

## Chapter Five: Peace

### A. Tolerance

#### Grade 11

*Tolerance as an ideal has always been present in the PA schoolbooks, but it was practically restricted to the Palestinian people, namely, tolerance was urged between Muslim and Christian Palestinians or between various groups among the Palestinians such as rival political groups or sports teams. The Islamic Education textbook for grade 11 mentions – for the first time – the Jews as well within this context.*

...As regards the People of the Book [*Ahl al-Kitab*, a term used in reference to followers of the monotheistic religions, such as Jews and Christians], they enjoy special treatment detailed in the Qur'an. It has permitted us to dine with them and permitted the Muslim [man] to marry their women. This is considered the apex of religious tolerance towards them, for it is possible that a *Kitabi* woman would be a Muslim's wife, his life partner and his children's mother, and her kinsfolk would be his in-laws and his children's grand parents, uncles and aunts.

...What proves his [the Prophet's] tolerance towards the People of the Book is [the fact] that he allowed the Christian delegation of Najran to enter his mosque [in Medina] and stay there [as guests] and even pray there... The Prophet stood up one day in salutation and out of respect when a funeral passed in front of him and the Muslims [around him] stood up as well. It was [then] said to him that it was a Jew's funeral and he said: "Is it not a [human] soul?"...

Tolerance towards the People of the Book, which was urged by the Holy Qur'an and ordered by our Messenger [of God], has become a reality and an applied practice in Muslim society since the time of the [Prophet's] Companions to our present time.

**Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 110-111**

*The opposite of tolerance is fanaticism and the same book refers to that too.*

Some people describe that one who sticks to his religion and belief as fanatic. I will discuss this saying.

...It is not blameworthy fanaticism that a Muslim would side with right and work for the removal of oppression from his Muslim brethren... Rather, this is one of the matters that are obligatory upon a Muslim.

**Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 127**

*Inter-religious tolerance is mentioned as well in the Christian Education textbook for grade 11 (this subject is studied by Christian students in the PA school system).*

Dialogue among the religions: The greatest religions in the world exist on our country's land. Rapprochement among these religions on equal footing is the guarantee of man's dignity on this land, the land of prophecies. The Christian Churches are a witness to this hope by way of opening up to all religions, especially the Muslim brethren, because this relation forms a living example of the Muslim-Christian relations in the world.

**Christian Education, Grade 11 (2005) p. 80**

## Grade 12

*The following piece presents the traditional Islamic point of view regarding the relations with non-Muslims. Note the recurring distinction made in this context between hostile and non-hostile non-Muslims.*

God has obligated the [Muslim] nation to keep a distance from anyone who shows enmity towards God, His Messenger and the believers. [God] has defined friendship with them a deviation from [true Islamic] belief...

Hating hostile unbelievers: The believer loves and hates according to [Islamic] belief. He hates those who fight God and His Messenger and does not feel towards them [any] cordial inclination, or love, or friendship...

Not having hostile unbelievers as entourage rather than the believers: The believer does not take hostile unbelievers as companions, does not let them know of the Muslims' secrets and does not trust them or take advice from them. For such enemies do not wish the Muslims well...

Not helping hostile unbelievers and [not] supporting them against the believers: God has forbidden the believers to assist the hostile unbelievers, support and back them. The believer does not take God's enemies as supporters and allies, [does not] assist them against the believers and [does not] support them against them [i.e., against the believers]. The believer does not lead God's enemies to the Muslims' weak spots and secrets and does not advise them and help them to harm the believers. The one who does that – God renounces him because of his apostasy and his entering [the realm of] unbelief...

Not being content with and an admirer of unbelief: The believer is distinguished by his belief and faith. The believer does not behave in a way that would show his admiration and approval of unbelief and its people, such as imitating the unbelievers in their rites, customs and clothes...

### Being Nice to Non-Hostile Unbelievers

God has distinguished between two kinds of unbelievers:

- Those who are hostile to God, His Messenger and the believers, whom He has forbidden us to be friendly with.
- Those who are not hostile to the believers and do not attack them, whom He has ordered us to treat kindly and justly. That includes the non-Muslims who live among the Muslims, as well as the non-Muslim societies, which are not hostile to the Muslims... Treating those ones kindly and justly takes many forms such as: conversing with them gently, that is, speaking politely to them, not rudely and impolitely... giving them grants and charities – by being kind to the weak among them, feeding the hungry among them, covering the naked among them, visiting the sick among them and praying for their guidance [namely that they become Muslim]... giving them presents and receiving presents from them, treating them justly and not wronging them in their souls, property and honor. The Muslim should prevent any aggression against them... The Muslim should treat them without discrimination regarding their rights. Even if one of them is right [in his legal claim] against a Muslim – [the case] should be decided in his favor.

...The principle of being friendly and keeping one's distance [*al-wala' wa al-barra'*] unites the Muslims upon common goals, hopes and identity. The nation's individuals are proud of their religion and culture and distinguish themselves from others. They are not dazzled by the unbelievers, do not obey them and do not allow them to interfere in the Muslims' affairs...

The principle of being friendly and keeping one's distance is like a fence protecting the nation's religious, cultural and political identity from being dissolved and melted within other societies.

Question 8: One of the weakening factors of the Muslim nation in our time is its not being properly committed to the principle of being friendly and keeping one's distance. I will explain that.

**Islamic Education, Grade 12 pp. 61-64**

## **B. Peace in General**

*Peace is also an ideal taught in Palestinian schools and one can find references to that in the following quotations.*

### **Grade 11**

The basic rule in the Muslims' relations with others is peace.

**Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 116**

Peace upon the world, peace upon the desired ones

Peace upon the abode, peace upon the kinsfolk

**Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 26**

*But a reserved statement in this context is also found in the books.*

If you want peace, be ready for war.

**Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 66**

### **Grade 12**

Peace is civilization's crown.

**Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 86**

## **C. Peace with Israel**

### **Grade 11**

*One grave deficiency found in the PA textbooks is the absence of open advocacy of peace with Israel. The only exception is found in Christian Education textbooks where remarks to that effect are implicitly made. But only Christian students read such books. In earlier grades even the peace process was not discussed and the Oslo Accord was once presented as a phase in the struggle against Israel.<sup>45</sup> In later years, however, more room was allocated for the discussion of the peace process, which reaches its peak in the books for grade 11. But one should note the general trend in the discussion, namely, the Palestinians make the move towards peace and Israel obstruct it. Nothing is said about the fact that an important Palestinian body – Hamas – continued its attacks against Israelis, which entailed Israeli reactions, to be regarded in their turn, as aggressive moves against peaceful Palestinians.*

*The peace initiative, which began in the historic visit by Egyptian president Anwar Sadat to Israel and ended in the conclusion of the peace treaty between the two countries is discussed in detail, but not a word is said in favor of this move.*

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<sup>45</sup> See National Education, Grade 5 (2004) p. 31 and also CMIP report: Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks – The New Textbooks for Grades 5 and 10 (June 2005) p. 91.

The political activity in the Arab arena increased after the October War of 1973 and after the signing of the second Sinai agreement between Egypt and Israel in September 1975 under US sponsorship. Among its articles was the parties' commitment not to use force and solve the conflict between them by peaceful means. The endeavors of Henry Kissinger, foreign minister of the United State of America, continued aiming at reaching a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict on the foundation of the [UN] resolutions 242 and 338.

In line with his political tendencies, Egyptian president Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat announced on 9.11.1977 his readiness to visit Israel for the sake of achieving peace and in an attempt to end the Arab-Israeli conflict. The American administration and the Israeli government welcomed this statement and, accordingly, Sadat visited Israel in 1977 and delivered a speech in the Israeli parliament (the Knesset) [some quotations are given from the speech referring to the Palestinian problem].

What is your opinion regarding Sadat's decision to visit Israel?

In the wake of this visit the American administration sent an invitation to Egypt and Israel to start the Egyptian-Israeli peace negotiations and a meeting was held in the American resort of Camp David attended by the Egyptian president Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, the Israeli prime minister Menahem Begin and the American president Jimmy Carter. It produced the signing of the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement according to which the Israeli forces were to withdraw from Sinai and political and economic relations were to be established between the parties. As regards the Palestinian problem, it included the following.

"Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the Palestinian people should participate in negotiations on the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. To achieve that objective, negotiations relating to the West bank and Gaza should proceed in three stages:

1. Egypt and Israel agree that, for the sake of a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority, and taking into account the security concerns of all parties, there should be transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding five years. Under these arrangements, and in order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants, the Israeli military government and its civil administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority is freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas to replace the existing military government. To negotiate the details of a transitional arrangement, Jordan will be invited to join the negotiations on the basis of this framework. These new arrangements should give due consideration both to the principle of self-government by the inhabitants of these territories and to the legitimate security concerns of the parties involved.
2. Egypt, Israel and Jordan will agree on the modalities for establishing elected self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza...
3. When the self-governing authority and the administrative council [sic. In the original the phrase "the administrative council" appears within parentheses] in the West Bank and Gaza is established and inaugurated, the transitional period of five years will begin. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional period, negotiations will take place to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and its relationship with its neighbors, and to conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan by the end of the transitional period. These negotiations will be conducted between Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the elected representatives of the West Bank and Gaza...

The negotiations shall be based on all the provisions and principles of [UN] Security Council Resolution 242[...] The solution [emanating] from the negotiations must also recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements. In this way, the Palestinians will participate in the determination of their own future through the negotiations between Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza [on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza] and other outstanding issues by the end of the transitional period..."

Does this agreement fulfill, in your opinion, the Palestinians' rights? Why?

Syria, Algeria, Libya, Yemen, Iraq and the PLO opposed this agreement and formed the Steadfastness and Resistance Front on 2.12.1977, which held the ninth Arab summit conference in Baghdad in 1978, confirming the following:

- The Palestinian problem is a fateful Arab one and it forms the essence of the conflict with the Zionist enemy.
- The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
- It is not allowed that any party will solely solve the Palestinian problem.
- The conference rejected the Camp David agreement.
- Egypt was called upon to abrogate the agreement.

The Egyptian president rejected the resolutions of the Baghdad conference and signed the peace treaty with Israel in Washington on 26.3.1979. It stipulated the end of the state of war between the two states and the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Sinai within three years since the signing of the agreement.

Because of Egypt's continuation of the peace process the Arab states cut their diplomatic relations with it and suspended its membership in the Arab League. The League's headquarters were temporarily moved to Tunis. Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat was assassinated on October 6, 1981.

What is your opinion regarding the position of the Steadfastness and Resistance Front?

#### Activity

Let us discuss the impact of the Egyptian-Israeli agreement on the Palestinian problem and the Arab position.

**Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 73-76**

The Camp David Agreement: An agreement, which was signed by Egypt and Israel in 1978. The first [part of the] agreement provided for:

- Exchange of diplomatic representation between Egypt and Israel
- Abolition of the economic boycott between the two states and the ending the state of war
- Israel's withdrawal from Sinai within three years

The second [part of the] agreement provided for granting the Palestinian people self-rule for the inhabitants [in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip].

**Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 54**

*The peace process between Israel and the Palestinians is described in detail, again, with no word of support. The whole move on the part of the PLO is attributed to the new world circumstances after the war against Iraq in 1991 and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Israel is blamed of acting against peace and of not fulfilling its part in the agreements.*

### The Peace Process and its Repercussions

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Then, the second Gulf War erupted in 1991 between Iraq and the coalition forces that supported Kuwait under the command of the United States. The Soviet Union receded and collapsed as a major power in the world.

Under the shadow of these circumstances the PLO saw that there was no choice but to utilize the Palestinian Intifada in order to realize the Palestinians' political goals and the PLO agreed to enter negotiations and attend the Madrid conference in 1991.

### The Madrid Conference, 1991

James Baker, the American foreign minister, made several tours [in the Middle East], which led to an agreement to convene the Madrid Peace Conference on October 30, 1991, which included the parties to the conflict in the Middle East (Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine within the Jordanian delegation). It took the form of a single meeting sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union followed by bilateral negotiations between Israel and each of the Arab states, in addition to multilateral meetings on special issues.

While the talks with any of the three neighboring Arab states (Jordan, Syria and Lebanon) aimed at concluding peace treaties, the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians adopted a two-phase shape. The first one: the talks intended to arrive at the conclusion of an agreement on the interim arrangements for the establishment of self-rule for a period not exceeding five years. The second: the negotiations dealt with the questions related to arriving at the decisive and permanent status.

But the Israeli authorities continued its repressive policy against the Palestinians and expelled in December 1992 415 Palestinians members of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) and the Islamic Jihad to south Lebanon.<sup>46</sup> It also decreased the number of workers from Gaza and the West Bank to a fifth of the number of workers who were allowed to work in Israel.

### **Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 86**

The Israeli Knesset [parliament] abolished on January 19, 1993 the measure, which had prohibited contacts between Israelis and members of the PLO. That, in its turn, facilitated open and confidential negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians, which was culminated with the signing by each of Yitzhak Rabin, prime minister of Israel, and Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, of mutual recognition letters between Israel and the PLO on September, 10 1993, as follows:

Letter of recognition of Israel by the PLO, 9.9.1993:

“From Chairman Yasser Arafat  
To Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister of Israel

Mr. Prime Minister,

The signing of the Declaration of Principles signals a new era in the history of the Middle East. Out of firm belief, I would like to confirm the following commitments of the Palestinian Liberation Organization:

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<sup>46</sup> The negotiations were conducted between Israel and Palestinian representatives actually reporting to the PLO in Tunis. Concurrently, terrorist actions were carried out by Hamas, which rejected the ongoing negotiations. 415 Hamas and Islamic Jihad activists were deported to Lebanon after Hamas kidnapped and killed an Israeli policeman in the Israeli town of Lydda.

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to live in peace and security. The PLO accepts the Security Council Resolutions No. 242 and 338. The PLO commits itself to the peace process in the Middle East and to a peaceful solution of the conflict between the two parties. It declares that all fundamental issues related to the permanent status will be solved through negotiations. The PLO believes that the signing of the Declaration of Principles constitutes a historic event and opens a new era of peaceful coexistence and stability, an era devoid of violence. Accordingly, the PLO condemns [*tudin* in Arabic. The original text reads “renounces”] the use of terror and other acts of violence and will undertake to impose that on all PLO elements and individuals, in order to confirm their abidance, prevent violations and impose discipline in order to prevent these violations [in the original: “discipline violators”].

In the light of the announcement of a new era, the signing of the Declaration of Principles and basing on the Palestinian acceptance of the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the PLO confirms that the articles of the Palestinian National Covenant which deny Israel’s right to exist, as well as the Covenant’s articles which contradict the commitments appearing in this letter have now become irrelevant and no longer valid. Consequently, the PLO pledges to present the Palestinian National Council with a formal consent regarding the necessary amendments in relation to the Palestinian Covenant [in the original: “submit to the PNC for formal approval the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant”].

Sincerely,

Yasser Arafat  
Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization”

Israel’s recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organization:

“9.9.1993

From Yitzhak Rabin  
To Chairman Yasser Arafat

Mr. Chairman,

In response to your letter dated September 9, 1993, I would like to confirm to you, in light of the commitments of the Palestinian Liberation Organization included in your letter, that the government of Israel has decided to recognize the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people and that it will start negotiations with the Organization in the framework of the peace process in the Middle East.

Yitzhak Rabin  
Prime Minister of Israel”

What were the commitments included within each of these two letters?

#### The Declaration of Principles Documents (Oslo)

Confidential negotiations took place between the Palestinian Liberation Organization and Israel which lasted about a year and a half with the objective of reaching peace between them on the foundation of the establishment of a Palestinian transitional government for a period not exceeding five years, which would bring about a permanent settlement on the basis of the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. They resulted in the issuance of the Declaration of Principles document (the Oslo Accord), which was signed in Washington on 13.9.1993. Some of what appeared there [is as follows]:

#### Article Five: The Transitional Period and the Negotiations for the Permanent Status

1. The transitional period of five years will begin upon the [Israeli] withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area.
2. The permanent status negotiations between the government of Israel and the representatives of the Palestinian people will start as soon as possible, but not later than the beginning of the third year of the transitional period.
3. It is understood that these negotiations will cover the remaining issues, including Jerusalem, the refugees, the settlements, the security arrangements and the boundary lines.

Why, in your opinion, were these issues postponed to the negotiations of the permanent status?

#### Article Thirteen: Redeployment of Israeli Forces

1. After the coming into force of the Declaration of Principles, and within a period not exceeding the eve of the election to the [Palestinian Legislative] Council, Israeli military forces will be redeployed in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
2. In redeploying its military forces Israel will be guided by the principle of redeploying its forces outside the [Palestinian] inhabited areas.

What is the difference between withdrawal of the Israeli forces and redeployment?

In accordance with the Declaration of Principles agreement the Israeli army withdrew in May 1994 from Gaza and Jericho and was replaced by Palestinian police forces. The PLO administrative apparatus moved from Tunis to Jericho. Following that, Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, moved from Tunis to Gaza on 5.7.1994 and assumed the position of Chairman of the Palestinian National Authority. On August 29, 1994 part of the civil authorities was transferred to the Palestinian Authority in the fields of education, health, welfare, finance and tourism.

Why was it agreed that Gaza and Jericho would be the first [to be handed over to the PA]?

#### The Washington Agreement of 1995

The Palestinian-Israeli agreement on the West bank and the Gaza Strip was signed in Washington on September 28, 1995. The agreement contained 31 provisions related to the legislative council, redeployment and security arrangements, judicial issues, various rules regarding security and the crossing points. Following the agreement the self-rule [area] was extended to include Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarm, Qalqilyah, Ramallah, Bethlehem and part of Hebron.

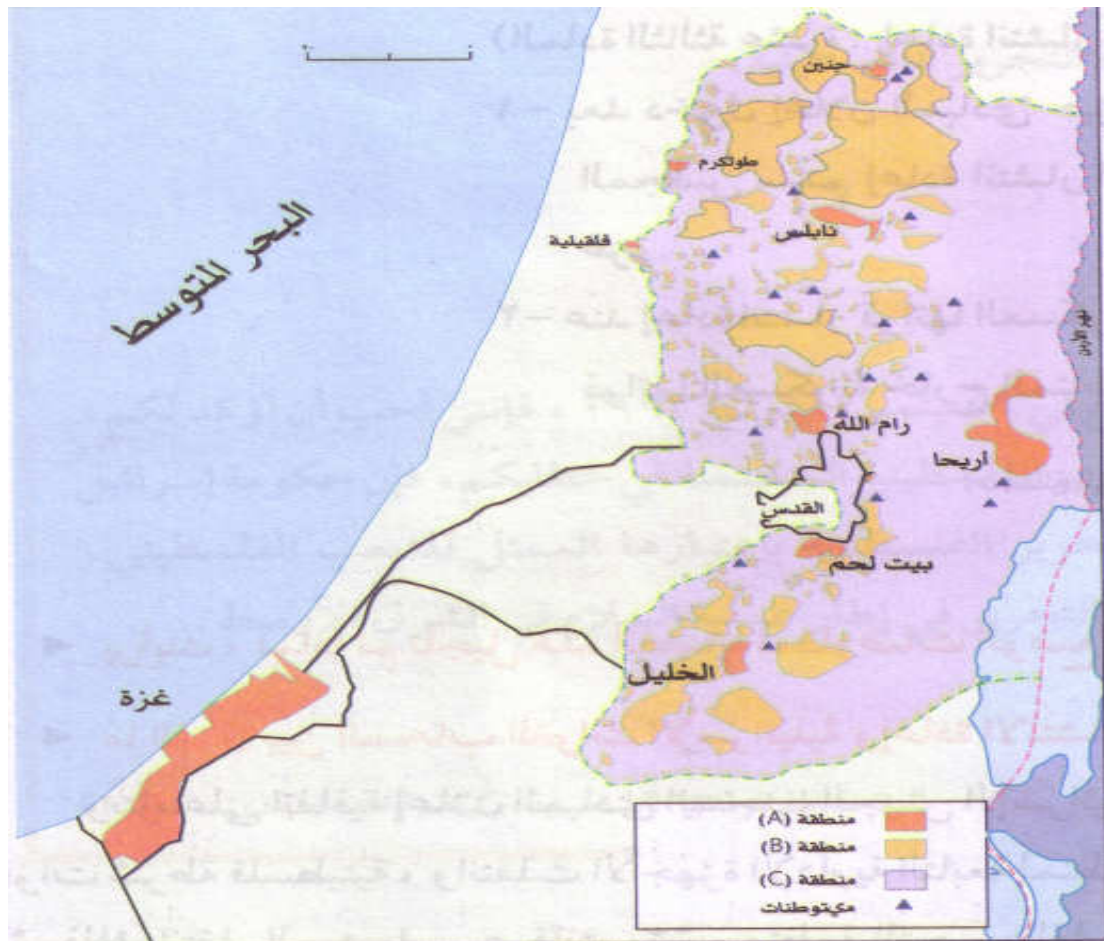
Why did the self-rule not include the city of Hebron in its entirety?

This agreement divided the Palestinian territories in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip into three areas, which were:

1. Area A – the self-rule [area].
2. Area B – civil responsibility is entrusted with the Palestinian Authority and the responsibility for security [matters] – with Israel.
3. Area C – under Israeli civil and military control.

[The agreement also provided for] safe passage from Ramallah to the Gaza Strip and from Hebron to the Gaza Strip.

I will define the area where I live according to this categorization.



Map of Palestinian self-rule areas

**Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 90**

...In spite of the implementation by the Palestinians of the signed agreements, the Israeli government continued its policy, which rejected peaceful settlement, and tension between the Palestinian people and Israeli occupation continued.

#### The Wye River Accord

In order to enliven the peace process the Wye River Accord was signed in the United States by Mr. Yasser Arafat and the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu [Quotations].

Negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis continued under American, Egyptian and European sponsorship in Sharm al-Sheikh [in Egypt] on September 5, 1999 but they did not have any significant results due to the difference in the Palestinian and Israeli positions regarding the suspension of [Jewish] settlement [in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem] and the withdrawal process, which brought about a swift deterioration of the peace process, in addition to the unclear vision regarding the issues of the final status.

Is it possible, in your opinion, to reach an agreement on the issues of the permanent solution? Why?

**Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 87-91**

How were the occupied Palestinian territories divided in the Israeli-Palestinian transitional agreement? Why?

**Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 95**

*The following is a lesson for the student from the Prophet's behavior with implications to the present situation within the peace process, namely, the rejection of compromise. "Half-solutions" is a term widely used in this context by the hardliners.*

The Messenger showed us the highest example of patience, sacrifice and endurance of harm... He remained steadfast vis-à-vis temptation, bargaining and half-solutions. He did not bend and retreat vis-à-vis the challenges and the methods of intimidation and seduction.

**Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 64**

*A sentence in the Christian Education textbook for grade 11 supports peace, with implicit reference to the other party as it uses the word "Peoples" in plural.*

Working for justice and peace is a genuine Christian testimony for the preparation of a better future for our land and its peoples.

**Christian Education, Grade 11 (2005) p. 81**

## **Grade 12**

*References to the issue of peace with Israel are very few in the books for grade 12. None of them specifically supports the ideal of peace with the Jewish state.*

The Egyptian president Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat visited Israel and signed the Camp David Agreement in 1979 [sic and should be 1978. He visited Israel in Nov. 1977 and the peace treaty was signed in March 1979] by virtue of which Israel withdrew from Sinai [in 1982]. 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 (2006) p. 88**

I will mention two results of... the following:

- The signing by Egypt of the Camp David Agreement in 1979<sup>47</sup>

**History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 177**

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<sup>47</sup> The Camp David Agreement was signed in September 1978. The peace treaty was signed in March 1979.