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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This August, the Palestinian Authority (PA) published its reformed school curriculum for Grades 5–11, completing the reform that began last year with Grades 1–4.

This is the first full reform of the Palestinian curriculum since 2000, when the PA published its first curriculum following the Oslo Accords. Before then, children in the West Bank and East Jerusalem studied the Jordanian curriculum and in Gaza, Egyptian textbooks. This initial report covers sample textbooks from the new PA curriculum of 2017–18 for Grades 5–11. Further research will provide a full assessment of the new curriculum covering Grades 1–12.

Preliminary Findings

- Radicalization is pervasive across this new curriculum, to a greater extent than before.
- The curriculum exerts pressure over young Palestinians to acts of violence in a more extensive and sophisticated manner. The discourse is couched in terms of nationalist and religious martyrdom, across science, literature, history and religious education textbooks.
- This version of the PA curriculum educates for a long war of attrition against Israel which stands out as the axis mundi of Palestinian identity, connecting its various dimensions into one ideology. With a comprehensive and oft-stated justification for defensive (obligatory) jihad, the curriculum's focus appears to have expanded from demonization of Israel to providing a rationale for war.
- The crux of this report is education for war and against peace with Israel. The second batch of the new, reformed curriculum of the PA has further distanced itself from our UNESCO-derived standards, as detailed in the conclusion.

Topics of Interest

Respect for Elderly, Women, Authority, Anti-Corruption—There is continuity in teaching respect for teachers and authority figures and a slight improvement in presenting a realistic picture of the situation of the PA in terms of identity and a struggle against corruption. Secular textbooks present women and girls in a better manner than in Islamic studies textbooks.

Peace—The word "peace" in a political context and the term "Two State Solution" does not appear in a positive context throughout the curriculum. Past agreements between Israel and the PA appear only once, hidden within an edited version of UNSC resolution 2334 (2016), for the purpose of criticizing Israel. Any confidence-building and cooperation measures between Israel and the Palestinian Authority are omitted. Note that previous history books mentioned The Oslo Accords, Camp David Accords, The PLO Letters of Mutual Recognition and a letter from former PA President Arafat to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, declaring that the PLO recognizes
the right of the State of Israel to live in peace and security. These do not appear in Semester 1 of the new curriculum.

**Teaching Martyrdom**—The curriculum utilizes a variety of tools to convince children—mostly boys—to risk their lives and die as martyrs. These include rage and a sense of humiliation, glory and honor. Students learn that the Palestinian Authority stands behind the families of those who die and are injured during clashes, or become prisoners. The rewards of paradise are clearly elucidated, including a plethora of virgin brides. Those who pursue personal success and careers are portrayed as cowards. Subliminal messaging is evident in images of conflicts.

**Emphasis on War**—*Jihad* war and the rules of combat according to Islam occupy a central place in the curriculum. Overall, Islam is characterized as a religion of war rather than of peace. War is characterized as "a phenomenon that has accompanied humanity since the dawn of history; in Islam it is a legal necessity." While in one section, war is presented as negative and limited in the violence that is allowed to be exerted, children are warned not to abandon *jihad*.

**Return**—There is a dramatic rise in the presentation of the return of Palestinians into Israel proper. Occupation now firmly extends to 1948 lines. For the first time, a violent reference to the fate of six million Jews living in Israel after its liberation appears in a poem which calls to "annihilate the remnants of the foreigners" after "eliminating the usurper."

Also new, the reformed curriculum emphasizes that the return of Palestinian refugees to pre-1967 Israel will take place though violence and that Israel will become sovereign Palestinian territory. Emphasizing the Palestinian character of areas, sites and cities in Israel within its pre-1967 borders leads students to understand that the struggle for liberation does not end at 1967 lines.

Textbooks now push back the beginning of Zionism to 1856 and the establishment of a Jewish neighborhood in Jerusalem some half a century before the actual beginnings of the Zionist movement. Thus the Jewish presence in the Holy Land as a whole is characterized as a criminal act, an idea which negates the possibility of peace and encourages attacks on Israelis.

**Violent Images**—The new textbooks contain graphic descriptions of the Nakba. A fifth-grade linguistics textbook describes leaving behind "body parts" of friends and neighbors in 1948.

**Violence in Science Instruction**—More than in the past, violence is inserted into science textbooks as everyday examples of scientific principles. A science textbook teaches Newtonian gravity through the image of a boy with a slingshot targeting soldiers, to explain power, mass, and tensile strength. An eleventh-grade physics textbook teaches circular motion through the use of a slingshot in another clash with IDF soldiers. A science exercise is entitled: "The Stones [sic] Uprising and Elastic Potential Energy."
Increase in Religious, Salafi and Muslim Brotherhood Content – The curriculum features Salafi and Muslim Brotherhood themes, from animated depictions of paradise and hell to references to polygamy and the suggestion that sex slavery is acceptable.

Christians are tolerated through the dhimmi covenant by which women and Christians are second-class subjects, yet partners in jihad and martyrdom. While jihad war is presented as an unending process, the curriculum subscribes to the Sharia concept entertained by the Muslim Brotherhood, of Islamic penetration into the Western World via proselytizing with no immediate need for a jihad war. However, such strategy is not applied to Israel which remains the focus of military jihad.

A far greater emphasis than previously is placed on the Al-Aqsa Mosque and its defense. There is a negation of Jewish holy sites. The Western wall is holy to Muslims alone.

While the nationalist nature of the conflict still dominates, this increased emphasis on Islamism is a new phenomenon.

Demonization of Israel – There is a greater demonization of Israel than previously. Israel proper is mostly described as the "Zionist Occupation" and systematically characterized through examples of evil-doing. There are no examples of cooperation between Israel and the Palestinian Authority and no education for peace and coexistence.

The word "Israel" typically appears as the "Zionist Occupation" throughout the entire corpus of the new curriculum, further removing any remnant of Israel, recognized by the Palestinian Authority in the Oslo Accords.

The Jewish presence in ancient Israel/Palestine does not appear in the new Grade 5–11 textbooks. The previous curriculum mentioned the Jewish kingdoms of David and Judah as well as the entry of the Israelites into Canaan under the leadership of Joshua Bin Nun and even a Jewish presence in Jerusalem.

Palestinian National Identity – We found some adjustments, including a slightly more nuanced presentation of the Canaanite myth, the awareness of local folklore, patriotism and hatred of Israel as major identity markers.

Imperial and Regional National Identities – Somewhat at the expense of a straightforward, separate and discernable Palestinian identity, the incorporation of other characters: pan-Islamism, pan-Arabism, Shami-Levantine of Greater Syria and even Ottomanism, are enhanced. The "Islamic State" and "Arab Homeland" transnational-imperial identities and ambitions are particularly stressed. (Note that the term "Islamic State" is used in the context of past empires, and not directly with ISIS).
**Distrust of the West**—In the new curriculum, this forms part of the resurgence of pan-Islamic and pan-Arab dreams. It also reflects an anti-colonialist attitude.

Note: This preliminary study does not include the second semester textbooks to be published by January 2018. We trust it is not naïve to hope that the PA can reverse its course, change the first semester books and publish second semester books that are in line with UNESCO-derived standards of peace and tolerance.
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Unintentionally, sometimes mistakes are made; they are the sole responsibility of the authors.

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INTRODUCTION

This August, the Palestinian Authority (PA) published its reformed school curriculum for grades 5–11, continuing the project that began last year with grades 1–4. This is the first full reform of Palestinian textbooks since 2000, when the PA published its first curriculum following the Oslo Accords. Before then, children in the West Bank and East Jerusalem studied the Jordanian curriculum and in Gaza, Egyptian textbooks.

In the following year IMPACT-se will thoroughly review the current curriculum according to our UNESCO-derived standards of peace and tolerance. Since this was thought to be a departure from previous curricula, it was deemed important to do a preliminary, interim study to determine whether substantive changes have been made to the education taught to Palestinian children.

We examined sixty-six textbooks from the overall curriculum. The report is divided into three main categories: Part One covers the concepts of jihadism and radicalization which focus on religious teachings, including martyrdom; the PA’s relationship to global Islamism; and Israel. Part Two deals with the notion of Palestinian identity and its evolution in PA textbooks. Regional and global empires, the notion of Canaanite roots, in addition to Levantine-Palestinian, Arab and Islamic ideas are considered, as is the presentation of the effects of Western colonialism on the Palestinian psyche and physical condition. Part Three deals with some of the positive elements found within the texts we examined.

This is not a complete report. There is much to discover and unravel. Our hope was that this new "reformed" PA curriculum would usher in a new beginning on which to build peace and tolerance in the region. We leave the final determination to our readers and invite any comments via our website: www.impact-se.org.

IMPACT-se
Jerusalem
October 2017
PART ONE: RADICALIZATION

1. Jihad and Martyrdom

Palestinian children learn that they are part of a long history of martyrs.

And the thousands of righteous and martyrs who have beautified her pure soil with their innocent blood and who have given her their pure souls. And they defend her from passing invaders and oppressive tyrants...


Children are encouraged to offer their blood, described in Tawfiq Zayyad's poem, "Remaining":

And [our] pure blood, we will not spare, will not spare, will not spare
Here we have a past, a present and a future.


The following is an excerpt from "Don't Tell My Mother!" by Muhammad Barash. The title suggests that children not obey parents' warnings when called to be martyrs:

And the last scene I saw before I found myself unconscious was that of a child who came running toward me, carrying a flag, shouting: martyr, martyr [shahid, shahid]!


Names of dead martyrs—Palestinian and others—are subliminally mentioned in various contexts. Omar Mukhtar (1858–1931) is a famous Libyan *jihad* warrior, who was executed. Also known as the "Sheikh of the Martyrs" and "Sheikh of the Jihadists." The following exercise reminds students of his heroism:
Gaza City decided to commemorate the name of Omar Mukhtar in recognition of his heroism.

*Arabic Language, Grade 6*, Vol. 1, 2017, p. 21

Saladin, the conqueror of Jerusalem, asked to be buried with his sword that "will serve as the best witness on resurrection day."


Children are exposed to vivid presentations of the pleasures of Paradise and the fires of Hell. The martyrs who die in violent conflicts receive quick passage to the best spots in Paradise, saving themselves the torments of judgement to which others are subjected.
Then Allah shows in these verses a few types of torment waiting for the infidels on Resurrection Day if they tried to escape, such as sending a flame of fire and melted copper upon them. There will be no helper for them on that day.


The faithful Muslims and those performing *jihad* are promised immortality in the gardens of bliss.

The verses of the Surah promise the followers of the Messenger and those performing *jihad* in his path, defenders of his religion, the best in this world, and immortality in the gardens of bliss in the Hereafter.


The following description of Paradise and its pleasures relates the blessings of the faithful (not necessarily those dying in battle). But the pleasures—with an emphasis on the sexual—seem clearly part of a design which encourages death as the pathway to an exciting place.
The verses are followed by the mention of blessings to the faithful, where the fruit is easy to pick without any effort or trouble amid plenty of bliss and generosity from the Almighty. And the believer marries chaste women who had never been married before. And Allah likened these women with sapphires and coral in the intensity of their beauty. All of these blessings are rewarded by Allah to His faithful worshipers for their benevolence in this world. The reward for good deeds is a great indeed. All this requires us to persevere in thanking Him, and worshiping the way that He loves and which pleases Him.


Those who die as martyrs (shahids) are the selected few. Their rewards are great, both in terms of avoiding suffering on the torturous way to Paradise and in being showered with honor, beautiful women and with the power to intercede for family and friends.

2. Allah wants to take martyrs [shahids] from among the believers and honor them by martyrdom [shahadah] to forgive their sins and raise their class in Paradise. The Messenger of Allah said: 'There are six advantages for martyrs with Allah: he is forgiven in the first batch [of the resurrected dead] and sees his seat in Paradise and is saved from the torment of the grave; is safe during the Great Fear; a crown of honor is placed on his head (one sapphire from this [crown] is better than the entire world and what is in it); he will be married to seventy-two wives from among the Houris [virgin companions; Hoor al-'Ayn]; and he [may] intercede for seventy of his relatives.'


The women of paradise are beautiful and chaste. They are kept inside in their palaces, waiting for the young would-be martyr.

In which there are devoted women with a high degree of beauty and purity who do not exit from their palaces and are called Houris [Hoor al-'Ayn].

Islamic Education, Grade 6, Vol. 1, 2017, p. 27.
Pressuring Girls to Die in Conflict Zones

Palestinian Muslim girls are also encouraged to sacrifice their lives. This form of feminism espoused in the curriculum is a way for girls to achieve "equality" by their sacrifice. Islam is presented as a faith that raises the status of women, so they are "sisters to the men in sacrifice and altruism."

Islam raised the status of women, and honored them in a way no other religion had done; women in Islam are sisters to the men in sacrifice and altruism.


The curriculum showcases Islamist and nationalistic role models of female martyrs. Here, Dalal Mughrabi, who in 1978 participated in a PLO attack, is portrayed as having killed more than thirty Israeli soldiers. In fact, the attack resulted in the murder of thirty-eight Israeli citizens, including thirteen children.

Arab women had a prominent role in resisting Imperialism. They did not hesitate to join the bases of the revolutionaries and the training centers. They also led guerrilla operations against the occupation. They led the lists of martyrs, wounded and prisoners, such as Djamila Bouhired, who resisted French colonialism in Algeria and Dalal Mughrabi who led the Deir Yassin operation on the Palestinian coast in 1978, which resulted in the deaths of more than thirty soldiers. And [there were] many more women, apart from these two, who carried the banner of resistance and liberation in the face of colonialism.

*Social Studies, Grade 9,* Vol. 1, 2017, p. 74.
Palestinian Heroes

مَرْحَبَىٰ لِلْبَطَالِ

(المُؤلَّفون)

يَسَىٰ يَدَى النَّصَبِ

لِلَّبَاطِلِ مَكَانةً كُبْرَى فِي كِلٍّ أُمَّةٍ فَهُمُ الْذِّيْنَ صَخَّوْا بِالْفَنَّسِ وَالْمَالِ وَلَكِنَّ خَلَدَ ذَكْرُهُمْ وَاعْتَرَ النَّاسُ بِهِمْ وَكَلَّ أُمَّةٍ تَفْخَرُ كَلِّمَا كَرَّ أَنْتَفَحَانَا وَالَّذِينَ إِنَّمَا اخْتَلَفُوا فِي أَشْبَاهٍ كَثِيرٍ فَهُمُ يَتَّقَفُونَ جَمِيعًا عَلَى الْإِعْتِزَازِ بِبَاطِلِهِمْ إِذَا لَوْلَاهُمْ لَهَانَتَ الْأُمُّمُ
Hooray for the Heroes

Heroes have a great place in every nation; they are the ones who sacrificed their souls and their money. Therefore, they are remembered, and the people are proud of them. Every nation is proud of having as many heroes as can be. And people, who may differ on many issues, all agree on cherishing their heroes. Because if not for them, the nations would be contemptible.


Dying is better than living: "Drinking the cup of bitterness with glory is much sweeter than a pleasant long life accompanied by humiliation." And: "Each of us wishes to be like them."

We are proud of them, we sing with their wonders, and study their march, and give their names to our children; we put their names on our streets and squares and the cultural places. We spray our gatherings with the perfume of their memory, and each of us wishes to be like them. They have decorated the pages of history. They taught people that drinking the cup of bitterness with glory is much sweeter than a pleasant long life accompanied by humiliation. Indeed, they created an illustrious history to the nation. They are the heroes.


A list of past heroes including extremists and the conqueror of Spain (Tariq ibn Ziyad), are cited as evidence of the heroism of Arabs and Muslims. Among those mentioned are famous Arab-Muslim warriors covering "our great homeland, ancient and modern, from Palestine to Egypt and Libya, all the way to Andalusia." On the Palestinian level, apart from Yasir Arafat, the text mentions Izz Al-Din Al-Qassam, the Syrian Islamist who died in Palestine in 1935 and gave his name to the Izz Al-Din Al-Qassam Brigades of the Hamas Movement.
Who among us will forget Khalid ibn al-Walid, Umm Ammarah Nusaybah bint Ka'ab al-Ansariyyah, Khawlah bint al-Azwar, Tariq ibn Ziyad, Saladin, [Saif ad-Din] Qutuz, Omar al-Mukhtar, Izz al-Din al-Qassam, Dalal al-Maghrabi, Yasir Arafat and others of these moons that never set, which light the darkness of our black nights? These are all embraced by our great homeland, ancient and modern, from Palestine to Egypt and Libya, all the way to Andalusia.


Dalal Mughrabi participated (and died) in the 1978 PLO (Fatah) Coastal Road massacre in Israel which killed noted freelance photographer, Gail Rubin and a bus full of local tourists. The textbook claims she attacked Israeli soldiers.¹ Mughrabi—who became a PA hero—is an example of the present curriculum’s effort to lure girls into violence. A social studies textbook includes her and Algerian terrorist Djamila Bouhired, among Arab women having a "prominent role in resisting imperialism." The textbook claims (falsely) the "deaths of more than thirty soldiers"² in the 1978 PLO (Fatah) terrorist attack. Except for one soldier, thirty-eight civilians, including thirteen children, died in the massacre, which also injured more than seventy others. According to the testimony of one the victims, Mughrabi snatched a baby from her mother's arms and threw her into the fire. She also shot a fleeing hostage in the back.³

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Michael Jacobson, "Around the Monument to the Bloody Bus" (Hebrew), _Halon Ahori_. https://michaelarch.wordpress.com/2013/01/09/.


The pressure on students to risk their lives and become martyrs is exemplified in the following passage describing the glory of the dead—"the crown of the nation"—and denigrating those who seek fruitful and peaceful lives.

These heroes are the crown of their nation, and they are the title of its glory, and they are the best among the generous and the best among the giving; they carried their lives in their palms, and threw them into danger. Their determination never weakened, they never tired, or surrendered. Some reached their destiny as martyrs; others died for their pledge as proud heroes.

These sacrifices and the heroic acts they offered were not for personal gain. They did not leave behind wealth, nor real estate, as all they did was for their faith, their peoples and their homelands. Therefore, they deserved to be called heroes, immortalized by history, and their memory remains as musk fragrance. Hooray for them and down with the cowards!

Martyrdom and *jihad* are "the most important meanings of life".

Giving one's life [*fida'*, sacrifice, fight, *jihad* and struggle are the most important meanings of life, especially for a people suffering from the scourge of occupation, of siege, repression, harassment, demolition and arrest; [they are] for freedom, the establishment of the state and self-determination. This is the Palestinian people who displayed the most beautiful pictures of belonging and steadfastness and gave birth to heroes armed with faith, knowledge and patriotism.


The curriculum is often specific in teaching children certain practicalities of violence. The image below of a boy shooting soldiers with a slingshot accompanies an exercise supposedly aimed at teaching Newton's second law of motion in a science textbook.

The text reads:

During the first Palestinian uprising, Palestinian youths used slingshots to confront the soldiers of the Zionist Occupation and defend themselves from their treacherous bullets.

- What is the relationship between the elongation of the slingshot's rubber and the tensile strength affecting it?
- What are the forces that influence the stone after its release from the slingshot?

Here, twelve-year-old students are encouraged in text and image to risk their lives in clashes with Israeli security forces. They are encouraged to "confront the soldiers," expose themselves to "treacherous bullets," and "defend themselves" with a slingshot.

For thirteen-year-olds, the image is more dramatic and the instructions more specific.

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Science Study through Slingshots

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Activity 4: The Stones Uprising and Elastic Potential Energy:

During the Palestinian Stone Uprising of 1987, the youth of Palestine used a slingshot or the 'shu‘ba' to confront the bullets of the Occupation army soldiers who were breaking in Palestinian towns. The Palestinians had no other means of defending themselves.

Answer the questions:

1. Have you seen a slingshot in your environment? What are its uses?
2. What is its usefulness for shooting stones? How does it work?
3. Examine the forms of energy transformations of the stone, from the moment it is set in the slingshot position until its launch towards the target.
4. Formerly, bows and arrows were used as a means of self-defense. Explain the principle of how it [the bow] works in launching an arrow toward the goal and compare it with the principle of how slingshots worked in the Palestinian stone uprising.
5. What safety precautions should be taken into account when using the slingshot?


An even more detailed and technical view is presented in a physics textbook, this time from the angle of circular motion:

The following illustration shows nine-year-old children in the classroom looking at their friend's desk with the sign: "The Martyr."

_A more powerful and sadder image is embedded in a social studies textbook aimed at the ten-year-old age group. In the picture below, we see one class with three martyrs._

The image below is part of an effort that presents war as a permanent phenomenon, a destiny. Palestinian children are trained to live with; an ongoing war until the future day when victory is declared. (We discuss this fully in Section 4.)

In the same _Social Studies_ book, we see images of destruction by war. A typical text goes as follows (note the psychological effects mentioned):
Where war happens, so does destruction. Not a tree can be saved, not a stone, nor plant, nor animal. Houses have been destroyed, many killed, diseases spread, and those remaining lived in shelters unleashing epidemics, diseases, disabilities, burns and pain. This is in addition to the psychological effects. The impact of war is not limited to humans but also to the plants. It has resulted in the destruction of large areas of vegetation . . .


The authors of the new curriculum turn to inspiring role models who can ignite the imagination of would-be jihadi-martyrs. The "Bravery of the Prophet" image gives an example:

"Bravery of the Prophet"

Prophet Muhammad is presented as a military hero with a special proclivity for risking his life. He displayed his bravery by risking his life as he faced his enemies, riding his animal and making himself an easy target for them.


Within Islam, Prophet Muhammad is considered a perfect human being, endowed with infallibility (isma), and is the ultimate role model (’uswa hasana). Here is a reference from *Islamic Studies* (Grade 11), describing the Prophet as surpassing everyone in religious law and fighting jihad. Note that the attached Qur'anic verse (Arabic, in blue) does not include jihad but was added by curriculum authors:

The good example: The Prophet never ordered his companions to do something before applying it to himself; he would never prohibit them from doing something unless he did so himself. He was their prayer leader [imam] during prayer and their commander in the jihad [wars] and their best morally. 'There has certainly been for you in the Messenger of Allah an excellent pattern for anyone whose hope is in Allah and the Last Day and [who] remembers Allah often.' (*Al-Ahzab* 33:21)


The *Islamic Education* (Grade 5) text further prods children to put themselves in harm's way: "We in Palestine follow our Prophet's bravery." Also: "the Muslim offers his soul in defense of his religion, homeland and sanctities." And: "the objectives of jihad is to support the downtrodden [nusrat al-mustaz'afin], protect religion and liberate the occupied Islamic holy sites." A colored banner proclaims: "I am a brave Muslim, I follow the Messenger." And in the same textbook, another banner: "I am a Muslim, I sacrifice for the liberation of Al-Aqsa Mosque."

Note the use of jihad and nusrah, (and below: "The Islamic State") as televisions in every home show the fighting of Al-Qaeda affiliate: Jabhat al-Nusrah.

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I am a Muslim; I sacrifice for the liberation of Al-Aqsa Mosque.

2. Religious Radicalization

Jihad and martyrdom for boys and girls are framed as a life goal for young Palestinians. The struggle is at first glance nationalistic: to conquer Palestine from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea. But it is also Islamist, Pan-Arab and Shami/Levantine (Pan-Syrian). As we will see in later sections, this host of collective identities is mobilized within one shared belief: that Israel will no longer exist, even if this means that Palestine will no longer exist. In this section, we focus on the centrality of Islamism—a combination of a Jihadi-Salafism and Muslim Brotherhood-style militaristic ideology that draws on the Prophet's battles and victories from the earliest beginnings of Islam. Creating the sense of an esprit de corps of Muhammad and his earliest followers, the Pious Forefathers (Al-Salaf al-Salih), make the PA curriculum seem exciting and dangerous to students.

The last section ends with the "Bravery of the Prophet." The Prophet is depicted as happy to risk his life in battle for Islam.

Islamic Ummah

القرآن الكريم السبب في سيادة الأمة الإسلامية على غيرها من الأمم، عندما تمسكنت، وعملت به.

2. The Holy Qur'an is the reason for the rule of the Islamic Ummah over the other nations, when it is observed and worked with.


This text is reminiscent of the famous dictum of the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan al-Banna: "It is the nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its law on all nations and to extend its power to the entire planet." In Section 8 we will discuss the curriculum's fascination with Islamist and Arab Imperialism.

وقد فضل الله تعالى القرآن الكريم على غيره من الكتاب الشماليء؛ بأن جعله للناس كافة، وجعل رسالته خالدة إلى يوم الدين.

Allah has preferred the Holy Qur'an to other heavenly books; in that He made it for all people and made His message eternal until the Day of Judgment.


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Radical Islam and Jihad

The central religious command discussed in the *Islamic Education* textbook for Grade 9 (ages 15–16) is *jihad*. In the lesson on revelation (*wahy*), a universal Qur'anic verse directed to all humans, is preceded by an attack on infidels.

Among the obligations of the messengers and prophets:

To establish the argument with the people, so the infidels and owners of sins will not find justification for the defense of their sins on Resurrection Day, the Almighty said:

'[We sent] messengers as bringers of good tidings and forewarnings so that mankind would have no argument against Allah once the messengers had been sent. And ever is Allah Exalted in Might and Wisdom.' (*Al-Nisa* 4:165)


An introduction to a chapter on the Surah Muhammad of the Holy Qur'an, includes the following:

*By the end of the lesson, students are expected to*:

4 - Clarify the rules of *jihad* and prisoners referred to by the Holy Verses.

5 - Deduce the wisdom of fighting the infidels.


Death as Privilege

Death is a privilege of which students are encouraged to take advantage. There is nothing to lose by dying during the *jihad* war because one's lifespan and death are predestined. So one has to refuse humiliation and seek glory and honor for himself and his nation.
2. Courage and Audacity: The Muslim is not afraid of death since it is a privilege. Destiny is predestined and failure to strive and make the *jihad* does not increase one's age and courage does not diminish it. He rejects humiliation and disgrace and seeks glory and dignity for himself and his nation.


Those fighting the *jihad* will go to paradise.

This Surah [*Muhammad*] was also called Surah Al-Qital [Fighting], because it includes fighting against the infidels.

The surah covers the rules of fighting, prisoners, booty and the conditions of the hypocrites. The axis around which the Surah revolves is *jihad for the sake of Allah.*

The verses of the Surah promise the followers of the Messenger and those performing *jihad* in his path, defenders of his religion, the best of this world and immortality in the gardens of bliss in the Hereafter.


The message to Christians and Jews is, accept subjugation or we will fight you.

The declaration of war against infidels who have no covenant [*‘ahd*] and no protection [*dhimnah*] and who fight the religion of Allah and prevent people from entering it. Allah ordered the believers to conduct a *jihad* [war] against them and treat them with hardness until they are subjugated, enfeebled and defeated.

The texts we examined—while radical and Islamist—do not encourage arbitrary cruelty and include built-in restraints.

Allah guides the Muslims that if they win over their enemy and weaken them, they should capture prisoners from them, and show kindness toward their prisoners and not kill any of them. Islam considers kindness toward to the prisoner as kindness toward the orphan. Islam is not eager to shed blood and kill people, but rather to fight those who fight Muslims and repel the religion of Allah.


The following description of Islam reflects a modern Islamist (mainly Muslim Brotherhood) ideology that does not insist on continuous *jihad* war against the infidels until the imposition of Islam worldwide by the sword. Instead, war is suspended as long as free proselytization is allowed, assuming that Islam will spread surely and peacefully worldwide, if not hindered. Israel is not included in this plan. Even so, this interpretation contravenes the letter and spirit of other sections of the curriculum. See above: "war against infidels who have no covenant [*'ahd*] and no protection [*dhimnah*]" and below: "Allah commanded believers to fight infidels."

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The origin of the relations between Muslims and others is to be based on security and peace. War, which in Islam is called *jihad*, was deemed legal to protect the Muslim community from the aggression of the infidels and the arrogant, and to fight against those who stand in the face of the call for Islam (proselytizing). There are two types of *jihad* wars.

1. **Defensive Jihad** (*Jihad of pushing/removal [jihad daf’]*) is the *jihad* of the Muslims for themselves and their homeland.

2. **Offensive Jihad** (*Jihad of wish [jihad talab]*) is a fight against those who stand in the face of the call to Islam (proselytizing); prevent people from entering it of their own free will; discourage them from their religion; and does not allow the language of dialogue and understanding. Forcing people to disbelieve and torturing them to leave their religion is more severe than killing.


Following this prescription, the curriculum applies the first item to Israel, as a settler-colonialist entity robbing the Palestinians of their homeland.

**Rewards for Martyrs Who Die Fighting**

While the former quotation is inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood's ideology, here is a Salafi-style guideline for *jihadi* martyrs. Unlike the former example, in which *jihad* war—either offensive or defensive—purports to have a rational explanation, here *jihad* and martyrdom have theological merit. The Palestinian children delve into the theological dilemma of why Allah wishes to have martyrs. After all, Allah, the all-powerful, can win the wars by Himself. Still, He uses war and martyrdom as a means to test and forgive selected people among the faithful. These selected few garner many rewards. They secure a speedy trip to Paradise and benefit from honor and preferred treatment there. This argument is popular on radical Salafi websites.
Allah informed that He is capable of annihilating the enemies and killing them, but he ordered fight against them; for many wisdoms, including:

1. Allah wishes to distinguish between the truthful and others, such as the hypocrites in fighting against infidels.

2. Allah wants to take martyrs [shuhada'] from among the believers and honor them by martyrdom [shahadah] to forgive their sins and raise their class in Paradise. The Messenger of Allah said: 'There are six qualities for martyr with God: he is forgiven in the first batch [of the resurrected dead] and sees his seat in Paradise; and is saved from the torment of the grave; and is safe during the Great Fear; and a crown of honor is placed on his head (one sapphire from this [crown] is better than the entire world and what is in it); and he is being married to seventy-two wives from among the Houris (Hoor al-'Ayn); and he [may] intercede for seventy of his relatives.'

(Recited by Al-Tirmidhi, and corrected by Al-Albani.)


Note: Sheikh Muhammad Nasir-ud-Dīn al-Albani (1914–1999)—the source denoted in the Palestinian textbook—is considered "a towering figure of purist Salafism." 9

The following verse, from the Qur'an, calling to "kill them wherever you find them," is given within an exercise with no context or mitigating commentary:

"and kill them wherever you find them" (Nisa 4:89).


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Similar contents are given for the fifteen-to-sixteen-year-old students (Taubah 9). Verses 5 (known as the "Sword Verse" [Ayat al-Sayf]) and 14 of this Surah have been taught and often quoted by Jihadi-Salafi leaders such as Abdullah Azzam and Osama bin Laden. There are debates on whether these only apply to polytheists in the time of the Prophet or to all those considered enemies but the PA textbook does not offer any explanation.

And when the sacred months have passed, then kill the polytheists wherever you find them and capture them and besiege them and sit in wait for them at every place of ambush. But if they should repent, establish prayer and give zakah [required charity], let them [go] on their way. Indeed, Allah is Forgiving and Merciful. (Taubah 9:5).


We have seen above the direct connection between dying in battle and ascending to Paradise (along with other descriptions of the bliss of Paradise as compared to the torment of Hell). Here is a short recap:

The Surah covers the rules of fighting, prisoners, booty and the conditions of the hypocrites. The axis around which the Surah revolves is 'jihad for the sake of Allah.'

The verses of the Surah promise the followers of the Messenger and those performing jihad in his path, defenders of his religion, the best in this world and immortality in the gardens of bliss in the Hereafter.


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The End of Jews

In earlier PA curricula the tradition (hadith) on the destruction of the Jews (the speaking of stone and trees) is fully quoted. The new curriculum teaches students to find source material.

Activity:

1. I read the following text and extract from it the signs of the hour [the signs of the coming of Resurrection Day] and the times when repentance is not accepted [anymore]. [According to a report on the Prophet narrated by] Abu Hurairah, the Messenger of Allah said: 'Three [things] if occurred, the belief of a soul will not benefit her, if it did not exist beforehand: the sun rises from the West, and the Dajjal [anti-Christ], and the [appearance of the] Beast of the Earth.' Narrated by Muslim [name of a famous editor of traditions collection].

2. Discuss the sign of the hour related to the speaking of stone and trees.


The "speaking of the stone and the trees" relates to a tradition (Hadith) ascribed to the Prophet that all Jews will be killed by the Muslims on Resurrection Day. This tradition was fully printed in former editions. Here the textbook asks about the tradition, but the teacher and students are apparently expected to find it themselves. In some places this is associated with the conquest of Jerusalem by the Muslims. (See: Arabic Wikipedia, as an example of how widespread this tradition is on the web: https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/ﻉ.ﻡﺍﺕ_ﺍﻝﺱﺍﻉﺓ_ﺍﻝﺹﻍﺭﻯ)

Fighting as an Ongoing Necessity

The following quotation argues that "fighting in the way of Allah" is an ongoing necessity. Avoiding war will lead to the spread of oppression and injustice, internal feuds, fighting and chaos (fawda). Moreover, those who are not engaged in war will see the infidels overpowering the faithful and people will stop visiting their relatives.
Allah warns believers that ignoring His command and leaving the fighting \( qital \) in His path lead to the spread of injustice and corruption in the land and also to the spread of division and conflict, infighting \( iqtital \) and chaos, and infidels' imposing themselves on the believers. It also leads to severing womb-relations among the people [neglecting family visits].

**Lessons and warnings learned from the verses:**
1. Expose the hypocrites, and reveal their tricks.
2. Leaving \( jihad \) for the sake of Allah is the cause of corruption in the land.
3. Cutting womb [relations/visits] has the effect of ignoring Allah's command.


While the curriculum contains both Muslim Brotherhood and Salafi influences, limits are drawn. The text warns students against attacking or accusing other Muslims regarding their faith (\( takfir \) [excommunication]), or declaring other Muslims as infidels, a tactic often used by jihadi-Salafi groups, from the Gama'ah Islamiyyayah in 1980s Egypt, to ISIS and its many offshoots.

**Clarification:**
- I do not excommunicate [\( takfir \)] Muslims personally.
• The faith increases and decreases: It increases when obeying requirements and decreases with sinning.


**Islam as a Repository of Martial Wisdom**

Islamic studies are a way to learn about past wars. Battle maps and descriptions help students learn more about the Prophet as one of history’s great generals. They also instill and strengthen the idea of non-subjugated Jews as deceitful, implacable enemies of Muslims.

The textbooks refer to the various tactics used to spread the budding Islamic faith and rule via a combination of proselytizing, military raids and temporary truce agreements. The new _Islamic Studies_ textbooks make the connection between those tactics, perhaps relevant to a seventh century endangered group of believers; but considered today a manifestation of radical Islamism.

Urging the _jihad_ [war] for the sake of Allah and discussing [Muslim] military raids _[ghazwat]_ with the aim of learning lessons and judgments.


As some of the earliest battles of Islam took place against Jewish tribes, focusing on these wars makes the current conflict look eternal. Following is an example in relation to the Jewish Bani-Nadeer tribe:

After the displacement of the Bani Nadeer from their homes, a delegation of them toured the Arab tribes to incite them to fight the Muslims, and they went to the Quraish who responded to their request and then went to Ghatfan and other Arab tribes, forming an army of ten thousand fighters. Therefore, the battle of the trench was called the invasion of parties.

Khaybar is a large city with fortifications and farms, located north of Medina and about 165 km away. Before the Muslim conquest, Arab and Jews lived in [that city]. The Jews of Khaybar did not display hostility towards the Muslims, until the leaders of Bani al-Nadeer took refuge in them after they had been expelled from Al-Medina, where they had secretly double-crossed the Muslims.

_Islamic Education, Grade 9_, Vol. 1, 2017, p. 54.

Attitudes toward the Jews of Medina are presented as just and tolerant; it was the behavior of the Jews themselves who forced the Muslims to fight against them.

Justice and Security for all Members of Society, even Non-Muslims

This was reflected in the articles relating to the Jews who lived in Medina. The document stated that the Jews are a nation with the [Muslim] believers; the Jews have their religion
and Muslims theirs. Yet the one who commits injustice and sin does not destroy [anyone] but himself. The document gave everyone who lived in Medina rights without [being subjected to] injustice, even if he was a Jew. But the Jews did not respect the covenant, and practiced all forms of treachery, betrayal and aggression, so it became imperative for the Muslims to fight them.


**The Beginning of the Fight: Conquering the Forts**

When the Jews saw the army of the Muslims, they fled in fear, and their ranks were troubled, and they returned to their fortresses. The Muslims besieged them and began conquering their fortresses one after the other. The Muslims encountered strong resistance and difficulty when conquering some of these fortresses, including the Na'im fortress.


**A Dramatic Description of Slaying the King of the Jews**

Then Ali ran forward carrying the banner and Marhab, the king of the Jews, went out and said: 'Khaybar has learned that I am Marhab, ready with my weapon, and an experienced hero, when wars are about to break!' And Ali said: 'I am the one whose mother called him *Haidarah* [lion], like a bad-looking forest lion; I kill extensively and fast.' And he struck Marhab in the head and killed him. He then had the conquest in his hands.

Old Battles Provide Relevant Wisdom

Lessons learned from the invasion:

1. The need for preparation and readiness.
2. The reasons for victory include reliance on Allah after preparing what is needed.
3. The importance of surprise and shock in defeating the enemy.
4. The ultimate goal of *jihad* in the way of Allah is to invite people [da'wah] to Allah, and guide them goodness.


Overall, Islam is characterized as a religion of war rather than of peace. A pessimistic statement affirms that war has always existed and always will. Islam accepts it as a religious "legal necessity." But, as we have seen earlier, it is not simply based on a pragmatic-realistic understanding of history but also part of the curriculum-taught theology. Educating Palestinian children that they should always expect war runs against UNESCO-derived standards for peace and tolerance.

الحرب ظاهرة لا زالت الإنسانية منذ فجر التاريخ، وهي في الإسلام ضرورة شرعية ولها ضوابط وقيم قبلها وأثناءها وبعدها، ومن أبرز هذه القواعد ما يأتي:

War is a phenomenon that has accompanied humanity since the dawn of history, and in Islam it is a legal necessity [dharurah shar'iyah] and it has controls and values before, during and after.


This religious education textbook stresses preparation for war. It quotes a Qur'anic verse recommending the procurement of every means possible to terrify the enemy. There is no restriction on types of weapons.
The Holy Qur'an urged the need to prepare and plan to confront the unbeliever aggressors; in order to protect the religion, lift the injustice of Muslims and to disseminate the values of justice and freedom among the people. Allah says: 'Prepare whatever forces you are able, including warhorses to terrify Allah's enemies and yours.' (Anfal 8:60)


The most prominent of these rules are as follows:

Clockwise from the upper right

Do not cut a tree
Do not kill a child
Do not kill a very old man
Do not kill a hermit
Do not abuse [the enemies’] bodies and do not be extreme in killing
Do not demolish a building and do not destroy a populated place
Display kindness toward the prisoner, honoring and feeding [him]
You should fulfil the covenant [*'ahd*]
Do not slaughter animals, unless for food
Do not demolish a place of worship
Do not betray
Do not kill the sick
Do not kill a newborn
Do not kill a woman


The textbooks clearly teach that Jews and Israelis are doomed to destruction.

The corruption of the children of Israel in the land was and will be the cause of their annihilation, and this Islamic creed [sunnah] applies to every tyrant and oppressor.


Those not participating in *jihad* war are called to give a donation to fund *jihad*, as a basic obligation.

2. Spending on *Jihad* in the name of Allah: Allah has said: "strive *jihad* with your wealth and your lives in the cause of Allah." (*jihad* for financial gain precedes *jihad* of for one's life).


The permanent state of *jihad* war is based on the evil of the rival and the example of the Prophet as a militarily heroic leader.

What we witness today—intimidation and injustice toward the people and their being attacked by the enemies of the nation—is not considered bravery and heroism, but is criminality and injustice, which is not acceptable to our true religion.

And we in Palestine follow our Prophet's bravery and the heroic acts of his dear companions in the defense of our religion, our homeland, and our holy Al-Aqsa Mosque, the place of our Prophet's night journey.

War is for both the religion and the homeland.

(D) The Muslim offers his soul in defense of his religion, homeland, and sanctities, foremost of which is Palestine and the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the place of our Prophet's night journey.

(E) One of the objectives of Jihad is to support the downtrodden [nusrat al-mustaz’afin], protect religion and liberate the occupied Islamic holy sites.

Banner: I am a brave Muslim; I follow the Messenger.


Women, Slavery, Christians

While the permissible number of wives is limited to four and one has to fully divorce or wait for her death to marry again,¹² men are allowed as many slave girls as they can afford.

It is permissible for them to enjoy wives, and slave girls, which they own as bondmaids, and anyone who does otherwise is among the transgressors to the limits ordained by Allah, and are exposed to His wrath.


The textbook adds a caveat that explains that slavery does not exist, yet is legal. The permission to own slaves "will return if slavery returns for some reason." This comment is not technical. When this was written, the Islamic State (ISIS) established a slave trade in women. The Islamic State occupies much interest in the curriculum, as discussed in Section 8.

Clarification:

Bondswomen: namely, slaves from among the women. The rule is that a Muslim is allowed to enjoy the slave girls that he owns; this is when slavery was widespread throughout the world. But today there are no slaves (bondswomen) at all, and Islam is for the liberation of man from slavery. The ruling in the verse is a historical judgment, which ended with the end of slavery and will return if slavery returns for some reason.


Textbooks insist that women were "honored in a way no other religion had honored them." They are—like the Christians—sisters in sacrifice and altruism:

Islam raised the status of women, and honored them in a way no other religion had honored; women in Islam are sisters to the men in sacrifice and altruism.


Examples:

**The Martyrdom of Umm Amarah**

She showed her bravery in the Battle of Yamama, fighting against Musaylimah and sustained eleven wounds, and had her hand cut off. Though her husband was martyred, that did not weaken her resolve; she did not care about what hit her in the way of Allah.

The Palestinian woman have written about examples of sacrifice and martyrdom [fida’]. In cooperation with members of my group, I will mention some of them.


According to the textbooks, Palestinian Muslims and Christians are bound by martyrdom and hatred of a common [Jewish] enemy. Relations between Muslims and Christians are based on Islamic authority and protection, as well as the PLO's National Charter.

[Historical] events, both good and bad through the ages confirm the immortal truth to which the good and righteous had been committed with their blood and sacrifices, generation after generation, that Jerusalem is Arab-rooted where Muslims and Christians lived by the Covenant [‘ahd] and the Charter [mithaq] in peace and purity, loving collaborating in blocking injustice and deterring the aggressors.


Note: The Covenant (’ahd) relates to the Islamic practice of protection (dhimmi) granted to the People of the Book (in this case only: Christians). The Charter (mithaq) refers to the Palestinian National Charter.

According to the Covenant, Jewish or Christian women may marry a Muslim man; there are no prohibitions. Other women—whether Zoroastrian, animist or former Muslim—are not allowed. Students also learn in school that a Muslim woman is not allowed to marry a non-Muslim man.\(^{13}\)

**Clear Distinction between the Infidel and Believer**

A human being is characterized by a strong love for money, which may make him very stingy, and this is the case of the infidel. As for the believer, he is thankful to his Lord, and is charitable toward the worshipers of Allah.


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Nullifiers of the Faith:

Include every act that brings man out of faith to infidelity, whether it is believing, or saying, or doing.

3. Denying what is stated in the explicit Sharia texts as being of religion, such as denying Paradise and Hell; the obligation to pray; the prohibition of adultery; and denying the obligatory nature of hijab [used here as a religious construct].


The latter is an example of radical Islam, rejected by mainstream, educated, faithful Muslims. Denying Paradise and Hell clearly refers to the beliefs of Sufis who base their faith on love—of Allah and of the Other—and often assume that even if Hell exists, it is a metaphor for suffering. Some even argue that Hell in the afterlife is by definition temporary because Allah is merciful and will forgive all sinners.

The obligation of prayer and hijab is directed against modern and reformist Muslims who consider their faith as part of their identity, culture and faith, not a regimented militaristic *Ummah* (global Muslim community), ready to conquer the world. Prohibition of adultery is accepted by all, but LGBTQ rights are not.

While we have seen in other more sophisticated and flexible curricula (such as the Turkish curriculum), that it is possible to incorporate secular values based on human rights with Islamic law, this is not the case with the Islamist PA curriculum.
Illustrations of heaven and hell are useful enforcers of discipline.

And it remains before the entry of man Paradise or the Fire of Hell to walk on the path [sirāt], which is an elongated bridge over Hell, thinner than a hair, sharper than a sword. The monotheists the followers of the prophets pass on it, each according to his deeds. Allah saves the believers from the fire, but the infidels are drawn into the fire.

3. Israel: Demonization and Denial

Israel, regardless of boundaries, is depicted as an affront to Arab nationalism, part of a series of divisions imposed on the Arab Homeland by colonial powers. In many cases the curriculum does not use the name "Israel" or "Israelis." Instead, it uses the "Occupation," "Zionist Occupation," "Zionists" or metaphors like invaders and oppressors. Thus, the curriculum authors chose to distance students, emotionally and cognitively, from the human and physical realities of a neighboring country and national movement with which the Palestinians have a protracted conflict.

Palestinian children are not taught the close cooperation between Israel and the PA. It might be fanciful to suggest, but would it bring a better understanding of the Israeli Other to Palestinian children if they knew that more Palestinian children are hospitalized in the Hadassah Hospital Children's Cancer Unit than Israeli children?¹⁴

The Name Israel and Peace

The name Israel appears in higher grades only rarely—and always negatively. A Grade 11 history textbook uses the name "Israel" only to quote international resolutions or speeches.¹⁵ For instance, "Israel's Law of Citizenship grants 'Israeli' citizenship to 'returning' Jews."¹⁶ In all other contexts, the text continues to use "Zionist settlement" and "Zionist Occupation" in place of "Israel."

The Zionist settlement was accompanied by actions of deportation, "transfer," and the systematic expulsion of the Arabs from Palestine. Most clearly illustrating the picture is Moshe Sharett's letter to Nahum Goldman in 1948: "The removal of the Arabs is a wonderful event in the history of "Israel." The event is even more remarkable than the establishment of 'Israel' itself.


¹⁴ Palestinian children typically stay also longer in the hospital than Israeli children. Total hospitalization days of Palestinians in Hadassah jumped from 7,228 in 2011, to 14,601 in 2015. Yossi Ben Baruch, "The Secret of Hadassah Eyn Kerem" (Hebrew), Mida, August 29, 2017. Accessed September 3, 2017. NB: IMPACT'S goal is to suggest possible ways to show the complexity of the situation. We believe, however, that while striving to change and move on to better future, both Israeli and Palestinian students should be aware and thankful for much of the positives that both peoples display to each other.


Note that the very same letter is presented by an Israeli scholar as one more proof that the Palestinian exodus was not planned and was a surprise to Israeli leaders.\textsuperscript{17}

A Grade 10 geography textbook criticizes efforts to gradually implement the "Israeli curriculum" in Jerusalem's Arab schools.\textsuperscript{18} A science textbook discusses damage from beatings by Israeli soldiers.\textsuperscript{19} An Arabic textbook ask students to write about "Israeli violations" against children.\textsuperscript{20} "Israel" also caused damage to the Dead Sea\textsuperscript{21} and occupied the Golan Heights, which is "located along the Palestinian borders."\textsuperscript{22}

Golan Heights: Syrian territory, occupied by Israel in the 1967 war, located along the Palestinian borders. The occupied area is estimated to be about 1800 km\textsuperscript{2}.


The Israeli-Egyptian border is described as the Palestinian-Egyptian border. Students are asked to mark them on a map that covers all the territory of Israel proper.\textsuperscript{23}

As far as we have been able to verify, the two-state solution appears only once, in a quotation from the preamble to UNSC Resolution 2334, in the middle of a paragraph enumerating a series of Israeli actions that "constitute a major obstacle to achieving peace on the basis of the two-state solution." This is the only place in the curriculum that the word "peace" appears in the context of Israeli-Palestinian relations.

\textsuperscript{17} Jacob Tovy, "No Deportation was Planned (Hebrew)," *Haaretz*, May 27, 2013, Accessed October 1, 2017. https://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/.premium-1.2030930.


\textsuperscript{20} *Arabic Language*, Grade 9, Vol. 1 (2017), p. 139.


The preamble to resolution 2334 includes: The Security Council stresses the application of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 1949 on the Palestinian territories including East Jerusalem, and the other Arab territories occupied since 1967 and recalling the advisory opinion rendered on July 2004 by the International Court of Justice, stating that all settlement activities in the occupied Palestinian land, including East Jerusalem, are illegal according to international law, and forms a major obstacle for the achievement of peace on the basis of the two-state solution. As it expresses grave concern that continuing Israeli settlement activities are dangerously imperiling the viability of the two-state solution based on the 1967 lines and condemns measures aimed at altering the demographic composition, character and status of the Palestinian Territory occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem, including, inter alia, the construction and expansion of settlements, transfer of Israeli settlers, confiscation of land, and its annexation through facts on the ground, demolition of homes and displacement of Palestinian civilians, in violation of international humanitarian law and relevant resolutions.

Recalling the obligation under the Quartet Roadmap, endorsed by its Resolution 1515 (2003), for a freeze by Israel of all settlement activity, including 'natural growth,' and the dismantlement of all settlement outposts erected since March 2001.


The text provided is edited and shortened. It includes some elements that were added to by the editors. It does mention "peace on the basis of the two-state solution" and points to East Jerusalem (throughout the curriculum one sees only Jerusalem). The concepts of peace and two-state solutions are buried within this text and there is no effort to impart it to students with exercises or discussions. Instead, questions remain fixated on Zionist settlements and their consequences.
Many parts of the resolution that cover cooperation between the two sides and a vision of peace are not included.

One such glaring omission is (bold added): "Reiterating its vision of a region where **two democratic states, Israel and Palestine, live side by side in peace within secure and recognized borders.**" Another is: "Calls for immediate steps to **prevent all acts of violence against civilians, including acts of terror**, as well as all acts of provocation and destruction . . . strengthening of ongoing efforts to combat terrorism, including through existing security coordination, and to clearly condemn all acts of terrorism," Also missing is: "to observe calm and restraint, and to refrain from provocative actions, **incitement and inflammatory rhetoric**, with the aim, inter alia, of de-escalating the situation on the ground, **rebuilding trust and confidence**, demonstrating through policies and actions a genuine commitment to the two-state solution, and creating the **conditions necessary for promoting peace.**"  

While UNSC 2334 is harsh in its criticism of Israeli settlements, it also voices a clear demand for trust building, rejection of violence and incitement, negotiations, democracy and genuine peace, based on the security of two countries living side-by-side. The new textbook ignores this part of the resolution and hides the existing security cooperation as stated in the resolution: "ongoing efforts to combat terrorism, including through existing security coordination."

In relation to the Oslo peace process, the textbook only points out that the "Zionist Occupation" [Israel] postpones the discussion on settlements which is one of the central issues in the "final solution negotiations." There is no reference to peace, exchange of letters of recognition, transfer of territories from Israel to the PLO or the Nobel Peace Prize.

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The settlement issue is one of the central issues in the final solution negotiations [*mufawadat al-hall al-niha‘*]. The Zionist Occupation [Israel] deliberately postponed the discussion over this [topic] and excluded it from the Oslo agreements in 1993. The

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intentions of the Occupation have been clear through settlement practices on the ground and the continuation of its settlement policies after Oslo; the imposition of facts on the ground through military force and bestowing of the Zionist settlements have historical, ideological and political dimensions. It attempted to acquire additional leverage against the Palestinians in any possible negotiations with them through settlements. At the same time, the disposal of the settlements is the main preoccupation of the Palestinians, because of their devastating consequences for the entire Palestinian life.


Radicalization in the Opposition to the Existence of Israel

The new PA curriculum is more radical in its opposition to the existence of Israel. In a dramatic change, the beginning of the Zionist Occupation is pushed back to 1856, making all Jews—Zionists and non-Zionists alike—potential enemies.

Since the Zionist Movement established its first settlement known as 'Montefioriyyah' in 1856, southwest of the Jerusalem city wall, the series of divisions [actions] in Palestine has not stopped. It [i.e., the Zionist Movement] established settlements that included training centers and arms depots. After the Catastrophe [Nakba] of 1948 it ruled over more than 78 percent of Palestine's territory. More than eight hundred fifty thousand Palestinians were made to emigrate and they and their families lived in refugee camps in Palestine and in the Diaspora. Nothing of it [Palestine] was left, except the Gaza Strip and the West Bank that were occupied [later] in 1967.


Jewish settlements from the Old Yishuv—established some half a century before the beginning of Zionism—are considered illegitimate. This is a change in PLO ideology: At the apex of its radicalism in the late 1960s, the PLO considered 1917 as the start date of the "Zionist Invasion." Every Israeli Jew whose family arrived after that date was seen as a fair target.25 Now, every Jewish presence in the Holy Land, if the new PA curriculum is to be believed, has been criminalized: "Since the Zionist movement, in 1856, established its first settlement, known as ‘Montefioriyyah’ [Jerusalem's Mishkenot Shaananim], southwest of the Jerusalem City Wall, the

series of division [actions] in Palestine has not stopped." Again, Mishkenot Shaananim was not established by the Zionists. (Herzl, the founding father of Zionism was born in 1860 and established the Zionist movement in 1897.)

No less disconcerting is the new curriculum's targeting of synagogues in the Old City and the use of the Hebrew language. In 2003, PA educators erased the map of the Jewish Quarter. The Israelis, laments a new social studies textbook, "opened Jewish synagogues in Jerusalem’s Old City." An Arabic language book warns from "the Hebrew letter that threatens the nature of its culture [of Jerusalem]."

**Studying Israel as Palestine**

In a chapter on "Islamic Architecture in Palestine," students are expected to be familiar with Ramla (an Israeli Jewish-Arab city, referenced without mention of Israel) and to "explain the dangers to Islamic monuments in Palestine." The culprit seems to be Israel, as this sentence is followed by an assignment to distinguish on the map between "Palestinian cities that the Zionists occupied in 1948 and those that they occupied in 1967." The students are also expected to explain why there are fewer cities in southern Palestine (the Israeli Negev).

"Map of Palestine": Students are asked to distinguish cities occupied by Zionists in 1948 from those occupied in 1967.

**Social Studies, Grade 7, Vol. 1**, 2017, p. 56.

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26 **Social Studies**, Grade 9, Vol. 1 (2017), p. 10. The Arab name "Montefioriyah" was coined after the philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore who supported poor Jewish communities around the world, decades before the emergence of modern Zionism.

27 The Jewish Quarter’s map (already without the Western Wall), was last monitored in: **National Education**, Grade 3, Vol. 1 (2002), p. 42.


Another example of the eradication of Israel is this map, attached to a math exercise, with references to prisoners:

Question 10:

Fida and her family went to visit her imprisoned father in Ofer prison in Beitunia, 4.5 km west of Ramallah. Their vehicle left Tulkarm at 6:00 am and reached the prison at 8:00 am. Knowing that the distance between Tulkarm and Ramallah is approximately 60 km, answer the following:

1. What is the average speed of the bus taken by Fida and her family?
2. Describe the location of Ramallah relative to Jerusalem.


Maps of Palestine without Israel are spread across the new curriculum. The following part of an exercise in geography is typical in that it includes only "classic" Palestinian names with significant Arab populations during the Ottoman and British periods. There is no Tel Aviv, with Um Rashrash designated instead of Eilat and Beersheba, a city founded by the Ottoman government at the beginning of the twentieth century, but populated mostly by Bedouin Arabs. Israeli cities such as Jaffa, Acre, Safed, Haifa, Nazareth, Tiberias, Lod and Ramla are typically included. So are Mount Meron and Lake Tiberias, the Hula and the eastern side of the Dead Sea. These maps of greater Palestine also point to the Galilee and the Negev desert. While the maps never include the Golan Heights, one text refers to a trip to Banias [in the Hermon area] and another to the apple orchards and farmers of the Golan, especially that of "Abu Jihad" (The

Jihadist): "The Golan apple, with its special taste, is a source of livelihood and means of support, a sign of resilience and survival." Elsewhere in the curriculum the Golan is described as Syrian, "located along the Palestinian borders."  

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Map of Palestine  
(Israel and Israeli sites are not designated)

*Geography, Grade 10*, Vol. 1, 2017, p. 4

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Activity 1:
The Golan apple, with its special taste, is a source of livelihood and means of support, a sign of resilience and survival. Abu Jihad is a farmer packaging apples in boxes of equal capacity. If a batch of 6 boxes of these apples weighs 30 kg, what would be that of a batch of 10 boxes?
[Calculation follows]


We detected one map, (below) hazily demarcating the Palestinian territories.

A map of the Arab Homeland shows unemployment rates in Arab countries. Palestine is listed but no Israel. If one enlarges the map significantly, one can see that the boundaries of the West Bank and Gaza are demarcated in light blue along with the Mediterranean and Dead Seas (effectively camouflaging Gaza while the West Bank merges into the Dead Sea). In previous Palestinian curricula, maps clearly showed the boundaries of the West Bank and Gaza in much greater detail, i.e., maps focusing on the Palestinian Territories and Israel proper (with Israel unmarked).

Israel is part of colonialist imperialism, depicted as a malignant growth in a cartoon/map.

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The text under the cartoon reads:

The land is the axis of colonialist imperialism which seeks—with all the power that it has—to possess it, and by all means, even by the extermination [ibada] of the inhabitants and their annihilation [ifna’].


Demonization is expressed by the presentation of Israel and Israelis as a singular, inanimate block and uncontrollable growth that threatens to exterminate the Palestinians, the inhabitants of the land.
A text on heroism and martyrdom further creates hatred towards Israelis, described as passing invaders. Jewish history and heritage are depicted as forgery: "a distorted and amputated past into a present founded on plunder, coercion, forgery and rape." Included are sexually aberrant imagery—lewdness, rape, torn dresses—which are likely meant to foment feelings of humiliation and rage.

And the thousands of righteous and martyrs who have beautified her pure soil with their innocent blood and who have given her their pure souls. And they defend her from passing invaders and oppressive tyrants, who flanked her in their treachery from all sides, and continue this day to pour on her their hate and despicable lewdness. They believe that they have held her by the forelock, and won the race at her racetrack, and succeeded, with brute force, by jumping over the centuries, to close down her radiant record of Arab culture, page after page, so that they could bring a distorted and amputated past into a present founded on plunder, coercion, forgery and rape. What they do not know is that they are deluding themselves, even if they broke the glands, and tore the dresses, and arrogated the reasons.


The following illustration, from an *Arabic Language* textbook shows two Israeli soldiers ransacking the kitchen of a Palestinian farmhouse. The illustration, attached to the short story, "Oil" by Mahmoud Shukair, is fictional.
Shukair tells a story focusing on the nightmare of a Palestinian woman who dreams that Israeli soldiers shoot at the family's olive oil tins and point their rifles at her in a murderous scene.

The woman saw in her dream, two nights ago, that the soldiers had intercepted the truck in broad daylight. They ordered the woman to walk aside and stand still and the man to get out of the truck and unload the oil tin containers. In her dream she saw that the man was speaking out, and the oil containers were standing in a row, fearful. The soldiers
examine them, arrogant and disdainful and then shoot them with bullets from the muzzles of their rifles. The oil spurts out—green and mellow—spilling down from the dozens of holes made by the soldiers in the containers' bodies. The woman tried to fill the holes with pieces of cloth, though she had no idea how they appeared in her hands. When her efforts failed, she attacked the soldiers, beating them with her fists. They pointed their rifles towards her chest . . . and she woke up from her sleep, terrified.


This powerful and vivid description of bullets "killing" oil cans is doubly imaginative: First, as a fictional story, it never happened. Then, his wife and their oil are unharmed and they manage to return home, safely taking a bypass road without confronting the soldiers.

They are now within a stone's throw from the house. The two of them are moving the [oil] cans inside, and the woman pours oil into the dishes, preparing the oven and thyme bread. Her children and the neighbors' children are eating and satisfied and the woman is now reassured [for the time being].

The following evening, the soldiers break into the house, the woman and the children confront them, and the flour mixes with blood and oil.

(From Mahmoud Shoukair's collection of stories, "Silent Windows").


The added final paragraphs to the story and the illustration are out of place, added later in an apparent effort to agitate students. The original story, "Oil," was published without the added inciting paragraphs in the secular e-journal *Al-Hiwar Al-Mudamaddin*.32

Israel Purposefully Harms Children

Following is a writing exercise focusing on atrocities assumed to be perpetrated against Palestinian children by the Israelis:

We shall write a press article about Israeli violations against Palestinian children, keeping in mind the characteristics of a press article. Our highlights:

1. Martyrdom of the children.
2. Demolition of their homes and the displacement of their families.
3. Arresting them.
4. Depriving them of education.
5. Depriving them of playing.

_Arabic Language, Grade 9, Vol. 1, 2017, p. 139._

Israel Destroys Muslim Holy Sites: Jewish Holy Sites are "Stolen"

Israel is portrayed as destroying the Muslim holy sites in Jerusalem, as evident from the following cartoon:

We Think and Meditate

[Students are asked to write a paragraph about cartoonist's message.]

_Social Studies, Grade 7, Vol. 1, 2017, p. 64._
While mainstream Islam and the Islamic Sharia recognize the attachment of Jews to the Holy Land and the holiness of Jerusalem to the three monotheistic religions, this curriculum does not.

The Western or Wailing Wall is described as the Buraq Wall, a Muslim-only site, stolen by Jews, they transformed the Al-Buraq Wall into the Wailing Wall; they destroyed the Mughrabi neighborhood and changed its Arab-Muslim nature.


Palestinian students learn that the Western Wall is for Muslims alone.

The Wall of Buraq is part of the Western Wall of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and is a pure right for Muslims alone.


**Environmental Hazards and the Zionist Occupation**

Students are invited to research whether Israel's Dimona reactor causes increases in cancer cases in southern Hebron compared to other Palestinian areas. Israel's poisoning of Palestinians is apparently intentional. The curriculum further teaches that vast areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip were transformed into dumps of poisonous refuse to pollute the Palestinian environment with radioactive and chemical materials leading to cancer. In addition, Israel evidently released herds of wild pigs that caused damage to the inhabitants and their crops.
For research

Studies indicate an increase in the number of cancer cases in southern Hebron, compared to other Palestinian areas. Explore the connection of this with the proximity of the Dimona reactor in the Negev desert.


The Occupation has turned vast areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip into toxic waste dumps and polluted the Palestinian environment with radioactive and chemical materials. This has led to a rise in the incidence of serious diseases, especially cancer. They [the Occupation] flooded their markets with outdated goods from the Zionist markets such as [used] cars and foodstuffs. They released herds of pigs that caused havoc among the population and their crops and launched missiles at manufacturing sites using false
pretenses. And they [the Occupation] harnessed their various activities to serve their own goals and objectives and make it [the industrial sector] a sector that is unable to challenge their military procedures. This is reflected in the domination by the Occupation of imports and exports, production, currency, banks, money orders, taxes and other services.

*Social Studies, Grade 9*, Vol. 1, 2017, p. 21

Teaching about environmental hazards, the "Zionist Occupation" takes the lion's share:


Clockwise from the upper left: "Zionist Occupation's Destruction of the Palestinian Environment; the Wall of Annexation and Expansion; Forest Fires; Pollution of the Marine Environment."

This pictorial narrative correlates with other images (see below) in the new curriculum Grade 3 textbook such as those purporting that Israel purposefully blocks Palestinian ambulances on missions to save lives.
In this preliminary study of the most recent Palestinian textbooks, we did not find any material in the curriculum on joint Israeli-Palestinian cooperation—which is constant and ongoing in a variety of fields—and not even of Palestinians coming to the rescue of Israelis. But our research continues.

The curriculum teaches children that Israel destroys the culture of Palestine

I Learned

The Zionist Occupation pursued a policy of erasing Palestine’s Arab and Islamic features in general, and especially in Jerusalem. Since the first day of Jerusalem’s occupation, the Zionists started to change the identity of this Arab-Muslim city giving it [a city] a Zionist nature. They confiscated Palestinian land and built settlements there, harassed the Palestinian inhabitants in order to force them to leave Jerusalem so that the settlers would come in their stead, demolished houses and forced the inhabitants to emigrate, took their identity cards and separated Jerusalem from its Arab environment. They annexed Islamic historical sites to the Zionist heritage list, as they transformed the Al-Buraq Wall into the Wailing Wall; they destroyed the Mugrabi neighborhood and changed its Arab-Muslim nature; they removed some of the Jerusalem City Wall and put instead other ones with Zionist decorations and forms; they opened Jewish synagogues in Jerusalem’s Old City and they are striving painstakingly these days to gain control over the Noble Sanctuary [Al-Haram al-Sharif—the Arabic traditional name of the Temple Mount] by letting the Zionist settlers enter it daily in preparation for its complete takeover, cutting any Muslim connection to this place that is sacred to Muslims.


Israel as Part of Global Settler Colonialism

A history textbook concludes:

Imperialist states used means and policies to support their settlement thinking, through the exploitation of the land and what is on it, the adoption of a policy of discrimination
and apartheid, murder and genocide, exile and expulsion, which had serious and long-lasting consequences for the colonized people and land.


The text then continues to criticize "Some colonial countries, headed by the Zionist entity" that ignore international decisions. 34 Israel becomes a partner to colonialism's "murder and genocide, exile and expulsion."

**Agriculture, Trade and the Conflict**

Even growing mushrooms becomes part of the conflict with Israel.

Using the school's library or the internet, research the recent interest of Palestine in the cultivation of mushrooms as part of the boycott of the Occupation's goods.

Write a report and read it to your colleagues on the school's radio.


Palestinian trade is unsuccessfull because of Israel.

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Activity 1:

The policy of the Zionist Occupation is to impose closures on the cities in Palestine, which leads to the recession of trade. The merchant Abu Mohammed was forced to sell some goods at a loss before they perished. He sold merchandise during the day, earning 70 dinars, and lost 50 dinars during the same day.

[Calculation of gains and losses follows]


The "Annexation and Expansion Wall" (Israel's security barrier) receives much attention in the curriculum. There are no reasons given as to why the barrier was erected.

The Anti-Annexation and Expansion Wall Authority takes measures to preserve the land and plantations. On Tree Day it planted $2^6$ olive trees and $2^5$ almond trees. Which of the two types of trees did the Authority plant more of?


Abu Hatem owns a piece of land close to the Annexation and Expansion Wall. He wants to determine its area, in order to plant fruit trees.
Math: The Field of Abu Hatem by the "Annexation and Expansion Wall"

- The shape of the plot is: _______.
- How does Abu Hatem find the area of the plot of land?


Problem with Olive Trees in a Palestinian Village

The culprit is Israel's security barrier or the "racist wall of annexation and expansion."

Activity 2: Nutrition in Plants

Residents of the village of Bil'in, sixteen kilometers west of Ramallah, suffer from violations of the Zionist Occupation, The Israeli bulldozers uprooted olive trees and
forest trees from their lands in order to build settlements and build the racist wall of annexation and expansion. This made the residents and neighboring villages angry and pushed them to plant more trees in this area.

Consider the image [above] and answer the following questions:
1. What does the olive tree symbolize for the Palestinian?
2. What is the importance of tree-planting to the ecosystem?


Israel: Destroyer of Olive Trees

Issue for discussion:
The Zionist Occupation uprooting the olive trees in Palestine.


Tawfiq Zayyad: Missed Opportunity to Teach Peace

Tawfiq Zayyad is an Israeli-Palestinian statesman and protest poet, who served six terms as a member of the Israeli Knesset (1974–94); was a mayor of Nazareth (1976–94); and a peace activist. The curriculum presents him in the introduction to the poem "Here Remaining" [huna baqun], as a Palestinian, mayor of Nazareth; In relation to his Israeli political activism, the curriculum speaks only of his "suffering": "He suffered in the prisons of the Occupation but remained steadfast in his land and homeland."
Tawfiq Zayyad is a Palestinian poet, born in Nazareth in 1929, educated in her schools and then traveled to Moscow to study Soviet literature.

He served as mayor of Nazareth from 1976 to 1994. He remained in this position until his death in 1994 in a traffic accident. His poetic personality was crystallized early, and he published several poetic works, including: "Prisoners of Freedom," and "I Strengthen your Hands," from which this poem is taken.

[Zayyad] fought for the rights of his people and his homeland. He suffered in the prisons of the Occupation but remained steadfast in his land and homeland. In this poem he expresses the steadfastness of his people and its attachment and devotion to the land and its rejection of the Zionist Occupation.


The introduction refers to pre-1967 Israel as the "the Zionist Occupation." Nazareth, Zayyad's city, and "the Galilee, Ramla and Lod" in the poem itself—all are in Israel proper, but shown only as "Palestine." The late Zayyad was a staunch supporter of the "two states to two peoples" peace plan, and an Israeli politician in the joint Jewish-Arab Communist party who accepted that all these cities should remain in Israel. Here again, the PA curriculum misses an opportunity to abide by UNESCO's Peace and Tolerance Standards, teach about the Other (Israeli-Arabs in the Knesset) and educate for peace. Instead, the *Arabic Language* textbook promotes the struggle for a no-Israel/Greater Palestine.

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Excerpts from "Remaining," by Tawfiq Zayyad

And [we are] in your throat
Like a piece of glass, like a Sabra cactus
And in your eyes
A whirlwind of fire . . .

Here we stay
So drink the sea
We guard the shade of figs and olives . . .
And [our] pure blood, we will not spare, will not spare, will not spare . . .
Here we have a past, a present and a future.


**Israeli Arabs are Not Israelis: They are Palestinian Citizens**

Think and discuss

The Palestinians living in the occupied territories of 1948 and the Diaspora areas are considered Palestinian citizens.

*Soc...
I represent the following Palestinian cities: Lakiya, Rahat, Kassifa, and Beersheba with points using a Cartesian level.


**The Dead Sea is not in Israel**

The saltiest sea in the world (the Dead Sea), located between Palestine and Jordan . . .

4. Israel: Return, Total War

The new PA curriculum invests much effort to educate the current generation of the demand that all those related to the 1948 Arab refugees gain entry into Israel.

To a greater extent than in previous curricula, the new PA school textbooks stress that no compromise is possible on this issue. Nostalgia and fury over loss of the land combine with the dream of return. Typically, a grandfather tells his grandchild about their village and passes on the commitment to return, often handing the child a symbolic key.

He is reassured about the fate of his dream and his hope to return; the granddaughter became aware of the message of her grandfather.36

A scene in Wihdat Refugee Camp in Jordan between grandfather and Beisan, his granddaughter:

The grandfather went to an old box, opened it, and took out a big key. "This is the key to our home in Jaffa," he said. "It's what has remained of our memories. Keep it. It's the dream and the hope. It is the key of Return.


Another grandfather recounts violent scenes of the escape from Safed.

I left behind the bodies of my friends, and the body parts of my neighbors, I could not bury them; everyone was running, fear covered the faces, the pain breaking the hearts, and we were walking in a hurry.

*Arabic Language*, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2017, p. 82.

Painful memories support demands to return. In the following example "the Occupation" refers to pre-state Israelis fighting for independence.

The Occupation [pre-independence, pre-1967 Israel] launched the genocidal campaigns against humanity, stone and trees, leaving the bitter journey in exile in refugee camps since 1948.


And the earth has changed its features angrily, as if it had been hard for her to bear the heavy weight of the steps of those breaking into her without permission; those barbarian Zionist gangs that came from a strange world, charged with enmity and hatred for the Arabs and the Palestinians who are known for their patience, will and faith.

Then a warm smile appeared on his face, his eyes brightened, his soul calmed down; for he became reassured about the fate of his dream and his hope to return; the granddaughter became aware of the message of her grandfather.


The description is aimed at keeping the dream of return alive while preserving a sense of rage and humiliation. Israelis are portrayed as evil and inhumane. Context is absent. Ignored is the need to look forward and reach peace and reconciliation. The UNESCO guidelines require adding human examples and context to such descriptions; an Israeli and Palestinian trying to help each other or an example of neighborly relations with Jews, pre-Zionism.

Keeping alive the memory of the refugee problem is also achieved indirectly and subliminally via exercises, such as the following:

![Exercise Image]
Activity 1: Some 44 percent of Palestinians live as refugees in the Arab countries. At the same time, nine out of every twenty-one residents in the State of Palestine are Palestinian refugees. What is more, the proportion of Palestinian refugees in the State of Palestine, or their percentage in the Arab countries?


**Victory through Past Lessons**

Victory will be achieved "over the Jewish occupiers in our time" by learning from past glories when Muslims and Arabs united and triumphed over their enemies.

O you who have believed, if you support Allah, He will support you and plant firmly your feet. (Surah Muhammad 47, 7)

In the light of this verse, the teacher will discuss with his students how to triumph over the Jewish occupiers in our time.


The idea of victory is instilled via the Qur'an and Arabic language writing lessons.

Fight them; Allah will punish them by your hands and will disgrace them and give you victory over them and satisfy the breasts of a believing people (*Taubah* 9:14).

May victory come soon!


The quintessential triumph over the invaders remains Saladin's victory over the Crusaders.

Like Saddam Hussein—mentioned elsewhere as a martyr—the Kurdish Saladin was born in Tikrit, in current day Iraq. Here he is referred to as "our commander."

Our leader was born in Tikrit, located between Baghdad and Mosul. His father was governor of its fortress. He spent his youth at the fort of Baalbek. His life passed on the gates of the fortresses and castles until destiny sent him to be the leader of Egypt. As he observed around, he realized that the nation (*Ummah*) was divided. The usurping Crusaders were roaming feely across the Levant in general and in Jerusalem in particular,
enslaving its people, desecrating the sanctuaries with no one to deter them, or a power to stop them at their limit.


Saladin is a Muslim hero who ruled Iraq and Greater Syria—the Levant or Sham—and was saddened by the division of Muslim-Arabs. Jerusalem—at the heart of Greater Syria—was the focus of his suffering. He was a great warrior and united the Muslim-Arabs in order to achieve a decisive victory in the battlefield. This is the Palestinians' dream, or so it appears from what we have seen in the curriculum.

The following leading questions stress Saladin's military skills and the application of this historical lesson to our time.

1. Saladin appears to be an experienced commander in the practice of war; we shall show that.

2. Do we find a similarity between the state of the Arab and Islamic nation in the time of Salah al-Din and its situation today? We shall show that.


The following paragraph describes Saladin's victory. Expressions here are relevant in the struggle against Israel: "their defeated remnants sought refuge;" the "Muslims set fire to the dry grass . . . could not withstand long . . . their entity cracked and they dispersed." And, finally, "the land was filled with their dead and prisoners."

And their defeated remnants sought refuge in Tal Hittin, so the Muslims chased them, and prevented them from reaching the Sea of Galilee. The Muslims set fire to the dry grass surrounding their positions, so they were struck by heat and thirst and could not withstand long against the blows of Saladin's army. And their entity cracked and they dispersed, and the land was filled with their dead and prisoners.

Waiting for the Cavalry

Almost the same idea is conveyed in a poem by Jamil Ayyad Al-Wahidi, "Where are the Horsemen?" The horsemen are the heroes that are missing. But they also represent the cavalry, a much needed military reinforcement that will be one day thrown into the battle and defeat Israel.

"Where are the Horsemen?" (Jamil Ayyad Al-Wahidi)

Not the horses my horses, nor the horsemen my horsemen/Be short in your blame, as it makes me worn-out

Colorful horses, yet darker than twilight/No more will I trust their breed
If not always united, the horses/will fall prey to disgrace and defeat
Where are the horsemen who will free Al-Aqsa/from the servants of Satan, infidelity's grip?

Where are the horsemen to break to the castle?/In Palestine, a thousand castles stand high
Look at Hittin, its tears are flowing/dragging the rope in the squares of the jailer
Is there a way to the day of attack/on the enemy, will again clouds of dust be rising?
Unified Horses, the banners secured/from Mecca will come, from Amman
From Damascus, Baghdad and Yemen/from Kuwait, Egypt and Lebanon
Be short in your blame, if I talk too long/Jerusalem's Nakba demands a rejection
No way to regain our strength/sheltering with makers of shrouds
No way to our nation's victory/but return to Islam and Koran


A few words of explanation for poetry aficionados (and strategic analysts): The current situation can be solved only by unity (just as Saladin united the Arabs): "If not always united, the horses will fall prey to disgrace and defeat." Once united, the Arabs can defeat Israel: "free Al-Aqsa from the servants of Satan, infidelity's grip." The role model, again, is that of Saladin: "Look at Hittin." One large imperial army informed by Islam, is the silver bullet promised to the Palestinian children: "Unified Horses, the banners secured from Mecca will come, from Amman, from Damascus, Baghdad and Yemen, from Kuwait, Egypt and Lebanon. . . No way to our nation's victory, but return to Islam and Koran."

The strategy taught to Palestinian children is of jihad because victory is coming.

After Victory: The Fate of Israel

The destiny of Israelis is annihilation.

The corruption of the children of Israel in the land was and will be the cause of their annihilation, and this Islamic creed [sunnah] applies to every tyrant and oppressor.


Israel's fate is only natural. After all, if the curriculum is to be believed, the Israelis are planning to exterminate and annihilate the Palestinians.
The land is the axis of colonial imperialism. It seeks—with all the power it has—to possess it, and by all means, even by the extermination \([ibadah]\) of the inhabitants and their annihilation \([ifna']\).


**Be Patient: Victory is Ours**

We Sing and Remember

**The Land of the Generous**
I vow I shall sacrifice my blood
To saturate the land of the generous
And will remove \([uzilu]\) the usurper from my country
And will exterminate \([ubidu]\) the remnants of the foreigners.

Oh the land of Al-Aqsa and the Haram
Oh cradle of chivalry and Generosity

Patient, be patient as victory is ours,
Dawn is emerging from the oppression.

_Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3_, Vol. 2, 2016, p 64.
PART TWO: Identity Adjustments

5. The Canaanite Myth of Origin

Former Palestinian curricula created an exclusive Canaanite myth of origin. By appropriating the ancient Canaanites—often described as the original dwellers of the land—and making them Palestinian, the PA curriculum created a narrative that denies Israel's history and heritage.

In the lower grades, PA textbooks previously featured pictures of Canaanite customs and artifacts. Text accompanying them read "The Arab Canaanites were the first to dwell in Palestine."37 Later on, many peoples and invaders ruled it . . ."38 A textbook claiming that "The origin of the Palestinian people reverts to the Canaanites," is immediately followed by descriptions of the "British Occupation," and the "Israeli Occupation," thus negating the rights of any rival national movement.39 Using such logic, one's neighbor and rival is just a temporary invader.

In the new curriculum, the Canaanite tradition is somewhat more nuanced but only in higher grades. The more impressionable lower grades now learn about authentic identity markers such as rural folklore40 and Islam. As Palestinian children grow, they are taught that Saudi Arabian Arabs are the origin of the Canaanites. The Canaanites remain the forefathers of contemporary Arab Palestinians. Thus, the texts speak of coins used in Palestine from ancient times: "Our Canaanite ancestors used them."41 And "most of the cities we know today [in Palestine] were founded by our Canaanite and Jebusite ancestors."42 Nazareth (a city in Israel) is "Canaanite by origin, Palestinian by derivation, Arabic by language."43

Below is a map and text explaining the Canaanite settlements and origins. Note that there is a clear dimension of the Levant (bilad al-Sham) as a region and focus of identity. We will discuss this in Section 7. Treating the Canaanites as the forefathers of the Palestinians and all Levantines means that the Levant (Greater Syria) forms a significant collective identity for the Palestinians with assumed primordial attachment ("blood ties") to those Arabs living in this particular area.

40 Levantine-Palestinian culture such as making local (lebneh) cheese.
Palestine was called the Land of Canaan, as it appeared in the letters of Tel Amarna around the fifteenth century BCE.

The Canaanites are Arab tribes that migrated from the Arabian Peninsula and settled in the Levant.


The new curriculum tries to solve this language dilemma: if Canaanites were Arabs, why did they speak Hebrew? Why do the Palestinians speak Arabic? In the new PA curriculum the Canaanites are finally granted their own language (Canaanite, not Arabic), although they remain Arabs by origin.

Without mentioning Hebrew, a typical PA textbook presents ancient Hebrew/Canaanite letters. Names are Hebrew-sounding. Thus, Jericho is Yeriho; Jerusalem is Ursalem; Jaffa is Yafo; Nablus is Shechem; and Qiryat Arba is Hebron. Ignored is the Hebrew language, the only remaining Canaanite dialect and the language of the Israelites and Israelis (who use a modern version of the language).

Unfortunately, the textbook misses this opportunity to show common respect to an ancient people now extinct, though part of the land's heritage.

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Instead, a PA textbook argues that the "Zionist Occupation" [Israel] gave these Canaanite names to its settlements, stole the Palestinian national heritage and history and forged their own Jewish history.\textsuperscript{45}

This statement once again runs counter to UNESCO standards. The students are not told that Biblical Hebrew had been the Canaanite dialect of Palestine and therefore it was only natural to use Hebrew—Israel's language (alongside Arabic)—for Israeli cities and villages.\textsuperscript{46} Palestinians also do not learn that Jews are indigenous to the land. Rather, they bring "a distorted and amputated past into a present founded on plunder, coercion, forgery and rape."\textsuperscript{47}

Still, on this issue, there is a small step in the right direction. First, some students will hopefully make their own connection between Hebrew and the Canaanites. Also, in our past research we observed that among the Arab curricula, only the Tunisians did not Arabize and arrogate pre-Islamic cultures.\textsuperscript{48} In the new PA curriculum, while claiming some Arab origin and ancestry for the Canaanites and other civilizations, there is also a slightly more reasonable presentation in higher grades.\textsuperscript{49}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{45} Ibid, p. 54.
  \item \textsuperscript{46} All this information is available in Arabic language \textit{Wikipedia}. (While Wikipedia is not a primary authoritative source for most information, in this case, there is value in knowing what is commonly included and often believed by the Arabic-speaking community.) OK?
  \item \textsuperscript{47} \textit{Arabic Language}, Grade 10, Vol. 1 (2017), p. 18.
  \item \textsuperscript{49} \textit{Social Studies}, Grade 8, Vol. 1 (2017), p. 8.
\end{itemize}
An Arabic Wikipedia chart showing the various Canaanite dialects: Hebrew and Modern Hebrew (seen in light green) alongside Phoenician, Moabite, Ammonite and Edomite. 

6. Praise for the Ottoman Islamic Empire

The treatment of Palestine under the Ottoman Empire is favorable. The Ottomans receive high grades for the majority of the time they controlled the Levant. Local rebellions are described as separatist. Feuds among local elites and tribes are criticized. The textbook even defends the divisions imposed by the Ottomans on the Land as pragmatic. A map showing "Palestine during the Ottoman Rule" does not include the name Palestine on the map itself.

The Ottoman state is an Islamic state ruled by a Sultan according to Islamic law. The Muslim subjects, and the others, benefit from all their legitimate rights and obligations. Everyone lives according to the Shar'i laws, derived from the Islamic Sharia. Non-Muslims are granted the freedom to accede to their Sharia.  


The text explains the decline of the Ottoman state as a result of corruption, which contravenes Islamic Sharia law, and is immediately followed by a discussion of the law against corruption in the Palestinian Authority.


Ibid., p. 92.
7. The Shami Identity: Nostalgia for a Greater Syria?

While the name "Palestine" was in use before World War I by locals and Europeans, so too was "Syria" of which Palestine formed a part. In fact, the entire region was known for centuries as "Syria," "Bilad-Al-Sham" or the "Levant." The first Arabic newspaper published in Jerusalem after the British Conquest of Palestine was *Surya al-Janubiyya* (Southern Syria) first issued in September 1919.

The memory of Bilad al-Sham is alive in the new PA curriculum. A lesson on the map of Palestine puts it squarely as part of the Levant or Greater Syria. Israel is not on the map, but Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan are marked in one color.

An interesting dimension of the new curriculum is the interest in the Levant or Greater Syria. We pointed out this phenomenon in our discussion (Section 5) on the Canaanites who lived in the Levant region.

The following description presents a set of identities for Palestine as exhibited in the PA curriculum with respect to its immediate environment. There is no Israel, but the Levant (Sham), the Arab Homeland and the Islamic World form part of the identity. Note that the countries of the Levant (Palestine, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon) are all in bold, with Palestine having a somewhat larger font. Egypt is somewhat downgraded and lumped together in the south only with the Gulf of Aqaba.

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54 The two leading Arabic newspapers carried the Geographical names *Filistin* and *Karmel*. For Syria seen as one economic zone see: Arthur Ruppin, *Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, (Berlin: K.W.K), 1916.
Palestine is located in the northern half of the globe, in the western part of the continent of Asia. It is one of the countries of the Levant ([bilad al-sham], Palestine, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon), bordered to the north by Lebanon and Syria, to the east by Jordan, and to the south by Egypt and the Gulf of Aqaba. Palestine's location forms a connecting link among the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe. It is located at the heart of the Arab homeland and the Islamic world, which remained through history as a conduit for commercial convoys. This has facilitated the process of communication with the outside world, and given many of its cities historical, religious or economic importance, especially Jerusalem.


A Grade 6 social studies book have presents a long chapter on the Shami/Levant counties featuring pictures and information from these countries. The following map is from the Grade 8 *Social Studies* textbook:

"Map of the Borders of Palestine" The Shami identity is still alive.


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A tenth-grade textbook on geography provides an apologetic explanation for the borders that separate the Levant; the mandate was drawn under pressure from the Zionist Movement.

The borders of Palestine during the British mandate were drawn under pressure from the Zionist movement in that period to achieve its interests, especially in the north of Palestine, and to control the sources of the Jordan River and the lakes of Tiberias and Hula.

8. Islamist and Arab Imperialism

The new PA school textbooks display fascination with Islamic and Arab empires. IMPACT-se research has discovered similar fascination in the Turkish and Iranian curricula, both marrying Islam with ethnicity.

In the case of a budding nationalist Palestinian movement based on an attachment to the land, there is no history of empire; we see the narrative of a Palestinian Nation existing continuously in Palestine for millennia, while fending off an endless series of invaders, the last being the Zionists.

The imperial drive of the Palestinians revolves around two powerful identity points: Arab and Islamic. Both include references to Palestine and the Palestinians, but only as part of the larger Empire. A seventh-grade social studies book is completely dedicated to the "Islamic State." The use of this particular term is telling, while the existing Islamic State (IS, or ISIS) wreaks havoc across the region and the world. The first part of the book is entitled "The Intercontinental Islamic State" and includes lessons on "The Expansion of the Islamic State in the Continent of Asia; . . . Africa; and . . . Europe." This is followed by a geographical description of North and South America and Oceania, as continents in which Islamic expansion occurred but with no land conquests. This is both true and also corresponds with the Muslim Brotherhood ideology regarding proselytization of Islam throughout the world.

لم تصل الفتوحات الإسلامية إلى قارات أمريكا الشمالية، والجنوبية، وأوقيانوسيا؛ وانتشار الإسلام عن طريق المهاجرين، والتّجار، والدّعاة، وتجارة الدّعا، وانضم بعضّ من دولها إلى منظمة التعاون الإسلامي، مثل دولتي سورينام، وغيونا.

The Islamic conquests did not reach the continents of North America, South America and Oceania. Islam spread through immigrants, merchants, preachers [du‘ah, from dawah] and the slave trade. Some of their countries joined the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, such as Surinam and Guyana.


The Extension of the Islamic State in the Continent of Europe: We will name the areas conquered by the Muslims in the Continent of Europe in the Umayyad [green] and Abbasid [red] Periods.


The text does not refer to local cultures in these continents. The introduction for the textbook that focuses on the Islamic State offers an ambitious recommendation: that the students will "draw lessons and benefit from historical events" and learn to "identify the strengths and weaknesses of the world's continents."  

The second part of the book covers various achievements of the Islamic State in the fields of administration, architecture, architecture in Palestine, science and economy. Here again, no other religions or cultures are mentioned, including in Palestine. The discussion on Islamic Spain, considered by many the Golden Age of Islamic-Jewish cultural relations, does not include Jews, although it includes the presence of highly educated Arabic speaking Christians. The Translation Movement in Islam is briefly mentioned, but not the Syriac-speaking Christians, nor contributions of other non-Muslims. 

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57 Ibid., p. 3.
58 Ibid., p. 65.
"The Islamic Conquests" [Palestine not marked; only Arab conquests included]


Interestingly, the maps, particularly that of the "Expansion of the Islamic State in the Continent of Europe," cover only the Islamic conquests (*fath, futuh*) during the Arab Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties. The large Ottoman state is not covered, perhaps because, as pointed out above, it receives a favorable depiction elsewhere. Similarly, Iranian Islamic empires covering the Caucuses, Iraq and India, are missing. This leads us to the second dimension of imperial fascination for this textbook, which is Pan-Arab. The imagined Arab empire is also presented in maps and texts, in which the Arab world, typically "The Arab Homeland" [*Al-Watan al-Arabi*], is presented either as one block or as an amalgam of Arab states (in both cases Israel does not exist). The Arab Homeland is presented as a unit, with history, strategic importance, ancient cultures and world religions.

Moreover, the curriculum teaches that all the Arab countries are presented as artificial since they were divided up by colonial powers who wished to control the Arabs for their own interests.

The Arab Homeland was exposed to foreign colonial plots that divided and fragmented it into states, separated by artificial borders . . . The Arab Homeland was divided by these plots into twenty-two countries.

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61 Ibid., p. 11.
The following geographical description puts Palestine in the Levant (see former section), but also at the center of the Arab Homeland.

Palestine is located in the Asian wing of the Arab world, within the region known as the Levant, which includes the countries: Palestine, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon; Palestine is located in the southwestern part of the Levant, between the Mediterranean Sea to the west and the Jordan River to the east. This site made Palestine a link between the Asian wing and the African wing of Arab Homeland.63


Palestine (in red), is at the center of the Arab Homeland. Israel is not on the map.

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It seems then that while Palestinian national identity is a main fixture in the curriculum, it is far from being alone. Palestinian students are being taught to believe that every Arab country is essentially artificial, a fragment of a large whole, either the Islamic State, or the Arab Homeland. There is no room for Israel in the future, but also not for Palestine, so it seems. In all likelihood, if an "intercontinental" Islamic State or the Arab Homeland emerges, the Muslim-Arabs of Palestine will smoothly melt into that empire, as occurred when the Ottomans replaced the Mamelukes in 1517. We have shown the readiness to accept a strong Saladin-type foreign leader—Arab or Muslim—who will demand allegiance.

The Islamic and Arab empires are described as positive. Regarding Western empires, criticism abounds.
9. Western Imperialism and View of Europe

Hatred of Israel is the axis mundi of Palestinian identity according to this curriculum, connecting its various dimensions into one powerful ideology, a phenomenon noted by scholars of curricula. By defaming the adversary, education systems and history textbooks in particular "play an important role in molding and reinforcing the state's national identity." Since the identity imparted by the PA curriculum is also imperial pan-Arab and Islamist, animosity toward Western imperialism and Europe in general is widespread across the new curriculum.

Map of European Imperialism (Britain, France, Italy and Spain). Countries correspond to current names and "Palestine" replaces "Israel."

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65 Thus, the Kingdom of Morocco, instead of the French Protectorate in Morocco (*Protectorat français au Maroc*).
A history book describes Western imperialism repeatedly and in great detail. Throughout the book the term imperialism and its derivatives occur almost four hundred and fifty times; the term "Occupation" is repeated one hundred thirty-two times. Imperialism serves as a convenient tool to demonize Israel. A paragraph in a social studies textbook describes actions by the British, Italian and French that include arrests, brainwashing, massacres and public executions. To this long mix, the curriculum authors include three massacres purportedly by Israel, two in 1948 and one in 1956. The former are hotly debated. Under the paragraph, there are pictures of an Israeli settlement in the West Bank and the security barrier.

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Imperialism has [been responsible for] a series of repressive methods toward the inhabitants of the Arab Homeland with the aim of spreading its influence, controlling it and its wealth, subjugating its citizens, eliminating revolutions and resistance movements, and the creation of a person inundated with colonial culture, empty of national elements. [The imperialists] arrested patriots and political thinkers hostile to them and committed massacres—which are among the ugliest methods of colonial oppression—claiming the lives of thousands of people from the Arab Homeland through mass killing. Prominent particularly in Palestinian memory were a number of massacres, chief among them Deir Yassin and Tantura in 1948; the massacre of Kafr Qasim in 1956; the massacre of Constantine in Algeria in 1945; and the execution used by colonialists to spread the spirit of defeat, fear and terror among the peoples, and then to surrender under their sovereignty. Italian imperialists executed Omar Mukhtar Sheikh of the Jihadists in Libya before the eyes of the population, as practiced by Britain during the mandate of Palestine, when it executed three of the Palestinian revolutionaries, namely: Mohammed Jamjoom, Atta Zeer and Fouad Hijazi on June 17, 1930, in the wake of the Buraq [Western Wall] Revolution in 1929 [1929 Arab riots in Palestine].

Crimes of Western Colonialism

Imperialist states used means and policies to support is their settlement thinking, through the exploitation of the land and what is on it, the adoption of a policy of discrimination and apartheid, murder and genocide, exile and expulsion, which had serious and long-lasting consequences for the colonized people and land.


Israel is seen as a leader of the colonial nations.

Some colonial countries, headed by the Zionist entity . . . ignore international resolutions.


The execution of Saddam Hussein is portrayed alongside executions by colonial powers: Italy in Libya and Britain in Egypt.

Example of Western Oppression: the Execution of Saddam Hussein


Resistance against imperialism includes armed struggle and terrorism.

(Note the image of Dalal Mughrabi, bottom left)

1. What can we deduce from the images shown above?
2. We examine the methods used by the Arab states to achieve independence.
3. We discuss the role of Arab women in resisting colonialism.

*Social Studies, Grade 9*, Vol. 1, 2017, p. 73.
PART THREE: POSITIVES

10. Some Positive Points

Teachers and authority figures should be respected. There is some improvement—albeit small—in presenting a realistic picture of the actual situation of the PA (both in terms of land, identity and struggle against corruption). Secular textbooks continue to present girls and women in a more positive manner than in *jihadi* sections. In the following examples, war is presented as a negative; the idea is expressed that violence should be limited, with this argument based on Islamic and secular discussion (unfortunately with no effort toward respecting the Other or working for peace).

Here are a few examples:

There are references (not in maps) to the West Bank and Gaza Strip (without mentioning Israel). East Jerusalem is referred to as Jerusalem. We have not detected maps covering only the West Bank and Gaza.

A sixth-grade math textbook, asks questions about palm trees growing in Palestine, yielding "about ten thousand tons of dates, of which seven thousand tons are in Gaza Strip and three thousand tons are in the West Bank."


Students are asked to calculate numbers of patients in Jerusalem's Al Maqassid Hospital.


The weather temperatures in five Palestinian cities: Gaza, Jerusalem, Jericho, Nablus and Jenin.


Some textbooks, particularly technical ones, include national material but in a constructive way. A *Technology* textbook provides information on the use of stones in Palestinian construction.\(^{67}\)

Another positive element is the presentation of banknote from the times of the British Mandate with Hebrew letters, alongside English and Arabic. In the past, we noted that in lower grade a post stamp from the British Mandate was presented with the Hebrew erased. In the new curriculum that stamp does not appear anymore. The banknote image, from Grade 11 Math textbook, was probably chosen because of the name Palestine on it. Today, the PA uses Israeli currency as well as Jordanian dinars. At this age, students have seen Israeli currency with Hebrew letters, so the banknote reflects a wish for local currency.

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\(^{67}\) Technology, Grade 8 (2016), pp. 62–74.
Students are required to form groups and discuss the images and present their conclusions.

We shall discuss the wars and occupation of the Palestinian people.

Where war happens, so does destruction. Not a tree can be saved, not a stone, nor plant, nor animal. Houses have been destroyed, many killed, diseases spread, and those remaining lived in shelters unleashing epidemics, diseases, disabilities, burns, and pain. This is in addition to the psychological effects. The impact of wars is not limited to humans, but also to the plants. It has resulted in the destruction of large areas of vegetation, as had happened in Palestine, Iraq, Pakistan, and Japan. War also affected marine organisms, because ships and submarines dumped their war remnants into the sea. Some sank and the deadly chemicals they were carrying, leaked.

Among the ways in which humanity resorted to limit the effects of wars:

- To promote cooperation between states; to provide food and humanitarian assistance, to assist the sick and wounded, to impose restrictions on belligerents and to prohibit the use of certain weapons, such as poisonous gases.
- Avoid attacks on buildings dedicated to worship, charities, hospitals, and locations where the sick and the wounded are gathered.
- Sheltering and protecting refugees.
- Collection of explosive remnants of war and clearance of landmines.
- Raising children's awareness to avoid suspicious objects. They should not playing with them.

_Social Studies, Grade 5_, Vol. 1, 2017, p. 52.

Resolving Corruption in Society Requires Attentiveness

The text reads:

Every one of us should ask themselves: Am I among those who pierces the ship or among those who preserve it, so we shall all live in a secure society?

_Arabic Language, Grade 5_, Vol. 1, 2017, p. 23.

Teaching eleven-year-olds that they live in a corrupt national society is unusual. Does this signify longing for something else? Beyond Palestinian identity? In any event, it has a dimension of self-reflection and realism.
Women are portrayed positively in secular aspects of curriculum

*Woman in traditional female role, but modern and free*


Hijab is relegated to post-school age groups.

*Gender, Height and Hijab by Age*

CONCLUSION

The second installment of the PA's new, so-called reformed curriculum has distanced itself more than in previous reports, based on our UNESCO-derived standards on peace and tolerance.

There is no RESPECT, tolerance and understanding toward the Israeli and Western "Other," his/her culture, achievements, values and way of life. There is denial and demonization.

There are no INDIVIDUAL OTHERs featured in the textbooks to foster personal attachment toward Israelis as individuals and their desire to be familiar, loved and appreciated. The principle of NO HATE is rejected. The curriculum is packed with wording, imagery and ideologies likely to create prejudices, misconceptions, stereotypes, misunderstandings, mistrust, racial hatred, religious bigotry and national hatred.

Unfortunately, the PA new curriculum does not foster PEACEMAKING. The only solution available to students is victory via resistance, jihad, radical Islamism and the expectation for a coalition to emerge that will defeat Israel once and for all. Instead of developing capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution to promote peace, we found an effort to adjust Palestinian identity to incorporate aggressive transnational Arab or Islamist entities.

The INFORMATION presented in this curriculum cannot be seen as UNBIASED. In fact students are indoctrinated and the world divided according to a Manichean paradigm with little or no complexity, empathy or real understanding of historical development. The information provided is often inaccurate nor are equal standards applied to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between Israelis and Palestinians.

As for GENDER, curricula should foster equality and mutual respect between women and men. As such, it should refrain from stereotyped gender roles. In this field, we see a clear dichotomy—between more secular parts of the curriculum that include respect for women's choices and the religious and jihadi elements. In the latter, we see women as equal in sacrifice but not in status. Men can marry four women and indefinite numbers of bondswomen (in the event slavery returns). In Paradise, the righteous Muslim benefits from seventy-two virgin wives—particularly if martyred for the cause. Christians are seen both as second-class "protected" subjects and as equal partners on the nationalist level.

Finally, as regards SOUND PROSPERITY and COOPERATION, the curriculum does educate for sound and sustainable economic conduct and preservation of the environment for future generations. However, questions remain. An attitude of hatred and scapegoating fosters an atmosphere of non-responsibility. The curriculum agitates against regional and local cooperation with Israel (the PA's chief economic partner) while advocating boycott and violence of that partner.
This is a preliminary and partial review that does not include all the new textbooks of the first semester and definitely not the second semester textbooks which will be published by January 2018.

We trust it is not naïve to hope that the PA can reverse its course, revise these first semester books and publish second semester books that are in line with the UNESCO-derived standards of peace and tolerance.
LIST OF RESEARCHED TEXTBOOKS

The following Arabic-language textbooks monitored for the research in this study may be found at the IMPACT-se library in Jerusalem. The titles both here and referenced in the text have been translated into English to aid the reader.

*Chemistry* (Science and Agriculture), Grade 11, 2017.
*Entrepreneurship* (Technology), Grade 11, 2017.
*Life Sciences*, Grade 10, 2017.

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Mathematics (Literature and Sharia), Grade 11, 2017.

National Education, Grade 2, 2013.


Programming and Automation, Grade 11, 2017.

Recitation and Intonation, Grade 5, 2017.
Recitation and Intonation, Grade 6, 2017.
Recitation and Intonation, Grade 7, 2017.
Recitation and Intonation, Grade 8, 2017.
Recitation and Intonation, Grade 10, 2017.


Small Projects Entrepreneurship, Grade 11, 2017.

Social Studies, Grade 9, Vol. 1, 2017.

Technology, Grade 5, 2016.
Technology, Grade 6, 2016.
Technology, Grade 7, 2016.
Technology, Grade 8, 2016.
Technology, Grade 9, 2017.
Technology, Grade 10, 2017.
Technology, Grade 11, 2016.
THE IMPACT-SE METHODOLOGY

IMPACT-se's research utilizes a content analysis research method to examine the textbooks according to the following criteria which is a condensed version of UNESCO’s standards for peace and tolerance in school education: 68

1. RESPECT: The curriculum should promote tolerance, understanding and respect toward the “Other,” his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life. 69
2. INDIVIDUAL OTHER: The curriculum should foster personal attachment toward the “Other” as an individual, his or her desire to be familiar, loved and appreciated. 70
3. NO HATE: The curriculum should be free of wording, imagery and ideologies likely to create prejudices, misconceptions, stereotypes, misunderstandings, mistrust, racial hatred, religious bigotry and national hatred, as well as any other form of hatred or contempt for other groups or peoples. 71
4. PEACEMAKING: The curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace. 72
5. UNBIASED INFORMATION: Educational materials (textbooks, workbooks, teachers’ guides, maps, illustrations, aids) should be up-to-date, accurate, complete, balanced and unprejudiced, and use equal standards to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples. 73

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68 The methodology was initiated by Yohanan Manor. This is an updated version of the standards prepared by Eldad J. Pardo, Jean-Claude Nidam and Shimon Shetreet (May 2014). http://www.impact-se.org/methodology/
69 As defined in the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance Proclaimed and signed by Member States of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Articles 1, 4.2. See also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding Between Peoples (1965), Principles I, III. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
70 The goal of education for peace is the development of universally recognized values in an individual, regardless of different socio-cultural contexts. See Ibid., Article 6. See also, on exchanges between youth, the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principles IV, V.
73 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, November 19, 1974, Article V.14.
6. **GENDER**: The curriculum should foster equality and mutual respect between women and men. It should refrain from stereotyped gender roles.\(^{74}\)

7. **SOUND PROSPERITY and COOPERATION**: The curriculum should educate for sound and sustainable economic conduct and preservation of the environment for future generations. It should encourage regional and local cooperation to that effect.\(^{75}\)

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\(^{74}\) The preamble to the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, notes the Convention on the Elimination of Any Form of Discrimination against Women and emphasizes respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to gender.

\(^{75}\) 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, November 19, 1974, Articles III.6, and IV.7. On the imperative for developing “systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance,” see the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 4.2. On education for international cooperation, see also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principle II.