggression against Egypt and later withdrew from it in 1957, after the aggression had failed to achieve its goals."

(Modern and Contemporary Arab History, Grade 9 (2014) p. 56)

"The Tripartite Aggression against Egypt in 1956

Britain, France and Israel carried out an aggression against Egypt on October 30, 1956, following the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt's late president, Jamal Abd al-Nasser, and the transfer of its ownership to the hands of the Egyptian people. The Tripartite Aggression failed to achieve its goals..."

(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 37)

"The nationalization of the Suez Canal made Egypt face a tripartite aggression – British-French-Israeli – that ended in failure thanks to the resistance shown by the Egyptians and [thanks to] the Soviet Union's interference in Egypt's favor."

(History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 67)

An exceptional case is one of the descriptions of the Six-Day War that appears in a history textbook for grade 11. It does not make Israel exclusively responsible for that war but rather presents the deterioration that led to its outbreak as an outcome of the actions taken by both sides (pages 43-44). However, Israel is blamed for suddenly attacking Egypt contrary to promises made to Egypt by the US (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 44*).

In other reports on the Six-Day War given in another PA schoolbook Israel is accused of aggression:

"Israel occupied part of Egypt's territory (Sinai) following the 1967 war. The [UN] Security Council issued Resolution No. 242 calling for Israel's withdrawal from the territories it had occupied but Israel did not comply. Then, the War of Attrition began..."

(History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 68)

"Syria suffered from Israeli aggression in 1967 that brought about the occupation of the Golan Heights by Israel and they are still under occupation."

(History of the Arabs and the World in the twentieth Century, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 63)

"Israel attacked in 1967 the neighboring Arab states, including Jordan, and managed to occupy the West Bank. Israel continued its aggression against Jordan in 1968 and then the Jordanian and the Palestinian forces clashed with it in the battle of Karameh. The Palestinian *Fidais* ["those who sacrifice themselves" – a traditional Islamic term used today to denote members of the Palestinian armed organizations] and the Jordanian army succeeded in stopping the aggression."

(History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 65)

"The Israeli attacks on Egypt and Syria continued while the two states were planning to reclaim their lands."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 61)

"The Israeli attacks on the refugee camps and the Palestinian positions [in Lebanon] were intensified and spread to the villages and the cities, and to Lebanon's infrastructure and economic centers, which pushed the PLO to freeze its actions against Israel from Lebanon's territories. In spite of that, the Israeli attacks and bombardments against the Palestinian population centers [there] did not stop."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 65)

"The Israeli forces invaded south Lebanon in March 1978 [in the wake of a deadly terrorist action – not mentioned here - on Israel's Coastal Highway perpetrated by Palestinians who came from Lebanon in a boat] within a military operation named 'Operation Litani', in order to destroy the infrastructure of the Palestinian forces in Lebanon..."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) pp. 65-66)

"Israel planned to cancel the PLO's political role and eliminate it by ending the presence of the armed Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese resistance [in Lebanon]. It exploited the attempt to assassinate its ambassador to London on 3.6.1982 and decided to invade Lebanon on 6.6.1982. The Israeli government claimed that the operation's goals were limited and that it aimed at pushing the Palestinian forces to a distance of 40 km [from Israel's border], namely, to the Litani River, rather than challenging the Syrian forces [in Lebanon]. But, on the fourth day, the Syrian missile bases in the Beqa' Valley [in Lebanon] were bombarded and destroyed."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 72)

Further on, the book describes the siege of Beirut, the evacuation of the PLO forces from the city and the massacre perpetrated against the Palestinian population of the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps there by the Christian-Maronite Phalanges "with the support and coverage of the Israeli forces that were placed at the camps' entrances" (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 73, accompanied by a photograph of covered bodies thrown on the ground).

"The occupation of south Lebanon by the Israeli forces in 1982. They advanced to the capital Beirut on the pretext of eliminating the Palestinian resistance,⁴⁸ which led to the exodus of the Resistance [forces] from Lebanon and their dispersal in several Arab states. But the Palestinian refugees stayed on in the camps [in Lebanon] where they were exposed to Israel's attacks and several massacres were perpetrated against them of which the most famous was the massacre of Sabra and Shatila in 1982. Yet, the Israeli forces withdrew from there under the pressure of the Lebanese nationalist resistance in 2000, except for the Shab'a Farms region. The Lebanese resistance [activity] for their liberation continues."

(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 64)

Language exercise:

⁴⁸ The Palestinian Resistance [*Muqawamah*] – a term used to denote Palestinian terrorist raids from Lebanese territory against Israel.

"I visited those who had been wounded in the Invasion [*Ijtiyah* in Arabic – a term allocated to denote the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and also that of 1978]" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 53)

"Israel took advantage of the war circumstances [between Iraq and Iran, 1980-1988] and in 1981 bombarded the Iraqi nuclear reactor in Za'faranah, one of Baghdad's suburbs, and destroyed it."
(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 105)

Beyond its aggression against the neighboring Arab states, Israel is also involved – according to the PA schoolbooks – in attempts to steal their water resources:

"1. The Litani River [in Lebanon]: Israel managed to take control of it following its Invasion [*Ijtiyah*] to Lebanon's territories in 1978 [the Litani Operation] and took several steps to impose its control over its waters, including [the following ones]:

- A. Putting large pumps near the Khardali Bridge in the region of the Security Zone [in south Lebanon 1985-2000].
- B. Extending huge pipes at a [total] length of 10 km from the place where the river flows to the Lebanese town of Al-Tayyibeh.
- C. Israel built huge reservoirs in the southern outskirts of the [Lebanese] town of Eita al-Sha'b for the purpose of storing the Litani's water and its distribution to the settlements in the region of Upper Galilee. It [Israel] started to divert the water of the Litani River to the Sea of Galilee using huge pipes.

2. The Hasbani River: Israel took control of the Hasbani River's water following its invasion of Lebanon's territories in 1982, and it still controls the Shab'a Farms [on Mount Hermon] which are strategically important, as it came to control the flow of the Hasbani River. It also overlooks [from there] on the flow of the Litani River and Al-Wazan [the Hasbani springs], which motivates it to control this place and establish settlements there."

(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) pp. 111-112, and see the questions on p. 115: "[I will explain]: A. The motives that directed Israel's eyes toward south Lebanon; B. The steps taken by Israel for the control of the Litani River's water.")

This imaginary description is accompanied in the book by an imaginary map titled "Map of the Litani's Water Diversion" which marks in blue the Litani River that flows to the Mediterranean outside Israeli territory and the Hasbani River that flows from Lebanon into Israel. The imaginary water carriers are colored purple and the red dotted line marks the Israeli-Lebanese border.



خريطة تحويل مياه الليطاني

(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 112)

Israel's Role in the Struggle over the Nile's Water

An Israeli engineer named Elisha' Kali suggested in 1974 a project that would carry water from the Nile to Israel. He published it under the title "Water of Peace". It aimed at widening the Ismailiyah fresh water canal to increase the water flow there in preparation to its transfer to the Negev region for the irrigation of 2.16 million dunams to absorb Jewish immigrants. On this basis, Israel's interest in Ethiopia is considered unique, for Ethiopia is the source of the Nile's water on the one hand, and the most important African state as far as Israel is concerned security-wise, on the other hand. It is it [Ethiopia] that secures for it [Israel] a foothold in the Red Sea [but Ethiopia does not have direct access to the Red Sea!] and [thus] controlling it and its northern and southern entrances. Accordingly, over 400 Israeli experts came to assist Ethiopia in building dams on the Blue Nile. The water projects aim at the development of the areas located on the Ethiopian-Sudanese border."

(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 114, and see the question on p. 115: "I will explain Israel's attempts aimed at realizing its greedy ambitions [*atma*] regarding the Nile River.")

5. A repeating element in Israel's demonization – "killing" of Palestinian cities and villages:

The first example personifies Jerusalem as a girl in a poem titled "Palestine" that calls for Jihad in defense of the country:

"O my brother, we have a sister in Jerusalem for whom the slaughterers have prepared the knives."

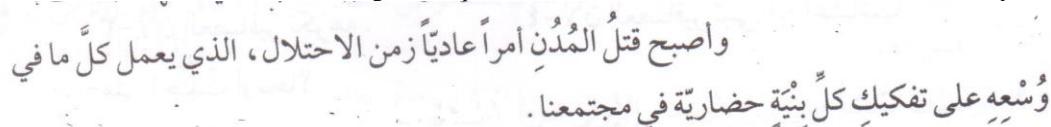
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 44, and see this verse as a language exercise in *Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2014) p. 14)

One of the accompanying questions:

"The poet described Jerusalem in the sixth verse [of his poem] as the Arabs and Muslims' sister, while the enemies are sharpening their knives to slaughter her. What does the poet expect the brothers [to do] regarding their sister?"

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 46)

"Killing of cities has become an ordinary matter in the time of the occupation which does whatever it can to take apart any civilizational infrastructure in our society."



وأصبح قتلُ المُدُنِ أمراً عادياً زمن الاحتلال، الذي يعمل كل ما في
وُسْعِهِ على تفكيك كل بنية حضارية في مجتمعنا.

("Memory of the Place" by Liana Badr, *Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 61)

An assignments following this story:

"I will clarify the beauty of the expression in the following [examples]:

- Killing of cities has become an ordinary matter..."

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 63)

Verses in a poem by Sulafah Hijawi titled "Zeita':

"At night, orders were given to the soldiers to kill our beautiful village Zeita..."

At night, the soldiers came...

The instructions determine – to leave

Zeita will be executed in the evening...

Few moments, and then the men's corpses dropped...

Few moments, and then Zeita dropped stained

Not a [single] bread oven remained in its expanse that was not destroyed by the battalion

All stones and men

Became under the pressure of the alien plows a valley of blood or sand..."

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) pp. 71-72)

The accompanying explanation:

"The poetess describes in this poem how the Israelis destroyed, following the Catastrophe [*Nakbah*] of 1948 an Arab village located west of Beit Jubrin in southern Palestine and called Zeita."

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 73)

A related assignment:

"I will present those parts of the poem that indicate the two following notions:

- A. The policy of the Israeli occupation is based on the erasure of Palestinian heritage.
- B. The people of Zeita's power of resistance and their steadfastness vis-à-vis the occupation's instructions to burn their village."

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 74)

An assignment:

"The poetess Sulafah al-Hijawi says: 'The instructions were given to the soldiers to kill our beautiful village, Zeita' and the writer Liana Badr says in the text of 'Memory of the Place': 'Killing of cities has become an ordinary matter in the time of the occupation'. In your opinion, which of the two expressions is nicer, and why?"

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 74)

6. Israel murders Palestinian children

Language exercise:

"Four ...[to be completed by the student according to Arabic rules of numeration]... fell as martyrs near the separation wall."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 102)

The "*Intifadah* Hymn" includes a piece about the killing of (Palestinian) children:

"We bury the child patiently and walk away."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 33)

Verses of a poem by (the Israeli citizen, the late) Samih al-Qassem titled "the *Intifadah* Poem":

"The child and the old man among us will die and will not surrender
The mother will fall upon her killed sons and will not surrender"

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 77)

Language exercise:

"The Khansa's⁴⁹ of Palestine present [as a sacrifice] their offspring for the sake of supporting God and His Messenger [Muhammad]."

(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 51)

A language exercise implying that Israeli soldiers shoot Palestinian children deliberately:

"[Language exercise:] The Palestinian child stood facing the enemy's bullets like a brave soldier."

⁴⁹ Al-Khansa' – a poetess in Arabia in the beginning of Islam who became Muslim and took pride in her four sons who fell in the Battle of Qadisiyyah against the Persians in 636 AD.

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

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

Another such an implied expression:

"During the First Palestinian *Intifadah* the Palestinian youths were utilizing the sling to stand against the Zionist occupation's soldiers and defend themselves against their treacherous bullets"



(*Sciences and Life*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 77)

"[Assignment:] I will describe the feelings of a Palestinian mother who received the news of her only son's falling as martyr, using the following elements:

1. Storming of the place by the occupation forces
2. Confrontation with the stone [throwing] children
3. Wounding of several persons
4. The news reaching the mother
5. The mother's self-restraint and her being consoled by the neighbors."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 82)

"When the Palestinian mothers differ from the rest of the mothers in the world and continue for the sixth decade successively to bury their children accompanied by trilling cries of joy! When the Palestinian fathers continue to entomb their sons calmly and promise to complete [their share] with the rest [of their sons]! When the Palestinian [individual] with no difference of age, religion, sex, and affiliation becomes a martyrdom project! When orphanage becomes an ordinary matter and widowhood is prevalent, and marriage by correspondence [from jail] becomes a characteristic of the Palestinian family! When all this happens, then the call for the elevation of the level of public performance to that of the current flow of blood becomes a sacred national right that is difficult to renounce or treat lightly..."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 58. Exclamation marks in the original.)

The case of the Palestinian boy Muhammad al-Durrah, who, according to a French television report was shot dead by Israeli soldiers, is used to illustrate the issue of neural influences on physical reactions of the human body in various situations:



(*Biology*, Grade 11 [Sciences], Part 1 (2017) p. 77)

7. Israel assassinates Palestinian leaders, including an implied accusation that it was responsible for Yasser Arafat's death

"These actions [by Israel in Lebanon in the 1970s] also aimed at the assassination of Palestinian activists such as Muhammad Yusuf al-Najjar, Kamal Udwan and Kamal Nasser in Beirut in 1973."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 65)

"Israel used all means and oppressive actions to put an end to the [first] *Intifadah* and these [means] reached the Palestinian leaders abroad with Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) at their head, whom Israel assassinated at his home in Tunis on 16.4.1988 on account of his direct role in guiding the *Intifadah*... Fat'hi Shkaki: A Palestinian leader... He established the Islamic Jihad movement. He was arrested more than once until he was expelled to Lebanon in 1988. Israel assassinated him in Malta on 26.10.1995."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 77)

"Israel assassinated a group of Palestinian leaders, including Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), Hail Abd al-Hamid (Abu al-Hawl) and Muhammad al-Umari...alah Khalaf (Abu S⁵⁰ Iyad): A Palestinian leader who played a fundamental role in the struggle of the Palestinian people against Israeli occupation... He was assassinated on 24.1.1991 in Tunis."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 82)

"Abu Ali Mustafa: A Palestinian leader... He played a unique role in the establishment of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine... and later became the Front's Secretary General in 2000. He returned to the land of Palestine after the conclusion of the Oslo Accord. Israel assassinated him in Ramallah on 27.8.2001."

Sheikh Ahmad Yassin: A Palestinian leader... He established, together with a group of Islamist activists the organization of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) in the Gaza Strip in 1987. He was arrested several times. He faced more than one attempt on his life until Israel managed to assassinate him on 22.3.2004."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 87)

⁵⁰ According to information spread by the mass media at that time, it was not Israel that hit these leaders but rather Palestinians hostile to Arafat who were supported by Libya.

"President Yasser Arafat was under siege by the Israeli forces in his headquarters at the building of the Ramallah Sub-district [*Muqata'ah*] for a period of over three years, which led to worsening of his malady under ambiguous circumstances. He was transferred to the Percy military hospital in France for treatment where he died on 11.11.2004."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 89)

In one of the new 2017 books Arafat is mentioned as a martyr (*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 14).

8. Israel is responsible for physical and mental disabilities in Palestinian society:

"Reports of the International Labor Organization have indicated that the number of people with special needs [in the world] exceeds 600 millions. The rate of those ones in the Palestinian people is higher than that among other peoples due to the occupation's crimes, as a result of injuries [caused] by various weapons used against the Palestinians and of physical and mental torture [practiced] against them."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 12 (2014) p. 147)

"...The rate of disabilities in Palestine is considered the highest in the world, and the reason for that is the Israeli occupation and its oppression activities."

أما في فلسطين فإن نسبة الإعاقة ٤ ٪، وإن ٤٨ ٪ منهم دون سن الثامنة عشرة، وأن نسبة الإعاقات في فلسطين تعد الأعلى على مستوى العالم، والسبب في ذلك هو الاحتلال الإسرائيلي وممارساته القمعية.

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 28, and see the assignment on p. 32: "I will explain... the high rate of disabilities in Palestine.")

"The mental stresses faced by the Palestinian people

The Palestinian people is subjected to many internal and external mental stresses. It suffered from many wars that were imposed on it, from many consecutive imposed migrations, from the loss of the land, the home, the children and living resources, in addition to the closures and the siege, the waiting in lines and the search at the military checkpoints for long hours...

[Assignment:] We will discuss the actions taken by the Israeli occupation and the mental stresses caused by them."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 52, and see the assignment on p. 54: "I will explain the large number of mental stress [types] to which the Palestinian people is subjected.")

9. The occupation treats the occupied brutally

An example of such brutality is given in one of the new 2017 schoolbooks within a story titled "Short Story: [Olive] Oil"



Part of the text underneath the picture:

"The story in front of us talks about the Palestinian [individual's] concern regarding keeping his bread and his ties to his land and olive trees, and clarifies the Palestinian mother's suffering and her worries regarding her family vis-à-vis the occupation's arrogance and oppressive abuses."

(*Arabic Language, Grade 8, Part 1 (2017) p. 15*)

The story: A Palestinian woman dreams that soldiers stop the truck in which they bring olive oil home and shoot the jerrycans. Her husband tells her it is only a dream but she reminds him that she sees the soldiers every day entering houses and pouring the flour on the floor and the oil on the bedding. The next day they bring home jerrycans of olive oil, having successfully bypassed a military checkpoint. But "in the evening of the next day soldiers break into the house and the woman and the children resist them and then the flour becomes mixed with blood and oil."

(*Arabic Language, Grade 8, Part 1 (2017) pp. 16-17*)

10. Israel is responsible for drug abuse cases in Palestinian society:

"The phenomenon of drug abuse has become prominent in some segments of Palestinian society due to the encouragement of their circulation among the youth by the Israeli occupation with a view to destroying them morally, economically, and politically..."

وقد برزت ظاهرة تعاطي المخدرات في بعض مناطق المجتمع الفلسطيني، بسبب تشجيع الاحتلال الإسرائيلي على ترويجها بين الشباب، بهدف تدميرهم أخلاقياً، واقتصادياً، وسياسياً،

(*Contemporary Issues, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2014) p. 52*)

11. Israel expels Palestinians from their homeland

"Israel continued its oppression policy against the Palestinians and expelled in December 1992 to south Lebanon 415 Palestinians [who were] members of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) and the Islamic Jihad."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 82*)

12. Israel besieges the Palestinians and limits their movements

Both their access to the Arab states and their inland movements are meant here.

"[Assignment:] We will discuss the influence of Zionist occupation on Palestine's relations with the Arab states and the world.

We have learned:

Zionist occupation imposes many restrictions in order to isolate the Palestinian people from the Arab states and the world by its control of the [Jordan] bridges and the main passageways. The occupation has closed them many times and prevented the passage of people and goods, as part of the collective punishments it imposes on the Palestinians.

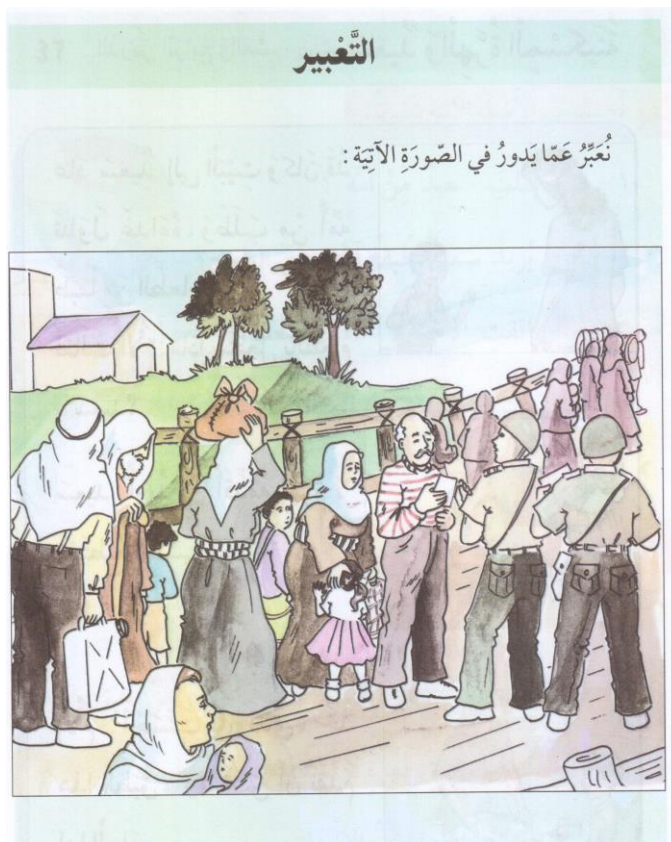
[Assignment:] I will clarify the means used by the Zionist occupation for the isolation of Palestine from its surroundings."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017) pp. 57-58)

In the following picture soldiers (probably Israeli) are checking documents of Arab civilians passing on a bridge:

"Expression:

Let us express what is happening in the following picture:"



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 1, Part 2(2014) p. 123)

"I will think and discuss: Muhammad from the city of Hebron needs a permit to be able to go on a visit to the Mediterranean [beach]."

(*National and Life Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 122)

One of the books features a conversation in which a person expresses his admiration having witnessed the relatively large number of attendants at the Al-Aqsa Mosque on a Ramadan Friday, while another one asks why their number is so low on other days of the year. The answer: "Because they cannot come on other days, as the Israeli occupation prevents the Palestinians from reaching it [Jerusalem] from the [surrounding] cities and villages... Yes, it is the occupation that controls our entering or non-entering into our holy city" (*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 29)

"[Question:] ...In the first week of Ramadan the occupation forces prevented 192 people from the city of Tulkarm from arriving at Al-Aqsa Mosque. They also prevented 95 people from the city of Hebron [from doing that] on that same day. I will find the [total] number of people from the two cities whom the checkpoints prevented from arriving at Al-Aqsa Mosque on that day."

(*Mathematics*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) p. 8)

"The Palestinian people is subjected to an oppressive siege that restricts its means and sources of living. I will compare the siege [that was imposed by the people of Mecca] on the Messenger [Muhammad], and those who were with him, with the siege [imposed] on the Palestinians. What is our duty if a siege is imposed on one of the peoples of Islam?"

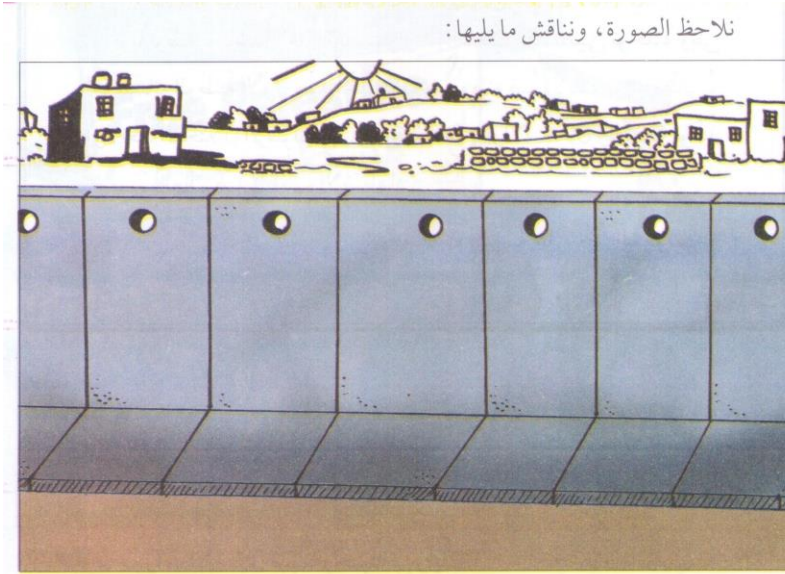
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2014) p. 46)

Another accusation against Israel in this respect deals with the separation fence that has been built beginning in 2002 to prevent free movement of vehicles between the West Bank and Israel following severe cases of suicide bombing that year. In urban areas the fence becomes a massive wall to prevent the passage of pedestrians, and that is how it is presented in the schoolbooks:

"Let us look at the picture and discuss:

[A picture of the separation wall with the following inscription underneath:]

What is the impact of the separating wall on the existence of human relations among the nations?

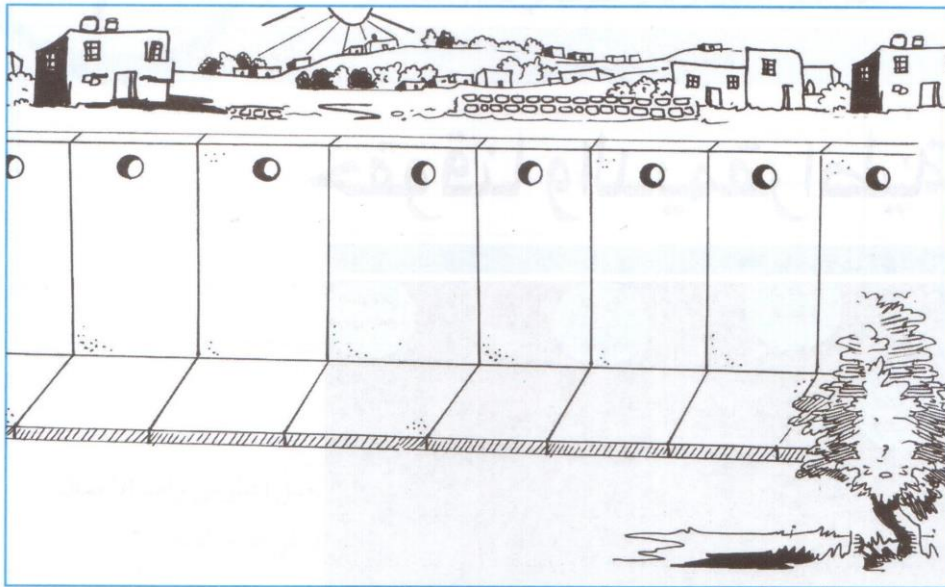


• ما أثر الجدار العازل على قيام علاقات إنسانية بين الشعوب؟

(Civics, Grade 6 (2015) p. 58)

The inscription beneath the following picture of the separation wall reads:

"A picture expressing the violation of the Palestinian people's right to free movement."



صورة تمثل إنتهاك حق التنقل للشعب الفلسطيني

(Civics, Grade 9 (2013) p. 28)

"A. I will draw the separation wall and some of the checkpoints that prevent us from reaching the city of Jerusalem.

B. What should we do to get rid of the separation wall?"

(Islamic Education, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 35)

The PA schoolbooks have given an "official" name to this wall. At the beginning it was called "the Racist Annexation and Separation Wall - *Jidar al-Damm wa al-Fasl al-Unsurī*", as seen in the title of the following text:

"The Racist Annexation and Separation Wall

Israel announced on June 23, 2002 the beginning of the construction of a wall at a length of 600-1,000 km and at a height of 7-8 meters, to separate the territories of 1948 from the territories of 1967. But it has swallowed vast areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip's lands. It is what is called 'the Racist Annexation and Separation Wall'. In spite of the wall's illegitimacy as stated in the verdict issued by the International Court of Justice on 9.7.2004, and the demand that Israel remove it, the Israeli government is still continuing its construction. That has had negative results, including the following ones:

1. Taking possession of Palestinian lands and their separation from one another by many of its [i.e., the wall's] parts.
2. The existence of some 274,000 Palestinians who live in cities and villages enclosed between the wall and the Green Line.

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 88)

"Its [the International Court of Justice's] verdict is final and is not appealable, as is the case with the verdict it gave on the issue of the Racist Annexation and Separation Wall built by Israel in the Palestinian territories in 2004. It considered it illegitimate and made its removal obligatory. But Israel did not consider itself obliged to carry out that verdict and the Palestinians demand the [UN] General Assembly and Security Council to guarantee the implementation of that verdict."

(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 44)

In the 2017 books this name is changed into "the Racist Annexation and Expansion Wall - *Jidar al-Damm wa al-Tawassu' al-Unsurī*":

"The inhabitants of the village of Bil'in that is located 16 km west of Ramallah suffer from the Zionist occupation's abuses against their lands and the lands of nearby villages, as the occupation's bulldozers uproot olive and other trees in its lands in order to build there colonies for settlement [*musta'marat istitaniyyah*] and the Racist Annexation and Expansion Wall, which enraged its inhabitants and the inhabitants of the neighboring villages and led them to plant more trees in this area..."



(*Sciences and Life*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 4)

This issue has been introduced into mathematics textbooks as well. In the following example the student is required to write down the location of certain digits within numbers appearing in various sentences. One of these sentences reads:

"The confirmation [by Israel of the decision] to build the racist separation wall was done in 2002."

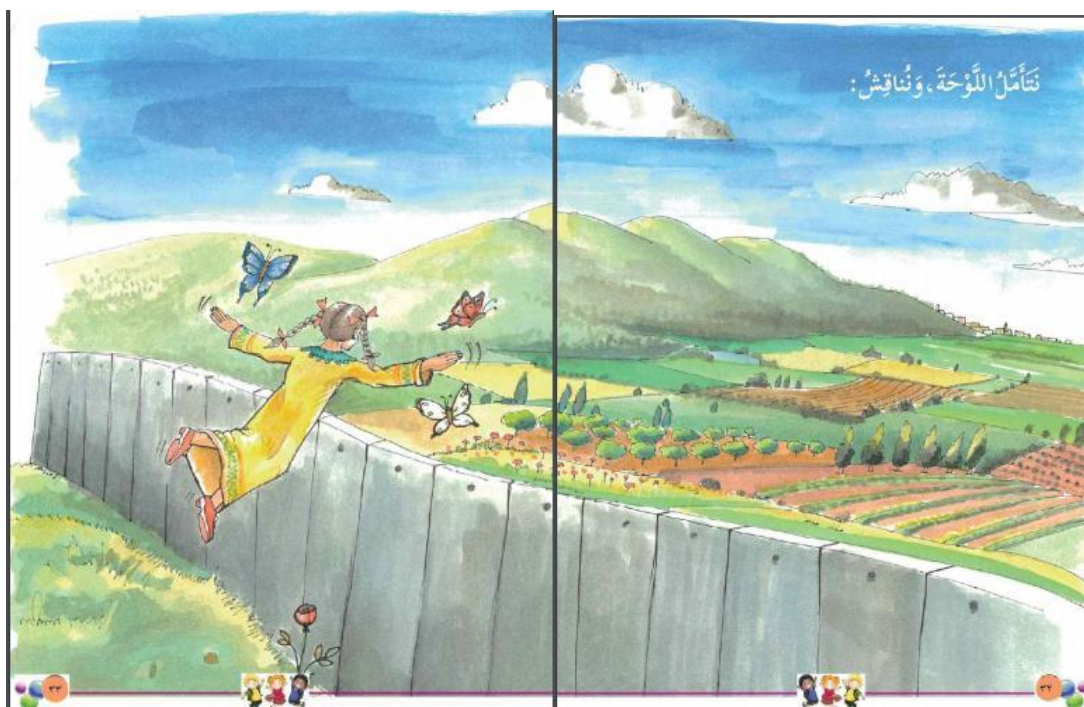
(*Mathematics*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 13)

And this is the case as well with the school subject of technology:

"The racist separation wall has separated between many Palestinian farmers and their land. In some areas, the farmers are allowed to enter [their land] during a period of time not exceeding half an hour in the morning, and this is the situation [as well] while leaving [the field] in the evening."

(*Technology*, Grade 7 (2016) p. 88. The assignment in this case: creating an application to control the irrigation times of the plot when the farmer is not allowed to be there.)

A significant perceptual development of the separation wall issue has taken place in a textbook of the new edition of 2016: The wall no longer just limits the movement of Palestinians in the areas where they live, but has rather turned into a symbolic barrier separating them from the areas they lost in 1948. In the following story, a Palestinian little girl flies over the wall, together with some butterflies, to see the Valley of Jezreel and Mount Carmel and, after she returns, she declares to the butterflies that she will inevitably return to these places. The story is preceded by a huge illustration over two pages portraying the flight and the view seen behind the wall. The writing on the illustration reads: "Let us look attentively at the picture and discuss".



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) pp. 32-33. The 2017 edition of this book features other pictures with the same meaning.)

Following is the story itself, titled "the Anemone Flower":

"Leila played among the anemone flowers in the beautiful fields, chasing the colorful butterflies, and continued running until she reached a concrete wall. She then stood sad, not knowing what to do. She saw a lonely anemone flower at the foot of the wall, came closer to the butterflies and whispered: 'Why is she so lonely?' The blue butterfly said: 'Because the wall separates it from its sisters'. The butterflies told Leila that they wanted to take her with them so that she would see the fields beyond the wall. Leila was amazed and said: 'But how?' The butterflies: 'We will fly together beyond the wall.' Leila flew with the butterflies and said: 'How beautiful these fields are, and how wide they are!' The red butterfly: 'This is the Valley of Jezreel [Marj Ibn Amer in Arabic].' Leila: 'And what is the name of that mountain?' The white butterfly: 'Its name is Carmel and it is located in the city of Haifa.' Before dark, the butterflies accompanied Leila to her home. Leila thanked the butterflies and told them: 'We shall definitely return.'"

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) pp. 34-35, and see the questions on p. 35: "What did Leila say to the butterflies after she returned home? What does the wall represent in Leila's view? How would we remove the wall? Let us draw the lesson from the text.")

13. Israel demolishes Palestinians' houses

"Expression:

Let us answer in writing the two following questions:


What do the workers do?

What does the bulldozer do?"


التعبير

نُجِيبُ عَنِ السُّؤَالَيْنِ الْآتِيَيْنِ كِتَابِيًّا:

ماذا يَفْعَلُ الْعُمَالُ؟



ماذا تَفْعَلُ الْجِرَافَةُ؟



٨٠

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014) p. 80)

"The occupation [authorities] demolished the house."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 79)

Language exercise:

"The occupation [authorities] demolished in Jerusalem ten...[to be completed by the student according to Arabic rules of numeration]..."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 102)

In a poem by Fadwa Tuqan:

"The city governor cast his order: 'Blow the house up and tie his son [i.e., the house owner's] in the torturing room!'...
The soldiers surrounded the house's flanks – the serpent wriggled and completed with distinction the full circle
And [a sound of] ordering raps came up: 'Leave the house!'
They were generous, granting an hour, or part of an hour...
An hour, and then the martyred house rooms rose and then dropped
The piles of stones crooked inside them, embracing the dreams and the warmth that was [in the house]
And enfolding within them the harvest of life, a memory of years full of toil, determination, tears, happy laughs..."
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) pp. 9-11, and see the verses: "The soldiers surrounded the house's flanks – the serpent wriggled and completed with distinction the full circle, and [a sound of] ordering raps came up: 'Leave the house!' They were generous, granting an hour, or part of an hour" as exercise sentences in *Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2014) p. 73)

The background of this poem:

"Fadwa [Tuqan] wrote this poem after the occupation [authorities] had demolished her cousin's house on Mount Gerizim and arrested his son under the charge of resistance to the occupation."
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 12)

"Blowing up Palestinian houses constitutes one of the types of the Palestinian people's suffering from the occupation. I will mention other types of [such] suffering."
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 13)

A perceivable expression of this suffering is given in a story in one of the new textbooks accompanied by pictures. The first picture shows a peaceful Palestinian family sitting in its house. The boy sits next to his father on a yellow couch playing with a red toy car. In the second picture a bulldozer protected by a chain of soldiers destroys the house while the father kneels in front of them and embraces his son. Through the window of the demolished house one can see the yellow couch and the red toy car. The third picture is a close-up of the kneeling father and his son. The fourth picture depicts a nice little house built in the same place. The writing attached to the first picture reads: "Let us look attentively at the picture below and discuss":



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) pp. 24-25)

The story titled "We Shall Build and Build [Again]":

"Karim was living with his family in an old house in Jerusalem inherited by his father from his [Karim's] grandfather. One sad day the occupation's bulldozer came to destroy the house. Karim stood following it with his eyes, and his heart was beating sadly within him: 'His room is being now destroyed stone by stone, and there – the room where he was born has become a pile of dirt'. Just few hours passed and the house was turned into a pile of stones and dirt and the bulldozer climbed up on what was left of the house. Karim left the place with tears in his eyes. Father caressed

Karim's head with his hand, held him close to his heart and said: 'If they destroy a house of ours, we shall build more houses'."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) p. 26, and see the question on p. 27: "What did the occupation's bulldozer do to the house?")

Additional questions under the title "We will think":

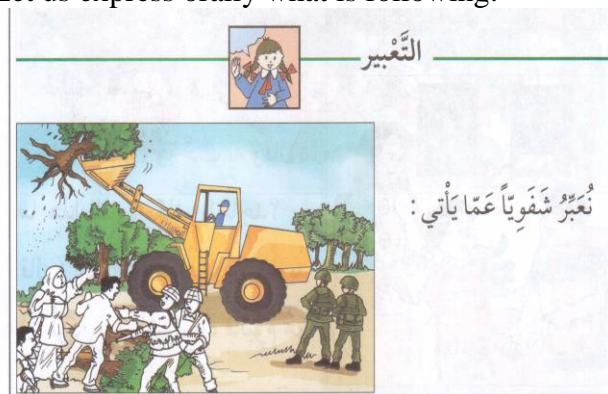
1. "Why did the bulldozer destroy the house?"
2. How would we defend our houses against the occupation's bulldozers?
3. Why did the father say: 'If they destroy a house of ours, we shall build more houses'?
4. How is it possible to help Karim and his family until their new house is built?"

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) p. 27, and see language exercises with sentences taken from the story on pp. 29-31)

14. Israel uproots trees:

"Expression:

Let us express orally what is following:



٧١

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014) p. 71)

The following two pictures compare the uprooting of trees to uprooting Palestinians from their land. The writing on top reads:

"Activity 4: Do not uproot me from my land; I will look attentively at the following two pictures and will discuss them with my teacher and fellow students."

نشاط (٤) : لا تفتلِعوني مِن أرضي .

أَتَأْمَلُ الصُّورَتَيْنِ الْآتِيَتَيْنِ وَأُنَاقِشُهُمَا مَعَ مُعَلِّمِي وَزُمَلَانِي



٦٥

(*National and Life Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 65. The upper picture reappears in Social Studies, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 11*)

"Why does the occupation cut down deliberately fig and olive trees in our country?"
(*Arabic Language, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 72*)

A connection is made between uprooting of trees and the separation wall. In a lesson titled "I will keep the plants", pictures are given for discussion. One of the pictures shows bulldozers uprooting olive trees with the separation wall in the background. The inscription below the picture reads: "Clearing of lands for the building of the Racist Annexation and Expansion Wall."



تَجْرِيفُ الْأَرْضِي لِإِنْبَاءِ
جِدَارِ الضَّمِّ وَالتَّوَسُّعِ الْعَنْصَرِي

(*National and Life Education, Grade 1, Part 2 (2016) p. 28*)

15. Israel is the source of suffering for Palestinian prisoners and their family members:

"Arrests and torture: Since the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1967, and until 2017, the occupation has thrown into the detention camps, the prisons and to the interrogation centers over half a million Palestinians from all segments of Palestinian society. Even the Palestinian woman has been exposed to jail and torture, in addition to her suffering from the burden of the detention of the father, brother, husband and the sons. The number of prisoners-of-war among them has reached 15,000. Some of them are still subjected - with their children - to long terms in prison, while the number of Palestine's children in the Zionist prisons has reached 18,000. The occupation relies in these arrests on the emergency law that was enacted by the government of the British Mandate in 1945 and on its unjust military decrees that enable it to arrest any Palestinian without distinction of age and gender for a period of 18 days without trial, or throw him into administrative detention for a period of 6 months that could be renewed, and impose on some [others] compulsory residence in their homes (house arrest), as they were not allowed to stay out of them.

The prisoners-of-war are subjected during their detention to a treatment that lacks the minimal basic needs of human life. The interrogators have adopted a policy of interrogation and torture methods forbidden legally and internationally. As a result, 210 prisoners-of-war have died of torture and became martyrs, and numbers twice as large have been inflicted by chronic diseases and perpetual disability. Their verdicts are often accompanied by very high penalties. The prisoners-of-war went on hunger strikes many times for their freedom and carried out general uprisings in the detention camps that were savagely put down by the occupation."

(Social Studies, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 42)

"He [the Palestinian prisoner-of-war] is arrested while among his family members, or among his colleagues in his work place, or kidnapped from among the passers-by on the main streets and spends a period of time during which he is 'burned' inside dark prisons, or even in confinement cells that are not fit for human residence.

The prisoner-of-war's journey of agony starts from the moment of his arrest and his transport in a gloomy vehicle to the interrogation confinement cells, the place of torture, beating, chaining, confinement and confiscation of personal belongings, and deprivation of visits and medical treatment, so that he would remain a victim of compulsion and pain.

The Prisoner-of-war also suffers while being transported from one prison to another, or to the court and the hospital, as his hands and legs are usually bound, his eyes are covered, and he is treated cruelly.

The prison suffering has entered most Palestinians houses. There are the children, the elderly and the women prisoners-of-war and it would not be an exaggeration if we say that every Palestinian family has sacrificed at least one prisoner-of-war...

Suffering and tragedy have not stopped at the male and female prisoner-of-war, but rather reached their relatives, as the relatives of the prisoners-of-war face many difficulties, especially during their visit to their sons: the trip is long and difficult in

the cold and the heat, the treatment is bad, the visit takes place behind a glass screen and thus the prisoner-of-war is denied touching the fingers of his sons and relatives and hearing their voices clearly."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) pp. 25-26)

"The Palestinian media man and writer Abd al-Rahman Bakr Khreishah... spent five years of his early youth in the occupation's prisons during which he has lost his left eye as a result of torture, and additional five years [he spent] in house arrest... The story "A Biography of Chains and a Pen/The Arrest" describes the ugliness of the actions taken by the occupation's soldiers the arrest of large numbers of Palestinians, such as [personal] attack, beating, opening fire, terrorizing and destruction [done] during the first *Intifadah* in 1987. This is a bitter experience lived by the author who emphasizes that [that] experience repeats itself with those who struggle [against the occupation] to this very day"

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 60)

"[Assignment:] We will prepare a play on the arrest of school students and their interrogation in the Zionist interrogation departments."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 45)

"[Assignment:] We will express the suffering of the children who are prisoners-of-war in the occupiers' prisons."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 62)

In a picture story titled "Visit to the Negev Prison" a mother and her daughter ride a bus, with family members of other prisoners (styled "prisoners-of-war" - *asra* - in PA parlance), and when they arrive at the prison gates they are denied entry:

"They arrived at the prison at 7 am. They waited for a long time in front of the prison gates and after three hours one of the soldiers looked down at them and said: 'Visits are not allowed today'."






(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014) p. 66. The story starts on p. 64. Questions relating to the story are given on p. 67 with the following assignment: "We will mention the name of one of the prisoners-of-war from our city". A reading exercise with sentences taken from the story appears on p. 68, and p. 71 features a dictation exercise with the piece quoted here.)

P. 70 presents an exercise related to that story in which the students are required to complete sentences and connect each one to the appropriate picture:

"The prisoners-of-war.....in the bus
 The family members.....behind bars
 The passengers.....in front of the prison gates

٧ نَمَلِّأُ الْفَرَاغَ بِالْعِبَارَةِ الْمُنَاسِبَةِ مِنَ الْعِبَارَاتِ الْمَحْصُورَةِ، وَتَقْرَأُ:

في الحافلة	الأسرى	
خلف القضبان	الأهالي	
أمام بوابات السجن	الركاب	

٧٠

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014) p. 70)

In a new textbook this same prison appears in a different story:

"Activity [No.] 3: The road to the Negev desert prison

A. I will express [what appears in] the pictures below and discuss that with my teacher and fellow students:"

Four pictures present the view of the road across the valley of Jenin, the Nablus Mountains, Hebron Mountains and finally - "the Negev desert prison". An illustration appears below the pictures showing people waiting in line in front of the prison gate that is guarded by a soldier. A little girl is standing in the line holding a picture. The caption says: "Sumud [the meaning of the girl's name in Arabic is 'steadfastness'] is waiting to meet her father." The assignment given below the pictures: "I will think and discuss: There are children prisoners-of-war [*asra*] in the occupation's prisons."



تَنْتَظِرُ صُمُودَ لِقَاءِ وَالِدِهَا

أَفَكَّرُ وَأُنَاقِشُ: يوجَدُ أَطْفَالَ أُسْرَى فِي سُجُونِ الاجْتِلالِ.



(National and Life Education, Grade 1, Part 2 (2016) p. 8)

Another story is about a boy who captures a bird's fledglings and puts them in a cage. He later remembers his imprisoned father and sets them free:

"The boy remembered his father behind the prison bars who felt with his finger his cheeks and hair through the holes in the net fixed on the bars... and said: 'When will my father get out of prison and I will live with him like those birds?'"



(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014) p. 3)

"[Language exercise:] The child visited his father in prison ... times ... during ... years."

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 102)

"The occupation threw those [people] who struggled [against it] into painful imprisonment."

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 5, Part 2 (2014) p. 68)

"[Language exercise:] the occupation forces arrested 7 women [the student is required to write the figure as a word according to Arabic gender rules]."

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 102)

Verses taken from a poem by Fadwa Tuqan of Nablus titled "My Liberty":

"...In prison, in the torture cell, on the gallows
In spite of the chains, in spite of house demolition, in spite of the fires' heat -
I will continue engraving its [i.e., liberty's] name..."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 79)

Another piece taken from a poem by Muhammad al-As'ad:

"Yes, we shall not die. Yes, we shall live
Even if the shackles will eat our bones
Even if the tyrants' whips will tear us
And even if they kindle fire in our bodies
We shall uproot death from our country"
(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) p. 46)

In a story titled "From the Prison Literature", which is a genre by itself in today's Palestinian literature, the author meets in prison a 14-year-old boy in a cell of five persons although it fits only two. The boy tells the author that he was in Gaza prison and says in an answer to a question where exactly he was in that prison: "I was in the slaughterhouse thirteen days." A remark at the side of the story says: "The slaughterhouse: the interrogation place. It is a name given to that place by the prisoners on account of the interrogators' cruelty." And the author reacts: "The word 'slaughterhouse' cast fear into me in a way no other thing did."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) pp. 64, 65. The quoted piece appears on p. 65)

16. The occupation harms Palestinian women and Palestinian families in general:

"The Palestinian woman carries alone the burden of full responsibility for [her] family in case her husband dies as a martyr or arrested, or even in case he becomes disabled. Likewise, she supports her family in case her husband loses his work due to the Palestinian society's circumstances under occupation, as a large number of workers have become unemployed."
(*National Education*, Grade 5 (2014) p. 20)

In an article about the Palestinian woman's strength, the following description appears:

"She is the Palestinian mother. She is required to smile with tears, to suffer from cradle to tomb, to substitute for a father or a brother in their absence [dead or exiled or in jail] and make a sacrifice after a sacrifice incessantly... She [stands] at the prison gate, or at the gate of a court of the cruel ones..."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 74)

Language exercises:

"The mother raises the slogan of...[liberty]...to get rid of the occupation. The mother pushes away the worries of the...[arrested people]...in the occupation's prisons."
(*Our Beautiful Languages*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 76)

"Lesson 7: Problems of the Palestinian family:

I will look attentively at the following picture:

[A Palestinian woman visiting her imprisoned husband with an Israeli soldier standing behind]

[Assignment:] I will think... and answer:

What is the responsibility of the Palestinian woman when her husband is absent?"



(National Education, Grade 5 (2014) p. 22)

"...Family problems arising from the occupation

The Palestinian family suffers from the impacts of the occupation, as it can lose a father, a mother, or a son as a martyr, or in prison, which imposes on it a heavier responsibility, in addition to its mental suffering. It also suffers from difficulties in [daily] life due to land confiscation and clearing, house demolition and difficulty in moving around in the area."

(National Education, Grade 5 (2014) p. 23)

"[Let us] discuss: The Israeli occupation's measures and actions and their impact on the Palestinian woman's economic activity."

(Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 46)

One of the activities of women organizations in Palestinian society:

"Guaranteeing women's rights and defending them against the impacts of conflicts, wars and occupation."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 47)

"The policy of the Israeli occupation of Palestine, the forced migration in large numbers of its inhabitants that ensued, the policy of closures, the military checkpoints, the Racist Separation and Annexation Wall and the arrests - [all that] has had an impact on the tearing apart of social ties among the individuals of Palestinian society..."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2014) p. 57)

"[Language exercise:] Children in Palestine suffer because of the tyrannical occupation."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 2 (2014) p. 88)

"Our country is burdened by the occupation, which inevitably makes our people a Jihad fighting [*mujahid*] people standing on guard [*murabit*] and defending this sacred land and this pure country. That means the fall of a large number of pure-hearted martyrs during this stage of liberation, and, therefore, the cases of widowhood and orphanhood increase, which inevitably necessitates [giving] much attention to these two types [of needy families] in our Palestinian society."

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 34, and see the question on p. 35: "I will clarify the importance of social solidarity with the orphans within our Palestinian society.")

17. Israel continues to rob the Palestinians of their lands:

Israel continues to seize Palestinian land, which must be resisted:

"1. How will we guard Palestine, in your opinion?

2. A large portion of Palestine has been confiscated for the building of settlements [*mustawtanat* – a term used to denote Jewish settlements not only in the West Bank, but in the country in general]. How can we stand against that?"

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

Questions following a story about the importance of land:

"6. What is the danger that is threatening our land?

7. How will the Palestinian guard his land?"

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 3)

"We defend our Palestinian environment and guard our land against the Zionist occupation... in order to protect the land and defend it from confiscation by the occupation and building settlements on it, which is considered a contradiction to international law."

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016) p. 85)

18. Israel steals the Palestinians' water:

One of the problems of Palestinian agriculture is "scarcity of water due to the pumping of underground water by Israel" (*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014) p. 6). A book of a higher grade says explicitly: "The struggle over water is possibly one of the Arab-Israeli conflict's aspects, since Israel steals it in broad daylight and deprives the Palestinian landowner of it" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 48).

One of the water problems in Palestine is "Israel's control of the water resources" (*Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 30).

"As for Palestine, the Israeli occupation's policy has deprived it of its share of the Jordan River's water... besides the prevention of the Palestinians from pumping and exploiting the underground and run-off waters."
(*Geography of the Arab Homeland*, Grade 9 (2015) p. 63, and see the exercise on p. 64: "The occupation's policy deprives the Palestinians of their right to the underground and run-off waters.")

"Water was and has remained Israel's highest priority. Thence its decision in 1949 to nationalize [all] water [resources] since it considered them a public asset belonging to the state. It [also] hurried to issue a number of military decrees regarding water following the 1967 war, according to which the [Israeli] military governor was given full powers of control over all the affairs related to water, as well as the right to refuse granting permits, with no explanation. Thus, all water resources in the land of Palestine have become the property of the occupation state."

Israel managed to tighten its control over Palestine's water resources through:

1. Restriction of well digging for agricultural needs.
2. Digging wells along the Armistice Line next to the Gaza Strip in order to use up the fresh water [there] and diminish the water [quantities] permeating into the aquifer of the Coastal Plain in the Gaza Strip.
3. Digging many wells inside the Israeli settlements.

Israel consumes 87.5% of all Palestinian water. It has not acted throughout its occupation of the Palestinian territories to develop the water resources, but rather destroyed wells, irrigation systems, reservoirs and water pipes in the course of the clearing operations [of tracts of lands covered with plantation that served as hiding places for attackers] it conducted following the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa *Intifadah* in 2000.

The result of these measures was the emergence of several problems of which the [most] important ones [were]:

1. The large deficit in the aquifer.
2. Soil salinization.
3. The inhabitants' daily ordeal of obtaining drinkable water.
4. Increase of the water's salinity rate and of its depth underground, which has caused the closing down of many wells.

5. Israel's threatening of many Palestinian cities that it would not provide them with water.
6. Decrease of agricultural production."

(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) pp. 110-111, and see the questions on p. 115: "[I will mention:] A. The measures taken by Israel for the control of Palestinian water. B. The main problems emanating from the full exploitation of Palestinian water by Israel.")

Summing up this point:

"[Assignment:] I will clarify the Zionist occupation's policy regarding Arab and Palestinian water..."

[Assignment:] The water question is considered one of the main problems in the negotiation between the Palestinians and the Zionist occupation..."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2017) p. 62)

19. Accusations against Israel in fields related to Palestinian economy:

That includes agriculture, industry, commerce and tourism, in addition to Israel's control of Palestinian resources, labor and movement. Israel uses all that to damage Palestinian economy, according to the PA schoolbooks:

"Palestine's industry was influenced by the economic and political circumstances surrounding it. The British Mandate and the subsequent Israeli occupation prevented the emergence of a developed industry by posing obstacles in front of it, such as:

- A. Prevention of the importation of raw materials required for the industry.
- B. Non-provision of permits for the establishment of enterprises and investing money therein.

C. Encouragement of Israeli industries to compete with Palestinian industries."

(*Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 70, and see the accompanying question on p. 72: "I will clarify how the British Mandate and Israeli occupation acted to prevent the emergence of a developed Palestinian industry.")

"Commerce in Palestine continued its relative flourishing in the Ottoman period but it was later influenced by the British Mandate and Israeli occupation, which prevented its progress."

(*Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 73, and see the question on the same page: "What is the cause that prevented the progress of commerce in Palestine after the end of Ottoman period?" and the assignment on p. 76: "I will write a short report on the influence of the [Israeli] occupation on the impediment in the progress of Palestinian commerce.")

"There is no doubt that the Israeli occupation has negative impacts on this agricultural branch [citrus] and its export. The occupier cleared agricultural lands, uprooted fruitful trees and destroyed [irrigation] reservoirs and wells, which has led to the diminishing of citrus-planted areas and had a bad impact on our Palestinian economy."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2014) p. 66, and see the exercise on p. 67: "Clearing of agricultural lands by the occupation has had a negative impact on the Palestinian people's economy.")

One of the problems damaging the agricultural branch of livestock husbandry:

"The scarcity of pasture lands due to instability of rainfall quantities and the confiscation of wide areas of land by Israel."

(*Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 60)

As regards fishing – one of the questions following a story about a fishing expedition near Gaza:

"3. [We will] discuss: The Israeli occupation's measures against the fishermen in Gaza." (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 59).

And with some details:

"The story deals with the suffering of the Palestinian fishermen by way of skillfully connecting the professional challenges of fishing, on the one hand, to the tyranny of the military rules imposed by the occupation, on the other hand. Said and his father returned to shore an hour later than the fixed time because the net was stuck in the rocks. The Zionist soldier punished them by forbidding their entering the sea for a whole month. That enraged them and led to their quarrel with the man in charge and his soldiers who shot the father and killed him. They detained the son for five years..."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 86, and see the questions on p. 90:

"-Did the fisherman resigned to the occupiers' punishment? How would we explain that?

-The Gaza fishermen still face many obstacles in their fishing [work]. We will describe some of these obstacles.")

"It should be noted that the agricultural sector played an important role through its share in the national economy in the 1970s, as its average share was about 37% of the total local product. But that share decreased in the 1980s to about 22%, as a result of the Israeli occupation's policy, including the encouragement of employment outside the field of agriculture, such as the construction and the services sectors, dumping the Palestinian market with the surplus of Israeli agricultural products, in addition to the commercial monopoly over agricultural means of production.

The people of Palestine, and its land, have faced the most severe action in modern times of uprooting, expulsion and colonization [*istitan*], which have had a significant impact on the [Palestinian] agricultural sector. The occupation of Palestine - both people and land - had an evident impact impeding agricultural development, especially when the Israeli occupation focused its full interest on swallowing lands and forcing their owners to emigrate by various means."

(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2015) p. 6, and see the related questions on pp. 9-10)

Some problems in this context:

"Depriving the Palestinian people of the possibility to administer its natural resources, as a result of the Israeli occupation's actions of land confiscation, closure of large portions thereof and declaring them military areas, establishment of settlements, construction of bypassing roads [to avoid passing of Jewish traffic through hostile Palestinian cities and villages], in addition to limitations [imposed] on the movement of goods and services between [Palestinian] districts and between them and the outside world, which have caused the increase of production expenses and weakened agricultural marketing."

(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2015) p. 7)

"The Israeli authorities strove to make the Palestinian economy dependent on their own economy by means of their control of Palestinian economic and human resources such as land, capital, the consumer's market and the labor force.

[Question:] Why did Israel strive to make the Palestinian economy dependent on it?

This policy was implemented in the following fields:

The agricultural sector: It [Israel] confiscated large areas of agricultural land and took control of water [resources]. It also closed the Israeli markets to Palestinian agricultural products with a view to protecting its own agricultural products.

The industrial sector: It imposed heavy taxes on the local products, such as VAT, and the Palestinian industry could not compete with the Israeli industry due to lack of government assistance and investments in the Palestinian industrial sector, which caused the shutdown of some Arab enterprises.

[Question:] Why did Israel strive to keep the Arab industry backward?

The commercial sector: Palestinian export to Israeli markets was confined to goods manufactured according to contracting [agreements] with Israeli companies, such as clothes, leather products and some construction materials. The Israeli authorities have controlled the issuance of import permits and imposed high-rate taxes.

[Question:] In whose favor does the commercial balance incline?

It [Israel] closed down the Arab banks and harmed the Palestinians' savings due to inflation and the continuous change in the Israeli currency's value. It also burdened the citizens with heavy taxes, such as VAT, income tax and municipal taxes like the *Arnunah* tax.

[Informational box:] The *Arnunah* tax: A tax collected by the Jerusalem municipality for [its] services, which sometimes reaches, with the accompanying fines, an amount that equals the land's price.

[Question:] Why did the Israeli government seek to impose many taxes on the inhabitants?

These actions pushed many Palestinians to become cheap working force in the Israeli market, as they constituted a third of the [total number of] employees in the [Israeli] construction, agriculture and industry sectors.

[Assignment:] I will explain that the increase of the Arab workers' percentage in Israeli economic activity deepens the economic dependency of the occupied territories on Israeli economy.

In order to relieve the economic pressure in the occupied territories the Israeli authorities pursued the policy of open bridges and crossing points with Jordan and Egypt and, thus, the doors were opened for the talented Palestinians to emigrate and to work abroad. The markets in some Arab states were opened to Palestinian agricultural and industrial products. At the same time, Israel prevented the entrance of raw materials needed for Palestinian production from abroad into the occupied territories." (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) pp. 53-55)

Israel is intensively criticized in the context of Palestinian tourism industry:

"In the opinion of many businessmen and economic experts, the main problem facing the Palestinian tourism sector is the hindrances and obstacles posed by the occupation authorities vis-à-vis Palestinian tourism, which find their expression in the prevention of Palestinian touristic vehicles from entering Jerusalem and other regions, and the negative propaganda spread by the Israelis among the tourists regarding insecurity and the meager services given to tourists in Palestinian touristic areas...

[Assignments:]

Let us mention the obstacles posed by Israel vis-à-vis Palestinian touristic vehicles. Let us mention the components of the negative propaganda spread by the Israelis regarding Palestinian tourism.

The Palestinian tourism [sector] faces problems, including [the following ones]:

First, obstacles and hindrances caused by the occupation, such as:

1. Non-granting of permits for the building of new hotels or for the expansion of the existing hotels in Jerusalem.
2. Obstructing Palestinian touristic vehicles in order to prevent their entrance to Jerusalem that is considered a world touristic attraction.
3. The negative propaganda to which the foreign tourist is exposed regarding insecurity and meager services in Palestinian touristic areas.
4. Disability of the employees in the Palestinian tourism [sector] to compete with other tourism industries.
5. The competition by the Israelis with Palestinian tourism [sector], due to their familiarity with touristic marketing [principles] and with [ways of] contact with the foreign tourists, while similar Palestinian efforts are lacking.
6. The discrimination practiced by the Israeli authorities against Palestinian tourism institutions in terms of denying them entry permits into Israeli airports to receive the tourist groups [there] and to reach official touristic sites under their control...

[Assignments:]

A. I will enumerate the obstacles posed by the occupation vis-à-vis Palestinian

tourism.

B. I will mention the discrimination practiced against Palestinian touristic institutions in comparison with their Israeli counterparts...

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) pp. 78-79)

"The occupation in 1967 of Jerusalem and the rest of the [West] Bank and [the] Gaza [Strip] by Israel brought about the deterioration of the tourism sector due to the high taxes imposed by Israel on Palestinian tourism, the repeated closures, and the existence of many essential religious and touristic sites – especially in Jerusalem – under Israeli control. That led to the decrease of the number of hotels in [East] Jerusalem from 40 in 1967 to 35 in 1992. The number of the Palestinian tourist guides [as well] decreased from 206 in 1967 to 70 in 1992."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 81)

"Touristic activity in some Arab states is sometimes weakened due to lack of security, as happened in Lebanon and Iraq because of the wars and in Palestine because of the Israeli occupation."

(*Geography of the Arab Homeland*, Grade 9 (2015) p. 85)

"As far as Palestine is concerned, it misses Arab tourism due to the occupation circumstances and the political restrictions."

(*Physical and Human Geography*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2015) p. 114, and see the question on p. 146: "Give the reason for... the lack of Arab tourism in Palestine.")

Among the evils of Israeli occupation in the economic sphere – prevention of development:

"The Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands hindered all forms of Palestinian development by means of its planned and systematic actions... The Palestinian National Authority has worked since 1994 - in spite of the Israeli occupation's continued policy of hindering Palestinian development - to prepare a comprehensive national plan for the realization of lasting development."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2014) p. 62)

"The Israeli occupation and its policy... prevent the accomplishment of any plan for a lasting development in Palestine. That is expressed by:

- Continuation of Palestinian land confiscations and the establishment of Israeli settlements, which constitutes the greatest threat to Palestinian environment.
- The siege and the closure policy that limit the movement of Palestinian citizens and goods between the two parts of the homeland [the West Bank and the Gaza Strip] and between the [various] Palestinian cities, as well as the [Israeli] full control over the outer borders and the crossing points.
- Reoccupation of the Palestinian cities in the West Bank following the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa *Intifadah* in the year 2000, and the destruction of infrastructure – institutions, electricity, water and transportation networks, such as the Gaza airport.
- Control of [Palestinian] water and natural resources as well as tying Palestinian economy to the Israeli economy.
- Continuous violations of the Palestinian citizens' rights."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2014) p. 63)

The new PA schoolbooks also contribute their share to this subject. Following is one example:

"Since it occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1967, Zionist occupation has worked to weaken Palestinian economy and annex it to its own economy by way of controlling the land, which is considered the most important means of production, and severing its economic ties with the Arab homeland and the outer world through the imposition of restrictions on the import and export [movement] with the Arab states by means of custom duties, borders and crossing points. It has also controlled the services sector, which is considered an important vein of Palestinian economy. It has controlled arbitrarily their resources, such as water, electricity, energy, communication and transportation and has robbed it of its natural resources, such as water, gas, and cultural heritage, like the archaeological treasures, the ancient books and manuscripts, and has obliterated their Arabic names...

It has dumped their markets with defective goods the validity date of which has expired in the Zionist markets, such as cars and foodstuffs... It shelled production plants under groundless pretexts, and exploited its [i.e., the Palestinian economy's] various activities in the service of its own goals, which has transformed it into a sector that cannot withstand its military measures. That was manifested in the occupation's hegemony over the fields of import, export, production, currency, banks, drafts, taxes and services."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 21)

20. A new accusation: Harming the Palestinians by means of wild boars

Some of the recent innovations of the PA 2017 schoolbooks in the context of the occupation's abuses against Palestinian economy:

"It [the occupation] set loose herds of boars that caused damage to the inhabitants and their crops."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 21)

21. Poverty in Palestinian society is also a result of Israel's occupation to a great extent:

"[Assignment:] We will explain the reason for the increase of poverty rate in Palestinian society."

(*Civics*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 51, and see in the preceding page the reasons for poverty in general, including "the occupation and armed violence".)

"The Israeli occupation contributed to the spread of unemployment and poverty among the Palestinian youth by its arbitrary actions of arrests, the siege, the checkpoints and the Racist Separation and Annexation Wall."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2014) p. 51)

"The Palestinians suffered from poverty and unemployment, which led to the diminishing of work opportunities and to instability and insecurity. That pushed many Palestinian youths to emigrate. In addition, the Israeli authorities isolated the occupied territories from one another. They enacted certain laws in the West Bank and other ones in Jerusalem, and enacted other laws in the Gaza Strip. That created many social and livelihood differences between the inhabitants of those areas. They also closed many Palestinian institutions that provided the inhabitants of the occupied land with services, like the closure of the Arab Welfare Department in Jerusalem in 1973." (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 55)

"Poverty in Palestine

The poverty phenomenon in Palestine worsened with the political disasters that came one after another and which the Palestinian people witnessed from the middle of the last century until the beginning of the present century. Its gravity increased in the last years with the escalation of the arbitrary measures taken by the Israeli occupation authorities.

The reasons for poverty in Palestine:

- A. The closure and siege measures against the Palestinian regions, which leads to limitation of the movement of goods and workers and, in due course, to the increase of unemployment and poverty rates in Palestinian society.
- B. Causing grave damages to the production sectors, especially the agricultural sector, by destruction and by dumping the Palestinian markets with huge quantities of Israeli agricultural products.
- C. Land confiscation for the expansion of the existing settlements [*mustawtanat*] and for building new ones, construction of many bypassing roads to ensure the settlements' security, the construction of the Racist Separation Wall – which caused the swallow-up of vast Palestinian lands and [thus] caused great harm to many Palestinian families who lost their only source of living.
- D. The destruction of infrastructure, damaging water and electricity networks and institutions.
- E. Its [the occupation's] control over Palestinian commercial transactions through its continued control of harbors and airports, crossing points, the borders and the Palestinian commercial policy."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) pp. 40-41, and see the question on p. 42: "I will give the reason for... the Israeli occupation's policy regarding the worsening of the poverty problem in Palestine.")

22. Israel is responsible for the state of ignorance among the Palestinians:

"The reasons for ignorance in Palestine

The ignorance phenomenon in Palestine is considered to be a result of the unique circumstances of Palestinian society expressed by the Israeli occupation and its actions aiming at its transformation into an ignorant one and at the concealment of its social, economic and political identity. It is possible to summarize the reasons for the spread of ignorance in Palestinian society in the following [ones]:

Political reasons: [These] are expressed by the Israeli occupation's coercion policy it has pursued for long years against the Palestinian people, like setting up checkpoints,

the [construction] of the Racist Separation and Annexation Wall, closing down of schools, arresting school students, and other actions, which caused the spread of ignorance.

Economic reasons: The political situation influenced negatively the Palestinian economy. Poverty average has gone up, the standard of living has gone down and the [phenomenon of] children's work has spread, which has made many families unable to continue sending their sons to school."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2014) p. 19)

A lesson titled "The Palestinian Child's Day" with a recorded story titled "My Right to Learning" to be listened to in class. The text itself is not found in the book but it seems to have dealt with the closing down of schools by the IDF. Some of the questions that do appear in the book in this context are the following ones:

- "What does the occupation do to the schools built in Fares and Iman's residential areas?"
- Why do Fares and Iman go a long distance on foot?
- Let us think of a solution to Fares and Iman's problem."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) p. 73)

"As for the field of education, the Israeli occupation authorities intended to mislead the younger generation. Therefore, they interfered in any matter related to curricula, schools, students and teachers, and introduced changes to the Jordanian and Egyptian curricula taught in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. They prevented the use of hundreds of schoolbooks in the occupied territories and omitted chapters related to the Palestinian problem. Many teachers were arbitrarily dismissed and arrested. Also, many schools and universities were closed as a punishment for the students' protests."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 55)

And a much more comprehensive picture is given in one of the new 2017 textbooks:

"Activity 5A:

We will read the following text, draw conclusions and then answer:

Zionist occupation strove to put an end to education in Palestine out of racism, arrogance, inequality, Judaization, destruction of schools, and issuing laws and military orders that might destroy the educational activity in Palestine.

1. We will discuss the foundations adopted by Zionist occupation regarding education in Palestine.
2. We will draw conclusions regarding the policy of imposed ignorance [*tajhil*] that the occupation pursued against the Palestinian people...

[Photograph 3 (right):] The Zionist occupation's attacks against school students in Hebron.

[Photograph 4 (left):] Daily sight of the students' suffering at the passage through the Annexation and Expansion Wall.



[Assignment:] We will explain the role of modern technology in documentation of the Zionist occupation's violations.

I have learned:

Since their occupation of Palestine, the occupation authorities have taken a series of arbitrary measures against education in order to impose the policy of spreading ignorance [*tajhil*] with a view to achieving their imperialistic goals. Some of the most important [measures] were: promulgation of laws and issuance of military orders that restricted the freedom of education and its national aspirations, imposition of strict supervision on the educational process and its material purchases, setting up checkpoints and military gates as well as the Annexation and Expansion Wall, and adoption of a policy of oppression and maltreatment against the students, the teachers and the educational staff in the homeland's districts. They also carried out the Judaization of education in Jerusalem - the capital of the State of Palestine - in order to erase its Arab-Muslim identity and to forge and instill [items] in geography and history through the imposition of the Zionist curricula and their continuous attempts to interfere in the Palestinian curricula since 2000 [when the PA started to form its own curricula instead of the formerly used Jordanian and Egyptian ones], harassment of the Waqf schools that belong to the [Palestinian] Ministry of Education, in addition to the large number of supervising bodies over [Palestinian] education. They prevented teachers from the West Bank from working in Jerusalem schools, unless they received special permits, and totally harassed the Palestinian people with a view to directing some of its young people to work in the Zionist production sector. In spite of the policy of spreading total ignorance and the racist measures taken by the occupation against the Palestinian education sector, the latter managed to overcome some of the obstacles...

[Assignment:] We will discuss the Zionist occupation's policy of falsification and distortion of the Palestinian curricula and the attempt to impose the Zionist curricula on the students in occupied Jerusalem, and how it is possible to oppose that." (*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) pp. 30-33, and see on p. 35 the assignment: "I will discuss the Zionist occupation's measures against education in Jerusalem since its occupation in 1967" and the activity: "1. I will prepare a file on Zionist abuses of education in my area and we will form a symbolic court to judge the occupation for its crimes against education; 2. We will organize a dialogue in class in which we will mention the dangers of the Racist Annexation and Expansion Wall and the role of the electronic gates in disturbing the educational process in Palestine.")

23. Israel imposes restrictions on Palestinian communication media

"Palestinian communication is facing some hindering factors such as [the following ones]:

Actions by the Israeli occupation, and its supporting groups abroad, against Palestinian communication media, like accusing them of incitement, destruction of communication buildings, restriction of journalists' movement, broadcast jamming, penetration into electronic sites, and confiscation of communication equipment.

Among the Israeli occupation's actions against Palestinian communication [media] – air bombardment and destruction of the Palestinian television and radio stations (Channel 2) on 20.11.2000 and the destruction of the Palestinian radio and television building in Ramallah on 19.1.2002."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2014) p. 27)

24. Israel attempts at the obliteration of Palestinian cultural heritage:

"The interest in Palestinian folkloristic heritage has become a pressing necessity due to its exposure during the occupation to attempts at obliterating Palestinian identity and making the features of Arab heritage and identity disappear."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 44)

Following are excerpts from Lesson No. 10 in the same book titled "Attempts at the obliteration of Palestinian heritage":

- "- Defacing and stealing Arabic and Islamic manuscripts, especially at Al-Aqsa Mosque.
- Transplanting original Arabic songs and melodies in the Hebrew dialect, or incorporating them in Hebrew songs, like the song of 'Aluma aluma'.
- Stealing Palestinian popular clothes and embroidery items and presenting them in international exhibitions as Israeli heritage [items] and clothes..."

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

"[Assignment:] I will give examples of Israelis' attempts at Judaizing some Palestinian arts and songs."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 56)

Later in that book the resolutions of the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization are brought, including the following ones:

"A strenuous action to protect the Palestinian people's cultural identity vis-à-vis the Zionist attacks and the continuous attempts to obliterate the Islamic culture... Safeguarding the existence of Palestine's Islamic character in general... Adopting a resolution regarding the widespread circulation of a Jerusalem map with the Arab place names [on it] in order to confront Judaization [attempts] and to protect the heritage..."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 57)

"...The destruction attempts on the part of this people's enemies with a view to turning the facts upside down, hiding any relic that would indicate the deepness of the Arab and Muslim civilization in this country and concealing its original features so that they would be replaced by other features, foreign ones... Our cultural heritage, including the architectural one, is subjected to theft of various kinds... The neglect of the historical and heritage-related buildings... threatens to disconnect the [Palestinian] people's spiritual ties to its heritage and its past, and makes of it a target for the attempts to assimilate and annex it."

(*Arabic Language: Reading, Literature, Critique, Grade 12 (2014)* p. 18, and see on p. 20 sentences taken from this piece and made into language exercises: "The enemies attempt at concealing the original features of our country in order to replace them with other, foreign, features; the neglect of the historical and heritage-related buildings will make the people a target for assimilation attempts.")

The new textbooks published in 2017 introduce the archaeological dimension. In their view, so it seems, any activity on the part of the Israeli Archaeological Department in the West Bank is robbery.

"Activity 6A: We will read, think and draw conclusions:

One of the local news agencies brought the following news:

-Palestine is the place on Earth where archaeological articles are plundered most.
-Stealing Palestinian archaeological articles is an activity to which the Palestinian territories have been exposed since the [beginning of] Zionist occupation to this very day. This is an organized action in which the Zionist occupation has played a central role for the liquidation of Palestinian heritage."

(*Social Studies, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017)* p. 22)

And there are other kinds of abuses, like the cracking of a cave holding pre-historical relics in Shuqba (Samaria) as a result of the activity of an Israeli quarry:

"The Zionist quarries caused its cracking... That is occupation: Its danger has harmed [both] humans and the rock... One of the most serious dangers threatening the cave is the danger of the Zionist quarries that caused its cracking."

(*Social Studies, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017)* pp. 75-76)

25. Israel desecrates Palestinian holy places, both Muslim and Christian:

"The burning of Saladin's antique preacher's pulpit [*minbar*] at Al-Aqsa Mosque."⁵¹
(*National Education, Grade 7 (2013)* p. 55)

"The Islamic Conference Organization was founded in Rabat, Morocco, on September 25, 1969... following the setting fire to Al-Aqsa Mosque on August 21, 1969 by one of the Zionist extremists called Michael Rohan."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of the World, Grade 10 (2015)* p. 82)

⁵¹ It was a decorated pulpit made of precious wood given as a present to the mosque by Saladin following the conquest of Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1187. It was burned almost completely in the arson incident perpetrated by the Australian Christian tourist Michael Dennis Rohan who was later declared insane. In the eyes of the Muslim world, including the Palestinians, he acted in Israel's service. In one textbook it is said that he was Jewish, and see below.

"The burning of Al-Aqsa Mosque: Big fire spread in the eastern wing of Al-Aqsa Mosque on 21.8.1969 by the Jewish extremist Michael Dennis Rohan. The fire consumed everything it contained, including Saladin's preacher's pulpit and the Mosque's dome that was made of pure silver."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 59)

On the other hand, a report in a 12-grade textbook on the establishment of the Islamic Conference Organization, mentions the incident with no remark as to who caused it – *History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 51.

The new 2017 books stress what they consider the present threat to the mosques on Temple Mount:

"They [the occupiers] strive vigorously these days to take control of the Noble Shrine [Al-Haram al-Sharif – the Temple Mount] by allowing the Zionist settlers to enter it daily in preparation for taking full control over it and preventing any Muslim connection to this place that is holy to Muslims."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 62)

To that, formerly-made accusations are added that Israel carries out excavations under the Temple Mount in order to cause the collapse of the mosques situated there. The caption under the following caricature reads:

"We will think and observe the caricature and write a paragraph about the message the cartoonist wanted to give."



(Social Studies, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 64)

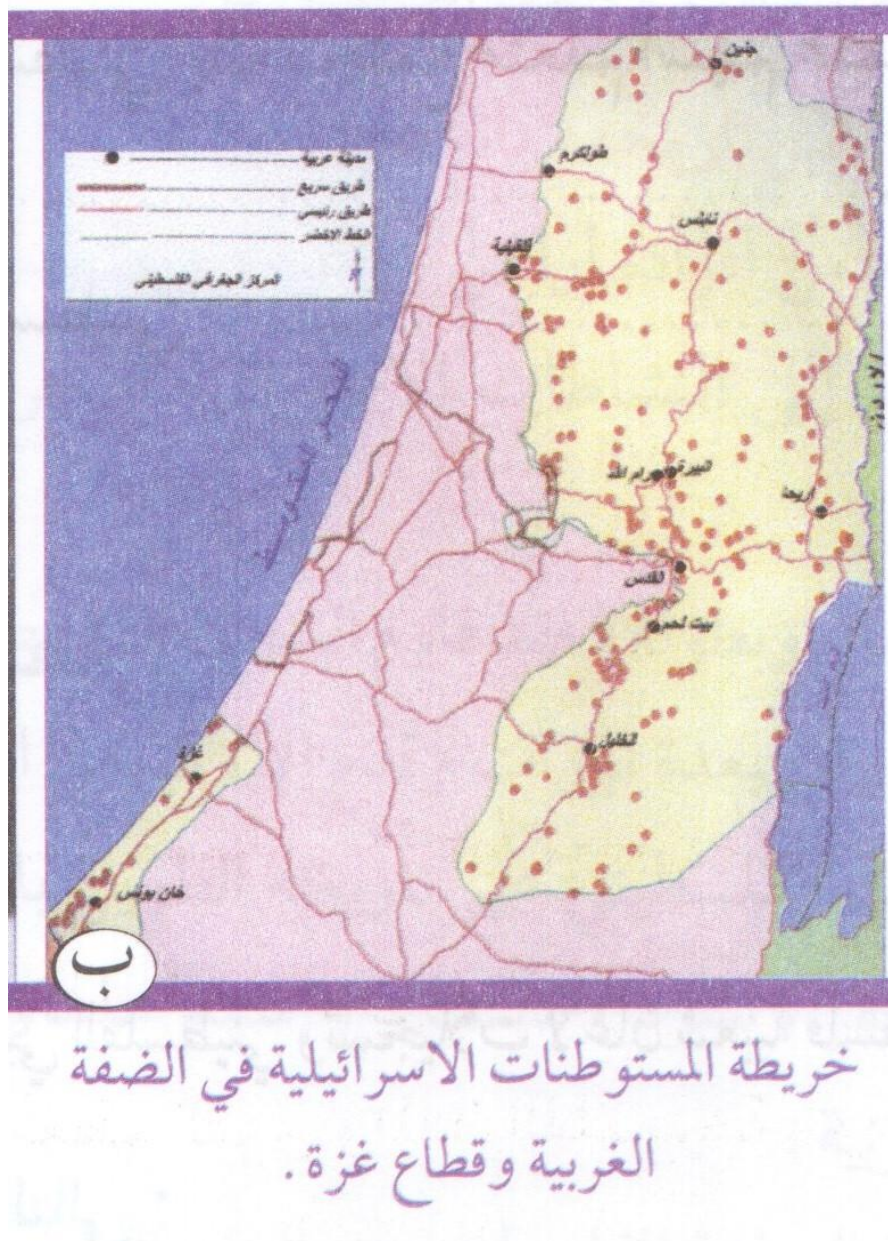
The story about a site identified with the Christian saint Barbara near the Christian village of Abbud in Samaria ends in the following sentence:

"The villagers honor this place and go to pray there and light candles inside that cave that was blown up by the occupation forces on 31.5.2002."

(Christian Education, Grade 5 (2004 – the latest edition of this book so far) p. 82)

26. The settlements in the West Bank (and formerly in the Gaza Strip) are part of the damage caused to the Palestinians by Israel:

A map marked by the letter "B" and titled: "A map of the Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip":



(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 14, and see the accompanying questions on p. 15: "1. We will read the title of Map B; 2. We will mention several settlements close to our residential area; 3. Let us explain Israel's goal in establishing the settlements on Palestinian lands.")

"[Assignment:] Let us gather information about the names of the Israeli colonies [*musta'marat*] and residential concentrations [*tajammuat sakaniyyah*]⁵² in our immediate environment."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 57)

"[Another assignment:] Activity [No.] 3: Let us write in our copybook a short report of not more than 10 lines about the negative impacts emanating from the establishment of the settlements [*mustawtanat*] on Palestinian soil."

(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 18)

"...I am crossing the foreign bypassing roads that were constructed [in the West Bank] on confiscated lands in order to connect the colonies [*musta'marat*]."

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

A story titled "In the City of Hebron" is accompanied by pictures. A Palestinian girl living in the city guides a relative who came to visit. One of the places they visit is:

"The 'Usamah' school which was taken over by the occupation and was transformed into a colony [*musta'marah*]..."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) p. 46)

Following is the picture belonging to this piece:



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) p. 44)

Some of the Questions:

"What did the occupation do to the 'Usamah' school?"

[More questions under the title "think":]

- Why did the occupation take control of the 'Usamah' school?

⁵² The use of the neutral term *tajammuat sakaniyyah* in the PA schoolbooks to denote Jewish settlements, instead of the common "settlements [*mustawtanat*]" is extremely rare.

- Where did the children who studied at the 'Usamah' school go?
- What are the problems from which the inhabitants near the Ibrahim Shrine [Al-Haram al-Ibrahimi – the Cave of the Patriarchs] suffer? [No answer to this question is to be found in the piece itself.]

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) p. 47)

Following is a verse taken from a poem about Hebron and its delicious grapes:

There is no place within it for the unwelcomed [*dakhil*] foreigner."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 134)

As for Gaza:

"The settlement in the Gaza Strip

The pegs (fingers) project: This project was prepared by Yisrael Galili, head of the Ministerial Settlement Committee [verbally: 'Colonialist Imperialism – *Al-Isti'mar al-Istitani*']. The project meant to partition Gaza into three blocks separate from each other by Jewish settlements, in a way that it would be possible at a later stage to annex these blocks to their adjacent regions inside Israel.

[A map appears showing the Jewish settlements]

The settlements in the Gaza Strip

All the settlements were evacuated and destroyed in 2005 as an implementation of the unilateral disengagement plan by the Israeli party."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) pp. 52-53, and see a brief additional reference to this issue on p. 90 in the same book.)

The 2017 schoolbooks intensifying the discussion of the Israeli settlements in the territories and assign to them a central role as far as Israeli domination there is concerned. Their mission - according to the PA schoolbooks - is to encircle the Palestinian centers of population and separate them from one another:

"The policy of colonization continued after the occupation of the rest of Palestine in 1967 and its goal was disruption of the interconnection and sequence between the centers of Palestinian population. The colonization's role was the transformation of the West Bank into torn and separated cantons (Apartheid) in such a way that they would not be connected except by limited passageways encircled by the Zionist occupation's settlements, army camps and checkpoints, so that the Palestinians would not be able to move around freely inside the occupied territories. Indeed, settlements were established in blocks, or in encirclement rings, in the service of the colonization strategy of separation and encirclement. Thus, the encircling ring settlements surrounding Jerusalem guarantee their own interconnection between them and separate Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank, and also separate at the same time the northern West Bank from its south. Likewise, the settlement strip paralleling the Green Line constitutes a regional continuation of 1948-occupied Palestine and a body separating the Palestinians on both sides of that line. The same is true regarding the two settlement blocks in the southern and northern Golan Heights and regarding the Erez block of settlements north of the Gaza Strip. As for the Katif Block in the southern [Gaza] Strip, it constituted an encirclement of the Strip's cities and a Zionist

separating body on the Palestinian-Egyptian border. It should be noted that the occupation withdrew from the Gaza Strip in 2005 in a unilateral move."
(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) pp. 90-91)

27. The settlements in particular, and Israel in general, pollute the Palestinian environment:

"What is the settlements' influence on the environment in Palestine?"
(*Civics*, Grade 6 (2015) p. 59)

"I will write a brief report on the impact of the Israeli settlements on the pollution of the environment."

(*Human Geography*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 84)

"3. I will investigate the influence of the Jewish settlements on the pollution of the Palestinian environment."

٣- ابحث عن أثر المستوطنات اليهودية في تلوث البيئة الفلسطينية.

(*Physical and Human Geography*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2015) p. 95)

"Muhammad went with his grandfather to check their agricultural lands near the ravine in the Salfit area. He noticed that the ravine had been polluted with garbage and sewage water from the settlement colonies [*al-musta'marat al-istitaniyyah*] ..."



(*Sciences and Life*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 24)

"Activity 2-2: Write a report about how the Israeli settlements get rid of their waste at the expense of the Palestinian territories, and the [ensuing] impact on the ground water [there]. Support your report with pictures."

(*Scientific Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 42)

"The occupation has transformed vast areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip into dumps of poisonous waste and worked for the pollution of the Palestinian environment with radioactive and chemical materials, which has brought about the increase of the average [number of] cases of affliction by serious diseases, chiefly cancer."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 21)

"In the year 2000 Israel brought three trucks full of dangerous and poisonous waste to two sites in the northern West Bank. The first one is located near the eastern boundary line of Tulkarm municipality and includes orange groves and two artesian wells. The other [site] is located within the residential area of the village of Azzun, in a distance of mere 50 meters from the only well of drinking water belonging to the village.

Let us discuss together: What is it that enables Israel to pollute the [Palestinian] environment with no limit?

...How does the occupation make use of the logic of power?"
(*Civics*, Grade 6 (2015) p. 55)

"The water [resources] in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are subjected to pollution as their salinity rate rises, which becomes obvious as follows:

A. Rise of the salinity rate of the Jordan River waters, as it reached 5,224 milligrams per one liter in 1991, due to the diversion of a large portion of its water to the Negev region, on the one hand, and the diversion of the water of the salty springs in [the region of] Beit Shean and Tiberias into it by Israel, on the other hand.

B. Rise of the salinity rate of underground water in the West Bank, especially in the eastern aquifer of the West Bank, and the rise of the salinity rate of underground water in the Gaza Strip, especially in the south-eastern and central regions. The rise of the salinity rate of underground water in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip stems from the Israeli intensive and exaggerated pumping of underground water, and the penetration of sewage water and sea water from the Mediterranean into the underground water reservoirs, as happens in the Gaza Strip."
(*Physical and Human Geography*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2015) p. 86)

"The salinity rate of the Palestinian aquifer has risen above the internationally recommended rate as a result of Israeli exaggerated pumping of ground water, like the Herodion 4 well in the Bethlehem district."
(*Scientific Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 41)

A wider perspective of Palestinian environment includes Israel's pre-1967 territory as well:

"The Zionist occupation drained it [the Hula lake, in the 1950s] in order to transform it into agricultural areas, and ruined the natural life there."
(*Social Studies*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 20, and this statement is briefly repeated on p. 21)

Further in this context:

"For research:
Studies indicate an increase of the number of cancer cases in southern Hebron, in comparison with other Palestinian regions. I will study the relation of this matter to its [south Hebron's] proximity to the [nuclear] reactor of Dimona in the Negev desert."

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.

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

28. Israel violates international law and human rights:

"[Assignment:] The occupation throws the principles of international law over the board. I will give three examples."

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 51)

"Who violates human rights?"

...The occupation: ...The ruling power... is obliged to have full responsibility vis-à-vis the violation of human rights in the occupied state. The Geneva Conventions regularize the occupier's responsibility for the civilians' defense in times of conflicts and wars, within what is known as the Human International Law [International Human Rights Law]."

(*Civics*, Grade 9 (2013) p. 29)

An assignment in this respect:

"I will write a memorandum to the UN Secretary General in which I will mention the violations by Israel of the principles of human rights and international law and will urge him to [refer to] the necessity of obliging Israel to respect the articles of international law."

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 51)

"...Israeli violations of the International Human Law in Palestine..."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 88, and see the question on p. 89: "[Are] the actions taken by the Israeli occupation considered a violation of the international humanitarian law [?]")

"It seems that the states of the world differ from one another as regards their level of commitment to [human] rights and granting them to their citizens. An example for that is the Palestinian people that is exposed to violation of its rights..."

(*Civics*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 44)

29. Israel neglects the health services and prevents the Palestinian rescue teams from fulfilling their duties:

"Neglect of the Palestinian people's health, education and welfare services under the occupation."

(*National Education, Grade 6 (2014) p. 15*, and see the assignment on p. 58: "We will clarify what the medical situation was in the shadow of Israeli occupation.")

Following are three photographs: 1) An ambulance of the Red Crescent amid teargas smoke; 2) Such an ambulance in front of an IDF checkpoint; 3) Such an ambulance blockaded by an IDF vehicle. The caption says: [Let us] discuss: the impact of the prevention of the [Palestinian] rescue teams by the occupation from doing their work."



٤٨

(*National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 48*)

"The medical teams and rescue vehicles in Palestine face difficulties and dangers due to the Zionist occupation, such as: preventing rescue vehicles from reaching the people who were injured because of their resistance to the occupation, providing them with assistance and transferring them to the hospitals; attacking rescue workers and injuring or killing them. These actions contradict [the convention of] human rights."

(*National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 49*)

30. Racial discrimination:

Another element in the context of demonization is the accusation against Israel of racial discrimination of Palestinians. That includes – according to the PA schoolbooks – pure political items, such as "the occupation of Jerusalem and its annexation to Israel", and pure security ones, like the construction of the separation fence and the prevention of Palestinians from driving on certain roads following cases of Palestinian vehicles opening fire on Jewish ones.

"Zionist racial discrimination against the Palestinians

Since its establishment in 1948 Israel has taken a series of racist measures with a view to emphasizing the Jewish character of its state and changing Palestine's geographic and human character. Among these measures [are the following ones]:

1. Forcing the Palestinian people to emigrate from its homeland and replacing it with Jews. In spite of the UN Resolution No. 194 that was adopted on 11.12.1948 regarding the Palestinians' right to return and be compensated, Israel does not recognize this resolution and strives to denude the refugee problem of its political nature, transform it into a human and social problem and incorporate it in economic development projects in the region.
2. Adopting racist laws, like the Law of Return of 1950 according to which every Jew has the right to return to Israel, and the Citizenship Law of 1952 that grants Israeli citizenship to [any] immigrating Jew for the purpose of granting the state a Jewish character.
3. Treating the Palestinians who remained in their homeland as if they were minorities and depriving them from their national definition and from the collective rights emanating from it. To this day, it [Israel] uses racist terms while mentioning them, such as 'Israel's Arabs' or 'the Arab sector in Israel'.
4. Controlling the lands and enacting laws that affirm that for it [Israel], including the Law of Absentees' Property of 1950, the Israel Fund Law of 1953, etc., to regulate the confiscation actions against the property of the forcibly absentee Palestinians and transferring its ownership to Jews. The governments of Israel have refused since 1948 to open the case of the Palestinian absentees' property. Its policy has continued [as well] after the occupation of the Palestinian territories in 1967, when it took a series of steps aimed at the strengthening of racial separation, such as:
 - A. Confiscation of land and the establishment of Jewish settlements on it.
 - B. Construction of roads on Palestinian lands of which the use is restricted to settlers [only] under the protection of the Israeli occupation forces.
 - C. Occupation of Jerusalem and its annexation to Israel.
 - D. Demolition of houses and destruction of property.
 - E. Imposition of siege and the closure policy on Palestinian areas for long periods and disconnecting their parts from one another, [like] the disconnection of the West Bank from the Gaza Strip, and also – what is going on currently – the attempt at closing the Gaza Strip off following Israel's withdrawal from it in a unilateral move, and the creation of buffer zones on [the basis of] security claims. Palestinian cities and villages have become resembling the 'Bantustans'⁵³ surrounded by settlements and camps of the occupation forces.

⁵³ A term used in Apartheid South Africa to denote the autonomous rural areas of the African local tribes.

- F. Control of water resources and prevention of their use by Palestinians.
- G. The wall Israel started to construct after the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa *Intifadah* in 2000, which has come to be known by the name 'the Racist Separation and Annexation Wall'. Not only did it annex territories, but it was also extended in order to disconnect parts of Arab villages from each other.

These racist measures that have been taken by Israel since its establishment in 1948 motivated the United Nations to adopt its Resolution No. 3379 on 10.11.1975, which considered Zionism a type of racism and condemned all the racist measures taken by it against the Palestinians. It should be noted that this resolution was annulled by virtue of a proposal presented by the United States on 16.12.1991, following the implications of the second Gulf War and the beginning of the peace process." (*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) pp. 95-96, and see the question on p. 98: "I will clarify the foundations of the racist policy pursued by Israel in the Palestinian Arab territories since their occupation in 1967.")

"[Assignment:] We will clarify the phenomena of racial discrimination practiced by the Zionist occupation in Palestine."
(*History Studies*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017) p. 60)

31. Oppression of Israel's Palestinian citizens:

According to the PA schoolbooks, Israel's Palestinian citizens are subjected to discrimination in various fields, comparing to Israel's Jewish citizens. The Israeli authorities suppress them, try to take control of their lands and establish Jewish settlements there, and in one extraordinary case even perpetrated a massacre against them for that purpose, in the village of Kafr Qassem:

"[Israel] imposed the Israeli citizenship on the Palestinian Arabs [within it]. Nevertheless, they did not enjoy the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Jews in Israel. It [Israel] took against them measures limiting their freedom of fully controlling their property, freedom of speech and organization, freedom of movement, sojourn and residence. It also interfered with the school curricula and limited the activity of the municipalities and local councils in the Arab cities and villages.

Israel [also] pursued a policy of violence to force the Palestinian inhabitants to leave their houses and lands. The best example of that is the massacre it perpetrated against the Palestinian inhabitants of Kafr Qassem on October 29, 1956, at the eve of the tripartite aggression against Egypt, in which 49 Palestinians of that village fell victim.

Israel continued its policy of which the aim was occupying land and taking hold of it through various means, by purchasing it and transferring its ownership to the Israel National Fund, or by seizing it for military and security purposes, or under the pretext of its being a state land or an uncultivated land. Israel took control of the property of Palestinians who were forced to leave their land [in the war] and established for this purpose a special department called 'the Arab Property Department' [Custodian for Absentee Properties] to supervise the properties of those who were absent from their lands and secure the transfer of their ownership to the Israel National Fund. To

facilitate its control over the land, the Israeli government enacted a law in 1949 that granted the Israeli Chief of Staff the right to close any area for the purpose of military training. It aimed by that to build cities and settlements [*mustawtanat*] and exploit the land agriculturally for the benefit of Jews."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) pp. 36-37)

"I have learned: The Bedouins in Palestine [in a piece on p. 43 the Bedouins of the Israeli Negev are included as well] suffer from many problems of which the most important one is demolition of their houses by the occupation and forcing them to leave their residential places in order to confiscate their lands and construct settlements [*mustawtanat*] and roads on them. Also, the demolition of their schools [is done] in order to deny them education. They also suffer from lack of services such as electricity, running water and roads, which makes them in need for support and assistance in order to strengthen their steadfastness on their land."

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p.44, and see the assignments on p. 47: "I will write [about] the occupation's actions against the Bedouins in Palestine; I will mention how it is possible to help the Bedouins settle down in Palestine.")

"The Zionist occupation strove to limit the Bedouins' movement and to make the grazing areas a closed military area where the Bedouins are not allowed to let their livestock graze and roam about. It strove to force them to leave, to destroy their dwelling-places and schools and to drive them away."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 62, and see the assignment on p. 63: "Activity: I will gather pictures and video clips that show the Zionist occupation's actions against the Bedouins and will show them to my fellow students.")

A short poetic verse related to the massacre in Kafr Qassem in 1956 by Border Police troops:

"O Kafr Qassem, it is precious, the wound that pierces your naked chest..."

(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 102)

The PA schoolbooks refer as well to the imprisonment of Palestinian political activists who were citizens of Israel, and quote verses of poems written by them:

In a poem titled "A Telegram from Jail" the late Palestinian national poet, Mahmud Darwish, expresses his feelings as a prisoner (p. 57) and a commentary following it mentions that he was arrested several times since 1961, and was expelled from the country in 1973, thus, "living his life suffering the brutality of the Israeli warden and the pain of alienage in exile" (*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) pp. 57-58)

The late Tawfiq Zayyad, a member of the Israeli Communist Party and mayor of the Arab-Israeli city of Nazareth in 1975-1994, also wrote a poem in jail titled "Nocturnal Conversation in Jail" following his arrest in one of his party's demonstrations in Nazareth in 1958, and see *Reading and Texts*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2015) p. 47. Some verses were made into language exercises in *Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 37; *Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 19.

32. Direct demonization:

"[Language exercise:] Do not consider the occupier humane."
(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 27)

Following are excerpts taken from a poem titled "The Horizon Dons Fire" by the Egyptian poet Abd al-Sattar Salim. The poem describes an occupier in general, and not necessarily Israel, but its inclusion in a PA textbook inevitably makes it a demonization tool against Israel, particularly in light of the mentioning in the poem of the orange grove, which is a repeating motif in Palestinian poems that deal with the yearning to Palestine:

"How will you respond
If your family members are attacked by
A foreign person
Tempted by his being a weapon holder
And he bared a wolf's fang
...
How will you respond if
Your roots within yourself are provoked, while the adversary plants
In the heart of your land his spear
And opens fire on the field
That burns
Its wheat
And perseveres with his stubbornness
And ravages
Destroys, kills, hides
Your sun from you, and stifles
Your time's freshness
Undermines in all times upon you
Your house's flanks
And colors with blood the burnished
Daylight,
How will you respond?
How will you respond if he claims
That the date palm grove
And the orange grove
And your Arab olives
And yourself
And your wife Salma
And your decent sons
[Are] war spoils
And a seized property
[It is] either survival without any right
For you in life
Or perdition for the one who does not obey
Orders
How will you respond?"

الأفق مُتَّسِحٌ بِاللَّهَيْبِ

(عبد الستار سليم / مصر)

بماذا تُجيبُ

إذا ما تعدى على أهل بيتك

شخصٌ غريبٌ

وقد غره أنه ذو سلاح

فكشّر عن ناب ذيبٌ

بماذا تجيب إذا ما استفترتُ

جدورك فيك . . وقد غرس الخصمُ

في صدرِ أرضك رُمحَه

وأطلق ناراً على الحقلِ

تحرقُ قَمَحَه

ولجَّ عناداً

وعاثَ فساداً

يدمرُّ، يقتلُ، يحجبُ

شمسك عنك . . ويخنقُ

خُضْرَه وقَتك

يُزلزلُ - في كلِّ آن - عليك

جوانبَ بيتك

ويصبغُ بالدم وجهَ النهارِ

القشيبُ

بماذا تجيبُ؟! *

* * *

بماذا تجيبُ إذا ما ادعى

أنَّ كرمَ النخيلِ،

وبيارة البرتقالِ،

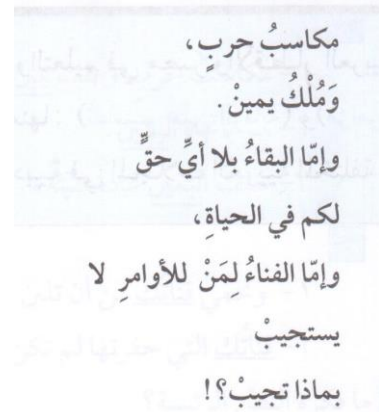
وزيتونكَ العربيِّ،

وأنت .

وزوجك (سلمى)

وأبناءك الطيبين،





(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2014) pp. 51-53, and see the question on p. 55: "Who is meant by the foreign person in the text?" and also the exercise on p. 56 in which the student is supposed to explain certain expressions, including the following one: "the orange grove = the usurped land.")

This poem should be viewed as an extremely demonizing piece, since it raises the rivalry with Israel and the Jews in the student's eyes to a level of existential threat to the Palestinian individual, with grave implications as far as the possibility to solve the conflict peacefully is concerned.

Demonization is given a new dimension in one of the books of the new 2017 edition which features extreme manifestations of victimization, 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. I see crying eyes: This is a martyr's mother, this is a prisoner-of-war's daughter and this is a missing person's sister. And this is a child whom a bomb has mimed: It killed his doll and, with it, it took away his eye, his heart and his joy. Sadness has found into his heart the way that joy will never know. And this is a young woman who has lost her husband, and sorrow has dug in her cheeks the furrows of despair...

Since I was born I have seen our fields subjected to appropriation and our alleys closed. Death and soldiers march there. I see the ruins of demolished houses whose stones have been dispersed in all directions and underneath them the children's memories and the birds' dreams still sigh...

I dreamed that we had a school where I would not be afraid to be trodden by a boot of a usurping soldier... Why did they slaughter my childhood in front of my eyes and kill 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 (2017) pp. 59-61)

Chapter Four: Tolerance and Peace

Tolerance

The PA schoolbooks include lessons emphasizing the need for tolerance among various nations and among followers of the different religions in general, with special emphasis on Muslim-Christian relations within Palestinian society. In no place do the books mention, either explicitly or implicitly, a similar need regarding the Jews in Israel today. At best, they mention Islam's traditional tolerance in history toward Jews and Christians.

A lesson titled "Compassion" says:

"The Muslim has compassion for the weak and feels sympathy with the poor. The Muslim has compassion for all humans, even enemies."
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014) p, 59)

Islam guaranteed for non-Muslims secure life in the countries of Islam, safeguarded their rights, prohibited hurting them and ordered to treat them well."
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2015) p. 47, and see the question on p. 49: "I will clarify how Islam made Muslims and non-Muslims in Muslim society equal.")

"The Muslim is rewarded [by God] for charity [given by him], whomever it reaches, and even if an infidel enjoys it. If a believer gives charity to an infidel - he will be rewarded for that..."
(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 109)

"[A lesson titled] 'We respect all nations'. The lesson's goals: the student is expected, at the end of the lesson, to be able to perceive that humans are different [from one another] by color, shape, customs, traditions, language and religion, and [be able to] respect all humans in spite of their differences (*National and Social Upbringing*, grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 87, and see the two pictures on p. 92: On the right - a girl standing in front of a church, and on the left - a boy standing in front of a mosque. The caption below the pictures reads: "The peoples are different [from one another] in their religions and places of worship. I respect all the peoples notwithstanding the difference of their religions.")

"Lesson 1: I accept the others

Each people of the peoples of the world has its own religion, and all the Monotheistic religions call for respect of one another. Humans are also different in their customs and traditions, in [their] clothes, food, holidays and wedding [ceremonies]. Humans of the world are also different [from one another] in their skin color, and there are white, black and yellow [people]. We are obliged to respect all the monotheistic religions and their customs and traditions even if their color is different. It is advisable for us to judge a person according to his deeds and his attitude to others."

(*Civics*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2015) pp. 19-20. At the bottom of p. 20 there are two illustrations: On the right - a boy kneeling in prayer in a mosque and on the left - a girl bowing in prayer in a church. See also in *National Education*, Grade 5 (2014) p. 3 two illustrations in the context of the Palestinian family: On the right - a signing ceremony on an Islamic matrimonial contract at the *Shar'i* marriage registrar's and on

the left - a Christian wedding ceremony in a church. A church also appears, in addition to a mosque, in an illustration of a Palestinian neighborhood in *National and Life Education*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016) p. 81)

"Activity 3: Let us read the following sentences and draw conclusions: Omar and George live in the city of Bethlehem. Omar and George are neighbors and friends. George comes from a Christian family and Omar comes from a Muslim family. A good bond ties together Omar's family and George's family. Each helps the other and each respects the other's religion... We are Muslim and Christian Palestinians respecting each other although our religions are different."
(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 75)

"Tolerance prevails among Muslims and Christians in Palestinian society."
(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 12, and see the assignment on p. 13 in which the student should complete the missing word in the sentence: "... prevails among Muslims and Christians in Palestinian society.")

The same textbook features a chapter titled "Tolerance" (pp. 66-68) with an illustration of a Christian priest and a Muslim cleric shaking hands. The questions below the illustration are as follows:

1. "What do we see in the picture?"
2. What does the handshake of the Sheikh and the monk [actually, priest, judging by his clothes] indicate?
3. What is the position of the two religions, Islam and Christianity, regarding the regulation of human relations?"

(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 66. The chapter continues discussing Islam's tolerance towards non-Muslims and a parallel position by Christianity. Judaism is not mentioned in this context.)

"Tolerance is [one of] the exalted values that Islam has preached and asked the Muslim to characterize himself by them... Islam's tolerance is expressed by the rules it established regarding the attitude to non-Muslims within Muslim society."
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2014) p. 76)

"Regarding the Muslims' relations with other citizens within Muslim society, Islam has established the principles of tolerance, justice, courtesy and compassion."
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 83)

"Tolerance in the attitude to non-Muslims:
Islam had founded human relations on justice, compassion and respect for human dignity. It has established the relations between Muslims and the non-Muslim citizens in Muslim society on a solid basis of tolerance, justice and compassion... The Prophet [Muhammad] considered attacking and oppressing them a great sin and said: 'Anyone who kills a treaty-holder [a non-Muslim living under Muslim protection] shall not smell Paradise's scent'. "
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2014) p. 77, and see the same *Hadith* in *Islamic Education*, Grade 12 (2014) p. 63)

A question in this context:

"How would you explain [the fact] that non-Muslims in Muslim societies were not subjected to oppression throughout the periods of Islamic history?"

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2014) p. 78)

And a similar *Hadith*:

"Whoever oppressed a treaty-holder, or detracted something [from what he was entitled to], or burdened him with something he could not bear, or took from him something against his will - I [that is, Muhammad] will be his adversary on the Day of Judgment."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) p. 82, and see also *Islamic Education*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2015) p. 77)

"Islam's tolerance is manifested in its noble positions vis-à-vis non-Muslims, as you do not find in history anyone who was forced or obliged to accept Islam."

(*History of the Arab-Muslim Civilization*, Grade 8 (2014) p. 10)

Muslims and non-Muslims are equal before the judiciary, the law and the attitude [on the authorities' part]. Equality before judiciary was unrecognized in many of the world's states or civilizations in the way known to early Muslims who were obliged [to do that] by Divine Law."

(*Islamic Systems*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2012) p. 26)

And a contradictory message:

"Becoming friends with infidels, getting closer to them, supporting them, loving them and showing affection to them by words or deeds or intentions are considered contradictory to [Islamic] belief."

(*Faith*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 17)

Peace with non-Muslims

"The proof that Islam emerged in order to call for peace and for cooperation among human beings on the basis of equality and mutual respect and with the intention to develop this earth upon which God has put us as His trustees, is that Islam has permitted us to conclude agreements and treaties with non-Muslims to strengthen human cooperation and fulfill the interests of God's worshippers, if such agreements do not contain anything contradictory to Islam's laws and goals..."

(*Islamic Systems*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2012) p. 44)

It might be possible to bring in this context the lessons of the Hudaibiyyah peace agreement between Prophet Muhammad and the people of Mecca before he launched the final attack against them:

"Some of the lessons drawn from the Hudaibiyyah peace

1. ...
2. It is permitted [by Islam] to have an armistice [*hudnah*] between Muslims and their enemy if it is in the Muslims' interest.

3. The necessity to keep the contracts and treaties concluded by Muslims with non-Muslims if they are compatible with Islam's rules."
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 54)

And again:

"Islam ordered to keep the contracts with non-Muslims. It is forbidden to violate the contracts [signed] with them, unless they were the first to violate them."
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 89)

"The Prophet, peace be upon him, approved the conclusion of treaties and he [himself] concluded some of them with the Jews of Medina in which he regulated the affairs of civil society, and the Hudaibiyyah peace [treaty with the people of Mecca]. There are [several] conditions that make [such] treaties valid, such as:

- They must not contradict the principles of Islamic law.
- They should be based on free choice and will, without compulsion or coercion.
- They fulfill the Muslims' interests.

Islam has also indicated that a treaty comes to an end in one of the following cases:

- Its period ends...
- It also ends if those ones with whom the treaty was concluded violate it.
- If its stipulations violate the Muslims' rights."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 104)

Peace with Israel

The PA schoolbooks neither call for nor educate to peace with Israel, although they cover the negotiations for peace between the Palestinians and Israel and the peace treaties signed between Israel and both Egypt and Jordan. They even reproduce the letter sent by Yasser Arafat, head of the PLO, to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, shortly before the signing of the Oslo Accords, in which the former recognized Israel's right to live in peace and security and spelled the PLO's commitment to a peaceful solution to the conflict. However, that commitment never repeats itself in any text within the schoolbooks, in sharp contrast with the plentiful material appearing there in the contexts of the violent struggle against Israel (and see the next chapter).

Following are laconic reports on the peace treaties between Israel and both Egypt and Jordan:

"The Egyptian President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat visited Israel, and in 1978 the Camp David Accord was signed according to which Israel withdrew from Sinai. As a result, the Arab states severed their ties with Egypt and the headquarters of the Arab League was transferred from Cairo to Tunis."
(*History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 68)

"Jordan signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1994 and the two parties acknowledged the borderline between them in accordance with the borderlines determined by the British Mandate [authorities]."

(History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014) p. 65)

In the Palestinian context - it is said that Palestine is the land of peace:

"God bless the olive tree, the symbol of peace in the land of peace."
(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 38. In the accompanying exercise on p. 39 the student is requested to develop this issue: "4. The olive tree is the symbol of peace. I will clarify that in light of Arab reality in Palestine.")

As already said, the only case in the PA schoolbooks where an explicit expression by a Palestinian figure in favor of peace with Israel is made, appears in the quoted letter sent by Yasser Arafat to Yitzhak Rabin in September 1993. Following are the relevant parts:

"The Palestine Liberation Organization recognizes the State of Israel's right to live in peace and security. The Organization accepts the [UN] Security Council's Resolutions No. 242 and 338. The Organization is committed to the peace process in the Middle East and to a peaceful solution to the conflict between the two parties, and declares that all the fundamental issues related to the permanent situation will be solved through negotiation. The Organization considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles a historic event opening a new era of coexistence in peace and stability, an era without violence. Consequently, the Organization condemns the use of terror and other violent actions."
(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 83)

But this official commitment does not resonate elsewhere in the PA schoolbooks. There is not a single text there calling explicitly for peace with Israel. There are general expressions in favor of peace and coexistence that, at best, mention the need to end the Israeli occupation. They never treat Israel as a legitimate state that one should live in peace side by side with it.

Thus, the Palestinian Declaration of Independence (Algiers, November 1988) contains the following parts:

"The State of Palestine hereby declares that it is a peace-loving state committed to the principles of peaceful coexistence and it will work with all states and peoples for the achievement of a permanent peace based on justice and respect for rights... with no fear of tomorrow, as tomorrow carries but security for those who act justly...

In the framework of its struggle to bring about peace upon the land of love and peace the State of Palestine urges... the world's peoples and states... to work for ending the Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands.

It also declares in this context that it believes in the resolution of international and regional problems by peaceful means in accordance with the United Nations Charter and resolutions, and rejects [any] threat of [the use of] force, or violence, or terror, or using them against its territorial integrity and political independence, or against the territorial integrity of any other state, without prejudice to its natural right of defending its territory and independence."
(Reading and Texts, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 40)

A thorough examination of these words reveals the following:

1. Peace, according to this Declaration, is one that is based on justice and respect for rights.
2. The Israeli occupation apparently contradicts both of them and should, therefore, end. However, the Declaration never says where the Israeli occupation ends geographically, and, according to the material found in the schoolbooks (and see the relevant chapters of this study), it began in 1948 and includes Israel's pre-1967 territory as well.
3. The principle of the rejection of the use of force against the territorial integrity of any state, or for the resolution of conflicts, is annulled if there is need for self defense. Consequently, if the Israeli occupation has continued since 1948, then self-defense against it also continues - until it is brought to an end.

In clearer words: The mere existence of the State of Israel is foreign occupation that negates peace, and the Palestinians' commitment to peace and coexistence is not supposed to include the Israeli case.

This is the framework within which the Oslo, Washington and Wye River agreements between the two parties should be discussed. They came into being, as said in the books, in the wake of the changing circumstances in the region:

"The PLO realized that there was no way other than utilizing the [first] Palestinian *Intifadah* for the achievement of the political goals of the Palestinian people under the shadow of the local and international changes, such as:

1. The transformation of the *Intifadah* into a pattern of popular war against the occupation.
2. The assassination by Israel of a group of Palestinian leaders including Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), Hail Abd al-Hamid (Abu al-Hawl) and Muhammad al-Umari.
3. The outbreak of the second Gulf War in 1991 between Iraq and the allied forces under the leadership of the United States that supported Kuwait.
4. The retreat of the Soviet Union and its collapse as a world power.

Therefore, the PLO agreed to enter into the negotiations and to participate in the Madrid Conference in 1991."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 82)

The references in the PA schoolbooks to the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians emphasize the issue of giving territories in Palestine to the PLO and hardly mention the issue of peace. Following are the relevant quotes:

The Madrid Conference was convened with the participation of "Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine within the Jordanian delegation" and included, following the general discussion, "bilateral negotiations between Israel and each of the Arab states, in order to sign peace agreements with them." The negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians included two stages: "The first: signing an agreement regarding the temporary settlements for the establishment of self rule for a period of five years. The second: Attaining the permanent situation through the discussion of the issues related to Jerusalem, the refugees and the settlement [*istitan*]." (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 82)

"The Israeli Knesset [Parliament] abolished on January 19, 1993 the regulation that had prohibited any contacts between Israelis and PLO people, which made it easier to conduct open and covert negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians that were crowned with the signing of the mutual recognition documents between Israel and the PLO on September 10, 1993."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 83. Both letters are quoted on pp. 83-84.)

"Secret negotiations between the PLO and Israel took place in Oslo, Norway, and lasted for a year and a half with a view to reaching a peace agreement between them based on the establishment of a Palestinian transitional government for a period of five years, which would bring about a permanent settlement on the basis of the [UN] Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The negotiation ended with the publishing of the Declaration of Principles (the Oslo Accord) signed in Washington on September 13, 1993."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 84)

The Accord's articles that are quoted in the book:

"Article 5: The transition period and the negotiations for the permanent situation:

1. The five-year transition period will start at the time of the [Israeli] withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area.
2. The negotiation between the government of Israel and the representatives of the Palestinian people regarding the permanent situation will start as soon as possible but not later than the beginning of the third year of the transition period.
3. It is understood that that negotiation will cover the remaining issues such as Jerusalem, the refugees, the settlements, the security arrangements and the borders.

Article 13: The Israeli forces redeployment..."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 84)

And in another textbook:

"The Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel signed in Washington on September 13, 1993 the Declaration of Principles (the Oslo Accord). Among its articles [are the following ones]:

1. Mutual recognition between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel.
2. Establishment of self-rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho first and that rule will later include the rest of the West Bank parts.

Accordingly, the leadership of the PLO returned to Palestine in September 1994..."

(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 57, and see the assignment on p. 58: "I will write a report about the Oslo agreement between Palestine and Israel")

Further on, the book provides details of the Washington agreements (1995) regarding the transfer of additional areas to the PA in the West Bank while classifying them as areas A, B and C, and the Wye River agreement regarding the partition of the city of Hebron into Israeli and Palestinian-controlled areas. Nothing is said in the book about a prospected peace between the PA and Israel (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) pp. 85-86).

Another issue covered in this context by the schoolbooks is the Palestinian National Covenant that included articles rejecting Israel's existence and even the existence of the Jewish people, and declared the armed struggle for the liberation of all of Palestine (including Israel's pre-1967 territory) to be the only solution to the conflict. Israel demanded the abolition of these articles as a precondition for the signing of the Oslo Accord, and its demand was accepted. Following is what appeared in Yasser Arafat's letter to Yitzhak Rabin in this respect on September 9, 1993:

"The PLO stresses that the Palestinian National Covenant's articles that deny Israel's right to exist, as well as the Covenant's [other] articles that contradict the commitments cited in this letter had become by now irrelevant and invalid. The PLO undertakes to present the Palestinian National Council with official consent regarding the necessary amendments as far as the Palestinian Covenant..."
(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 83)

In due course, the Palestinian relevant body convened in a session where a decision was made to abolish these articles. Those articles do not appear in the textbook discussing the Covenant. It is said there:

"The amendment of the Covenant: The Palestinian National Covenant was amended by the omission of some of its articles following the signing of the Oslo Accord at the session of the Palestinian National Council in Gaza on 14.12.1998."
(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 40, and see the assignment on p. 42: "Let us discuss the circumstances that brought about the amendment of the Palestinian National Covenant.")

The latest move within the peace process that is mentioned in the PA schoolbooks is the Bush administration's "Roadmap Plan" of 2004. The following part thereof is quoted in the book with no comment:

"The goal is a final and comprehensive settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict until the beginning of 2005... A settlement arrived at through negotiations between the two parties will lead to the appearance of a Palestinian viable democratic state living side-by-side with Israel and its other neighbors in peace and security. The settlement will solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and terminate the occupation that began in 1967, on the basis of the powers [vested in] the Summit Conference for Peace in Madrid, the 'Land for Peace' principle, the UN Resolutions 242 and 338, and the past agreements arrived at by the two parties."
(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 89)

Not a single reference to the issue of peace with Israel has been found in the new PA schoolbooks published in 2016-2017.

Chapter Five: War

This chapter deals with the PA schoolbooks' attitude to non-peace issues: War in general, the struggle for liberation from Israeli occupation, Islamic traditional values in this context - Jihad, *Ribat* and martyrdom and the attitude to terrorist activities.

Islam's Principles of Conduct during War

An article titled "Islam is a Religion of Power: Is there any Doubt about that?" written in 1949 by Ahmad Hasan al-Zayyat, an Egyptian thinker (1885-1968), is given in one of the PA textbooks. Following are two excerpts:

"...One who is not powerful, strong-willed, determined, a strong believer, strongly humane, with firm hope and vigorously preparing for whatever comes - is a Muslim without Islam and an Arab with no Arab character [*urubah*]... It has been decreed for the Muslims that they fight for their and His religion, and they have been ordered to prepare forces and horses in order to terrorize their and His enemies..."
(*Methods of Missionary Preaching and the Art of Oration*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) pp. 123, 124)

And again:

"The Muslim is a brave person facing his enemies forcefully and he must not run away from the battlefield when the armies engage in battle."
(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 101)

Nevertheless, there are rules in war which Muslims should follow, contrary to their enemies - as claimed by the schoolbooks:

"Islam has enveloped the Jihad rules in Islam by limits of compassion, kindness and morality and has designated for that purpose most exalted regulations and rules...:

1. The prohibition of a sudden attack and the obligation to issue a warning regarding the starting of war: Muslims must not surprise the enemies in battle before conveying them the call to God [i.e., convert to Islam]...
2. Islam has prevented exaggeration in war: The Prophet [Muhammad] used to guide the Jihad warriors to fight only those enemies who fight in battle. As for those who avoided war - they must not be killed or hurt by any means, such as women, the elderly, children, and all [other] kinds of the inhabitants who do not take part in the fighting... This is a clear answer to those who falsely claim that the purpose of war in Islam is destruction and bloodshed.
3. Islam has prevented the use of savage and condemned means of warfare, such as today's weapons of mass destruction, because they contradict Islamic tolerant and compassionate rules that prohibit [causing] damage and destruction.
4. Islam has established the rule of tit for tat...
5. Islam has guaranteed the safety of emissaries and ambassadors...
6. Islam... has enlarged the [number of] reasons for ending a war. It ends when the enemy adopts Islam, or enters [a state of] provisional peace, that is, an armistice [*hudnah*], or [a state of] eternal one, that is the treaty of the protected

people [*dhimmah*], or in the Muslims' victory, or by the Muslim commander's decision [to retreat].

7. Islamic jurisprudence took care of the prisoners-of-war among the fighters. It protected their lives and dignity and prohibited causing them suffering of hunger and thirst...

Activity: I will make a comparison between the rules of Islam regarding the attitude to prisoners-of-war and the non-Muslims' attitude to prisoners-of-war presently."
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) pp.102-103)

"[The first Caliph] Abu Bakr ordered Usamah Bin Zayd's army, when it marched out to fight the enemies [in Syria], saying to them: 'Do not kill a woman, nor an old man, nor a child; do not uproot date palm trees and do not cut down a fruit bearing tree. You will find people isolating themselves in their prayer cells (the Christian monks' places of worshipping God) - leave them alone with what they have devoted themselves for.'
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 6, Part 2 (2015) p. 77)

Some of the related questions on p. 78:

1. "1. I will mention some cases of violence to which our people was exposed by the enemies.
2. How do the enemies and occupiers treat the people of the occupied [*muhtallah*] countries?
3. How were the Muslims treating the people of the conquered [*maftuhah*] countries?"⁵⁴

"Even in a case of war, Islam prohibits the killing of children, the elderly and women and secures for the wounded the right to medical treatment and for the prisoner-of-war the right to good treatment. It also prohibits the mutilation of bodies and does not permit the cutting of trees, or the destruction of crops, or animals."
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 84)

An excerpt taken from the Islamic Declaration of Human Rights published by the Islamic Conference Organization of the Muslim countries:

"During the use of force, or in armed conflicts, it is forbidden to kill those who do not participate in the fighting, such as old people, women and children. The wounded and the sick [enemy fighters] have the right to receive medical treatment and the prisoners-of-war should be given food, water and shelter. It is forbidden to mutilate the killed ones' [bodies]. It is permitted to exchange prisoners-of-war and it is advisable to work for the reunion of families separated by the war circumstances. It is forbidden to cut down trees, or destroy crops, or destroy the enemy's civil buildings and installations by shelling or by blowing them up or by other means."
(*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) p. 84)

"...This saying [*Hadith*] by the Prophet [Muhammad] presents an honorable example of our morality in war, while we see and witness crime and ugliness in contemporary wars that hurt children, the elderly and women, bring disaster upon the whole world and plant in the soul painful and horrible pictures... Among the painful examples - the

⁵⁴ Arabic, like English, distinguishes between a condemned occupation by foreigners [*ihhtilal*] and a glorious conquest by "our forces" [*Fat'h*]. This distinction is manifested in these questions.

massacre of Sabra and Shatila [of Palestinians in Beirut by Israel's Christian allies, 1982], the wars of annihilation in Bosnia and what the Jews do in Palestine."
(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 110)

Struggle for Liberation

The struggle for the liberation of Palestine advocated by the PA schoolbooks is violent in character, which negates the commitment made by the Palestinians within the Oslo Accords to solving the conflict by peaceful means only. Actually, references to non-violent struggle against Israel are not to be found in the books, except for references to boycotting Israeli goods and supporting the case of Palestinian prisoners..

Following are excerpts taken from the Palestinian poetess Fadwa Tuqan's poem titled "My Liberty" that hints at the need for violent liberation:

"...My liberty! My liberty! My liberty!
I will continue engraving its name while still struggling...
I will continue engraving its name until I see it
Expanding in my homeland and growing
And continues growing
And continues growing
Until it covers every inch of its soil
Until I see [blood-] red liberty opening every door [of the refugees' former houses?]...."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 79, and see the question on p. 80:
"Explain the poetess' words "Until I see red liberty opening every door.")

The violent struggle for liberation appears as well in the following verse of a poem titled "Good Morning, My Homeland":

"A morning of glory and red liberty watered by the martyrs' blood..."
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 10)

And this violent struggle is further emphasized in an exercise related to this poem and presented as the foundation of the hope for the liberation of Palestine:

"I will attach the following verses to the feelings they express:
A morning of glory and red liberty watered by the martyrs' blood... - the hope for the liberation of Palestine"

١١ أوفق بين الأسطر الشعرية والعواطف التي تعبّر عنها فيما يأتي :

اللهفة على تحرير المسجد الأقصى .	صباح مناضلك الصبيد في الأقبال في الأغلال .
التفاؤل بتحرير فلسطين .	صباح المسك والعنبر صباح التين والزيتون والليمون والزعرير .
الحرص على التمسك بأرض فلسطين والثبات فيها .	تناديني مأذنه . . غيابك طال وتهتف بي . . تعال تعال .
الإعجاب بجمال الطبيعة في فلسطين .	صباح العاشقين ثراك، لن يلقوا بغير حماك ما ارتحلوا . . عصا الترحال .
كراهية المحتل لما يعانیه المناضلون في سجونهِ .	صباح المجد والحريّة الحمراء يروها دم الشهداء صباحك أنت يا وطني بشمسك نقهر الظلماء .

(Reading and Texts, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 12. The connecting line has been added and signals the only logical possibility)

Books of the new edition of 2016 intensify the violent character of the struggle for liberation by bringing to the students for the first time the first parts of the PA national anthem that talk about revenge and weapon's fire, which was not done in older editions (and see below the less radical part of this anthem in an older book within the discussion of the term "Fidai" in reference to the issue of terror):

"Activity 2: The Palestinian Anthem

I will repeat with my fellow students the Palestinian national anthem:

Fidai, Fidai, Fidai, O land of the forefathers
Fidai, Fidai, Fidai, O people of eternity
With my determination, my fire and the volcano of my revenge [*tha'r*]
And my blood's yearning to my land and my home
I have climbed mountains and conducted a struggle
I defeated the impossible and shattered the shackles
Fidai, Fidai, Fidai, O land of the forefathers
In the winds' storm and the weapon's fire
And my people's determination to conduct the struggle
Palestine is my home, Palestine is my home⁵⁵
Palestine is my revenge [*tha'ri*] and the land of steadfastness."

⁵⁵ In another version this verse reads: "Palestine is my home and the road to my victory" (*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 16)



أردّد مع زملائي السلام الوطني الفلسطيني:

يا أرض الجدود فدائي فدائي فدائي

يا شعب الخلود فدائي فدائي فدائي

بغزمي وناري وبزكاني ثاري

وأشواق دمي لأرضي وداري

صعدت الجبال وحضت النضال

قهزت المخال حطمت القيود

يا أرض الجدود فدائي فدائي فدائي

بعصف الرياح ونار السلاح

وأصرار شعبي لخوض الكفاح

فلسطين داري فلسطين داري

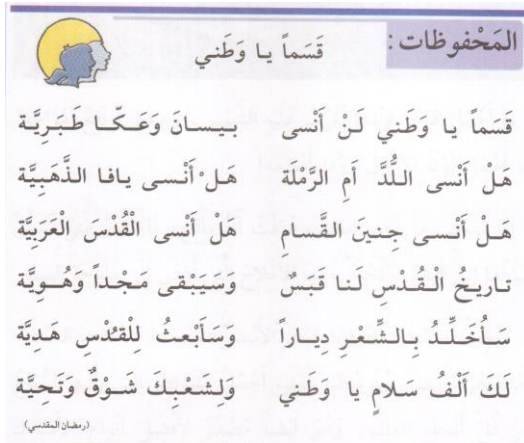
فلسطين ثاري وأرض الصمود

(*National and Life Education, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016) p. 95, and see the anthem in its entirety in National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) pp. 15-16. It is said on p. 18 there: "Our national anthem expresses the Palestinian people's struggle and its right to freedom and independence, [its right] to return to its homeland and [its right] to defending it, because it is the ancestors and the forefathers' homeland."*)

It should be emphasized in the clearest way, within this context, that, according to the material appearing in the schoolbooks under study, the struggle for liberation is by no means restricted to the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, and see the quotes below.

A poem titled "I have sworn my homeland" features the following verses:

"I have sworn, my homeland, I shall never forget Beisan [Beit Shean], Acre and Tiberias
Will I forget Lydda or Ramleh? Shall I forget golden Jaffa?
Will I forget Jenin of [Sheikh Izz al-Din] al-Qassam? Shall I forget Arab Jerusalem?..."



(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3, Part 2 (2015) p. 83)

A book of the 2016 edition emphasizes in the following poem the motif of the struggle for the liberation of Al-Aqsa Mosque and of the whole country - beyond the territories occupied by Israel in 1967:

"I am a lion cub;⁵⁶ I am a flower;⁵⁷ we gave [our] soul to the revolution [*thawrah* - a term denoting the activity of the Palestinian Fatah organization]
Our forefathers built for us houses in our [formerly] free country
I am a lion cub; I am a flower; we carried the revolution's ember
To Haifa, to Jaffa, to Al-Aqsa [Mosque], to the [Dome of the] Rock"



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

⁵⁶ *Shibl* in Arabic - a term denoting male members of the Fatah youth movement.

⁵⁷ *Zahrah* - a term denoting a female member of that movement.

And the following question in mathematics textbook clarifies that the "revolution" started before the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza by Israel in 1967:

"10. The Palestinian revolution [i.e., the activity of the Fatah armed organization] broke out in 1965. How many years have passed since its outbreak?"
(*Mathematics*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 61)

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

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



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

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

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

الجارُّ: حَظَرُ التَّجَوُّلِ لَا يَشْمَلُنَا فِي (الشَّرْفَةِ) مَفْرُوضٍ عَلَى
(النَّارِيشِ) عَلَى مَا يَبْدُو هُنَاكَ حَفْلَةٌ شِوَاءٍ بِالْقَنَابِلِ الْحَارِقَةِ لِأَحَدِي
حَافِلَاتِ مُسْتَعْمَرَةٍ (بَسَاغُوتِ) عَلَى الْجَبَلِ الطَّوِيلِ.

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

Additional poetic verses in the context of the violent struggle as language exercises:

"O son of my people, you are stronger than the air force and the navy, so, resist!
O war front that rises above the enemies' heads."

(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 20)

"I - tomorrow is mine, and tomorrow I will advance as a revolutionary/avenger
[*tha'ir*] and rebel."

(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 36)

A piece taken from an article about the youth's role in revolutions:

"For instance, the Palestinian society's youth led the struggle, the revolutions and the *Intifadhas* in order to get rid of the occupation and for the building of the independent Palestinian state."

(*Contemporary Issues*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 50)

The two *Intifadahs*, the one that erupted in 1987 and the other that erupted in 2000, are considered an integral part of the struggle for liberation. An assignment within a lesson on the subject of freedom reads:

"I will mention the reason for the eruption of the Palestinian people's [first] *Intifadah* in December 1987."

(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 71)

A more detailed explanation:

"The Palestinian people waged its *Intifadah* on 9.12.1987. Several factors contributed to its eruption:

1. The PLO's departure from Lebanon and its dispersion in various Arab countries.
2. Israel's attempt to create local leaderships as an alternative for the PLO, such as the Villages Associations.
3. Israel's persistence in [pursuing] the iron fist policy towards the Palestinian people which was expressed by arrests, expulsion, closing down of schools and universities for long periods, house demolition, land confiscation, etc.

4. The immediate reason was a collision between an Israeli truck and two [Palestinian] cars that carried Arab citizens in the Jibalia refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, which caused the martyrdom [*istish'had*] of four Palestinian citizens. Then, clashes broke out between the camp's inhabitants and the occupation forces that soon spread to all parts of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank..."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 75, and see the assignment on p. 81: "Let us discuss the necessity to diversify the methods of Palestinian struggle.")

"The Second Intifadah (the Al-Aqsa Mosque Intifadah)

It erupted on September 28, 2000 for many reasons, such as the failure of the second Camp David summit convened by the American President Bill Clinton between the Palestinian Authority and Israel for creating the general outlines of the final solution to the Palestinian problem, Israel's repeating postponement of the implementation of the signed agreements with the Palestinian leadership, and its attempt to impose a *fait accompli* by Zionist colonization [*istitan*] in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The immediate reason for it [the *Intifadah*] was the entering of Sharon, head of the Likud party, to the area of Al-Aqsa Mosque."

(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 57)

"The Al-Aqsa *Intifadah* erupted on 28.9.2000. Several factors contributed to its eruption, such as:

1. The stalemate in the negotiation between the Palestinian and Israeli parties after the Camp David conference.
2. Israel's attempt, with the support of the US, to impose on the Palestinians a solution far away from the international legitimacy's resolutions (242, 338) and resolution 194 regarding the return of the refugees.
3. Israel's non-adherence, after the signing of the Oslo Accord, to its signed commitments regarding the national rights of the Palestinian people.
4. The continuation of the assassination and arrest policy on Israel's part and its refusal to release the Palestinian prisoners-of-war.
5. The state of despair and frustration in which the Palestinian people was living regarding the usefulness of the peace process which it had signed in order to achieve national independence, the removal of the settlements and the return of the refugees.
6. The immediate reason was Sharon's visit to Al-Aqsa Mosque.

...Since the eruption of the *Intifadah* Israel has attempted to destroy the *Intifadah's* infrastructure by all means in order to stop it. It invaded the Palestinian cities, besieged the late president Yasser Arafat, assassinated Palestinian leaders like Abu Ali Mustafa - Secretary-General of the Popular Front, and Sheikh Ahmad Yassin - leader of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)."

(*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 87)

The boycott activity against Israel is a new issue appearing for the first time in a textbook published in 2016. This activity too is perceived as part of the liberation struggle. A lesson dealing with Palestinian products features the following proposal for a poster: "Yes to the boycotting of the occupation's products."



نَعْمَ لِمُقَاتَعَةِ مَنَّجَاتِ الْاِحْتِلَالِ



(*National and Life Education*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016) p. 10)

Additional references to this issue, including assignments:

"[Language exercise – completing letters in given sentences. The result:] "We must boycott the occupier's products".

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p.38)

"Activity:

-We will prepare an exhibition in school in which we will display national [i.e., Palestinian] goods and products [as an] alternative for the Zionist products.

-We will draw a slogan that would express opposition to the Zionist goods."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 23)

Jihad

Note: All references under this title are to Jihad in general, or in the context of the conflict only, not in other historical contexts dealt with as well by the PA schoolbooks. All the examples refer to warlike Jihad [dubbed as the "Lesser Jihad" - *Al-Jihad al-Asghar*] and not to the Jihad against one's internal evil inclination [the "Greater Jihad" - *Al-Jihad al-Akbar*], which hardly exists in the PA schoolbooks. ⁵⁸

1. Jihad: General perspective

According to a Prophetic Saying (*Hadith*) Jihad is the third most important thing in God's eyes after prayer and respect for one's parents (*Islamic Education*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2014) p. 22, and see also *Methods of Missionary Preaching and the Art of Oration*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 72 and *Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 57).

Another *Hadith* says that Jihad is the second most important thing after the belief in God (*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 60, and also in *Islamic Jurisprudence and its Foundations*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p.87)

"We notice that the Prophet [Muhammad] even put Jihad before belief in order to emphasize its importance and value, because Jihad is the one [factor] that stresses the belief's strength. For the believing society, if it is weak without power to defend itself, is a society that people distance themselves from it and it does not tempt anyone to join it. The best proof of that is the Muslims' situation these days: Their societies are weak, everyone makes bold with them and they do not have the power by which they would defend themselves. This picture does not tempt the non-Muslim to join them." (*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 129)

⁵⁸ See the reference to this subject in a language exercise: "The term 'Jihad' usually refers to combat, although combat is but one of its forms" (*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015) p. 34). Missionary activity is also considered a type of Jihad parallel to the military one.

"The merit of Jihad in God's cause

...Jihad is among the most exalted factors that place the Muslim nearer to his God. Moreover, it is the highest apex of Islam... The Jihad fighter in God's cause has an exalted rank, because he is one of those people who sacrifice the most... What is revealed to the people's eyes is that anyone who fights against the enemy is a Jihad fighter in God's cause, but the truth is that people are different in their motives and intentions... The Jihad meant in [this] *Hadith* is a Jihad for Heaven's sake alone, devoid of any worldly goal... God's favor upon the Jihad fighters is... [that] if they are killed in battle - Paradise is theirs... and if He lets them live - they have much reward, or spoils and reward together...

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) pp. 118-119)

"The Messenger [Muhammad] repeated to them [his men] his order to attack saying: 'Attack', in order to stress the importance of Jihad and elevate its status..."

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 111)

"The Muslims' relations with others are based on [the principle of] peace. Jihad in Islam was not regulated except for the achievement of peace, and for the defense of preaching about Islam and of [Islam's] regime, for the removal of the barriers that separate between men and [Islamic] missionary preaching [*da'wah*], for the realization of the comprehensive and good Muslim rule based on truth and justice, and for the prevention of oppression and bondage."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) pp. 101-102)

"The Jihad fighter's intent:

...The Jihad fighter's intent should be standing by God's religion [Islam] and acting for making His word superior, and not acquiring war spoils or reputation. Jihad was not enacted in Islam for having control over the wealth of other peoples and not for forcing people to join Islam. Muslims do not fight out of desire for battle, or out of love of bloodshed, nor out of national or tribal fanaticism. Jihad was prescribed in Islam for lofty goals, such as:

1. Saving the oppressed and those ones who are deemed weak, and opposing the tyrants and oppressors who inflict various torments on the people and dominate them...
2. Creating a comfortable atmosphere for God's worship by antagonizing the oppression forces that seduce people away from their religion...
3. Preparing the Muslim nation so that it would become strong and feared, and [thus] the avaricious and malicious ones will not be able to harm it...

Activity: I will write a paragraph and compare Jihad's goals in Islam to the war goals among other nations."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 28, and see question No. 3 on p. 29: "I will specify Jihad's goals indicated by each of the following verses...")

"Jihad in God's cause (Keeping external security)

The Muslim state carries on its shoulders the obligation of preparing for Jihad and preparing all the means of power... The state should provide whatever is necessary, and prepare and build it for attaining power, [that is,] warfare equipment of various types, tools and changeable means, as well as train its sons to use them, especially

those ones who devote themselves to Jihad in God's cause in order to defend Islam and the Muslims."

(*Islamic Systems*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2012) p. 31)

"Side by side with Islam's call for world peace and its being bent on [maintaining] good and peaceful relations with non-Muslims, at the same time it does not show negligence vis-à-vis those ones who do not hesitate to extend their hand and tongue against Islam and the Muslims and those ones who expel them from their houses and assist their enemies against them... Therefore, Islam imposes on the Muslims the duty of fighting the Jihad [*mujahadah*] against the enemies, opposing them, taking all the measures that would deter them from [continuing] their delusion and unbelief, and not making friends with them and supporting them, as they are bent upon the liquidation of Islam and the Muslims. Hence, Islam has imposed the duty of Jihad upon the Muslims until the End of Days, in order to make the flag of Islam high, confront the forces of unbelief and tyranny that block the way between preaching for Islam and the people, and in order to drive back the attack against the Muslims and their land."

(*Islamic Systems*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2012) p. 44, and see the question on p. 45: "Why has Sublime God imposed the duty of Jihad until the End of Days?")

In an exercise in an *Islamic Education* textbook the student is required to grade various religious duties, including "Jihad against the [Muslim] nation's enemies" between indispensable, necessary and desirable (*Islamic Education*, Grade 12 (2014) p. 116)

Jihad fighters are entitled to the Islamic charity tax [*Zakat*] money:

"In the cause of God: The Jihad is meant by that. Jihad could be military or by way of preaching. *Zakat* money is paid to the Jihad fighters [*mujahidin*] and for the purchase of weapons and combat necessities. Likewise, the *Zakat* money goes in the service of Islamic missionary preaching [*da'wah*] and to [finance] the work for the propagation of Islam, the training of preachers and financing the institutions that deal with that." (*Islamic Education*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 62)

"[It is possible to use the *Zakat* money for financing] Jihad in God's cause, fighting the enemies and attacking militarily... by building factories for the production of weapons and by providing the armies with all the necessary weaponry and equipment... But one of the meanings of Jihad is also the Jihad-by-the-tongue and the Jihad-by-preaching aimed at propagating Islam around the world, especially in our time that witnesses a parallel struggle for the attraction of people's attention by all means. Therefore it is permitted to take money out of the *Zakat* fund for this expenditure for preaching to [follow] Sublime God and for defending Islam by establishing the communicational and educational means needed for that." (*Islamic Jurisprudence and its Foundations*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 69)

"[*Zakat* is] one of the means of preaching to [follow] Sublime God and the propagation of His religion, by assisting the Jihad fighters who volunteer to sacrifice their soul for God's sake."

(*Islamic Jurisprudence and its Foundations*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 81, and see a repetition of that matter on p. 84)

The mosque serves as a gathering place for the Jihad fighters before they go to battle:

"The Prophet's engagement in building the Prophet's mosque [in Medina], as well as other mosques, testifies to the mosque's status and its roles in Islam, such as:

...4. A gathering place for Islam's armies, where they are equipped and whence they go to fight the Jihad in God's cause..."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2015) p. 49)

"The Muslims are in [a state of] continuous Jihad and unending general mobilization until humanity enjoy security and peace. Therefore, their pure old and young ones vie with one another on embarking upon Jihad, offensive and general mobilization for this noble purpose... Stability on earth will not be achieved without Jihad."

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 144)

"A Muslim who provides the one intending to go out on attack and Jihad, and fight the enemies, with material assistance such as weapons, equipment, food, means of transportation, as well as moral assistance by defending him, hiding him from the enemies who follow him, and giving him shelter in case the enemy pursues him, in addition to defending his family members whom he left behind... whoever fulfils this duty... [is regarded] as if he [himself] attacked in God's cause, like a Jihad fighter in the battlefield - according to the religious law, because of his great reward for his support."

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 145)

"[Assignment:] I will explain the following: The knowledge that God has soldiers from among the angels motivates the servant [of God, i.e., the Muslim] to be patient on the battlefields of Jihad in the cause of God."

(*Faith*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 49)

"If a Muslim land is occupied Jihad is ordered."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 99)

"[Language exercise:] The two Jihad fighters who raised the flag were happy."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016) p. 8)

"[Language exercise:] The Jihad fighter [*Mujahid*] returned holding his head high."

(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 49)

"A nation is not glorious except by Jihad."

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 145)

2. Jihad in the Palestinian context

"Sheikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam... declared Jihad towards the end of the year 1935. That is considered a fundamental change in the path taken by the Palestinian national movement that was relying [until then] on the political efforts in an attempt to reform and change and realize the Palestinian people's aspirations."

(Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014) p. 15. In an informational box on that page one finds the Sheikh's photo and biographical details and he is described there as "an Arab Jihad fighter [mujahid] in Palestine.")

An excerpt from a poem by the Lebanese poet Bisharah al-Khuri:

"O Jihad - to whom glory has clapped and whom battle has attired
With dignity's crimson of which Palestine was proud..."
(Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11 (2014) p. 123)

A poem titled "Palestine" (Excerpts):

"O my brother, the oppressors have exceeded the bound
And therefore Jihad and sacrifice are necessary
Shall we let them rob the Arabs
Of the ancestors' glory and nobility?
While they do not but with the swords' clatter
Answer a voice or voice-echo of ours
So, draw your sword from its sheathe
For it should not be in its sheathe anymore
O my brother, O proud Arab,
I think that our date is today, not tomorrow
...
Palestine, the youth is ransoming your sanctuary
Exalted are the sacrificing one and the one for whom he sacrifices
Palestine, our chests protect you
It is either life or destruction"

فلسطين

علي محمود طه

المجد (جمعه أمجاد):
الثبيل والشرف.
السؤدد والسؤدد: السيادة
والمجد والشرف.
الحسام: السيف الفاطم،
وحسام السيف طرفه الذي
يُضرب به.
الأبي: الترفع المعترز
بنفسه، فلا يُقبل الذل.
المدى (جمع مديّة):
السكاكين.
المشرقان: المشرق والمغرب
على التغليب.

نمى الشيء: رفته وأعلى
من شأنه.

أخي، جاوزَ الظالمونَ المدى
أنتركهم يغصبون العروب
وليسوا بغيرِ صليلِ السيوفِ
فجرّدَ حسامك من غمده
أخي، أيها العربيُّ الأبيُّ
أخي، إنَّ في القدس أختاً لنا
أخي قم إلى قبلة المشرقين
أخي، إن جرى في ثراها دمي
ونادى الحمام، وجنَّ الحسامُ
ففتش على مُهجة حُرّة
وخذ راية الحق من قبضة
وقبل شهيداً على أرضها
فلسطين، يقدي حماك الشبابُ
فلسطين، تحميك منا الصدورُ

فحقَّ الجهادُ وحقَّ الفدا
ة مجد الأبوة والسؤددا
يُجيون صوتاً لنا أو صدى
فليس له بعد أن يُغمدا
أرى اليوم موعداً لا الغدا
أعد لها الذابحون المدى
لنحمي الكنيسة والمسجدا
وأطبقت فوق حصاها اليدا
وشبَّ الضرامُ بها موقدا
أبت أن يمرَّ عليها العدا
جلاها الوغى ونماها الندى
دعا باسمها الله واستشهدا
وجلَّ الفدائيُّ والمفتدى
فإما الحياة وإما الردى

(Reading and Texts, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 44, and see the first verse as a language exercise in *Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 40; in *Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2014) p. 14; and in *Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 113)

A reading and understanding exercise: The student should mark with "Yes" or "No":

- The poet thinks that it is time for Jihad and sacrifice
- The poet thinks that Jihad is the only way to liberating Palestine."

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

More questions, for wider understanding:

- "- Who are the oppressors meant by the poet?
- What will lead the enemies to comply with the Arabs' demands?
- The poet has chosen a clear way to Palestine's liberation. I will write my opinion in detail about that."

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 46)

Standing-on-Guard (*Ribat, Murabatah*)

This is a term adopted by the PA and introduced into the curriculum during Yasser Arafat's last years (he died in November 2004). In Islamic history it denotes manning of outposts in preparation for war against the enemies of Islam. Today, it refers to the duty of every Palestinian individual to defend the country against its being overtaken by the enemy and as a prelude to Jihad. In practice, it is expressed by one's attachment to the land and the defense of the holy places (for example, the women who stand-on-guard - *murabitat* - on the Temple Mount and harass religious Jews coming there to pray).

Standing-on-guard is binding religiously because of the country's status in Islamic tradition: It was blessed by God - as written in the Koran in relation to some Islamic prophets (Abraham, Lot, Solomon and Muhammad); it is the birthplace or the place of residence of some prophets (Abraham, Lot, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, David, Solomon, Zakariyya, Yahya, Jesus); Jerusalem was the first direction to which Muslims used to pray before it was shifted to Mecca; it is Islam's third holy place after Mecca and Medina; Muhammad arrived at the city in his nocturnal journey from Mecca and then ascended to Heaven to meet God before returning to Mecca - according to Islamic belief. The region of the Levant is praised by several Prophetic Sayings [*Hadith*], and it was the battlefield where the Muslims were victorious over their Byzantine, Crusader and Mongol enemies. The introduction of this traditional element into the schoolbooks elevates the struggle for the liberation of Palestine to a level of an uncompromised religious struggle.

"The virtue of Standing-on-Guard [*Ribat*] in God's cause

...The Muslim is superior to others in his love for his homeland because he does not act on the basis of patriotic feelings alone, or the love for the place where he grew up and to which he yearns, but he adds to that the religious meaning, as love of [one's] homeland is part of [one's] belief and, hence, defending it is a religious duty for which he will be rewarded... and if he does not fulfill it he will be called to account for his default... The reward changes according to the intention of the one who stands on guard, to the effort he makes and the sacrifices he makes. Standing on guard is not restricted to guarding fortresses and borders, but it is rather extended to include all types of protection of nation and society. A Muslim's mere persistence on his land, without running away due to the pressures aimed at uprooting him and forcing him to emigrate from his land, as is happening on Palestine's soil these days, is standing-on-guard, steadfastness, and Jihad in God's cause."

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 12 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) pp. 114-115)

"The Muslim, who resides in Palestine, guards its land and defends it, is considered a person standing-on-guard [*murabit*] in God's cause, and his reward from God will be great."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2014) p. 74)

"[Assignment:] I will cite a *Hadith* by the Prophet [Muhammad] clarifying that the land of the Levant is a land that one should stand there on guard [*Ribat*]." (*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2014) p. 76, and see question No. 6 on the same page: "What is my duty toward Al-Aqsa Mosque?")

"God has blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque... and made it and its surroundings a land of Standing-on-Guard [*Ribat*] until the End of Days." (*Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015) p. 12)

"[After quoting Prophetic Sayings in praise of the Levant - *Bilad al-Sham* in Arabic:] These many Prophetic Sayings [*Hadith*] specify the preponderance of the Levant and the preponderance of Palestine [the name "Palestine" itself does not appear in any of the quoted religious texts and is added by the authors of the book], and the preponderance of anyone who remains standing-on-guard [*murabit*] upon its soil in spite of the challenges, the suffering and the pain that are his lot, because this country - God has imposed on its people a huge task, that is, being in the first and front line in the battle between the Muslims and their enemies. They will not obtain the reward mentioned by these Prophetic Sayings unless they fulfill their duty towards their religion, nation and country." (*Islamic Education*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2013) p. 42, and see the questions on p. 43: "7. How would the people of Palestine get the great reward promised by God to those who stand on guard [*murabitin*]? 8. On the basis of the lesson, I will draw a conclusion as to what is the Muslims' duty towards Palestine and towards the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque.")

"[Assignment:] I will write a brief [article] about the virtue of standing-on-guard in Palestine and put it on the wall newspaper or read it on the school's radio." (*Islamic Education*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2013) p. 42)

"Standing-on-Guard in God's cause: Islam urged to perform the Jihad in God's cause in order to defend the nation's greatness, dignity and country. Standing-on-Guard in God's cause is one of the deeds related to Jihad in God's cause and it means: **Residing in areas where a struggle between the Muslims and their enemies takes place and the one who resides there is exposed to harm on the part of the enemies, to fearing them and to living in distress.** His persistence in that country strengthens the Muslims vis-à-vis their enemies. The greater the fear in that country and the greater the harm to which its inhabitants are subjected - the greater their reward would be... The people of the Levant in general, and of Palestine in particular, stand-on-guard until the End of Days... Anyone who follows Palestine's history will find out that decisive battles took place on its soil. The battle of the Yarmouk [River 636 AD] decided the struggle with the Byzantines, the battle of Hattin [Hittin, 1187] decided the struggle with the Crusaders, and the battle of Ein Jalut [Ein Harod, 1260] decided the struggle with the Mongols. There is no doubt that the patience shown by the people of Palestine on their land these days, and their persistence vis-à-vis the harm and aggression to which they are subjected are [considered] the greatest standing-on-guard [manifestation] and they will gain the greatest reward from God." (*Islamic Education*, Grade 12 (2014) pp. 86-87 [**Emphasis in the original**], and see the assignment on p. 87: "The people of the Levant and Palestine are in [a state of] Standing-on-Guard until the End of Days. I will explain that.")

Martyrdom (*Shahadah*)

Note:

All references found in the books and incorporated in this study under this title are those made to martyrdom in general or in the context of the conflict, and not in other historical contexts that are dealt with in the textbooks as well.

"Martyrdom is an elevated status prepared by God for a [certain] kind [of people] among His servants whom He generously chose to be its people. Martyrdom is a form of [Divine] choice, for when Sublime God sees in the servant's heart truth and love of sacrifice, and that he is entitled to be among the people of this status, then God transforms him into a martyr."

(*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 147)

"When the Muslim believes that God is the one who gives life and death, is the source of profit and loss, and victory and power are in His hand, then he frees himself of the others' control, and bravery and the desire to die as a martyr in God's cause revive in his soul."

فَعِنْدَمَا يُؤْمِنُ الْمُسْلِمُ بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ الْمُحْيِي وَالْمُمِيتُ وَالنَّافِعُ وَالضَّارُّ، بِيَدِهِ النَّصْرُ
وَالْقُوَّةُ، فَإِنَّهُ يَحْرُرُ نَفْسَهُ مِنْ سَيِّطَرَةِ الْآخَرِينَ، وَتَنْبَعُثُ فِي نَفْسِهِ الشَّجَاعَةُ وَالرَّغْبَةُ
فِي الْإِسْتِشْهَادِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ.

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2015) p. 22)

The martyr is rewarded:

The reward of the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for Sublime God: Their sacrifice shall not be in vain and their deeds will not be lost. Rather, Sublime [God] will accept that from them, will forgive all their misdeeds, will make them sit at the highest level of Paradise with the prophets and the messengers, and will write for their nation glory and dignity."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 5)

The martyr's reward is specified in more detail in textbooks for higher grades. It is said there that the martyr gets 6 bonuses: All his misdeeds are forgiven with the first drop of blood that drops out of his body; he sees his place in Paradise well before the general resurrection; he is saved from the grave torment and from the End of Days' panic; a crown with a very precious gem is put on his head; he is wedded to 72 beautiful ladies of Paradise (and female martyrs are promised that God will find them a proper reward); they will be entitled to bring into Paradise with them seventy family members - even those ones among them who do not deserve that (*Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) pp. 148-150).

A *Hadith* in one of the textbooks says that on the Day of Judgment there will be three kinds of advocates for ordinary people: the prophets, the sages of religion and the martyrs (*Islamic Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2015) p. 62).

"[Language exercise:] The martyr has a rank above all ranks."

(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 108)

A poem titled "the Martyr [*Al-Shahid*]" in a 7-grade textbook praises martyrdom and describes in bright colors both death and blood. The last verse of this poem explicitly encourages the student to aspire for dying as a martyr. It should be noted that verses of this poem serve as language exercises in several textbooks, and see below:

"I will carry my soul in my palm
And toss it into the abyss of perdition
For, either a life that gladdens a friend
Or a death that angers the enemies
What is life? I do not live if I am not
Feared and if my territory is not forbidden [for trespassers]
By your life! I see my killing
But I hasten my pace towards it
I see my killing without my stolen right
And without my country as something desirable
Hearing [weapon's] clash is pleasant to my ear
And the flow of blood gladdens my soul
As well as a body thrown upon the plain
Skirmished over by the desert predators
His blood covered the land with crimson
And made the east wind heavy with scent
He fell asleep to dream the dream of eternity
And to enjoy there the prettiest visions
By your life! This is a men's death
And whoever wishes a noble death - this is it"

الرَّاحَةَ: بِإِطْنِ الْيَدِ.
الْمَهَاوِي: جَمْعُ مَهْوَى، وَهُوَ مَا
بَيْنَ الْجَبَلَيْنِ.
الرَّوْدَى: الْهَلَاكُ.

حَرَامِ الْحِمَى: أَنْ يَكُونَ مَوْطِنَهُ
فِي مَأْمِنٍ مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ.

أَغْدُ: أُسْرِعُ.

تَجَدَّلَ: ازْتَمَى وَتَمَقَّطَ.
الصَّخْصَحَانِ: الْأَرْضُ الْمُسْتَوِيَّةُ
الْجُرْدَاءُ، وَجَمْعُهَا صَحَايِحُ.
تَنَاوَشُهُ: تَنَاوَلَهُ وَتَنَحَّطُهُ.
الْأَرْجَوَانِ: الصَّبْغُ الْأَحْمَرُ.

الرُّؤَى: جَمْعُ رُؤْيَا، وَهِيَ مَا يَرَاهُ
الْإِنْسَانُ فِي نَوْمِهِ.

سَأْخِمْ لِرُوحِي عَلَى رَاحَتِي
وَأُلْقِي بِهَا فِي مَهَاوِي الرَّدَى
فَمَا حَيَاةٌ تُسَرُّ الصَّدِيقَ
وَأَمَّا مَمَاتٌ يَغِيظُ الْعِدَا
وَمَا الْعَيْشُ لَا عِشْتُ إِنْ لَمْ أَكُنْ
مَخُوفَ الْجَنَابِ حَرَامِ الْحِمَى
لَعَمْرُكَ إِنِّي أَرَى مَضْرَعِي
وَلَكِنْ أُغْدُ إِلَيْهِ الْخُطَى
أَرَى مَقْتَلِي دُونَ حَقِّي السَّلِيبِ
وَدُونَ بِلَادِي هُوَ الْمُبْتَعَى
يَلْدُ لِأَذْنِي سَمَاعُ الصَّلِيلِ
وَيُهْبِجُ نَفْسِي مَسِيلُ الدَّمَا
وَجِسْمٌ تَجَدَّلَ فِي الصَّخْصَحَانِ
تَنَاوَشُهُ جَارِحَاتُ الْفَلَا
كَسَادِمُهُ الْأَرْضُ بِالْأَرْجَوَانِ
وَأَثْقَلُ بِالْعَطْرِ رِيحَ الصَّبَا
وَنَامَ لِيَحْلُمَ حُلْمَ الْخُلُودِ
وَيَهْنَأُ فِيهِ بِأَخْلَى الرُّؤَى
لَعَمْرُكَ هَذَا مَمَاتُ الرِّجَالِ
وَمَنْ رَامَ مَوْتًا شَرِيفًا فَذَا

(عبد الرحيم محمود)

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

This poem was privileged to have some of its verses used as language exercises: "Either a life that gladdens a friend or a death that angers the enemies" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 39; *Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 46; *Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 11 (2014) p. 87), "He fell asleep to dream the dream of eternity and to enjoy there the prettiest visions" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 40), "What is life? I do not live if I am not feared and if my territory is not forbidden" (*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2013) p. 48), "By your life! I see my killing but I hasten my pace towards it I see my killing without my stolen right and without my country as something desirable" (*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 41), "By your life! This is a men's death and whoever wishes a noble death - this is it" (*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 90).

One of the questions accompanying this poem is the following one that deals with the last verse which, as already said, urges the student to become a martyr:

"It is intended by the phrase 'a noble death' in the poet's words: 'whoever wishes a noble death - this is it':

1. Death as a result of a malady
2. Sudden death
3. Martyrdom in defense of the homeland"

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 76, and see another language exercise with this poem's last verse in *Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 93)

Another poem titled "Palestine" features a similar motif:

"O my brother, if my blood flows on its [Palestine's] soil and the hand closes on its pebbles...

Kiss a martyr who called its name and fell as a martyr."

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

An excerpt from another poem:

"If I fall take my place, O my comrade in struggle
Carry your weapon and do not be afraid of my blood that flows from the weapon
Look at my lips that closed on the winds' rashness
I did not die; I am still calling you beyond the wounds"

(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 14)

Martyrdom is perceived as a wedding party:

"O my homeland,
I shall not cry in this wedding party [*urs*]
Because our Arab character [*urubah*] refuses that we cry over the martyrs."

يا وطني
ما كنت لأبكي في هذا العرس
فعرؤبتنا تأبى أن نبكي الشهداء

(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2014) p. 60, and see the same excerpt as a language exercise in *Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 8)

Another language exercise with the martyrdom motif:

"I swear: I shall continue walking the martyrs' path."

(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 93)

A poem titled "Flag of Palestine" with the following verse calling upon Palestine:

"Embrace the victims' soul; perpetuate the memory of the martyr [*shahid*]."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016) p. 94)

A poetic expression describing the martyr:

"The stars - the martyrs"
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 59)

Another poetic piece appearing as a language exercise:

"The martyrs in the Negev prison vie with one another
They are planted as trees on the path of martyrdom
The martyrs vie with one another
They converge with the ancient sand, traveling to their wedding party."
(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 10 (2015) p. 29)

"[Language exercise:] The martyr rolled in his blood."
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 67)

Quoting Yasser Arafat in a language exercise:

"They want me as a prisoner-of-war [*asir*], or an expelled one, or as a killed one, but I am telling them: As a martyr; as a martyr; as a martyr."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 66)

And it is said in a brief review of his biography:

"...He was Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization since 1968 and became President of the Palestinian National Authority in 1996. He fell as a martyr [*ustush'hida*] on 11.11.2014 under ambiguous circumstances."
(*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 56)

The following sentence appears among some language exercises:

"[This] is the homeland's martyr."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2014) p. 13)

Other exercises:

"The martyrs who were killed in defense of the homeland live with God."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014) p. 94)

"The mother's heart was beating [strongly] when she took leave of her martyr son."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 57)

"I found the mothers of the martyrs restrained."
(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 35)

"Have you written a report on the martyr of [the village of] Shajarah?"
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 86)

An assignment of writing a report on the student's hometown/village includes also a demand for information about "its martyrs" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 63).

"[Assignment:] Let us do research and write about the life of one of the martyred Palestinian leaders."

(*National Education*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014) p. 45)

"Expression: I will write about a Palestinian or [another] Arab female martyr who played an important role and who rendered an exalted service to her homeland and society, indicating her prominent achievements."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 79)

"Expression: I will write up to ten lines about one of the martyrs whom I know, by making use of the following elements: His name and place of birth, his life and achievements, the circumstances of his fall as a martyr, society's position towards his family after his fall as martyr, the martyr's status in Islam [in general]."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2014) p. 49)

"[Assignments:] I will mention the names of Palestinian and [other] Arab Jihad fighters who fell as martyrs in defense of Palestine... Let us write down the biographies of some of Palestine's martyrs who sacrificed their soul for their homeland, and put that on the [school's] wall newspaper."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) pp. 22, 23, respectively)

"...The martyr Abd al-Qader al-Husseini."

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 23, and see his photo with the same writing on p. 22)

A language exercise:

"Those who were present stood up out of respect for the martyrs."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 89)

The martyrs issue has entered mathematics as well. In the following question the student is requested to write the number in digits:

"The number of martyrs of the first *Intidadah* [1987-1993] is two thousands and twenty-six martyrs."

(*Mathematics*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 11)

"7. The number of martyrs of the first *Intifadah* 1987-1993 reached 2,026 and the number of martyrs of the Al-Aqsa Martyr *Intifadah* in 2000 reached 5,050, and the number of its wounded reached 49,760. What is the total number of the martyrs of the two *Intifadahs*?"

(*Mathematics*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 35. A photograph of a funeral with some coffins covered with Palestinian flags is placed next to the question.)

"9. The number of Palestine's martyrs during the aggression against the Gaza Strip in 2014 [Operation "Protective Edge"] reached 2,139. I will write down the number of the martyrs in words..."

(*Mathematics*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 19)

Palestinian society's commitment to the martyrs' families is emphasized:

"Lesson 18: Compassion

A mother and her sons watched a program on the Palestinian television about the martyrs and the wounded, and then she said: 'God's Messenger [Muhammad] urges us to be compassionate to one another. The wounded and the martyrs' families are the ones who are in need for compassion most...'

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014) p. 58)

One form of solidarity in Palestinian society:

"...Treatment of the martyrs' families, the prisoners-of-war and the wounded..."

(*National Education*, Grade 5 (2014) p. 16)

"In the holiday we visit the sick and the martyrs' families."

(*National Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 71)

"Activity [No.] 3: Let us prepare a report on the institution for the treatment of the martyrs' families, the prisoners-of-war and the wounded, with reference to the circumstances that brought about the establishment of this institution."

(*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 57)

But the books also feature few expressions that deviate from the general line and praise life rather than death:

"It is nice for a person to die for his homeland, but it is nicer for him to live for that homeland."

(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2014) p. 47)

"[I am] against that a child would become a hero at the age of ten

Against that the tree's heart would produce mines

Against that my garden's branches would become gallows"

(*Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2014) p. 47, and see a language exercise with the final verse of this poem in *Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 24)

Terror

It is said in the Palestinian Declaration of Independence (Algiers, November 1988):

"...It [the State of Palestine] rejects [any] threat of [using] force or violence or terror..." (*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 40). A following assignment says: "The occupier propagates the lie claiming that the Palestinian struggle is Terror. The [preceding] text includes something that reveals the falseness of this claim. I will discuss that" (*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 43)

Explicit endorsement of terrorist activity against Israel hardly exists in the PA schoolbooks. There is one case of open support in which past attacks against Israel from southern Lebanon by Palestinian armed organizations are described by its traditional code-name the "Fidai Activity [*Al-Amal al-Fidai*]". The term "Fidai", of which the traditional meaning in Islamic history is "a person who sacrifices his life for a

cause", has come to denote since the 1950s Palestinian irregulars who launch armed attacks against Israel.

A story titled "The Nocturnal Visitor" describes a middle-aged man whose son was killed in Jerusalem in the Six-Day-War and he joined one of the organizations acting against Israel from south Lebanon. Following are the relevant quotes:

"Everyone knows that I have been in the South [A note in the book: "The South: South Lebanon] for ten years and that I left the city and the family in order to join the fighters'." (p. 30)

"He was dressed in *Fidais'* clothes... The man decided to move to the East Bank [i.e., Jordan] in order to join the *Fidai* activity [against Israel]... 'We in the South face death every minute... Lads like Saleh [his killed son] fall every day on the South's soil.'" (pp. 32-33)

The authors of the textbook's remark: "'The Nocturnal Visitor'... describes the path of Palestinian struggle against the occupation through the personality of Abu Saleh who, by joining the *Fidai* activity, moved from the sphere of his personal crisis expressed by the revenge for the death of his son as a martyr to the sphere of the wider issues dealt with by the homeland and expressed by [the struggle for] freedom." (p. 34)

"[Question:] The story's events occur in many places. I will specify them and clarify the extent of their relations with the path of Palestinian struggle." (p. 34)
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) pp. 28-35)

Other cases of use by the PA schoolbooks of the term *Fidai* - all in positive connotations, are as follows:

"[Language exercise:] O *Fidai*, your abode is in Heaven, God willing."
(*Arabic Language: Linguistic Sciences*, Grade 12 (2015) p. 103)

Fidai is the title of the Fatah military wing's anthem which has become the official anthem of the PA. As such it is taught in school:

Fidai, Fidai, Fidai, O my land, the ancestors' land
Fidai, Fidai, Fidai, O my people, the people of eternity
By the oath under the flag's shadow
By my people's determination, 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 it [my country] return...⁵⁹

The figure of the teacher on top says: "Let us repeat the national anthem", and the writing underneath says: "To the teacher: The teacher will repeat the national anthem with the students several times."

⁵⁹ There is another version: "...until I return".



(National Education, Grade 1, Part 2 (2015) p. 59)⁶⁰

Indirect endorsement of terror actions against Israel is expressed in the PA schoolbooks by praising those ones who were killed in such actions as martyrs [*shahid* pl. *shuhada*] (and see the sub-chapter on martyrdom), and those arrested and tried as "prisoners-of-war" [*asir* pl. *asra*], without mentioning their deeds:

"The teacher asked the students: 'How can we celebrate Independence Day this year?'
Safa: 'Let us invite the families of the martyrs and the prisoners-of-war to honor them.'

Imad: 'Let us commemorate [our] town's martyrs and prisoners-of-war by planting a tree in memory of every martyr'."

⁶⁰ It should be noted that the anthem is not brought in the book in full, but rather the last part of it, which is milder than the preceding two parts. In the books of 2016 the more militant parts are presented to the student for the first time, and see the discussion of the struggle for liberation.

سأل المعلم التلاميذ: كيف يُمكن أن نَحْتَفِل بعيد الاستقلال هذا العام؟
صفاء: ندعو أسر الشهداء والأسرى لتكريمهم.
عماد: نُحْي ذكري شهداء البلدة بزراعة شجرة باسم كل شهيد.

(*Civics*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2015) p. 13)

A new development in this regard is discerned in the new books published in 2017. In the past the books mentioned as martyrs terrorist leaders such as Fat'hi Shkaki, Khalil al-Wazir and others who were assassinated, apparently by Israel, and not killed in terrorist actions. This is not so in the case of Dalal al-Maghribi who was killed in a terrorist attack she had led against a civilian bus on the Coastal Highway in 1978 in which more than 30 men, women and children were killed. She is mentioned in two books. In one of them she is described as the martyr of Arab and Islamic history in the country (*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 14) while the other says: "Dalal al-Maghribi who commanded the *Fidai* 'Deir Yassin' operation on the Palestinian coast in 1978 in which over thirty soldiers were killed" (*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 74).

The issue of the "prisoners-of-war" is emphasized in the PA schoolbooks in the lower grades in particular. To clarify this point to the students, the following question is given and this is one of two cases in the entire PA curriculum where the word "prisoner [*sajin*]" is used in this context, rather than "prisoner-of-war [*asir*]" (The other case follows suit):

"How should I perceive a prisoner [*sajin*] who is a thief and a prisoner [*sajin*] who resists the occupation?"

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 66)

The same book features an exercise in which the student is required to answer questions "in capacity of a freed prisoner [*sajin*] who defended his land: Why did you get into prison? Where were you arrested and how? How was the treatment in prison?"

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 73)

Definition: Who is a prisoner-of-war?

"The Palestinian prisoners-of-war are all those Palestinians who were imprisoned by the occupation because of their resistance to it."

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 54)

The prisoners-of-war issue is further emphasized in the context of the special organization established by the PA to take care of their affairs. Details are given in one of the new textbooks issued in 2016:

"Lesson 5: The Organization for the Affairs of the Prisoners-of-War and the Released Ones [*Hay'at Shu'un al-Asra wa al-muharrarin*]"

Lesson's goals: At the end of the lesson the student is expected to be able:

- To know what is meant by [the phrase] prisoners-of-war
- To explain the importance of the Palestinian Organization for the Affairs of the Prisoners-of-War and the Released [prisoners]

- To specify the activities done by [this] Organization
- To explain his [i.e., the student's] role towards the Palestinian prisoners-of-war and the released [prisoners]

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 53)

"The Organization for the Affairs of the Prisoners-of-war and the Released [Prisoners] is a Palestinian Organization that protects the prisoners-of-war, takes care of their affairs and of the affairs of those ones among them who were released, and supports them and their families."

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 56)

The Organization's emblem with the inscription "The Organization for the Affairs of the Prisoners-of-War and the Released [Prisoners]":



(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 55)

The books stress the civil duty to support the prisoners-of-war and their families:

"It is our duty to extend help and support to the prisoners-of-war and their families, such as taking part in the invitations to express solidarity [with them] when they are released, visiting their families on holidays and events, talking about their cause at the school's radio station, and participating in the [events of] the Palestinian Prisoner-of-War's Day on April 17 each year."

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 58)

An assignment for grade 1 students stresses the personal aspect of this issue:

"With my family's help I will mention the names of prisoners-of-war in the occupation's prisons."

(*National and Life Education*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016) p. 103)

That line of supporting the prisoners-of-war continues in higher grades and involves participation in the public campaign for their release, and expression of solidarity with their families:

A recorded song titled "Freedom for our prisoners-of-war" is played in class and followed by questions: "How many years did Ahmad spend in prison? What is our duty towards the prisoners-of-war?" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 3)

"Activity [No.] 3: Let us look and conclude:"

Under this title there is an illustration of a tent and a podium decorated by pictures of three men and two women and a crowd under Palestinian flags with two placards saying: "Freedom to the prisoners-of-war" and "We shall not forget our prisoners-of-war". A television crew stands nearby. The inscription under the picture reads: "Let us express what we see in the drawing":



(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 56)

"The second action: We will organize a celebration on the occasion of the Palestinian Prisoner-of-War's Day"

In this framework the students form groups with different assignments: Drawing pictures that represent prisoners-of-war and freedom, planting trees in the name of "the prisoners-of-war in the occupation's jail", writing phrases of solidarity with the prisoners-of-war on balloons, building a model of a protest-tent:

الفعاليَّة القائِية: نُنظِّمُ احتفالاً بيومِ الأسيرِ الفِلسطِينيِّ.

- نُنقِسمُ إلى مَجْموعاتٍ.
- تقومُ المَجْموعَةُ الأولى بِعمَلِ رسوماتٍ تُعبِّرُ عَنِ الأُمريِّ وَالْحُرِّيَّةِ، كما في الرِّسْمِ (١).
- تقومُ المَجْموعَةُ القائِيةُ بِزراعةِ أشجارٍ تحمِلُ أسماءَ أُسرى في سُجونِ الاحتلالِ، كما في الرِّسْمِ (٢).
- تقومُ المَجْموعَةُ القائِيةُ بِكتابةِ عباراتٍ تضامنيَّةٍ مَعَ الأُمريِّ عَلى بالوناتٍ، كما في الرِّسْمِ (٣).
- تقومُ المَجْموعَةُ الرابِعةُ بِعمَلِ نموذجٍ خيِّمةٍ اغتِصامٍ، كما في الرِّسْمِ (٤).

(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 58)

"Activity [No.] 5: Let us build a model of the bird of liberty."

(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 59)

"Activity [No.] 1: Let us read, look and conclude:

The grade 3 students visited their friend Nidal following his father's arrest the night before. Nidal greeted them and said: 'Thank you, we were surprised at night by the Zionist occupation army's storming into our house. They arrested my father, which has caused me trouble and anxiety.'

The mother said: 'Do not worry, Nidal. Your father has become a prisoner-of-war like thousands of other Palestinian prisoners-of-war.'

Nidal: 'And who are the prisoners-of-war, O mother?'

Mother: 'They are fighters [munadilun], members of our Palestinian people who resist the Zionist occupation and have become prisoners-of-war in its prisons. We wish them freedom soon, God willing, as much as we wish the occupation's disappearance.'

(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) pp. 53-54)

The text is accompanied by an illustration of the visit scene in which the mother holds a picture of her arrested husband and a sign on the table reads "Freedom to the prisoners-of-war":



(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 54)

"Activity [No.] 4: Let us look attentively, draw conclusions and express in writing:
First action: We express [our] solidarity with the prisoners-of-war."

There are two illustrations underneath. In the upper one school students visit a family of a prisoner-of-war whose photograph hangs on the wall and greet it by the words "Happy holiday to our prisoners-of-war". In the lower one the students get organized on the Palestinian Prisoner-of-War's Day, on April 17, and hold a poster saying "Freedom to our prisoners-of-war":



(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 57)

"What can the [various] organizations grant:

- A. The orphans?
- B. The prisoners-of-war?"

(Civics, Grade 4, Part 2 (2015) p. 24)

The release of a prisoner-of-war from jail is a joyful event which the students are requested to express:

"Expression: I will express orally my joy at the release of a prisoner-of-war from my homeland."

(Reading and Texts, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 27)

An assignment of writing a short e-mail about various issues, including the following one:

"A prisoner-of-war released from the occupation's prison."

(Reading and Texts, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 59)

The books themselves cover this issue a great deal. Following is a picture story with short explanatory captions:

"Lesson 16: Homeland of Freedom

Wafa came out of prison - Wafa's mother was very glad - The neighbors celebrated Wafa's release from jail - Mother said: 'When Ayman will be out, our joy will be complete.'



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2014) pp. 34-35. The next pages feature exercises in which the students are requested to connect the pictures to the writings - p. 36, to identify words and connect sentence parts to each other - p. 37, and write the sentence "Wafa came out of prison - p. 46)

Language exercises:

"The prisoner-of-war's mother waited impatiently for the time when she would meet her son."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 70)

"The two prisoners-of-war who were released from prison came out."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016) p. 9)

"Tears of joy dropped from the eyes of the prisoners-of-war's mothers when they hugged them."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 49)

"The female prisoners-of-war were received in a warm reception."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 95)

A piece to be completed with the appropriate prepositions:

"The people came out [from] the city and the neighboring villages [to] the detention camp to welcome the prisoner-of-war. They stood waiting for the hero [on] the street

pavement. The prisoner-of-war appeared [in] the prison yard, and, as soon as he came out [of] its gates, the welcoming people embraced him. [In] the evening the greeting people gathered [at] the town hall and the hero started talking to them [about] the suffering of the prisoners-of-war in the occupation's jails."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016) p. 121)

"Activity [No.] 3: Let us look attentively and conclude:
[A sentence for completion by given words:]

"The prisoner-of-war [defeated] the warden."

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 47)

Mathematics textbooks as well refer to the issue of the prisoners-of-war:

"In the year 2014 the number of prisoners-of-war in the occupation's prisons reached 6,500, while in 2015 the number of prisoners-of-war reached 6,800. In what year was the number of prisoners-of-war larger?"

(*Mathematics*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 17)

"The Palestinian prisoner-of-war's Day falls on April 17 each year. The number of prisoners-of-war since the beginning of the Al-Aqsa *Intifadah* until 2016 has reached 90,000, of whom 11,000 are children and 14,000 are women. Which number is larger, the children's or the women's?"

(*Mathematics*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016) p. 85)

The new schoolbooks of 2017 continue this line and grant this issue a more formal dimension:

"The problem of the Palestinian prisoners-of-war in the occupation's jails constitutes one of the important pivots of the Palestinian problem. This is an essential problem that touches almost every individual within this struggling people. The text deals with it in a general manner, shedding light on the heroic prisoners-of-war and their relatives, and specifying the duty [regarding the prisoners' cause] borne by the men of honor on the local, regional and international levels."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 24)

And more:

"The Prisoners-of-War are a Problem of a People [the Palestinian people] and a Nation [the Arab/Muslim nation]"

[An illustration of two prisoners at their cell's window]

الأسرى قضيّة شعب وأمة

(المؤلفون)



(*Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 25)

"The problem of the Palestinian prisoners-of-war in the Zionist occupation's jails is one of the most important problems preoccupying the Palestinian people in its entirety, and it is considered one of the most sensitive problems, as it is a problem of a homeland entitled to making of sacrifices for the achievement of [its] independence and liberty.

The Palestinian prisoner-of-war is a person who sacrifices his flower of youth in the cause of his just cause. He sacrifices his freedom so that his homeland's head would remain high... According to some Palestinian official statistics, about a million Palestinian prisoners-of-war have entered the Zionist occupation's jail since the beginning of the occupation until now, that is, a number equivalent to a fifth of the Palestinian people, for short or long periods, or for life...

The prisoners-of-war resort to hunger strikes to gain their freedom and abrogate the administrative detention [procedure] that is done oppressively under the world's eyes, without directing any charges against the prisoner-of-war or putting him on trial. The hunger strike battle waged by the prisoners-of-war in the occupation's prisons is a manifestation of one of the greatest epics within the confrontation with the executioner's arrogance, as they carry out a real confrontation with the warden by means of their empty guts.

What we are obliged [to do] for the prisoners-of-war in the occupation's jails: to stand by them and support them, by approaching the judicial and human rights institutions, both Arab and international, regarding their prison conditions, to carry out activities out of solidarity with them, and to invite a selected group from among the released prisoners-of-war to explain their suffering in international forums and to raise their problems in conferences and lectures, to hand out stickers and hang placards in various countries and cities showing the prisoners-of-war's suffering, until they are released from prison and return safely to their relatives."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) pp. 25-27)

Conclusion

The foregoing quotations cover all the references to the Israeli and Jewish "other", and to the issue of peace with it, found in the PA schoolbooks published until the end of 2016. Nothing has been left out, save for maps which were too many to be included in the study in toto. But the maps that have been included faithfully represent the map inventory in the books in general. This is the case as well with the material gathered from the 30 new books of 2017 and incorporated in the study. Hence, the content of this study reflects the existing situation of the PA schoolbooks as is, without any attempt to beautify their positions or hiding them, contrary to what had been done by some of the reports that were published in the past on these schoolbooks.⁶¹

The review of the findings gathered within the framework of this study makes it possible to summarize the PA schoolbooks' attitude to Israel, Jews and peace in three fundamentals: De-legitimization, demonization and indoctrination to violent struggle against the adversary instead of educating for peace with it. On the basis of these fundamentals a narrative has been built that presents the conflict in a distorted manner historically and does not leave any hope for ending it in a peaceful coexistence between the two parties involved, with grave implications as far as the future of their children is concerned. This general picture created by the findings also reveals the true goals of the PA on the long run and the extent of UNRWA's involvement in pursuing these goals. The content of the PA schoolbooks, unfolded here, clearly contradicts the principles of the Oslo Accords signed by the Palestinians with Israel in 1993 regarding mutual recognition, resolution of the conflict by peaceful means only, and the rejection of any form of violence.

De-legitimization is expressed in the following points:

- Non-recognition of the Jews as a full nation with its own national rights. Although the books do not restrict the Jews' entity to that of a religious community alone - as was done in the past by the Palestinian National Covenant - and certainly mention them as a people or an ethnic entity ("Children of Israel") historically, they still deny them recognition as a modern nation entitled to national rights equal to those of all other nations, including the Palestinians. They are rather described as citizens of various states.
- This approach finds its clearest expression in the PA schoolbooks' attitude to the Jews' national movement of our time - Zionism. It is not described as an ordinary national movement but rather as a colonialist movement aimed at gathering Jews of the various nationalities in Palestine. That necessitates - according to the PA schoolbooks - the expulsion of the Palestinian people from its country, thus making Zionism an existential threat as far as the latter is concerned. Zionism is also described as a tool in the hands of Western Imperialism for the consolidation of its control over the Arab world. At a further stage of the narrative creation, Zionism is actually transformed into a European Imperialist invention that later took root among the European Jews themselves.

⁶¹ See the evaluation paper written by one of the authors of this study on such a report published in early 2013: <http://israelbehindthenews.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/EVALUATIO1-1.pdf>.

- Non-recognition of the traditional ties between the Jewish people and the land. Contrary to the Palestinians who are defined in the pre-2016 schoolbooks as the descendants of the ancient Canaanites, and the latter are described as the country's first inhabitants and as originally Arab, the Jews are presented as foreign occupiers who lived in the country for a while and then left, and now they try to gain control over it again. Their attachment to the land is dubbed "greedy ambitions". Even after the abandonment of the Canaanite ancestry argument, beginning in the 2016 books, the Jews' ancient ties to the country are still rejected and described as "falsified history". It should be mentioned in this context that the 77 books of the newly published edition are totally devoid of any reference to the Jewish past in the country, contrary to the case of the former books that contained few such references, especially the grade 11 history textbook.
- As part of the effort to reject any tie between the Jews and the land, a very strong line denying the existence of Jewish holy places there has been introduced into the PA schoolbooks from the very beginning. As we have seen, all the places holy to the Jews mentioned in the schoolbooks are claimed to be Islamic holy places the Jews try to take hold of. The books issued in 2017 continue this line and it is inferred from one of the texts that the Wailing Wall was proclaimed a Jewish holy place in 1967 only, and before that it was a Muslim holy place named Al-Buraq.
- Non-recognition of Israel as a sovereign state. The name "Israel" is not found on maps, and the name "Palestine" sometimes appears in its stead. In the one case where Israel's name does appear on the map, it is presented as an occupying power since 1948. Israel as a sovereign state is absent from textual material as well - except for one case where it is said to have been established on a Palestinian soil, while there are cases in which Palestine replaces it in this capacity. The PA itself is portrayed as the nucleus of that Palestinian state and it is officially named "the State of Palestine" in the books. Israel's pre-1967 territory is presented as Palestinian, and terms have been coined specifically for this territory - "the Lands of 1948" or "the lands occupied in 1948", "the Interior" and "the Green Line" - all in order to avoid the use of the term "Israeli territory". Regions, cities and sites inside pre-1967 Israel are presented as exclusively Palestinian. The new schoolbooks published in 2016-2017 further emphasize very clearly that Israel within its pre-1967 borders is an occupied territory. This area is to be liberated from occupation too and the 1948 refugees and their descendants are supposed to return to it. There are two cases in the newly issued textbooks that the areas to which the refugees will return will be under Palestinian sovereignty. Thus, the Palestinian educators' position that Israel has no right to exist becomes very clear. That line has been further clarified in the 2016-17 books that omit the name "Israel" from almost all texts, including the numerous demonizing ones - contrary to pre-2016 usage - and replace it by the expression "Zionist occupation". Moreover, the conflict itself is no longer defined as "the Arab-Israeli Conflict" but rather as "the Arab-Zionist conflict".
- In addition to the changing of the conflict's title, the 2016/17 PA schoolbooks emphasize its being an integral part of the historical phenomenon of modern Colonialism, very similar to European colonization of America and Africa (the United States, South Africa, Algeria, etc.), but with the added feature of emptying the country of its original inhabitants. Thus, the Palestinian educators transform this local form of Colonialism into a struggle for the Palestinians' mere survival in their homeland, with grave negative implications as far as the chances of attaining a peaceful settlement are concerned. It should be noted that Jewish colonization of Palestine began, according

to one of the newly published books, in 1856 - before the first Zionist immigration to the country (1882) - which reveals that Jews, not Zionists, are targeted here.

- Non-recognition of the legitimate existence of the Jewish population in the country today. Israel's 6.3 million Jewish citizens are not counted among the country's inhabitants, unlike Israel's Arab citizens, while the Palestinians of the Diaspora are. Cities and villages established by Jews in the modern era, including Tel Aviv, are not shown on maps, except for very few cases in which they are presented as foreign settlements. The Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem are dubbed "immigrant community" or even "infiltrators". The Jews' national language - Hebrew - is erased, literally, from an official document. In another case, it is lowered to a status of a dialect and in a new book presented as a threat to Arab Jerusalem. The meaning of all this: The 6 million "illegitimate" inhabitants living in the country today should leave and the 5-6 million "legitimate" inhabitants - the 1948 refugees and their descendants of over 3 generations who dwell outside it - will return and live there in their stead. This is the real significance of the "Right of Return" notion.
- Non-recognition of Israel and the Jews as a legitimate adversary having legitimate interests and rights of any kind. They are depicted in the PA schoolbooks as the criminal party within the conflict while the Palestinians are portrayed as solely victims, with the victimization issue being intensified in the 2017 books. This perception casts a heavy shadow on the very possibility of attaining a peaceful solution to the conflict.

The presentation of the Jewish-Israeli "other" as a foreign occupier with no rights whatsoever, almost with no past in the country and with no holy places there, whose mere presence in the country today - as individuals and as a state-owning collective - is illegitimate, creates in the Palestinian student's eyes the impression that this presence is but temporary and could - nay, should - be ended.

Demonization is expressed in the following points:

- Negative portrayal of the Jews historically on a religious background, outside the context of the conflict, which creates a convenient infrastructure for their hatred by the students in the context of the conflict itself. In Islamic Education classes the Children of Israel are described as lacking faith, quarrelsome, obstinate and corrupt vis-à-vis their leader Moses. Since Moses is considered a venerated prophet in Islam, they and their descendants - today's Jews - are given a negative image in the students' eyes. The same negative tone is directed against the Jews in Christian Education classes in the context of their attitude to Jesus Christ and his disciples, especially in relation to the Crucifixion. It should be noted that in Islamic Education classes as well Jews are criticized for their opposition to "the Lord Christ" (*Al-Sayyid al-Masih* in Arabic) who is also considered a prophet in Islam, with the same result. The process of making the Jews a target for hatred intensifies when religion and history lessons discuss the political rivalry between Prophet Muhammad and the Jewish inhabitants of the city of Medina and the Khaybar oasis in Arabia. Since Muhammad's personality is highly revered in Islam, the mere presentation of those Jews as his rivals automatically places Jews in general in the camp of evil. This phenomenon exists not only in the PA curriculum, but is found in other curricula in the Arab and the Muslim world too. However, it should be said that the PA schoolbooks limit the negative description of the Jews in this context comparing to other Arab schoolbooks that were examined, such as those of Egypt in the first decade of the present century.

Alongside the negative attitude to Jews historically they are criticized religiously as well: They are said to have distorted the Torah given to them by God through Moses, as they inserted there descriptions denigrating God and His prophets and omitted a prophecy there about Muhammad's future appearance. As against this bulk of negative traditions, there are only three brief references to Jews in the context of Medieval Muslim society that could be interpreted as positive. These few expressions appear in the older books only and have not so far found in the newer ones.

- Demonization of the Jews intensifies in the context of the conflict, though concrete references to them are relatively few and mostly found in textbooks of the higher grades. The Jews' national movement - Zionism - is presented as racist and deceitful, in addition to its being Colonialist in the service of Western Imperialism, as already mentioned. Jews who immigrated to the country are described as having genocidal intentions towards the Palestinians. Elsewhere in the books, Jews are presented as an existential threat to the Palestinian individual and are likened to a wolf, while another piece portrays them as snakes. This line is expressed in the new books too: They are described as the Devil's aides, or as savage Zionist gangs that have come from a foreign world full of hostility and hatred for Arabs and Palestinians, etc. The demonization campaign against the Jews reaches its peak in a Prophetic Saying (*Hadith*) appearing in a textbook of the high school *Shar'i Stream* and describing the extermination of Jews by the Muslims towards the End of Days, with active support of trees and rocks.

- What intensifies the demonization of Jews in the Palestinian student's eyes is the almost total absence of objective information about them that might have counter-balanced the negative material in the schoolbooks. There is very little information in the books about their history, culture and religion and there is absolutely no reference to the Holocaust.

- Israel is massively demonized. Within the present research, some 30 accusations against it have been gathered from the books, beginning with its very establishment, through the occupations of 1948 and 1967, the expulsion and massacre of Palestinians, actions contradicting international law and human rights principles, robbery of land and water, demolition of houses and tree uprooting, killing of children and assassination of Palestinian leaders, damaging Palestinian economy and harming Palestinian society, stifling Palestinian education and the perpetuation of ignorance, acting against Palestinian welfare and health services and spreading poverty, mass arrests and harassment of Palestinian prisoners and their family members, causing physical and mental disabilities, aggression against neighboring Arab countries, usurpation and desecration of Palestinian Muslim and Christian holy places, besieging the Palestinians by what is termed as "the racist annexation and separation/expansion wall", "killing" of cities and villages, attempts at erasing Palestinian identity and cultural heritage - especially in Jerusalem, imposition of limitations on Israel's Palestinian citizens, establishing a regime of racial discrimination against Palestinians, establishment of settlements, pollution of the Palestinian environment, limitation of Palestinian communication media, and ending in Israel's responsibility for intra-family violence in Palestinian society and for the phenomenon of drug abuse there. Some of these accusations are fabricated, like the one accusing Israel of building huge installations for the transfer of Lebanese water into Israel. All of these accusations present the Palestinian party as a victim who has no responsibility for what is done to it. Thus, for instance, the books never mention the phenomenon of Palestinian suicide attacks against Israeli civilians that reached its peak in March 2002, which led to the decision of building the separation fence, following which this

type of terrorist activities significantly diminished. The new textbooks of 2017 add new accusations, such as the responsibility of the Israeli nuclear reactor in Dimona for cancer cases in Hebron, and the release of wild boars so that they would damage the Palestinians' crops. The newly published books also add stories featuring strong graphic descriptions of arrests, killing, and brutal behavior on the part of Israeli soldiers that were not that common in the former books, which increases the intensity of demonization of the Israeli "other".

- The PA schoolbooks do not provide the Palestinian student with any objective information about Israel that would counterbalance the huge quantity of demonizing information against it. Nothing is said there, for example, about the structure of Israel's regime, Israel's economy and society, the Hebrew culture, etc.
- The Jewish-Israeli "other" is mostly referred to as a group. The PA schoolbooks do not contain any reference to the Jewish-Israeli individual as an ordinary human being, which automatically creates in the student's mind an impression of a threatening alien "other". By that the PA schoolbooks differ considerably from their Israeli counterparts that do refer to the Palestinian individual as an ordinary person, with his or her own daily life, aspirations, hopes and even anguish. One can also find in the Israeli schoolbooks empathy to the Palestinian individual, like in the case of the refugees, and positive descriptions of friendship relations between Jews and Arabs - even in the midst of the conflict. All that is totally absent from the PA schoolbooks regarding the Jewish-Israeli individual.
- Contrary to the Israeli schoolbooks that condemn, for example, the Deir Yassin 1948 massacre of Arab villagers by Jewish forces, the PA schoolbooks contain no self-criticism at all in the context of the conflict. Thus, for instance, they revere those who massacred Jews in Hebron and in Safad in 1929, and later were brought to trial and hanged by the British authorities. The books regard them as heroic martyrs, rather than culprits.

The presentation of the "other" within the conflict as inherently evil, with no positive element at all, practically cancels in the students' eyes any possibility of peacefully coexisting with it. Moreover, its presentation as an existential threat makes it obligatory to fight it by all means until it is defeated. Under such circumstances, even if a non-belligerency agreement is achieved, such an agreement is bound to be temporary.

Indoctrination to violent struggle is manifested by the following points:

- There is no call for peace with Israel. There are general references to peace without the mentioning of Israel, except for the demand "to end the occupation" that, according to the PA schoolbooks, started in 1948. Only one book does quote Yasser Arafat's written commitment to Yitzhak Rabin regarding peace and coexistence with Israel, made prior to the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, and even that is not utilized by the Palestinian educators for the promotion of the notion of peace with Israel in practice. The same goes for declarations of foreign bodies regarding peace and peaceful coexistence (the Bush administration's "Road Map" plan, for instance): They are quoted with no further remarks. As regard the textbooks that have so far appeared since 2016 - they do not contain references to the issue of peace at all.
- By contrast, there are very many references to solving the conflict by violent means. Moreover, that conflict is never restricted to the 1967 lines. On the contrary, emphasizing the Palestinian character of regions, sites and cities within Israel's pre-

1967 borders leads the students to believe that the struggle for liberation does not end at those lines. Even the return of the refugees - and in this case it is obvious that Israel's pre-1967 territory is meant - is given violent characteristics, and the 2017 textbooks stress that these supposedly Israeli areas will actually become with the refugees' return a Palestinian sovereign territory under the Palestinian flag.

- Within the context of that violent struggle, the PA schoolbooks make use of traditional Islamic values with a view to giving it a religious character and thus increase the students' devotion to it, as they mostly belong to a traditional society. These values are: Holy War (*Jihad*), standing on guard against Islam's enemies (*Ribat*), and martyrdom (*Shahadah*).
- Although the books that have so far appeared are almost devoid of an open call for terrorist actions against Israel, except for one positive reference to such past activity (attacks from south Lebanon in the 1970s), there is implicit encouragement of such actions by way of honoring the members of the armed Palestinian organizations who perpetrate them. They are called "the ones who sacrifice themselves" (*Fidai*), and when they are killed or imprisoned the PA schoolbooks name them "martyrs" (*shahid*) or "prisoners-of-war" (*asir*), respectively. The newly added element to this issue by the 2017 books is the specific mentioning of Dalal al-Maghribi, the female leader of the terrorist attack on a civilian bus on the Coastal Highway in 1978, as a heroine and martyr.
- The legitimization of violence is religious - in defense of Islam and its holy places (Al-Aqsa Mosque), moral - in light of the evil character of the adversary, legal - as he is perceived as a foreign occupier in contradiction to international law, and logical - because it constitutes an existential threat.
- A significant new element appears in a 2016 schoolbook: For the first time there is a text referring to the Jews' fate in the country following its supposed liberation - the removal of the usurper (code-name for Israel) and the extermination of its defeated remnants (the 6 million living in Israel). This issue was never mentioned in the books before. The worsening of the attitude to the Jewish-Israeli "other", in the context of the fighting against it, is also detected in a 2017 book which describes an attack with Molotov cocktails on an Israeli bus as "a barbecue party".

It is apparent from these data that the PA schoolbooks prepare the students mentally and ideologically to a violent struggle for a future liquidation of State of Israel and its Jewish population. The only flexibility revealed in these books, comparing to schoolbooks of other Arab governments examined by us, is that instead of the explicit expression of "liquidation of Israel" they use the ambiguous term "liberation of Palestine from the occupation", while emphasizing that this occupation includes Israel's pre-1967 territory. This impression is further strengthened when reading the new PA schoolbooks that were issued in 2016-2017: The rejection of Israel's existence and of the Jews' presence in the country has become more comprehensive and inclusive, with no cracks, and the hatred to the Jewish-Israeli "other" is no longer emotional as before, but rather cold and calculated. What we see here is laying massive foundations for a future war.

In view of this situation it is clear to any intelligent person that one could not expect any advance towards a peaceful solution to the conflict, neither today, nor in future time, without total change of this line of thought, which the PA has systematically inculcated into the minds of its students for over twenty years by now.

There was a hope in the past for such a change. The three fundamentals discussed above were introduced into the PA curriculum by the PA founder and first president Yasser Arafat. Until his death in November 2004 the books for grades 1-10 were all published. The books for grade 11 were published by the government of his successor Mahmud Abbas and they featured some important changes for the better, although the fundamentals themselves were not changed. For Instance, the name "Israel" appeared on two maps, although its pre-1967 territory was still described as "occupied"; another map included Israel's Jewish cities, though it was impossible to read their names that were printed in a very small font; Israel's pre-1967 territory began to be referred to as "Israel" alongside the continued use of the former circumlocutions; a chapter of two and a half pages was added with some details about ancient Jewish history in the country, and even using the phrase "the Jewish state"; another textbook mentioned the Jews' presence in Jerusalem in antiquity; A *Hadith* by the Prophet of Islam presented the Jews as human beings; for the first time a PA textbook clearly stated that it was the Palestinians who started the 1948 war in defiance of the UN Partition Resolution. And there were some other, less significant, such changes. The books for grade 12, however, were written under the Hamas-led government of the PA, following the free elections held there in 2006, and the trend of change seen in the grade 11 books was stopped. The grade 11 books are still in use - until their actual replacement, but subsequent editions witnessed some changes. For example, the sentence with the phrase "the Jewish state" was omitted and so was the case with the pro-Jewish *Hadith*.

The Appendix following this Conclusion presents the UNESCO principles as far as education for peace and tolerance toward the "other" is concerned. If we examine the questions appearing there one by one, in light of the foregoing material of the PA schoolbooks, we will find out that all their answers are in the negative. For the PA curriculum to become one that educates for peace and coexistence, in the spirit of the UNESCO principles and the Oslo Accords, it should stand the following specific requirements:

1. The name "Israel" should appear on any map of the region indicating today's political borders.
2. Israel should be presented as a sovereign state in any text mentioning the states in the region.
3. Regions, cities and sites within Israeli pre-1967 territory should not be presented as exclusively Palestinian.
4. Any discussion of the holy places in the country should include the Jewish ones.
5. Any discussion of the country's demography should include the 6.3 million Jews living there, and their main cities should appear on the map under their names.
6. No circumlocutions are to be used to denote Israel's pre-1967 territory.
7. Historical documents (such as the British Mandate stamp) should not be falsified.
8. Schoolbooks must not contain virulent demonizing expressions, or de-humanizing expressions, beyond the presentation of the Jewish-Israeli "other" as a legitimized adversary with its own rights, interests and positions.

9. In order to counterbalance the demonization of the "other" as an adversary today, and as a past enemy - prior to the signing of the Oslo Accord - objective information about it should be added to the books.
10. It is important to stress in the schoolbooks that, in spite of the conflict, the Jewish-Israeli individual is a human being as well, beyond his or her being an adversary, and should be treated accordingly.
11. The books should stress that peace with Israel is a Palestinian strategic choice by virtue of the Oslo Accords and that negotiation is the only way of solving the conflict - much the same as done in Israeli schoolbooks.
12. Therefore, the books should avoid the presentation of an armed or violent struggle as a means to solving the conflict.
13. The Islamic traditional values of Jihad, *Ribat* and martyrdom should be discussed in historical contexts only - as done, for instance, in pre-revolutionary Tunisian schoolbooks - and not as guidelines for future actions within the conflict.
14. The territorial dispute with Israel should be restricted to the areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip only and not be extended to include Israel's pre-1967 territory.
15. Every discussion of the aftermath of the 1948 war styled "*Nakbah*" should emphasize the fact that it was the Palestinian party who started that war and that the *Nakbah* was not a result of Jewish aggression, contrary to what is said in the books today.
16. Within this context, the students should be taught to recognize the Palestinian party's shared responsibility for past events within the conflict, and not to restrict that responsibility to the rival party alone. For example, it should be said that it was the numerous suicidal attacks on the part of Palestinian individuals in 2002 that led to the Israeli decision to construct the separation fence.
17. What is perceived as "the Right of Return" should be presented in the PA schoolbooks as a Palestinian demand in the framework of the negotiations for the solution of what is termed "the refugee problem", and the solution itself, whatever it might be, will be arrived at through mutual agreement by the negotiating parties.

But while the demand for a change of the Palestinian Authority's approach is intertwined with the peace process and is largely dependent on the political circumstances prevailing between the two parties to the conflict, this is not so in the case of UNRWA. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for the 1948 war Arab refugees that was established in the wake of that war has perpetuated their refugee status by way of registering their descendants over three generations as refugees, thus inflating their numbers to astronomical dimensions throughout the past seven decades. UNRWA also prevents those "refugees" from settling down in their present places of residence and keeps them in camps in poor and humiliating living conditions in its areas of operation in the West Bank and Gaza and in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. This policy pursued by UNRWA totally contradicts the United Nations High Commissioner of refugees (UNHCR) that is responsible for millions of other refugees around the world. UNRWA provides educational services for Palestinian school children registered as "refugees" up to, and excluding, high school. In the PA territories it is responsible for the education of about a quarter of the school student body. Although it publishes, as already said, schoolbooks on issues of peace,

tolerance and human rights, these issues are discussed in the context of Palestinian society only, and do not touch the conflict itself. Hence, the only textbooks in UNRWA schools that deal with the attitude to the "other" and to peace in the context of the present conflict are those published by the PA.

The examination of the schoolbooks in UNRWA use (grades 1-9) reveals a very disturbing picture. It is true that some of the crude demonizing descriptions of the Jews are not to be found there, as they appear in the higher grades not taught by the Agency. But, on the other hand, the relatively moderate pieces of grade 11 are not taught in UNRWA schools either. Furthermore, additional schoolbooks issued by the Hamas government in Gaza, which contain explicit anti-Semitic pieces and open incitement to armed struggle for the liquidation of Israel, are partly taught in UNRWA's 257 schools there, in which some quarter of a million students studied in the school year of 2015/6. That became evident through the midyear examination forms in UNRWA schools in Gaza that were put on its Website a year earlier.

UNRWA, it should be remembered, is an international organization. As such, it is not supposed to be a party to the Middle East conflict, but must rather be committed to the UN principles of its peaceful resolution. Hence, it is unthinkable that in schools of such an organization students will be taught texts that call for a violent struggle and Jihad against Israel, especially when that struggle is not restricted to territories considered occupied, perhaps, by the world, but covers the territories of sovereign Israel as it is recognized internationally. UNRWA is also obliged, as a UN organization, to prevent a situation in which a UN member state - Israel - is presented as illegitimate to students in schools operated by UNRWA both in textual material and on maps. A schoolbook without Israel on the map should not enter an UNRWA school in the first place. Even if Israel itself allows such books to be taught in schools located in East Jerusalem under its declared sovereignty for political reasons, UNRWA is not entitled to such a privilege, being a welfare organization that is not supposed to pursue political goals whatsoever.

Beyond these issues, there is the professional aspect of education in which UNRWA fails too by its adoption of questionable contents, at best. One example is the Palestinians' fabricated Canaanite origin, or, even worse, the falsification of the British Mandate stamp, as part of the de-legitimization campaign against Israel and the Jews.

In addition, one should not forget UNRWA's moral responsibility for the future of the children and youth it educates. Sanctioning the PA policy of bringing into UNRWA schools textbooks educating the students there to war against Israel means that UNRWA has forsaken its obligation to guard the Palestinian children against such a future.

In conclusion, there are things that UNRWA must not teach! Therefore, the schoolbook problematic situation in its schools should be immediately improved, no matter how the relations between the two parties to the conflict might develop. The democratic donor states financing UNRWA's educational activity are expected to demand just that.

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? ⁶²
- Does the curriculum develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution? ⁶³
- Does the curriculum promote peace?⁶⁴
- Does the curriculum promote international understanding and cooperation? Does it motivate the student to understand and bear responsibility for the keeping of peace?⁶⁵
- 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?⁶⁶
- 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?⁶⁷
- 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?⁶⁸

⁶² Based on the "Declaration of Principles on Tolerance", proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Articles 1, 4.2.

⁶³ 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.

⁶⁴ Ibid., Article 6.

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Articles III 6, IV 7, VII 39, and the afore-mentioned "Integrated Framework", Article 18.

⁶⁷ Ibid., Articles VI 39, X 45 and "the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance", Article 4.3.

⁶⁸ Based on the afore-mentioned "UNESCO Recommendations", Article V 14.

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13. *Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014)
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4. *Mathematics*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016)
5. *Mathematics*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016)
6. *Mathematics*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016)
7. *Mathematics*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016)
8. *Mathematics*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016)
9. *Mathematics*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017)
10. *Mathematics*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017)
11. *Mathematics*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017)
12. *Mathematics*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2017)
13. *Mathematics*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017)
14. *Mathematics*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017)
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Sciences

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2. *Sciences and Life*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016)
3. *Sciences and Life*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016)
4. *Sciences and Life*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016)
5. *Sciences and Life*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017)
6. *Sciences and Life*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2017)
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Technology

1. *Technology*, Grade 7 (2016)
2. *Technology*, Grade 9 (2017)
3. *Technology*, Grade 10 (2016)
4. *Technology*, Grade 11 (2016)
5. *Technology*, Grade 12 (2017)

Chemistry

1. *Chemistry*, Grade 10 (2017)
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Biology

1. *Biology*, Grade 10 (2017)
2. *Biology*, Grade 11 [Sciences], Part 1 (2017)

Islamic Education

1. *Islamic Education*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2014)
2. *Islamic Education*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016)
3. *Islamic Education*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2014)
4. *Islamic Education*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2016)
5. *Islamic Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014)
6. *Islamic Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016)
7. *Islamic Education*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2015)
8. *Islamic education*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016)
9. *Islamic Education*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2015)
10. *Islamic Education*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016)
11. *Islamic Education*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2014)
12. *Islamic Education*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016)
13. *Islamic Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2015)
14. *Islamic Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016)
15. *Islamic Education*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2015)
16. *Islamic Education*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016)
17. *Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2014)
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20. *Islamic Education*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2015)
21. *Islamic Education*, Grade 6, Part 2 (2015)
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23. *Islamic Education*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2015)
24. *Islamic Education*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2015)
25. *Koran Recitation*, Grade 7 (2015)
26. *Islamic Education*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2014)
27. *Islamic Education*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015)
28. *Koran Recitation*, Grade 8 (2015)
29. *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015)
30. *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2015)
31. *Koran Recitation*, Grade 9 (2014)
32. *Islamic Education*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2015)
33. *Islamic Education*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2013)
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35. *Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015)
36. *Islamic Education*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014)
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Christian Education

1. *Christian Religious Education*, Grade 1 (2000)
2. *Christian Education*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016)
3. *Christian Education*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2016)
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14. *Christian Religious Education*, Grade 6 (2000)
15. *Christian Education*, Grade 7 (2001)
16. *Christian Education*, Grade 8 (2008)
17. *Christian Education*, Grade 9 (2003)
18. *Christian Education*, Grade 10 (2013)
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20. *Christian Education*, Grade 12 (2006)

National Education

1. *National Education*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2013)
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3. *National Education*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2015)
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5. *National Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015)
6. *National and Life Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016)
7. *National Education*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2015)
8. *National and Life Education*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2016)
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10. *National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2016)
11. *National Education*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2015)
12. *National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2016)
13. *National Education*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2014)
14. *National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016)
15. *National Education*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014)
16. *National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2016)
17. *National Education*, Grade 5 (2014)
18. *National Education*, Grade 6 (2014)
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Civics

1. *Civics*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2014)
2. *Civics*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2014)
3. *Civics*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014)
4. *Civics*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2014)
5. *Civics*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2015)
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9. *Civics*, Grade 5 (2014)
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3. *Social Studies*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017)
4. *Social Studies*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2017)
5. *Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017)

History

1. *History of the Ancient Civilizations*, Grade 5 (2014)
2. *History of the Arabs and Muslims*, Grade 6 (2014)
3. *History of the Middle Ages*, Grade 7 (2014)
4. *History of the Arab-Muslim Civilization*, Grade 8 (2014)
5. *Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014)
6. *Modern and Contemporary History of the World*, Grade 10 (2015)
7. *Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015)
8. *History Studies [Imperialism]*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2017)
9. *Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014)
10. *History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014)

Contemporary Issues

1. *Contemporary Issues*, Grade 11 [Humanities] (2014)
2. *Contemporary Issues*, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2014)

Geography

1. *Physical Geography*, Grade 5 (2014)
2. *Human Geography*, Grade 6 (2014)
3. *Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014)
4. *Environmental Geography*, Grade 8 (2014)
5. *Geography of the Arab Homeland*, Grade 9 (2015)
6. *Geography of the World's Continents*, Grade 10 (2015)
7. *Physical and Human Geography*, Grade 11, Part 1 (2015)
8. *Physical and Human Geography*, Grade 11, Part 2 (2014)
9. *Physical and Human Geography*, Grade 12 (2015)

Textbooks of the Shar'i Stream

1. *Holy Koran and its Sciences*, Grade 11 (2013)
2. *Holy Koran and its Sciences*, Grade 12 (2013)
3. *Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 11 (2013)
4. *Noble Hadith and its Sciences*, Grade 12 (2013)
5. *Islamic Jurisprudence and its Foundations*, Grade 11 (2013)
6. *Islamic Jurisprudence - Transactions*, Grade 12 (2013)
7. *Faith*, Grade 11 (2013)
8. *Methods of Missionary Preaching and the Art of Oration*, Grade 11 (2013)
9. *Islamic Systems*, Grade 12 (2012)

Total number of books studied- 201

The Authors



Arnon Groiss

Dr. Arnon Groiss is a retired journalist who held various positions at the Voice of Israel Arabic Radio throughout his 42 years of working there, starting in 1973. He is a scholar of Middle Eastern studies, holding a BA degree from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and MA and Ph.D. degrees from Princeton University. Dr. Groiss taught for several years at the Hebrew University's Departments of Middle Eastern studies and Arabic Language and Literature. Since 2000 he has conducted research of Middle Eastern schoolbooks, and published over a dozen reports on the attitude to the "other" and to peace in schoolbooks of Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Tunisia and the Palestinian Authority. A summary of his research appears in his article "De-legitimization of Israel in Palestinian Authority Schoolbooks", *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 18 (2012) Issue 3, pp. 455-484, in which he compared the PA schoolbooks to those of Israel and other Middle Eastern states. Dr. Groiss presented his research findings to policy makers, think tanks and the press, including the American Congress, the European Parliament, the Canadian, British and French parliaments and the Israeli Knesset.



Roni Shaked

Dr. Roni Shaked is the coordinator of the Middle East unit at the Hebrew University's Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Promotion of Peace. His expertise is in the field of Palestinian society and its positions regarding the conflict. His Ph.D. thesis at the Hebrew University is titled "The Palestinian Society's Ethos of the Conflict". Dr. Shaked has been following the Israeli-Palestinian conflict since 1968 and served for thirty years (beginning in 1983) as correspondent and commentator on Palestinian affairs for the Israeli newspaper "Yedioth Aharonoth". Dr. Shaked has published

several books on this subject, including " Hamas - from Belief in God to the Way of Terror" (1994, with the Journalist Aviva Shabi), "On the Fence: Palestinians in Israel, Nationalist Radicalism" (2012), "A Glance behind the Kufiyyah: Palestinian Society's Ethos of the Conflict" (due 2017). Dr. Shaked has been researching during the last few years various aspects of the attitude to the conflict in the educational environments in the West Bank and Gaza, particularly in schools operated by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. His findings were presented to policy makers and communication media in Israel and abroad.