



**IMPACT - SE**

Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural  
Tolerance in School Education

## **Peace and the “Other” in Tunisian Schoolbooks**

**By**

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**The Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT-SE, formerly CMIP)**, is a registered nonprofit, non-partisan research institute dedicated to peacemaking between peoples and nations by encouraging acceptance of the “other” and rejection of violent conflict resolution. To this end, it analyzes school curricula in the Middle East and worldwide to ascertain whether the material conforms to international educational standards in the fields of education for tolerance and peace, whether the “other” is recognized and accepted or stereotyped and demonized, and, if a conflict exists, whether peaceful conflict resolution is advocated. This is done using strict academic research criteria, based on UNESCO resolutions and declarations. The findings of its research are published and used to affect change in curricula through policy makers, international organizations, civil society and public opinion. For additional information on IMPACT-SE’s activities and reports please visit our Web site: <http://www.impact-se.org>

**Dr Arnon Groiss** is Director of Research at IMPACT-SE. This report is a concise version of the full report which is to be posted on IMPACT-SE’s website soon. IMPACT-SE would like to thank David Oman and Ido Mizrahi for their valuable input in the editing process of the concise report.

### **List of Publications**

- **Palestinian Schoolbooks: An Updated Conclusion** (November 2009)
- **“Al Fateh,” The Hamas Web Magazine for Children: Indoctrination to Jihad, Annihilation and Self-Destruction** (April 2009)
- **The Attitude to the “Other” and to Peace in Tunisian School Textbooks: A Preliminary Report** (October 2008)
- **The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks: A Research Update**, (July, 2008)
- **Palestinian Textbooks: From Arafat to Abbas and Hamas**, in cooperation with the AJC (March, 2008)
- **The Attitude to the ‘Other’ and to Peace in Iranian School Books and Teachers’ Guides**, in cooperation with the AJC, (October 2006)
- **Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks**, the New Textbooks for Grade 5 and Grade 10 (June 2005)
- **Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks**, the New Textbooks for Grade 4 and Grade 9 (October 2004)
- **La démocratie en danger: l’enseignement scolaire saoudien**. Préface d’Antoine Sfeir. Berg International. (October 2004)
- **The West, Christians, War and Peace in Egyptian School Textbooks** (March 2004)
- **Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks**, the New Textbooks for Grade 3 and Grade 8 (June 2003)
- **The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks**, in cooperation with the AJC (January 2003)
- **Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks and High School Examinations**, 2000-2001, 2001-2002 (October 2002)
- **Arabs, Palestinians, Islam and Peace in Israeli School Textbooks**, Updated 2000-2001, 2001-2002 (July 2002)
- **Jews, Israel and Peace in Palestinian School Textbooks**, 2000-2001 and 2001-2001 (November 2001)
- **Jews, Zionism and Israel in Syrian Textbooks** (June 2001)
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## **Executive Summary**

*This report, based on 64 Tunisian schoolbooks, is the latest in a series of more than a dozen issued by the Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT-SE) on the attitude to the “other” and to peace in schoolbooks of Middle Eastern nations including Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iran. Apart from Israeli books which differ from the rest in many ways, the Tunisian schoolbooks have proven to be unique in the standards they use for promoting tolerance towards and coexistence with the “other.”*

*IMPACT-SE has ascertained to what extent the Tunisian schoolbooks conform to International Educational Standards on education for peace and tolerance based on UNESCO declarations and resolutions, and has concluded that regarding their attitude toward the “other,” it is generally presented as a mirror image of the “self,” with whom dialog and interaction are necessary for the development of the latter. Tolerance towards the “other” and rejection of any type of discrimination are forcefully advocated. In this context, Islam is used as a means of fostering an atmosphere of rapprochement with non-Muslims rather than as a means of alienation. Persons within the various “others” are referred to as individuals and not just as part of an alien group, and crude anti-Semitism is not to be found.*

*There is no attempt in the schoolbooks to “Arabize” historical “others” in Tunisia (such as Carthaginians), historical conflicts with the Christian West, including Colonialism in Tunisia, are not utilized to demonize it, the general attitude toward the present-day West is that coexistence with it is both necessary and possible, there is more openness to Western culture and Western-rooted universal values than in the schoolbooks of other Arab countries, and globalization is portrayed as both a threat and an opportunity which should be seized by under-developed countries. Peace as an ideal is advocated, with heavy emphasis on Islamic tenets in this context, and the Islamic traditional concepts of jihad and martyrdom (shahadah) are not referred to much, and when they are, it is always within historical contexts, and not as future endeavors to be adopted by the students, as done in schoolbooks of other Arab nations.*

*The only deficiency found in the schoolbooks is that their attitude to the “other” in the context of the Middle East conflict deviates from what is taught with regard to the “other” in general, and a clearly biased, one-sided narrative of the conflict (slanted toward the Arab/Palestinian view) is presented without the viewpoint and narrative of the “other” on the conflict, and demonization of Israel can be found. In regards to recognition of Israel and peace with it, the attitude is equivocal, and although Zionism is not recognized as a legitimate nationalist movement, its description is relatively objective, using less abusive terms in comparison with other Arab schoolbooks. The approach manifested in Tunisian schoolbooks could serve as a comprehensive model for other Arab countries in terms of the attitude toward the “other” and to peace, provided the above deficiency in the attitude toward the “other” within the context of the Middle East conflict is corrected.*

## **Selected Excerpts and Illustrations**

It is impossible today to imagine our existence outside the dialogue relations with the “other.” This is so because the self and the “other” are not separable from each other. They both belong to the same world and each of them can see his own personality by looking at the other. Moreover, the “other” is essential and the dialogue with him – in whatever form – is necessary... The difference between cultures and languages is not an obstacle to human connection.

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 [Sciences] (n.d.) p. 154**

### Dialogue of Civilizations

Dialogue – an inevitable option, a necessary course of action

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 [Sciences] (n.d.) p. 156**

Coexistence: Accepting the existence of the “other” and living with him side-by-side with no attempt to abolish him or hurt him, whether this “other” is an individual, or a political party, or a religious community, or something else.

...Coexistence is necessary for the spreading of peace, progress, justice and democracy, whether within one country or among [various] nations.

**Social Studies: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 7 (2007) pp. 272-273**

...Upbringing the child upon being proud of his national identity, loyal to Tunisia... and immersed in the culture of human fraternization and openness to the “other.”

**Social Studies, Grade 9 (n.d.) p. 195**

...I became acquainted with new people and with children from various nationalities and religions. Nothing divided them: no color, no gender, no country and no religion.

**Reader, Grade 3 (2007) p. 108**

Do not take a racist attitude; Take a civilized attitude!

**Arabic Grammar, Grade 8 (n.d.) p. 194**

A funeral procession went by [in Medina] and the Prophet [Muhammad] stood up and we stood up [as well]. We said: “O Messenger of God, this is a Jew’s funeral.” He said: “Is it not a soul? Whenever you see a funeral procession, stand up!”

**Islamic Education, Grade 9 (2007) p. 32**

We find mentions of respect for other religions, freedom of faith and respect for all...Tolerance, therefore, represents the basic idea in the Koran. How come, then, that some people have made the Book of God a tool of bigotry and narrow-mindedness?

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 9 (2007) p. 159**

The Koran, the Torah and the Gospel are divine books.

**Writing (Exercises), Grade 5 (2007) p. 46**

Respect of the other's right to live is an important duty in Islam...  
**Islamic Education, Grade 9 (2007) p. 116**

According to religion and to [its] origin, Jihad in its essence is a spiritual and moral Jihad related to the self... But when Jihad is [related to] war, then it is defense of one's soul.

**Islamic Education, Grade 9 (2007) pp. 37-38**

Intellectual integrity obliges us to stress that Globalization is a historical opportunity faced by our peoples... But it also contains numerous dangers...

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 [Sciences] (n.d.) p. 164**

Human civilization is a shared product to which various nations have contributed, and of which the Arab-Islamic tributary was among its most important and most fertile ones.

**History, Grade 11 – Humanities (n.d.) p. 266**



Our neighbors are European. They have a boy of my age whose name is Marcel... One day we met on the road and I extended my hand to him. He hesitated for a moment and then he shook my hand warmly and invited me to their house...Days and months passed. I liked his company and he liked mine and we have become close friends.

**Reader, Grade 2 (2007) pp. 27-28**



“Signing the “Declaration of Principles” in accordance with the Oslo Accords between Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin the Israeli Prime Minister in the presence of the American president Clinton in Washington, September 1993”

**History, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 352**

إمضاء «إعلان المبادئ» المتظرة لاتفاقيات أوسلو بين عرفات  
وإسحاق رابين رئيس مجلس الوزراء الإسرائيلي  
بم حضور الرئيس الأمريكي كلينتون  
يواسنطن في سبتمبر 1993

Our ignorant ones gambled with...  
With a lily named Jerusalem...  
We have given her youth to the arms of a demon,  
To the jaws of a hungry scorpion...  
O God, please forgive us, what would we say?...  
You gave us Jerusalem, you, and we  
Handed it over to the Jews

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2006) pp. 98-99**

## Introduction

*For the last decade IMPACT-SE has been conducting research on the attitude to the “other” and to peace in schoolbooks of various Middle Eastern nations. The present report on Tunisian schoolbooks is the latest in a series of some dozen reports published, covering more than a thousand Egyptian, Palestinian, Israeli, Syrian, Saudi Arabian and Iranian books. The report contains analysis of 64 books of various subjects from grade 1 to 13, mostly published in 2007, all of which were carefully scrutinized and references therein to the “other” and to issues related to peace and war were extracted and inserted into the report as is, so that the material speak for itself – as is the IMPACT-SE method – in order to ascertain to what extent the content of the books conforms to Applied International Educational Standards based on UNESCO resolutions.<sup>1</sup>*

*In the 1990s, the Tunisian Government enacted a wide-ranging educational reform under then Minister of Education Mohamed Charfi, essentially cutting off the religious authorities’ influence over public education, as well as enacting several measures designed to modernize the state school system. The effects of the reform are evident in the Tunisian schoolbooks: as far as their attitude to the “other” and to peace is concerned, they have proven to be different from those of other Arab countries studied by IMPACT-SE in the past. They focus on tolerance a great deal more than the others and use religion as a factor of coexistence and cooperation instead of alienation – contrary to what is found in books of many other Muslim countries. The “other” is generally presented as a mirror image of the “self,” and dialog with it is advocated as a necessary step for the development of the latter. Their schoolbooks refer to persons within the various “others” as individuals and not merely as part of an alien group, there is no attempt made to “Arabize” historical “others” in Tunisia (such as Carthaginians), and regarding the West, historical conflicts with the Christian West, including Colonialism in Tunisia, are not utilized to demonize it. Rather, the general attitude toward the present-day West is that coexistence with it is both necessary and possible, there is more openness to Western culture and Western-rooted universal values than in the schoolbooks of other Arab countries, and globalization is portrayed as both a both a threat and an opportunity which should be seized by under-developed countries. Crude anti-Semitism is not to be found, and the schoolbooks do not use the historical rivalry between the Prophet Muhammad and the Jews of Arabia to foment anti-Jewish sentiments by assigning the Jews negative characteristics in perpetuity, as is done in the schoolbooks of other Arab nations.*

*The schoolbooks are also more peaceful in orientation than the schoolbooks of other Arab nations. Peace as an ideal is advocated, with heavy emphasis on Islamic tenets in this context, and the Islamic traditional concepts of jihad and martyrdom (shahadah) are not referred to much, and when they are, it is always within historical contexts, and not as future endeavors to be adopted by the students, as done in the said other schoolbooks.*

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A.

*As such, Tunisian schoolbooks might be seriously considered a potential model for other Arab and Muslim countries, though they are not completely devoid of deficiencies: their attitude to the “other” in the context of the Middle East conflict deviates from what is taught with regard to the “other” in general, and a clearly biased, one-sided narrative of the conflict (slanted toward the Arab/Palestinian view) is presented without the viewpoint and narrative of the “other” on the conflict, and although crude anti-Semitism is not to be found, demonization of Israel exists. In regards to recognition of Israel and peace with it, the attitude is equivocal, and although Zionism is not recognized as a legitimate nationalist movement, its description is relatively objective, using less abusive terms in comparison with other Arab schoolbooks. The approach manifested in Tunisian schoolbooks could thus serve as a comprehensive model for other Arab countries in terms of the attitude toward the “other” and to peace, provided the above deficiencies in the attitude toward the “other” within the context of the Middle East conflict are corrected.*

## Chapter One: The Tunisian School System

*The Tunisian school system is divided into two main parts: Basic Education, which includes six years of elementary education and three years of preparatory, that is, grades 1-9 which are compulsory and free of charge, and Secondary Education, which includes four years (grades 10-13) of which the first one is the same for all pupils, and the following three are divided into five tracks: Humanities, Sciences, Mathematics, Technology, and Economy and Management. There are also technical and vocational schools at this level. Tunisia is one of the relatively few countries in the world which have 13 years of schooling instead of the usual 12 (Iran has 11 years with an optional preparatory 12<sup>th</sup> year for those who are interested in acquiring higher education).*

*Tunisia is a fairly advanced country within the Arab world, which is reflected in the relatively high percentage of schooling among both sexes. UNESCO's data for 2006 indicate net enrolment in primary education of 96% males and 97% females, while the rates for secondary education are 81% and 89% for males and females respectively.<sup>2</sup> Tunisian teaching staff is also relatively developed. It included in 2006 59,000 teachers in primary education (52% women), 33,000 in preparatory (52% women) and 32,000 in secondary (45% women). The students-per-teacher ratio in that year was 19 in primary education, 20 in preparatory and 19 in secondary education.<sup>3</sup> 36% of Tunisian youths of the ages 19-24 are enrolled in the country's 13 universities and in close to 200 higher education institutions.*

*One indication of the Tunisian government's interest in education is public spending. UNESCO's data for 2006 sum up government expenditure on education to be 7.7% of Tunisian GNP and 21% of total government expenses, of which 35% were allocated to primary education, that is, US\$ 1,581 per student, or 2.4% of the total GNP.<sup>4</sup> Such spending is considered one of the highest in the world.*

*Another indication is the government's constant occupation with education. In the last twenty years Tunisia witnessed two reforms in its educational system. The first was carried out in the 1990s and one of its main goals was the expansion of educational services to all parts of the country, including the remote rural areas, with special emphasis on female education. The second reform, termed "the New Educational Reform: Operational Plan for Schools of the Future, 2002-2007" and initiated with a view to bringing Tunisian school students closer to their European counterparts in terms of scholastic achievements, focused on qualitative aspects of local education: decentralization, encouragement of independent thinking in problem solving instead of total dependency on the acquisition of new information, diverse*

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<sup>2</sup> UNESCO, **Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2009**, [www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/GMR/pdf/gmr2009/efagmr2009\\_Annex3\\_Statistical\\_tables.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/GMR/pdf/gmr2009/efagmr2009_Annex3_Statistical_tables.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> UNESCO, **Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2009**

*interdisciplinary learning process, IT proficiency, and practical experiencing.<sup>5</sup> It is still too early to judge whether the latter reform has fully attained its goals.*

*The curriculum begins in grade 1 with Arabic, Islamic studies, mathematics and science, as well as music, arts, technological education and physical education. Civics is added in grade 2, followed by French and geography in grade 3 and by history in grade 4. All these subjects are taught in grade 5 and - save civics - in grade 6. English as a second foreign language is taught in the three years of the preparatory phase. The first year of the secondary phase (grade 10) offers the same curriculum to all students. In grade 11 they start their specific studies within the various streams they have chosen, which is further intensified in the following two years. Among the subjects taught in the Humanities stream are philosophy and civics. Physics, chemistry and biology are taught in Sciences, while economy and management are taught in their specific stream. Computer sciences and a third foreign language are also taught in some streams.<sup>6</sup>*

*It is worth noting that one of the main guidelines within the Tunisian curriculum is the emphasis on certain values which are seen as essential to the country's progress. Apart from male-female parity, the following statement has been encountered in the data:*

During the last thirteen years [that is, since 1995] a far reaching effort has been initiated by President [Zein al-Abidin] Ben Ali to reform the educational system by introducing the values of tolerance, openness, democracy and human rights and [by] doing away with all expressions of bigotry, sexism and fanaticism in textbooks and school curricula.<sup>7</sup>

*Additional details are given by Mohamed Charfi, Tunisian Minister of Education between the years 1989-1994, in his book **Islam and Liberty** (London & New York, Zed Books, 2005) p. 164. He notes that reform of the Tunisian educational system in this respect was initiated in accordance with the law of July 28, 1991 and was intended to wrest control of the education system, including the fields of religious education, civics, history, geography and philosophy, from the religious authorities and religious teachers who were given control due to political reasons. The result of this control, according to Charfi, was that non-Muslim thinkers and concepts, including democracy and human rights were treated superficially and superciliously, that the concepts of militant jihad and the caliphate were advocated, and that Muslim history was idealized and sacralized, even through using religious texts for grammar and reading exercises, and, consequently, "public educational establishments operated as schools for the training of Islamist cadres (p. 148)." The aforementioned law and educational reform were thus intended to create a way out of religious extremism by purging Tunisian schoolbooks of all assertions contrary to human rights and the*

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<sup>5</sup> See the document in EduNet, [www.edunet.tn/indexar.html](http://www.edunet.tn/indexar.html) (Arabic)

<sup>6</sup> World of Education News and Reviews(WENR), **April 2006: Education in Tunisia**, [www.wes.org/ewenr/06apr/practical\\_tunisia.htm](http://www.wes.org/ewenr/06apr/practical_tunisia.htm)

<sup>7</sup> **Tunisia Online**, [www.tunisiaonline.com/society/society3.html](http://www.tunisiaonline.com/society/society3.html)

*foundations of the modern state, following several guidelines he mentions elsewhere in the book (pp. 153-164). The guidelines can be summarized as follows:*

- 1. Emphasis should be put on the Tunisian national identity throughout history, even before the Muslim-Arab conquest of the country in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, on the one hand, while keeping the sense of belonging to the larger Arab and Muslim entity, on the other hand.*
- 2. Islam should be taught not as a rigid dogma prevailing in all spheres of life, but rather as a reality in which other components exist. For example, in many political, economic and social fields traditional Islamic practice has been replaced by modern institutions such as parliament and civil courts. Thus, teaching of traditional Islam should be restricted to the domain of relations between man and God, while in other fields the views of modern Muslim scholars should be introduced to the students. All discrimination between men and women and between Muslims and non-Muslims should be criticized and expunged, and key values of Islam – love, mutual aid and peace – should be taught, as well as the values of equality and liberty as understood by said modern scholars.*
- 3. Equal emphasis should be placed on knowledge of others and self-knowledge. That should be done within the school subjects of language, history, philosophy and civics. Pupils should study foreign languages as a means of opening their minds up to other cultures and civilizations, and “...Civic education should regain its independence of religious education,” (p. 157) enabling students to internalize the cornerstones of the modern state: local and regional government, separation of powers, democratic elections, as well as world-acknowledged values such as freedom of thought, human rights (including the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights), equality among human beings – especially between the sexes – universal suffrage, etc., which should be an integral part of the curriculum and be reflected in school daily life (including co-education). Above all, students must have the option to choose from a variety of ideas in order to encourage critical thinking and self-development of individual personalities.*
- 4. Science should not be taught as sets of paradigms and formulas and other types of ready-made information, but rather with a “spirit of ongoing research, that is, with creative doubt,” controversial theories such as Darwinism and the Big Bang theory included.*
- 5. The need to deepen and enrich the educational material in the lower grades in order to create a solid basis of knowledge and culture (including extracurricular activities) upon which a mature elite would later develop through secondary and higher education. Cutting corners by creating a wide broad upper level which would issue unmerited diplomas to incompetent graduates is bound to create a significant under-cultured class which would prove detrimental to the country.*

*The results of the reform are seen in the books studied in this report which were mostly published in 2007.*

## Chapter Two: The West

*The West is the most significant “other” in the Tunisian textbooks, due, probably, to Tunisia’s geopolitical position as a small Arab and Muslim country on the shores of the Mediterranean, not far from Europe, with a long history of contact and confrontation with the latter. The West in the books includes several facets: Western civilization and its impact – directly and in the context of globalization, Western contemporary economic and political world hegemony vis-à-vis the Third World, historical Western Imperialism – including French Colonialism in Tunisia and the neighboring countries, and including Western support for Zionism and Israel, and, finally, the United States as a hegemonic world power. All are sensitive issues which have resulted in the depiction of the West in negative terms in Arab school textbooks in general.*

### ***Western Civilization, its Impact, and Globalization***

*Tunisia is a leading country in the Arab world as far as openness to Western civilization is concerned. As such, much information is given to the student about Western history and culture, including Western literary, philosophical and scientific material translated into Arabic, to a greater extent than is usually encountered in schoolbooks of other Arab nations. On the other hand, the Tunisian textbooks, much the same as their Arab counterparts, tend to attribute European civilization’s leap forward during the Renaissance to the preceding influence of Medieval Islamic civilization. A Tunisian textbook for grade 8 dedicates a whole chapter to this argument. But in the Tunisian case, and contrary to the situation in other Arab curricula, this argumentation is not restricted to the sphere of inter-civilization rivalry. Rather, it is used as a means of facilitating the adoption of Western norms which are presented as a product of a larger effort of humanity, in which the Islamic civilization of the Middle Ages played a decisive role:*

The values of liberty, justice, tolerance and democracy, on which our contemporary civilization is founded, draw their intellectual, social and political authority from the rich human stock of the period of Enlightenment and modern European Renaissance... which went back, in its turn, to seek inspiration from the ancient civilizations regarding the meanings of humanism and the supremacy of reason, wisdom and the law...

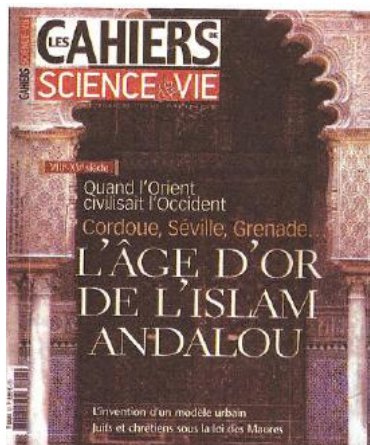
**History, Grade 11 – Sciences (2007) p. 7**

Human civilization is a shared product to which various nations have contributed, and of which the Arab-Islamic tributary was among its most important and most fertile ones.

**History, Grade 11 – Humanities (n.d.) p. 266**

Openness to [other] civilizations and cross pollination with them is one of the matters dictated by history...

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 [Sciences] (n.d.) p. 158**



“When the East contributes to the West becoming civilized”  
**Social Studies: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 8 (n.d.) pp. 25**

Some of the Fundamental Principles of the Educational Statute [July 29, 1991]

- ...
- Preparing the younger generations for a life with no room for any form of segregation and discrimination on account of sex, social status, color or religion.
- Making the students proficient in at least one foreign language to an extent that will enable them to become directly acquainted with the products of world thought – scientific technologies and theories, as well as civilization values – and will prepare them for following its development and contributing to it in a manner that will guarantee the enrichment of the local culture and its interaction with the global human culture.

**Social Studies, Grade 9 (n.d.) p. 98**

*Accordingly, the Tunisian textbooks express less alarm and more confidence when talking of the threat of Western cultural influence. The threat exists, they agree, in view of Western domination of the world’s largest communication media and the Western-inspired globalization process. But one should confront it on its own ground, which necessitates openness rather than self-seclusion. The Islamic Education textbook for grade 13 is adamant about that and freely criticizes fellow Arabs for their negligence in this respect:*

The world today is going through a phase radically different from what it used to be, which requires from us a radically different behavior as well, or else – we would become ossified and petrified and the globalization current will no doubt sweep us away eventually.

**Islamic Thinking, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 72**

Globalization seems to be a fast train about to depart from the station of the end of this century. It is now hissing pressingly to anyone who wants to come aboard in the direction of the station of the next century... [However,] most Arab states have

resigned to “their fate” on the platform, turning their eyes right and left, among their packed belongings and [among] the great number of their sons in their worn clothes and their wretched and hopeless gaze, because they cannot embark this train.

**Islamic Thinking, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 80**

The defense of [our] cultural identity against the dangers of Globalization is unattainable through self-seclusion and the rejection of the “other.”

**Islamic Thought, Grade 13 [Humanities], (2007) p. 72**

We look at Globalization comprehensively. It is our intellectual integrity which obliges us to emphasize that Globalization is a historic opportunity in front of our peoples. It may help them jump over the vast gap which separates them from the group of the industrial nations. But it also contains grave dangers, of which the dissolution of [our] personality and the disintegration of the nation’s connecting bond, that is, language and culture, is not the least one.

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 [Sciences], (n.d.) p. 164**

### ***Western Economic and Political Hegemony over the Third World***

*These are attributed to historical phenomena, such as Colonialism and Capitalism, rather than to inherent evil in the West, as sometimes stated in schoolbooks of other Arab nations. But on the whole, and although some Tunisian textbooks – Geography books in particular – heavily dwell on the issue of world inequality between the haves and the have-nots, the terminology used in this respect is not “the West” against “the Third World,” but rather “the advanced world” vs. “the developing world” and Japan is included in the former. Value-judgment terms are very rarely used and the text does not hesitate to criticize the developing countries for unwise economic decisions.*

The disparity in [economic] progress is attributed to a great extent to the state of hegemony imposed by the advanced countries on the developing ones...Western capitalist countries have made progress, while the present developing countries have mostly remained subjected to [foreign] economic hegemony, in spite of their achievement of political independence...

**Geography, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 86**

Beginning in 2003 the prices of oil and other raw materials rose significantly while the prices of fabricated products increased moderately, which created [new] global conditions characterized by the improvement of the balance of trade in favor of the developing countries...But the policy of some developing countries regarding the use of these revenues has been considered illogical. Instead of allocating part thereof to investment and expenses in the fields of education and health, these revenues are invested in paying back debts – before they are due – or in loans to the American treasury and to other ones of West European countries...

**Geography, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 77**

*The “advanced world” is duly accused of bearing the lion’s share of responsibility for global environmental pollution, as is done often in schoolbooks around the Middle East, but only in the Tunisian textbooks would one find the assertion that this very part of the world is also most active in fighting pollution on a large scale.*

The industrial states are responsible more than others for the pollution of the environment in general and, in particular, for the increase of the percentage of carbon dioxide. Northern America, Europe and Asia send into space more than 90% of carbon dioxide [gas] generated by the human race...

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2007) p. 311**

*On the other hand, America is also among the countries which try to diminish their own damage to the environment in this respect.<sup>8</sup>*

### ***Western Imperialism and Colonialism***

*Western Imperialism is thoroughly discussed in history textbooks of the higher grades in a factual manner, making use of myriad maps and charts, but without omitting all its vices: foreign occupation, exploitation, hypocrisy, racism, robbery of land and other natural resources, foreign settlement and discrimination, violence, deprivation, poverty, hunger, disease, etc. Special attention is given, understandably, to French Colonialism in Tunisia and neighboring Algeria and Morocco (see below), but harsh criticism is also reserved to Italy’s colonial persecution in Libya and to Spain’s destructive Colonialism in America. However, the schoolbooks keep in line with the tenant of providing objective criticism of the “other” whenever necessary, with due presentation of its positive aspects.*

Imperialism: the tendency among the great capitalist states to have military, economic and cultural control over the weak nations with a view to draining off their wealth...

**History, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2007) p. 66**

Thus, these motives [bringing Western civilization to “uncivilized” peoples of other continents] came to justify the imperialist expansionist policy which had basically aimed at plundering and exploiting the wealth of the weak peoples for the benefit of the colonialist powers.

**History, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2007) p. 74**

...The Fascist onslaught [in Libya] between 1923 and 1932, which was under the command of Badoglio and especially Grazziani who conducted war of extermination against the [Libyan] tribes... This savage policy pursued by the Fascists resulted in the emigration of tens of thousands of Libyans to neighboring Arab countries, Tunisia and Egypt in particular.

**History, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 332**

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<sup>8</sup> See [Literary] Texts, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2007) p. 313

The Spaniards pursued a harsh colonizing imperialist policy [in America] which was embodied in the liquidation of the pre-Columbian civilizations, plunder of [local] wealth and the annihilation of the majority of the original inhabitants...This policy brought about different reactions. The fanatic invaders such as [Francisco] Pizarro and [Hernán] Cortéz defended and justified it, while some intellectuals such as [Michel de] Montaigne and some clergymen such as [Bishop Bartolomé de] Las Casas opposed it.

**History, Grade 12 [Humanities] (n.d.) p. 19**

*Though European in origin, Imperialism is not depicted as an exclusively European phenomenon in history:*

Human Europe once exited geographical Europe and gradually occupied the rest of the world. There is nothing in this matter which would cause [our] surprise, since the peoples of Europe had been preceded in this field by many peoples in other continents.

**Philosophy, Grade 13 – Sciences (2007) p. 123**

### ***Western Support for Zionism***

*This is considered part of Imperialism, first – Britain's, and later – America's. Britain's motives are said to have been a desire to separate between the eastern and western parts of the Arab world by implanting a foreign human element in between.*

#### The Colonialist Greedy Ambitions

The colonialist greedy ambitions in Palestine were connected to the importance of its [i.e., Palestine's] position as part of the Arab East which occupies a strategic position, due to its being in the midst of the road junctions between the old continents (Asia – Africa – Europe) and due to its energy resources...and, thus, they would prevent the establishment of an Arab union...The colonialist circles employed the Jews of Europe by way of enticing them with [the idea of] establishing a homeland for them in Palestine and by pushing them to gather there with a view to using them as a tool for the realization of the colonialist greedy ambitions. The emergence of the Zionist idea thus was within the framework of colonialist policy of expansion.

**History, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2007) p. 269**

*Later, when Britain discovered its need for Arab support against the Axis, it changed its policy, which sent the Zionists to America to ask for support in return for defending the latter's interests in the region. The Tunisian schoolbooks' editors are fair enough to mention the shift in policy, and, unlike schoolbooks of other Arab nations, the Tunisian ones do not continue the aforementioned imperialist connection beyond the establishment of Israel in 1948, since the Soviet Union supported it as well, and instead talk of the support of "the Powers" for the new state.*

On May 17, 1939 Britain issued the third White Paper which stressed that its policy in Palestine did not aim at establishing a Jewish state, but, rather, an independent Palestinian state in which Arabs and Jews would share power. It also restricted [Jewish]

immigration during the five coming years, to be prevented after that. The content of the third White Paper was relatively pro-Palestinian as a result of two fundamental factors:

- The first factor: The escalation of the Palestinian struggle which reached its peak in the Palestinian great revolt between [the years] 1936-1939.
- The second factor: Britain's endeavor to acquire the Arabs' friendship so that they do not make an alliance with Germany, especially when the ghost of the Second World War began threatening the European states more and more.

**History, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2007) p. 270**

With the encouragement and support of both the United States and the Soviet Union, the UN General Assembly voted on November 29, 1947 in favor of Resolution 181 which stipulated the partition of Palestine.

**History, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2007) p. 271**

“The Support of the Zionist Entity by the Great Powers”

**Social Studies, Grade 9 (n.d.) p. 90**

## ***France***

*France is a major “other,” both as Tunisia’s former colonial power and as Tunisia’s most important economic and cultural non-Arab partner today. This duality poses a problem: On the one hand, Tunisian students should learn about their country’s struggle for independence in which French soldiers and settlers play the role of the villain, and, on the other hand, fostering sentiments of friendship towards France is required by Tunisia’s present conditions. The problem is solved by restricting the relevant data of the struggle against France to relatively higher grades, that is, beginning in grade 6, and giving the bulk of the anti-French material in high school (grades 10-13), while in the lower grades one can find passages talking of friendship between Tunisian and French children and contacts between Tunisian and French schools. This way, the harsh material necessary for building the student’s national spirit is given after the infrastructure for friendship had already been set and, thus, remains an issue of the past. Furthermore, most of the discussion on the French Colonialist period is done in factual language through the presentation of contemporary source material, both Tunisian and French, and cases of demonized description are relatively few, such as the following:*

I will... put each of the following statements in the appropriate place:

- Seizing Tunisians’ lands by French colonists
- The Resident-General’s control over the Bey’s policy
- utilization of mines
- Hegemony over the Tunisian central administration
- Hegemony by the Civil Overseer over the provincial administration

**Social Studies: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 6 (2007) p. 47**

“...Huge demonstrations took place in all parts of the Tunisian country on April 8, 1938. On April 9 – following the arrest of the youth leader... the people gathered in front of the court and the French armed forces came and opened fire on the masses...”

Al-Habib Thamer, *This is Tunisia*, p. 156

**Social Studies: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 6 (2007) p. 57**



Our neighbors are European. They have a boy of my age whose name is Marcel... One day we met on the road and I extended my hand to him. He hesitated for a moment and then he shook my hand warmly and invited me to their house...

Days and months passed. I liked his company and he liked mine and we have become close friends.

**Reader, Grade 2 (2007) pp. 27-28**

Fill in the empty space with [the words] fitting the persons drawn on the book’s cover:  
On Sunday Sami’s/Marcel’s family invited Marcel’s/Sami’s family to lunch and Sami’s mother prepared a French/Tunisian dish.

**Exercise Book, Grade 2 (2007) p. 35**

In the framework of the twin [accord] between a Tunisian school and a French school in the region of Paris a group of grade 5 students was invited to visit the city of Paris where they would meet their friends.

**Social Studies: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 5 (2007) p. 150**

I will read the following text and answer:

You have received an e-mail from your French friend Michel, with whom you had become acquainted through the Internet. He informs you in the letter that he saw a brief television program on the countries of the Arab Maghreb. Could you present him with more information?

**Social Studies: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 6 (2007) p. 75**

Within the framework of correspondence between your school and a school in southern France you have been asked to provide information about tourism in Tunisia with a view to organizing a group trip next summer...

**Social Studies: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 6 (2007) p. 175**

*Another element used to diminish possible hard feelings against the French on the backdrop of their actions in North Africa is the sporadic insertion of passages by French intellectuals and papers protesting against such actions in the name of France. Such a move helps to detach what may be described as “Eternal France” from the atrocities on the ground.*

I am neither a journalist nor a politician. I testify [here] as an ordinary citizen tormented by his conscience and convinced that he is not the only one who feels this severe distress, confusion and tension.

To us, Frenchmen, France is not France if she betrays the ideal image she has committed herself to personify...torture, concentration camps, collective repression... That is shameful for the land of the French Revolution. It is an absurd that we defend a noble cause with despicable means. Indeed, France's grandeur is in danger.

[Source:] Le Monde, Apr. 5, 1956

**History, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 328**

### ***The United States***

*The Tunisian schoolbooks' attitude to the United States is not hostile in general, except for one literary piece written by an Iraqi writer during the war of Kuwait in 1991 and inserted into a 12th grade book.*

I sometimes see the enemy's planes cross it [the sky] like abominable flies, speeding towards their murderous goals...Above us are the cursed flies which come from the regions of hatred and death, buzzing with the warnings of killing and barbarity and demanding our blood.

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2006) p. 269**

*But it is not friendly either. Although America is portrayed as a dominant world power in neutral terms most of the time, one can discern on several occasions isolated expressions of criticism regarding its tendency to base its world hegemony not only on its economic, technological and communicational strength, but rather on its military power, although its extensive foreign aid to developing countries is noted.*

The United States' strategy relies on a huge military power which it uses for the purpose of imposing its hegemony over the world and guaranteeing its economic and political interest...In addition to specific food supplies it sends to poor countries, it is considered the primary contributor of aid for development [purposes]. It also employs the influence it has in international organizations such as the Security Council, the World Trade Organization, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in the service of its interests throughout the world.

**Geography, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) pp. 141-142**

*Other accusations against America include its alliance with Zionism against the Palestinian people following World War II (see Chapter Three), discrimination against Afro-Americans, the vast influence of American companies in Latin American "banana republics," as well as a statement prophesying the disintegration of the American family. Such motifs are present in schoolbooks of other Arab nations, though more extensively and using more abusive language. It should be noted in this context that the bulk of this material appears in the Tunisian textbooks for the last two grades. In addition, geography textbooks speak about the United States in respect and present*

*it as a unique country in world history in terms of its economic, social and political development.*

The United States is considered a wealthy country that derives benefit from accumulation of various talented individuals and of the necessary sources of income in order to anchor itself as an extremely large economic power. And this [economic] power relies on bustling hubs such as the megalopolis to demonstrate its superiority on a global level.

**Geography, Grade 12 – Sciences (n.d.), p. 112**

### ***Historical “Others”***

*There are several kinds of “others” referred to in Tunisian schoolbooks. Historical “others” include the indigenous Numidians, the Phoenician settlers who founded Carthage, the Roman occupiers and their Byzantine successors, Vandals, local Berbers and others. Inhabitants of pre-Muslim Tunisia are all considered part of Tunisia’s past, even the Romans, destroyers of Carthage – the only empire in Tunisian history, and even the Berbers who despairingly fought against the Muslim Arab invaders. There is a story in a 9<sup>th</sup> grade book about their female leader under the title “A Valiant Berber [Woman].”<sup>9</sup> Under the title “Carthage and its contributions to Roman civilization” we find a passage about St. Augustine.<sup>10</sup> It should be noted in this context that no attempt is made to “Arabize” any of these pre-Muslim inhabitants, contrary to the posthumous “Arabization” of ancient nations of the Middle East carried out, for instance, in Syrian and Palestinian schoolbooks.*

*After the crystallization of the Tunisian Arab-Muslim identity, all “others” are considered foreigners. Early foreigners, such as Normans, Spaniards and Ottomans, are referred to objectively, with no hateful language being used, unlike the treatment of the Crusaders in Egyptian and Syrian textbooks, for example. Even the Spanish Reconquista is referred to in the same fashion,<sup>11</sup> rather than as “imperialist aggression” as other Arab textbooks do. The 30-year Spanish military presence in Tunisia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century – to counter the threatening Muslim Ottomans – is not regarded as foreign occupation.<sup>12</sup>*

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<sup>9</sup> [Literary] Texts, Grade 9 (2007) pp. 16-17

<sup>10</sup> History, Grade 10 (n.d.) p. 77

<sup>11</sup> History, Grade 11 – Humanities (n.d.) pp. 258-254

<sup>12</sup> History, Grade 12 – Humanities (n.d.) p. 72

## Chapter 3: Israel, Zionism and Jews

*Tunisia, being an Arab state, considers itself part of the general Arab front against Israel, especially as it has not yet concluded a peace treaty with the latter. All references in Tunisian schoolbooks to Israel and Zionism (except one)<sup>13</sup>, as well as many references to Jews, appear within the context of the Middle East conflict and are colored by the formal Tunisian policy, as is the case in the schoolbooks of other Arab countries. However, the Tunisian books sometimes feature positive elements not encountered in their Arab counterparts, such as explicit recognition of the State of Israel in texts and on maps.*

### ***Zionism and the Middle East Conflict***

*The presentation of the conflict is clearly biased. No attempt is made to show the Jewish side's viewpoint or treat it on equal footing.*

Tunisians were interacting with Arab events in [both] east and west, especially with the Palestinian problem following the Partition Resolution adopted by the United Nations. They formed “the Committee for Palestine’s Defense” and “the Committee for Palestine’s Relief” in order to collect financial help and mobilize the Tunisians to support the Palestinian cause and to volunteer to fight in the 1948 war (1,500 volunteers).

**History, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 386**

*The Tunisian narrative appearing in the schoolbooks is as follows: The anti-Semitic tide in Europe during the last third of the nineteenth century brought about the end of former attempts on the part of the Jews to integrate in European society. Under the influence of European secular nationalist ideas, European Jews developed their own version of separate nationalism, mostly related to Palestine, under the name “Zionism.” Thus, Palestine, which is an exclusively Arab country which should have become independent following the Second World War, could not do so due to the Zionist project and the support it received from British Imperialism, and, later, from the United States and the international community (see above) at the expense of the Arabs.<sup>14</sup> The Jews’ historical connection to the land is hardly discussed<sup>15</sup> and Jewish holy places there are not mentioned as such.*

The Zionist movement: a Jewish movement which appeared in Europe in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was named after Zion which is the name of a mountain near Jerusalem. This is a political movement in spite of the religious nature it carries. The Zionist idea was crystallized by the Jewish journalist Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) in a book he issued in 1896 under the title “the Jewish State” in which he stressed that the

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<sup>13</sup> A photograph of a camel lying down in a parking lot between two cars appears in [Literary] Texts, Grade 12 – Humanities (2006) p. 319. The background indicates that the photo was taken in an Israeli gas station. The context is general with no Israeli connotation.

<sup>14</sup> History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p.340; History, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) p. 269

<sup>15</sup> History, Grade 11 – Sciences (2007) pp. 13-14; Literature, Grade 11, Part 2 (2007) p. 56

solution of the problem of the repressed Jews in the world is the establishment of a state of their own. He directed the convening of the first Zionist congress in August 1897 in the city of Basel, Switzerland.

**History, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2007) p. 258**

The Zionist movement appeared in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century as a movement advocating the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Its birth was related to two fundamental factors: Colonialism and Anti-Semitism. Although the French and British colonialist circles in particular encouraged the emergence of the Zionist idea in order to serve their interests, the direct factor that supported it was the emergence of the current of Anti-Semitism that was hostile to Jews in European societies, which brought about their persecution, first in Eastern Europe and, later, in Western Europe.

**History, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2007) p. 269**

Illuminations: On the Connection between Zionism and Anti-Semitism

Zionism: A modern Jewish political movement which dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It spread in the context of secular nationalism and anti-Semitism, especially in Eastern Europe. It advocates secular Jewish nationalism. The first one who called for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine or in America is the Russian Jew Leon Pinsker who was convinced that anti-Semitism is a malady from which the Europeans cannot be cured...

**History, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 343**

The Zionist movement also sought to acquire the support of the United States of America for its project in Palestine in return for its own support for the Americans' interests in the Middle East...Thus, a new alliance appeared against the Palestinian people – the Zionist-American alliance – which continued the course started by Britain in the First World War. The American support of the Zionist movement, alongside the Zionists' confrontation with the British authorities, led Britain to make a decision to relinquish the Palestine Mandate and bring the Palestinian problem to the United Nations Organization (February 1947).

**History, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2007) p. 270**

*This international support found an expression in the UN resolution of 1947, which partitioned the country between Jews and Arabs. The Palestinians and the Arab governments rejected the resolution and started a war in order to foil its execution.<sup>16</sup>*

The Declaration of the Governments of the Arab States in Response to the Partition Resolution on 8.12.1947:

“The Arab governments do not approve the resolution of the United Nations and consider partition null and void. They stand for the independence of Palestine and its sovereignty and will take decisive measures which would foil the partition project and wage a war for that purpose.”

**History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 348**

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<sup>16</sup> History, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) p. 271

*The preceding is the standard Arab narrative of the conflict, with perhaps a special nuance inserted by the Tunisians, namely, that it was the Arab side which defied the UN Partition Resolution and declared war on the Jews. Other Arab schoolbooks tend to blur this point and portray the Jews as the initiators of the war. The narrative continues: the war ended in a defeat, which brought about the establishment of Israel, the annexation of additional Palestinian territories to it and the expulsion of large portions of the Palestinian people.<sup>17</sup>*

Many Palestinians were forced to leave their homes hoping to return after the [expected] coming of reinforcements from the Arab countries which had announced in December 1947 their rejection of the partition resolution and [their] determination to resist it by force.

On May 14, 1948 Britain decided to withdraw its forces from Palestine. David Ben Gurion, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency, proclaimed on the same day the establishment of the State of Israel. That was a sign of the breakout of the first Arab-Israeli war. The armies of the neighboring Arab countries intervened on May 15, 1948 (Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq) in order to confront the Zionist forces.

The Disaster [Nakbah] thus befell on the Palestinian people that lost most of its country and its sons were scattered as refugees in the Arab countries...The Gaza Strip was put under Egyptian administration and the West Bank was annexed to Jordan, while the state of Israel expanded and became recognized by the great powers (the United States and the Soviet Union and a number of other states).

**History, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 356**

*There were several other wars between Israel and the Arabs in which the latter lost additional territories, but the Palestinians managed to wage an armed struggle against the occupiers, which brought them international recognition.<sup>18</sup> Major political shifts in the region – the Egyptian-Israeli separate peace, the defeat of Iraq in its war over Kuwait, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the United States as a sole world power – forced the Palestinians to revise their policy and enter into a peace process with Israel.<sup>19</sup> They have gained some achievements as a result, but the peace process is stuck due to Israel's refusal to go along with the Palestinians' demands.*

The negotiations were going nowhere while at the same time confidential negotiations were taking place between Israel and the PLO which ended in the Oslo Accord formally signed at the White House on September 13, 1993. It contained mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO and stipulated the establishment of a Palestinian authority in the Gaza Strip and Jericho first for a period of five years in waiting for negotiations of the final solution regarding the questions of Jerusalem, the refugees, the [Israeli] settlements and water.

**History, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 357**

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<sup>17</sup> History, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) p. 271

<sup>18</sup> History, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) pp. 272-273

<sup>19</sup> History, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) pp. 273-274; History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 357

... These Accords enabled the Palestinian leadership to establish itself inside Palestine, in Gaza and the West Bank, after it had been kept away from it. It now enjoyed vast international recognition on the part of the pro-Israel states, and by Israel itself, after it had considered it a mere terrorist organization.

**Conclusion**

Israel is still slow in applying these Accords [concluded] with the Palestinians. It categorically rejects the return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes inside Israel according to the UN resolution 194 of 1948; it refuses to give up Jerusalem which is regarded by it as Israel’s eternal capital, and [rejects] the evacuation of its larger settlements in the West Bank. Consequently, it refuses to return to the 1967 boundaries, in spite of the conclusion of new agreements with it, especially the “Road Map” by which the UN recognizes for the first time since the emergence of the Palestinian problem the necessity of establishing a Palestinian state.

**History, Grade 12 [Sciences] (2007) p. 274**

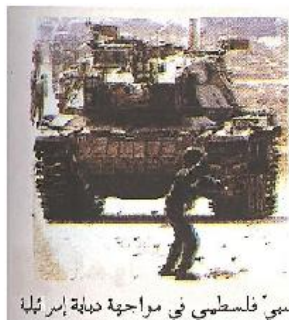


“Signing the “Declaration of Principles” in accordance with the Oslo Accords between Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin the Israeli Prime Minister in the presence of the American president Clinton in Washington, September 1993”

**History, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 352**

إمضاء وإعلان المبادئ والمواظرة للاتفاقيات أوسلو بين عرفات وإسحاق رابين ورئيس مجلس الوزراء الإسرائيلي بحضور الرئيس الأمريكي كلينتون  
بواشنطن في سبتمبر 1993

*The conclusion is clear: The Palestinians are the sole owners of the land; Israel was born in sin; force alone has made the Palestinians accept its existence; and Israel obstructs peace. In addition, Tunisian literature textbooks strive to foster solidarity with the Palestinian people through inclusion of poems and stories written by Palestinians, which speak of steadfastness and resistance and stress the uneven confrontation between unarmed people (the “stone children”) and the overwhelmingly armed Israeli forces. Pictures, illustrations and cartoons are also used.*



A Palestinian boy confronting an Israeli tank

**Philosophy, Grade 12 – Humanities (2007) p. 240**



“لا راحة للمستعمر فوق الأرض المحتلة”

“No rest for the colonialist on the occupied land”  
**[Literary] Texts, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) p. 305**

More alarming in this context are pieces by Palestinian poets which promote the ideal of violent liberation rather than a peaceful solution.<sup>20</sup> In one case, such liberation is equated with the purification of the land of filth<sup>21</sup> (see below: the Tunisian attitude to peace).

### ***Israel: The Issue of Recognition***

The Tunisian textbooks differ from other Arab ones studied by IMPACT-SE in that they alternately use terms of recognition and non-recognition regarding Israel, while other Arab books are consistent in their attitude of non-recognition. Thus, a book for grade 7, for example, features a map of the whole country under the name “Palestine,” while a map in other books carry the name “Israel” within its pre-1967 borders. Contrary to Palestinian usage, Tel Aviv appears on some maps.



“Palestine”

[Literary] Texts, Grade 7 (n.d.) p. 158



“The State of Israel”

Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 9 (n.d.) p. 89

There are texts, sometimes on the same page, which mention either “the State of Israel” or “the Zionist Entity.”<sup>22</sup> Instances of “the Occupied Land”<sup>23</sup> or “Occupied Palestine”<sup>24</sup> used to denote Israel-proper are also found. The mutual recognition of Israel and the PLO within the Oslo agreement is mentioned as well (see above).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> [Literary] Texts, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) pp. 301-302

<sup>21</sup> [Literary] Texts, Grade 7 (n.d.) p. 159

<sup>22</sup> Social Sciences, Grade 9 (n.d.) p. 90

<sup>23</sup> [Literary] Texts, Grade 9 (2007) p. 55

<sup>24</sup> Literary Horizons, Grade 10 (n.d.) p. 208

<sup>25</sup> History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 357

## *Israel's Image*

*Israel's image is totally negative to the point of demonization. Among the most severe examples is the claim that "the Zionist Entity" pursued a policy of extermination against the Palestinians, citing two isolated cases of massacre in 1948 and 1956 as proof.<sup>26</sup> In a Palestinian poem about a Gazan child, the enemies – Israelis – are depicted as ravens, and likened to scorpions in another.*

...The sun will rise, O mother, smiling  
And these ravens will disappear and withdraw  
**[Literary] Texts, Grade 7 (n.d.) pp. 159**

Our ignorant ones gambled with...  
With a lily named Jerusalem...  
We have given her youth to the arms of a demon,  
To the jaws of a hungry scorpion...  
O God, please forgive us, what would we say?...  
You gave us Jerusalem, you, and we  
Handed it over to the Jews  
**[Literary] Texts, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2006) pp. 98-99**

*Israelis are described as killers of children,<sup>27</sup> with the controversial case of Muhammad al-Durrah prominently featuring in both picture and text.<sup>28</sup> A Tunisian student who would like to learn more about Israel will find in the textbooks the following: massacres,<sup>29</sup> expulsion,<sup>30</sup> arrests,<sup>31</sup> house demolitions,<sup>32</sup> torture, execution by hanging (in spite of the fact that Israel had already abolished capital punishment in the early 1950s, save for Nazi criminals),<sup>33</sup> aggression against neighboring countries,<sup>34</sup> etc.*

...On the land, on the walls, at the doors, on the houses' balconies...  
In prison, in the torture cell, on the gallows pole  
In spite of the shackles, in spite of the blowing up of houses, in spite of the fire's blaze

What are the feelings created within you by phrases such as "under the bullets and in the flame," "the torture cell," "the gallows pole"?...  
**Literary Horizons, Grade 10 (n.d.) pp. 212-214**

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<sup>26</sup> History, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) p. 271

<sup>27</sup> [Literary] Texts, Grade 7 (n.d.) p. 172

<sup>28</sup> [Literary] Texts, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) pp. 108-110

<sup>29</sup> History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 356

<sup>30</sup> [Literary] Texts, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) p. 218

<sup>31</sup> [Literary] Texts, Grade 7 (n.d.) p. 165

<sup>32</sup> [Literary] Texts, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) p. 163

<sup>33</sup> Literary Horizons, Grade 10 (n.d.) p. 213

<sup>34</sup> History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 349

*Yet, here again, the Tunisian schoolbooks manifest an unexpected touch of humane attitude towards Israelis: An often-quoted Palestinian poet, the late Mahmud Darwish, who grew up in Israel before joining the PLO in the 1970s, had a relationship with an Israeli-Jewish woman named Rita. Two of his poems about Rita appear in the books and the editors comment about the dilemma of having love relations with a member of the enemy nation. The implicit message is that Israelis are human beings who can sometimes be loved. Such an attitude is not to be encountered in other Arab textbooks studied by IMPACT-SE to date.*

The Palestinian poet Mahmud Darwish (1942-[2008]) was known by his joining the [Palestinian] resistance by [way of his] poetry and political activity since [his] adolescence and the beginning of youth, that is, since the age of dreaming, love and passion. Maybe because of that he made some of his poetic characters live torn between the love of a woman and the love of the homeland, especially so, when that woman is one of the enemy people. This poem is one of his poems about Rita, the Israeli girl whose lover did not enjoy her love because of the enmity between him and her people...

Rita and the Rifle [Excerpts]

Between Rita and my eyes – a rifle  
The one who knows Rita bows  
And prays  
To his God in the amber eyes...  
Oh, Rita  
Between us a million birds and pictures  
And many promises  
Shot at by a rifle  
Rita's name was a holiday in my mouth  
Rita's body was a wedding party in my blood  
In Rita I was lost for two years...

The [Palestinian] Resistance Poets [a term used to denote Palestinian poets holding Israeli citizenship like Darwish himself – until his late twenties] used varied means in their poems, including the use of love stories and the impossible relationship between a resisting lover and a loved woman from the enemy people, in order to... evoke human sentiments... remove injustice and find solutions.

The Sleeping Garden [Excerpts]

And Rita is asleep; she is asleep and wakes her dreams up  
In the morning she will take her kiss  
And her days  
Then, she will make me my Arab coffee  
And her coffee with milk  
And she will ask for the thousandth time about our love  
And I will answer  
That I am the martyr of the hands that

Make me my coffee in the morning  
 Rita is asleep; she is asleep and wakes her dreams up  
 Will she marry?  
 Yes  
 When?  
 When the violet will grow  
 On the soldiers' berets.  
**[Literary] Texts, Grade 12 [Humanities] (2006) pp. 93-94**

### ***The Jews***

*Not much is to be found in the Tunisian school textbooks about the Jews. Apart from a brief description of their early history in ancient Palestine (and the more detailed history of the Zionist movement mentioned above), there are only sporadic references. Judaism does not fare better: the Ten Commandments and a photograph of an old Torah scripture from the Tunisian island of Jerba is all the Tunisian student can derive from the books.<sup>35</sup>*

#### *The Ten Commandments*



نسخة قديمة من التوراة بحجرية



*A Torah scroll from the Tunisian island of Jerba*

*The Jews' image is neither explicitly positive nor negative – contrary to books of other Arab nations which portray Jews negatively. Philosophy textbooks for the higher grades present Jewish philosophers, which may cause the student to hold these specific Jewish individuals in esteem.*

Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-): A philosopher... son of an artist and grandson of a rabbi...

**Philosophy, Grade 13 [Humanities], Part 1 (n.d.) p. 180**

Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677): a Dutch philosopher... His writing was considered bold which cost him his expulsion from the Jewish community.

**Philosophy, Grade 13 [Humanities], Part 1 (n.d.) p. 39**

<sup>35</sup> History, Grade 11 – Sciences (2007) pp. 14, 15, respectively

The Jewish philosopher Maimonides of the twelfth century was forced to flee from fanatic Europe (his home country) and from its persecution of the Jews to the security of tolerant Cairo.

**Islamic Thinking, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 70**

*Other mentions of Jews in Medina depict them in a less favorable light as far as their tense relations with Prophet Muhammad are concerned.<sup>36</sup> But in this particular respect the Tunisian books do not dwell much on this rivalry, which is used by books of other Arab nations, notably Saudi Arabia, to foster anti-Jewish sentiments by assigning the Jews negative characteristics in perpetuity.*

*Anti-Semitism, including the Dreyfus affair in France, is briefly discussed as a background to the emergence of Zionism (see above),<sup>37</sup> and Nazi persecution is very briefly mentioned. There is no direct reference to the Holocaust. There is one mention of the “Nazi crimes against the Jews” which brought about the support of Zionism on the part of Western public opinion and the development of a “guilt complex” and a desire to compensate the Jews in the Middle East – at the expense of the Palestinian people.<sup>38</sup>*

*Another passage mentions the merciless persecution of Jews in Europe within a resolution of the American Congress.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, the French-turned-Muslim philosopher Roger Garaudy is much praised for “having exposed the falsity of Zionist argumentation” – probably in his capacity as Holocaust denier.<sup>40</sup>*

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<sup>36</sup> Islamic Education, Grade 9 (2007) p. 139

<sup>37</sup> History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 343

<sup>38</sup> History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 355

<sup>39</sup> History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 345

<sup>40</sup> Philosophy, Grade 13 – Humanities, Part 1 (n.d.) p. 128

## Chapter 4: The Attitude to Peace

*This title includes any material in the schoolbooks related to the perceptions of peace and war and of the relations that should prevail among various groups. Most important among the latter is the issue of tolerance.*

### **Tolerance**

*Religious tolerance towards the followers of other monotheistic faiths is a traditional value in Islam and is often discussed in school textbooks. The Tunisian books as well emphasize this value many times, relying on verses from the Koran and the Prophet's Sayings (Hadith). There is even a warning in one of the books against the inclination of devoted worshipers to exclude and show enmity toward non-believers, which contradicts the spirit of their own religion.*

A religious person often excessively admires the rites of the religion he follows and, in most cases, that leads him to feel that he is superior to followers of other religions. Consequently, that creates within him a desire to exclude them and treat them like enemies, which puts him in contradiction even to the spirit of the religion he follows.

**Philosophy, Grade 13 [Humanities], Part 1 (n.d.) p. 192**

*It should be noted here that the issue of pan-human solidarity is a motif stressed in Islamic Education textbooks, which utilize the religious precepts in order to develop a sense of openness and tolerance to the "other."<sup>41</sup> One example is the following Prophetic Saying (Hadith):*

A funeral procession went by [in Medina] and the Prophet [Muhammad] stood up and we stood up [as well]. We said: "O Messenger of God, this is a Jew's funeral." He said: "Is it not a soul? Whenever you see a funeral procession, stand up!"

**Islamic Education, Grade 9 (2007) p. 32**

*Another piece strongly criticizes the use of the Koran by radical Muslims:*

We find mentions of respect for other religions, freedom of faith and respect for all opinions in thirty six [Koranic] chapters [Surah] and one hundred and twenty five [Koranic] verses. Tolerance, therefore, represents the basic idea in the Koran. How come, then, that some people have made the Book of God a tool of bigotry and narrow-mindedness?

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 9 (2007) p. 159**

*But the real contribution of Tunisian schoolbooks to the ideal of tolerance is found in the constant endeavor to instill in the students' mind the need to interact with the "other" as a precondition to the development of the "self":*

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<sup>41</sup> See in particular Islamic Education, Grade 9 (2007) lessons 2-5

It is impossible today to perceive our existence outside of the dialogue connection with the ‘other’... The ‘other’ is essential and the dialogue with him – in whatever form – is necessary

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 – Sciences (n.d.) p. 154.**

*Dialogue with the “other” and acceptance of his voice is repeatedly encouraged. Inter-cultural mutual fructification means self enrichment, and the communication media and translational initiatives are the means for openness to the “other” and for mutual understanding.*

#### Dialogue of Civilizations

Dialogue – an inevitable option, a necessary course of action

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 [Sciences] (n.d.) p. 156**

The communication media enable [us] to open up to the “other” through the information they present [us] with...Opening up to [other] cultures and cross-pollination with them are historical necessities so that we enrich our own heritage and diffuse [it] through our contributions within [the spheres of] inter-Arab cooperation, regional solidarity and equal interaction between the [world’s] nations.

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 [Sciences] (n.d.) pp. 157-158**

...I think that we should break up the circle of enmity and [our hasty] plunging into violence and counter-violence, whether verbal or physical, and that we try [instead] to hear another’s voice, even if it comes from the minority, that is, the voice of dialogue, so that we may one day prepare for the replacement of confrontation with mutual understanding and mutual respect.

**Islamic Education, Grade 9 (2007) p. 35**

*The precondition to dialogue is recognition of the “other” – his identity, beliefs and culture.*

#### The Conditions for a Dialogue

...The need to recognize the “other,” his identity, his beliefs and his civilization, to replace fanatic inclinations with the principle of tolerance, to drive away the notion of rivalry for precedence among cultures and replace it with the idea of integration between cultures, considering that each one of them represent a part and an aspect of human experience, and considering that modernity is the essence of this human experience all and not a monopoly of a [certain] civilization with the exception of other ones...

**[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 [Sciences] (n.d.) p. 201**

*The “other,” says another text, should be regarded as a human being like us, with the same rights and duties, even if he differs from us in his color, religion and education.*

*Non-negation of the “other” is a continuous motif in the Tunisian books and it starts at an early age. Lessons on peace and tolerance are already given in the books*

for grades 2 and 3.<sup>42</sup> The lesson for grade 3, for example, talks of mankind's unity with no distinction of color, gender and faith.

Among those [human] values we would point to tolerance, recognition of the “other” – whether an individual or a group – and respect for his customs, traditions and beliefs.  
**[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 [Sciences] (n.d.) p. 199**

...I became acquainted with new people and with children from various nationalities and religions. Nothing divided them: no color, no gender, no country and no religion.  
**Reader, Grade 3 (2007) pp. 108**

*Students in grade 7 are requested to describe in writing or illustration a situation in which they live in an atmosphere of tolerance and coexistence with the “other.”<sup>43</sup> “Coexistence,” says the text below that exercise, is:*

...accepting the existence of the ‘other’ and living with him side by side with no attempt to abolish or harm him  
**Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 7 (n.d.) p. 272**

*Another motif in this context is the emphasis on the equality of all nations. No nation is superior and each shares with the other both positive and negative traits.<sup>44</sup> Racism is unacceptable.*

Do not take a racist attitude; Take a civilized attitude!  
**Arabic Grammar, Grade 8 (n.d.) p. 194**

## ***Peace***

*Education for peace starts in the lower grades, as one can find lessons in favor of peace in grades 2 and 3.<sup>45</sup> A grade 3 book features fables about peace arrangements among animals.<sup>46</sup> War is accepted only in cases of aggression or against oppression. A question posed to tenth-graders asks for their opinion regarding the effectiveness of negotiations vs. the use of arms.*

### Peace is Inherent in Islam

Islam has not legitimized war except for warding off plotting aggressors and oppressive tyrants, which is obligatory for the protection of the mission [of Islam]. Sublime God has said [in the Koran]: “Fight for the sake of God those that fight against you, but do not attack them first. God does not love aggressors.” (Al-Baqarah, 190) If the aggressors desired peace and chose conciliation on [the basis of] a safeguarding contract [*aman*], we would be favorably disposed to them in accordance

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<sup>42</sup> Reader, Grade 2 (2007) lessons 1, 2; Reader, Grade 3 (2007) pp. 107-108

<sup>43</sup> Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 7 (n.d.) p. 272

<sup>44</sup> [Literary] Texts, Grade 9 (2007) p. 110

<sup>45</sup> See Reader, Grade 2 (2007) lessons 2, 3; Reader, Grade 3 (2007) pp. 107-108

<sup>46</sup> Reader, Grade 3 (2007) pp.121-122, 128-130

with His words: “If they incline to peace, make peace with them, and put your trust in God. It is surely He who hears all and knows all.” (Al-Anfal, 61).

### Questions

1. Extract from the text [the part] which indicates that Islam advocates peace and rejects war.
2. ...
3. ...

### Points of Interest

1. The rule in Islam is peace and war is the exception
2. Islam opposes all kinds of war
3. The superiority of peace is [manifested] in [its] making the nations close [to one another] and in circulating human values.

### [Questions:]

1. What does the author advocate in this paragraph?
2. How would dialogue realize peace and understanding?
3. Violence, enmity and confrontation bring about the destruction of both man and belief. Explain that.

Tolerance achieves rapprochement among nations and urges their cooperation. Explain.  
**Islamic Education, Grade 9 (2007) pp. 34-37**

A struggle may be [carried out] by words, by weapons and by negotiations and a call for peace. What is the most effective way in your opinion? Why?

**Literary Horizons, Grade 10 (n.d.) p. 214**

*Tunisia has not yet joined the peace process in the Middle East, which might explain its neutral position on this issue. There are few references to the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty of 1979, some of which with the connotation that it harmed Arab solidarity and the Palestinian armed struggle against Israel.<sup>47</sup> The Oslo agreement is discussed in a neutral language and the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan is briefly mentioned. However, the Tunisians insert in the books a statement by the late Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat in which he stresses the right of the (future) state of Palestine, the state of Israel, and the neighbors of both to live in peace. This quotation is absent from the Palestinian schoolbooks themselves, which systematically avoid any advocacy of peace with Israel.*

Document 20: Excerpts from a press conference by Arafat on Dec. 14, 1988

“It was clear from my speech at the United Nations yesterday that we talked about the right of our people to freedom and independence and about [the right of] all the parties to exist in peace, including the State of Palestine and the State of Israel and their neighbors.”

**History, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) p. 267**

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<sup>47</sup> History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 351

## ***Jihad and Martyrdom***

*Jihad is a favorite subject in Arab curricula and in Iran. One might find there whole chapters about this issue, backed by Koranic verses, Prophetic Sayings, poems, stories and illustrations. The Tunisian books do not deal much with this issue and they tend to play down its significance and relevance to our own days. Jihad and Jihad fighters are mentioned in the context of Tunisia's struggle for independence in the 1950s<sup>48</sup> and once in relation to the Palestinian revolt of 1936 against the British.<sup>49</sup> An Islamic Education textbook features a definition of the term which states that the original meaning of Jihad in Islam has always been a spiritual struggle against one's own moral deficiencies. But, due to historical events (the persecution of the Prophet of Islam by his fellow townsmen), it has also come to denote defensive war.<sup>50</sup>*

### Text: Jihad in Islam

The people of Mecca were extremists in their dispute with the Prophet and the group of the believers. They rejected any understanding or concession. Then, they prepared an army to fight the believers. By that Jihad became holy war. The reason [for that] was that the Muslims had been oppressed and expelled from their houses (in Mecca) against their right. Jihad, according to the Koranic text and according to Muslim reality, is defense of one's soul and is by no means an initiation of hostility.

But the original meaning of Jihad in Islam is always making one's soul sustain calamities and make one sustain difficulties. With this meaning Jihad has become a noble way, a strong incentive and an exalted motive for elevating oneself, one's soul and one's spirit... According to religion and to [its] origin, Jihad in its essence is a spiritual and moral Jihad related to the self. It is a precious effort so that man would overcome his negative moral sides and, then, his belief would remain pure...

...

### Points of Interest

1. ...
2. ...
3. The concept of Jihad has developed and in all cases it means man's effort to spread human values, such as justice and mercy.

### **Islamic Education, Grade 9 (2007) pp. 37-39**

*In Arab and Iranian curricula, the ideal of martyrdom (shahadah) is glorified and the student is subjected to heavy pressure to adopt it personally. However, it is used in Tunisian books almost exclusively in the context of Tunisia's past struggle for independence,<sup>51</sup> as well as in a description of a Palestinian leader who fell in battle against British forces in the 1930s (Sheikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam).<sup>52</sup> But there are other*

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<sup>48</sup> See, for example, History, Grade 10 (n.d.) p. 187

<sup>49</sup> See the photograph of Palestinian Jihad fighters in History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 346

<sup>50</sup> Islamic Education, Grade 9 (2007) pp. 37-38

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, the inscription next to a photograph showing a line of bodies of Tunisian victims of the clashes with French forces in Bizerte in 1961, History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 398

<sup>52</sup> History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 346

*occurrences of this term in poems written by non-Tunisians on the subject of Palestine, which appear in literature textbooks and elsewhere.<sup>53</sup> At any rate, no explicit or implicit advocacy of embracing Jihad or shahadah in an ongoing or future war against the enemy is found in the Tunisian textbooks, unlike the case in other Arab or Iranian books.*

One of their [i.e., the strike committees'] most prominent members in the Bizerte district was Muhammad al-Khoumeiri[?] who was arrested on September 11, 1924. That led to demonstrations with two martyrs and a large number of wounded [people]... By this repression the Protectorate authorities aimed at terrorizing the Tunisian workers and dissuading them from [the idea of] establishing an independent trade union...

**History, Grade 13 [Humanities] (2007) p. 172**

### ***Terror***

*A revealing passage in one of the books states in a footnote to a French document about attacks and sabotage in Tunisia in the early 1950s that what is actually meant is “resistance to French Colonialism” (Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 6 (2007) p. 60). This statement makes clear that Tunisian educators still believe that end justifies the means. Such an approach is evident in a few references to the Palestinian armed struggle against Israel, where the term “Fidai” is used.<sup>54</sup> One text describes the PLO terrorist attack on the Israeli sports team at the Munich Olympic Games in 1972 as one of the fidai actions which aimed at attracting world public opinion to the Palestinian cause.<sup>55</sup> Often termed “armed struggle” or “Fidai operations,” terrorist activities against enemy population are usually praised in Arab schoolbooks. In the Tunisian books, however, references to these activities are relatively few and they are mentioned in factual language without the usual glorifying expressions found in books of other Arab nations.*

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<sup>53</sup> [Literary] Texts, Grade 7 (n.d.) p. 159; History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 359

<sup>54</sup> *Fidai* – a traditional Islamic term denoting a person who is ready to sacrifice his life for a cause, usually in the realm of religion. Nowadays, it is used to denote members of the Palestinian armed organizations.

<sup>55</sup> History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) p. 350

## Conclusion

*From the preceding material it is clear that the Tunisian schoolbooks can serve as a model for other Arab textbooks in the following fields:*

- *Emphasis on equality between all human groups, and on the importance of tolerance, peace and dialogue with the “other.”*
- *Openness to the “other” and its culture (the West in this case).*
- *Formal adoption of foreign values (democracy, etc.) under the conviction that they are all products of universal cultural efforts throughout history.*
- *Rejection of the idea of cultural self-seclusion and advocacy of active participation in world cultural activities.*
- *Acceptance of Globalization as a fait accompli and its presentation as an opportunity alongside its being a threat.*
- *Use of religion as a platform for universal rapprochement, rather than as a means of alienation vis-à-vis the “other.”*
- *Restriction of the ideals of Jihad and martyrdom to historical events, with no immediate implication on the student’s own future.*
- *Avoidance of using historical events ideologically: non-“Arabization” of ancient Tunisian peoples, as well as neutral treatment of past enemies with no attempt to weaving a centuries-long conspiracy of a multi-faceted enemy (as is done regarding the Crusaders and Western Imperialism in some Arab schoolbooks).*
- *Objective explanation of Western Imperialism as a historical phenomenon with its own contemporary political, economic, social and ideological backgrounds, rather than its presentation as proof of the “other” being inherently evil.*
- *Fostering friendly relations with individual members of the “other” entity in spite of historical or current enmities (France in the Tunisian particular case).*
- *Objective criticism of the “other” whenever necessary, with due presentation of positive aspects (references to anti-imperialist Frenchmen and the presentation of the United States in Tunisian schoolbooks).*

*These are all important points hardly existing in books of other Arab nations studied by IMPACT-SE, namely, Syria, Egypt (except for the attitude to the Coptic minority), Saudi Arabia and the Palestinian Authority, as well as non-Arab Iran.*

*The only deficiency found in the Tunisian schoolbooks, as far as the attitude to the “other” and to peace is concerned, is their treatment of the Middle East conflict and its Jewish-Israeli side. As already stated above, the presentation of the conflict is biased, with no explanation of the foundations of the Jewish position. The Jewish side is presented as the sole source of the conflict and Israel is demonized, with no attempt to bring to the student possible positive information about it. Furthermore, the Tunisian textbooks seem to take a reserved position towards peace in the region and there are – albeit few – instances in which violent struggle of liberation is advocated, though not directly. There is even one case in which an obvious terrorist action (the Munich*

*Olympics attack, 1972) is mentioned in a favorable context. All that should be rectified before a Tunisian role model can become effective.*

*Yet, even in this field, one can find a few positive points absent in other Arab curricula. Apart from the honest admission that it was the Arab side which started the war of 1948 in defiance of the UN Partition Resolution, and thus caused the Palestinian disaster (an admission also appearing in one Palestinian textbook), the Tunisian schoolbooks feature – as already mentioned – the following important characteristics:*

*First, they avoid extensive coverage of the relations between Prophet Muhammad and the Jews of Arabia, which were tense most of the time and ended in expulsion, massacre and enslavement of the various Jewish tribes. These events are ordinarily used in Arab schoolbooks to foster hatred to present-day Jews, which makes the Tunisians' uniquely positive.*

*Second, Israel is sometimes recognized both in the text and on maps. Although it is not done consistently in all cases, it is still a great improvement compared to other Arab textbooks. In no other case, except for two Israeli maps reproduced in one PA book, does the name "Israel" appear on a map in the Arab schoolbooks studied by IMPACT-SE.*

*Third, the Tunisian books alone refer to an Israeli individual in a positive context, in a love poem by a Palestinian poet. Other Arab schoolbooks systematically avoid any positive reference to Jewish or Israeli individuals. This is a crucial point, since the absence of the "other" individual as an ordinary person leaves the student with the impression of the "other" as a threatening alien group and obstructs the path to future understanding.*

*Fourth, a statement by the late Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat in favor of peaceful coexistence between the State of Israel and the (future) state of Palestine is quoted in a Tunisian book. This is not done in the PA textbooks themselves, as they systematically avoid any call for peace with Israel. In other words, though the Tunisian books do not contain open advocacy for peace with Israel, the inclusion of this statement by Arafat may be interpreted as an implicit call for such peace.*

*The study by IMPACT-SE of the 64 Tunisian school textbooks has thus found that, provided they improve their treatment of the Middle East conflict, they might serve as a model for their Arab counterparts. In fact, many aspects of their attitude to the "other" and to peace can be adopted right now.*

## List of Sources

### Language

1. *Reader, Grade 1 (2007) 118 pages*
2. *Exercise Book, Grade 1 (2007) 136 pages*
3. *Reader, Grade 2 (2007) 144 pages*
4. *Exercise Book, Grade 2 (2007) 160 pages*
5. *Reader, Grade 3 (2007) 168 pages*
6. *Exercises in Reading, Grammar and Writing, Grade 3 (2007) 256 pages*
7. *Ways of Discourse, Grade 4 (2007) 174 pages*
8. *Exercises in Grammar and Writing, Grade 4 (2007) 144 pages*
9. *Reader, Grade 5 (2007) 174 pages*
10. *Writing, Grade 5 (2007) 191 pages*
11. *[Literary] Texts, Grade 6 (2006) 222 pages*
12. *Exercise Book, Grade 6 (n.d.) 248 pages*
13. *[Literary] Texts, Grade 7 (n.d.) 216 pages*
14. *Arabic Grammar, Grade 7 (2007) 303 pages*
15. *[Literary] Texts, Grade 8 (n.d.) 272 pages*
16. *Arabic Grammar, Grade 8 (n.d.) 232 pages*
17. *[Literary] Texts, Grade 9 (2007) 211 pages*
18. *Arabic Grammar, Grade 9 (2006) 133 pages*
19. *Literary Horizons, Grade 10 (n.d.) 402 pages*
20. *Literature, Grade 11, Part 1 (n.d.) 256 pages*
21. *Literature, Grade 11, Part 2 (2007) 287 pages*
22. *[Literary] Texts, Grade 12 – Humanities (2006) 328 pages*
23. *[Literary] Texts, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) 318 pages*
24. *[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 – Humanities, Part 1 (2007) 376 pages*
25. *[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 – Humanities, Part 2 (2007) 351 pages*
26. *[Literary] Texts, Grade 13 – Sciences (n.d.) 263 pages*

### Science

27. *Science, Grade 2 (2007) 160 pages*
28. *Science, Grade 3 (2007) 160 pages*
29. *Science, Grade 4 (2007) 152 pages*
30. *Science, Grade 5 (2007) 175 pages*
31. *Science, Grade 6 (2007) 159 pages*
32. *Biology and Earth Sciences, Grade 7 (2007) 143 pages*
33. *Biology and Earth Sciences, Grade 8 (2007) 197 pages*
34. *Natural Sciences, Grade 9 (2007) 183 pages*

### Social Sciences

35. *Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 5 (2007) 240 pages*
36. *Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 6 (2007) 279 pages*
37. *Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 7 (n.d.) 280 pages*
38. *Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 8 (n.d.) 304 pages*
39. *Social Sciences, Grade 9 (n.d.) 280 pages*

40. *History, Grade 10 (n.d.) 224 pages*
41. *Geography, Grade 10 (2007) 118 pages*
42. *History, Grade 11 – Humanities (n.d.) 272 pages*
43. *History, Grade 11 – Sciences (2007) 200 pages*
44. *Geography, Grade 11 – Humanities (2007) 160 pages*
45. *Geography, Grade 11 – Sciences (2007) 144 pages*
46. *History, Grade 12 – Humanities (n.d.) 358 pages*
47. *History, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) 279 pages*
48. *Geography, Grade 12 – Humanities (2007) 415 pages*
49. *Geography, Grade 12 – Sciences (n.d.) 296 pages*
50. *History, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) 439 pages*
51. *Geography, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) 399 pages*

#### Islamic Education

52. *Islamic Education, Grade 7 (2007) 111 pages*
53. *Islamic Education, Grade 8 (2007) 158 pages*
54. *Islamic Education, Grade 9 (2007) 144 pages*
55. *Islamic Thinking, Grade 10 (2007) 104 pages*
56. *Islamic Thinking, Grade 11 (2007) 80 pages*
57. *Islamic Thinking, Grade 12 – Humanities (2006) 109 pages*
58. *Islamic Thinking, Grade 12 – Sciences (n.d.) 95 pages*
59. *Islamic Thinking, Grade 13 – Humanities (2007) 238 pages*

#### Philosophy

60. *Philosophy, Grade 12 – Humanities (2007) 280 pages*
61. *Philosophy, Grade 12 – Sciences (2007) 191 pages*
62. *Philosophy, Grade 13 – Humanities, Part 1 (n.d.) 327 pages*
63. *Philosophy, Grade 13 – Humanities, Part 2 (n.d.) 400 pages*
64. *Philosophy, Grade 13 – Sciences (2007) 408 pages*

## **Appendix I: Applied International Educational Standards based on UNESCO Resolutions**

1. Does the curriculum promote tolerance<sup>i</sup>, understanding and respect toward the “other,” its culture, achievements, values and ways of life? Does it address the sources of intolerance<sup>ii</sup>?
2. Does the curriculum develop capabilities of non-violent conflict resolution?<sup>iii</sup>
3. Does the curriculum promote peace<sup>iv</sup> and peace processes? Does it promote international understanding and cooperation? Does it bring the pupil to understand and assume his or her responsibilities for the maintenance of peace?<sup>v</sup>
4. Is the curriculum free of wording, imagery and ideologies that would likely create prejudices and misconceptions, stereotypes, misunderstandings, mistrust, racial hatred, religious bigotry, and national hatred, as well as any sort of hatred or contempt for other groups or peoples?<sup>vi</sup>
5. Are all educational materials (textbooks, workbooks, teachers’ guides, maps, illustrations, aids) up-to-date, accurate, complete, balanced, and unprejudiced, and do they use equal standards so as to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples?<sup>vii</sup>
6. Does the curriculum include full, adequate and objective data and critical analysis of the historical and contemporary factors underlying the contradictions, disputes, conflicts and tensions between countries and groups, together with study of ways of overcoming these contradictions?<sup>viii</sup>

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<sup>i</sup> As defined in the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance Proclaimed and signed by Member States of UNESCO on 16 November 1995, Article 1.

<sup>ii</sup> Based on *ibid*, Article 4.2.

<sup>iii</sup> Based on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eight session, Paris, November 1995, Article 9; and on the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance Proclaimed and signed by Member States of UNESCO on 16 November 1995, Article 5.

<sup>iv</sup> The goal of education for peace is the development in an individual of values which are universally recognized, regardless of different socio-cultural contexts. See *ibid*, Article 6.

<sup>v</sup> Based on UNESCO Recommendation 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, 19 November 1974, Articles III.6, and IV.7.

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<sup>vi</sup> Based on *ibid*, Articles III.6, IV.7 and VII.39; and 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 18.

<sup>vii</sup> Based on *ibid*, Articles VI.39 and X.45; and the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance Proclaimed and signed by Member States of UNESCO on 16 November 1995, Article 4.3.

<sup>viii</sup> Based on UNESCO Recommendation 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, 19 November 1974, Article V.14.