The New Palestinian Curriculum
2018–19 Update—Grades 1–12

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This report was prepared as new textbooks were issued or updated continuously throughout the summer of 2018. We believe our findings are robust and commensurate with our earlier research. An overall evaluation of the complete PA curriculum still needs to be made before formulating effective policy recommendations.

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Findings and Analysis

This report includes selected material from the Palestinian new school curriculum (for the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem) to be taught in the upcoming academic year, as researched by IMPACT-se in recent months. The report includes selected examples from second semester textbooks for grades 1–11, originally published for the academic calendar year, 2017–18; and examples from grade 12 to be taught for the first time in the current academic year (2018–19).

The new curriculum was implemented in stages, starting with a new set of textbooks for grades 1–4 for the academic year 2016–17, with grades 5–11 added the following year, and grade 12 finally available for the 2018–19 term. This is the first full restructuring of the Palestinian curriculum since 2000, following the Oslo Accords. Before then, children in the West Bank and East Jerusalem were taught the Jordanian curriculum while students in Gaza used Egyptian textbooks.

There were expectations that the new curriculum would be more moderate compared with the previous, Arafat-era, radical textbooks. Such hope derived from the 2005 election of Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) as president of the PA, leading to the publication of comparatively moderate new books for grade 11. These textbooks did not deviate from the fundamentals of the curriculum as charted since the late 1990s, especially relating to Israel, but appeared to carry a slight shift in tone. However, this apparent change was followed by more confrontational twelfth grade textbooks after the electoral victory of the Islamist Hamas movement in January 2006.

The new textbooks for grades 1–4 proved to be more radical than those published before. There was, simultaneously, both a denial of Israel’s existence and hatred of it as a neighbor. Our report

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at that time stated that, "the lower-grade texts provide us with the contours of Palestinian identity, assuming that children between six and ten years of age are still too young to understand the complex realities that surround them." Yet, this does not mean that these children cannot understand compassion and empathy—or the presence of cultural and political Others—toward which such emotions can be expressed. Indeed, the curriculum encourages a selective acceptance of Others—such as the Christian minority, women, the elderly and the disabled.

Our explanation for this radicalization pointed to the Sixth Fatah Conference of 2009, which established a policy of abandoning peace negotiations in favor of a unilateral diplomatic effort in the international arena to accompany "popular resistance." This represented an adherence to the 1974 PLO phased plan for the conquest of Palestine (Israel), which states: "Once it is established, the Palestinian National Authority will strive to achieve a union of the confrontation countries, with the aim of completing the liberation of all Palestinian territory, and as a step along the road to comprehensive Arab unity." One could surmise that the curriculum's role is to prepare Palestinian children to join in the resistance against Israel as part of a greater plan to secure comprehensive Arab unity, without Israel. Among our findings' focal points: the struggle against Israel and its disappearance; martyrdom; demonization (of Jews/Israel); and "return" (to Palestine). In such a scenario, children are expendable.

In August 2017, the PA published the second level of its school curriculum, with new textbooks for grades 5–11. At that time IMPACT-se issued a preliminary review featuring grades 5–11 textbooks for the first semester of 2017–18. Among its findings is an emphasis within the curriculum on radical Islamist messaging, particularly the idea of a transnational "Islamic State," the religious counterpart of the pan-Arab Homeland.

This report includes additional textbooks and examples for grades 5–11, along with examples from some of the recently published grade 12 textbooks. Further research will provide a more

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4 Pardo. et al., "Reform or Radicalization," pp. 3, 38, 81, 85–89.
comprehensive assessment of the new curriculum comprising textbooks for grades 1–12.

**Preliminary Findings**

The main finding of this report is that the Palestinians have a common radical voice for a curriculum accommodating the full spectrum of extreme nationalist and Islamist ideologies in both Gaza and the Palestinian Authority.

One dimension of such radicalism is manifested in the severe demonization of Israel, almost always referred to as the "Zionist Occupation" which includes anti-Semitic motifs. Another component incorporates themes of heroism and martyrdom in a sophisticated program to lure Palestinian boys and girls to their deaths in clashes with Israelis. A third aspect is the focus on a massive "return" into Israel proper, with a detailed example of moving the Gazan population into the Israeli south. Finally, a comprehensive strategy of revolution has been modeled after Saladin's victory over the Crusades. Similar models of "phased" struggles and conquests are also presented, including various twentieth century liberation movements and the early battles of Islam. The effort to gain international support is critical.

In sum, the PA elites are teaching Palestinian children that there can be no compromise. Israel is an occupying colonial power. The conflict will remain alive and violent until such time as a new Arab or Muslim coalition emerges and removes all things Israel and Israeli from the landscape. Once the liberation war ends in victory, a stage of cleansing all colonial cultural remnants will be unleashed.

This also applies to all things Western, and notably the United States, about which the textbooks take a radical anti-American position. The US is described as a hegemonic power—politically, militarily, economically, culturally and technologically—and is not identified by the curriculum as a force for good in the world.

Despite the curriculum's embedded radicalism, there is also the calculated strategy to mitigate a potential national disaster from an all-out war against a militarily superior rival. The memories of the 1948 Nakba (literally—catastrophe) are kept alive. The curriculum also points to the heavy price of the Algerian War of Independence and the Al-Aqsa Intifada. To avoid further catastrophe, the PA strategy requires a continuous bloody confrontation to keep the revolution alive and exhaust the enemy until a shift in the power equation occurs.

Across the curriculum, the need for continuous struggle and martyrdom is stressed—using terminology like revolution, uprising, ribat and jihad. As to the final victory, students are taught to expect the emergence of a powerful cross-national coalition modeled on Saladin, who successfully united Muslims by instilling the sprit of jihad and defeating the Crusaders.

Looking through the lens of IMPACT-se's international standards of peace and tolerance in school education (see Methodology, p. 62), we noted some improvement concerning
UNBIASED INFORMATION. The curriculum, for the first time introduces certain radical aspects of Palestinian history, including terror attacks and Arab rejection of the 1947 UN partition plan. It may be overly optimistic to believe this could lead to a new direction in thinking since, realistically, it also buttresses the radical tone of the curriculum. The curriculum's focus on history is often political, with much attention given to radical and Islamist leadership, conveying a sense of unanimity, while typically ignoring Arab-Jewish cooperation or Arab-Palestinian internecine violence. Regarding SOUND PROSPERITY and COOPERATION, economic relations with Israel, while subverting its existence, are paradoxically encouraged. An interesting exercise promotes economic cooperation with Israeli Arabs—considered "Palestinians of Northern Palestine"—while struggling with the evil "Zionist Occupation" (the name most often used to describe Israel in the curriculum). With respect to GENDER, the curriculum perceives the martyrdom of girls as a measure of equality. The remaining standards are mostly ignored. There is virtually NO RESPECT for the Israeli/Jewish Other, his or her culture, achievements, values or way of life. No Israeli INDIVIDUAL is presented as familiar, loved or appreciated. HATE stands at the center of the curriculum. In a place where the subject of peace has been paramount for so long, with the exception of some generalized allusions to the benefits of PEACEMAKING, it would be an understatement to say that this standard is lacking.

Boosting Hate and Indoctrinating for Killing and Martyrdom

The new textbooks examined in this report indoctrinate for death and martyrdom. Jews and Israelis are portrayed as quintessentially evil, amid calls for jihad and martyrdom by Palestinian children. Islamic education textbooks include stories of martyrs from early Islamic wars. The image of a girl with a long dagger is a disturbing reminder of the 2015–16 Knife Intifada, when children were encouraged to use knives and scissors to attack Israelis.

Religious and Nationalistic Bigotry and Anti-Semitism

The curriculum prominently features an array of perceived crimes by Israel, including violent death, hurting and imprisoning children and the existence of the security barrier. Our research has found numerous examples of barely hidden indoctrination through messaging in subjects like science and math.

There is no positive concept of Israel as the Other. An exception is a chapter on the peace process and creation of the Palestinian National Authority. In fact, Israel is almost never referred to by its name. The common attribute of Israel is the “Zionist Occupation” or some variation. This is true when the text specifically refers to pre-1967 Israel. References to the partition plan of November 29, 1947, mention a Jewish and an Arab state, but grudgingly and under protest. The partition plan resolution, openly stipulating the establishment of both an Arab and a Jewish state, is referred to in the new grade 12 history textbook. This is then followed by a mock trial of the United Nations for its role in the "disaster."
Anti-Semitism is more prevalent than before in the new second semester textbooks for grades 5–11 (2017–18) and first semester grade 12 (2018–19) textbooks. The texts use the words “Jews” and "Zionist Jews" interchangeably, so there no longer appears to be a distinction between Israelis (Zionists) and Jews in general. Israel and the Jews are referred to as "enemies of Islam," and are blamed for poisoning the Prophet Muhammad, (which mainstream Islam has [mostly] rejected).

Encouraging girls and boys to sacrifice their lives in the name of religion appears to be a central goal of this curriculum. The new textbooks for children and early teens provide dramatic stories of martyrdom and suffering from the early Islamic wars, followed by an implicit call to die for the cause. One example shows the crucifixion of an Islamic warrior, immediately followed by an assignment to tell the story of a martyr from the child's hometown, "who rose in defense of his religion, and his homeland, Palestine."

The Nakba-Return Motif

The new curriculum dramatically emphasizes the theme of Nakba-Return and celebrates actions like those of Dalal Mughrabi, the chief architect of the 1978 Coastal Road massacre. Particularly illuminating is a plan of resettling the Gazan population in territories currently in Israel proper.

The solution to the problem of overcrowding in the Gaza Strip lies primarily in the return of the displaced population to their homes for which they are still holding their keys in Beersheba, Iraq al-Manshiyya, Falluja, Webna, and other cities, villages, towns and Bedouin homes, and their return to the cultivation of their lands, for which they still keep their registration certificates in the plains of Al-Masmiyya, Salamah, Aqar, Qatra, Khulda and others, thus solving their housing and food problems.

*Social Studies, Vol. 2, Grade 9*, 2017, p. 68.

The theme of Nakba-Return is coupled with harrowing descriptions of crimes Israel is accused of perpetrating during the 1948 War, including genocide and ethnic cleansing. The Battle of Tantura is clearly described as a massacre. The historical background of this particular battle and its aftermath is not provided—nor are the many debates among historians or any context on the war itself. Rather, the event is falsely presented as a consensus view of all scholars.

Revolutionary Strategy

The new textbooks provide more insight into the strategic thinking of Palestinian leadership. The difference in worldviews between the PA and Hamas appears to have narrowed substantially in the new curriculum. The specific discussion in one of the textbooks about moving a large

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5 Etan Kohlberg, "The Figure of Prophet Muhammad as Shahid," *Igeret Magazine* 26 (Hebrew; The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, May 26, 2004): pp. 10–12.
population from the Gaza Strip to Israel was probably written in 2016 or early 2017. Yet it seems prescient to the 2018 Israel-Gaza clashes, called: the "Great March of Return" by Hamas organizers.

The Mufti of Palestine during the British Mandate, Haj Amin Al-Husseini, is represented positively in the newly examined textbooks. In the curriculum's depiction of history, there is no mention of moderates or peace-seeking figures among Palestinian Arabs in the textbooks we examined. In contrast, airplane hijackings are admired as part of the Palestinian revolutionary heritage, as are other attacks such as the Al-Aqsa Intifada and the Munich massacre.

One does find a measure of cautiousness. While the destruction of Israel remains a clear strategic goal for the authors of the PA curriculum, older students are reminded to be patient and to avoid actions that might precipitate a full-fledged war.

Another sign of caution within this long war is a new definition for the term ribat. This curriculum considers the term as a spiritual preparation to jihad, which remains the central belief. The Algerian War and the Arab Spring uprisings can be seen as warnings to Palestinians as the price to pay if they confront Israel head on. So the question of how to go about a long term revolution is debated in the texts. It appears that that the Algerian revolution, once a model for Palestinians, has been replaced by the Saladin model. A long war with many martyrs to provide content for broadcast media is a requirement, as one textbook's analysis of the First Intifada clearly demonstrates. But victory will be achieved only when a strong Arab or Muslim leader succeeds in creating a powerful and united country, as can be deduced from the curriculum's analysis of Saladin's strategy.

The discourse assumes that terror is legitimate in the case of liberation movements, internationally and religiously. Any doubts revolve around the effective mobilization of the masses, to which this new curriculum attributes much importance.

The liberation of Palestine is described as violent. One poem speaks about "sacrificing blood" to remove the Israeli enemy from the land by "eliminating the usurper" and to "annihilate the remnants of the foreigners."

The curriculum's role is to educate students for victory. A motto in a new history textbook explains it all: "The road to Palestine is not far, not near; its length is that of the revolution."

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6 Al-Husseini led the most radical wing of the Arab-Palestinian community from 1921 to 1945. He was responsible for clashes and assassinations of moderate rivals, was a Nazi collaborator who actively participated in the Holocaust, and was largely responsible for the radicalization of Islam in the region. Al-Husseini was also greatly responsible for the fateful decision to reject the 1947 partition plan.

7 Historical Studies, Grade 12, 2018. p. 61.

8 Ibid., p. 42.
War and Peace

War and Popular War

A new grade 12 history textbook emphasizes four units of study: "intercontinental conquest wars;" "popular revolutions;" "multi-ethnic empires;" and "cross-national unity projects." Unit one begins with an impressive image of military rockets with a contradictory pro-peace motto: "War is the greatest failure of man, a defeat for humanity." So images of war remain the dominant message. The textbooks encourage students to discuss whether wars are sheer evil; just or unjust; or a natural consequence of human history. The dilemma appears to be presented at first as a legitimate question. However, the text then concludes that some wars are justified: Islamic conquests command a higher moral ground not only because Muslims applied strict ethics to war, but also because they were a unique phenomenon in themselves:

Islamic conquests are considered the greatest [divine] guidance movement for people in history, and the largest movement pulling people out of the recesses of darkness into the light, and not just wars to expand land.

*Historical Studies, Grade 12, 2018,* p. 10.

The chapter on the Crusaders appears dispassionate and somewhat balanced. While the loyalty of local Christians living under Muslim rulers is lauded, Jewish allegiance is ignored. The next war described, WWI, is at first depicted without bias. With the brief entry on the Middle East, however, the tone becomes subjective, utilizing the terms: conspiracies and colonialism. The description of WWII is shallow. The horrors of war, including the Holocaust, are essentially ignored, with the exception of Arabs suffering from unjust martial law and strict censorship. Nazi crimes and collaboration—or opposition—with these crimes in the region are also omitted. On the other hand, the war led to independence (from colonialism) for many, except for the Palestinians, described by the curriculum as victims of the UN partition plan.

The role of the second unit, on popular revolutions, is less ambivalent, directly educating students for victory. The motto is telling: "The road to Palestine is not far, not near; its length is that of the revolution." The section includes dramatic images of clashes and violent scenes, but also analyzes the various revolutionary tactics, including a full range of violent and non-violent strategies. While peace and coexistence is *not* a goal, there is an implicit warning about

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9 *Historical Studies,* Grade 12, 2018.
10 Ibid., p. 2.
11 Ibid., pp. 4–5.
12 Ibid., p. 4.
13 Ibid., pp. 18–26.
14 Ibid., p. 33.
15 Ibid., p. 41.
16 Ibid., pp. 42–89.
uncontrolled violence. Algeria's revolution is presented as a model for victory, though not without dilemma. The textbook authors seem aware of the human price that emanates from out-of-control revolutions and uprisings as shown in the later chapter on the Arab Spring. While succeeding to free Algeria after 132 years of French colonialism, a hastily added paragraph points to the heavy price paid for independence.

The [Algerian] revolution lasted more than seven years, leaving behind frightening social consequences, with 1.5 million martyrs, half a million detainees, half a million immigrants to Tunisia and Morocco and three million in Algeria, living in harsh conditions, besides problems such as disease and malnutrition.

*Historical Studies, Grade 12, 2018, p. 54.*

The curriculum underplays the importance of negotiations in conflicts. While negotiations played a leading role in the complete evacuation of the French from Algeria, the authors of the curriculum appear to view them as an afterthought. "The negotiations were a final method along with the armed revolution." 17

![Palestinian guerillas](image1)

The message is of educating for a combination of violence and a mass communications strategy, in which children play an important role, as is also clear from the textbooks directed at lower grade children. Grade 12 students now learn the logic behind this policy.

Local and foreign journalists used the press as a clear means of condemning the Occupation, such as the image of the Palestinian child carrying a stone in front of the heavily armed Zionist soldier, which gave a clear impression of the peaceful nature of the intifada and the brutality of the Occupation with its policy of breaking bones. Finally, there was the use of the military method, which became known as the militarization of the intifada. These were calls focused on the use of individual firearms against the Occupation, in response to the crimes of Occupation against unarmed civilians.

*Historical Studies, Grade 12, 2018, p. 61.*

17 Ibid., pp. 53.
18 Ibid., p. 45.
The textbook takes a radical anti-American position. The US is described as a hegemonic power—politically, militarily, economically, culturally and technologically—and is not identified as a force for good in the world.

The textbook blames the US for taking advantage of the 9/11 events to fulfill its hegemonic agenda.
Official and Popular Positions on the American Hegemony:

We will observe, conclude and answer:

[Image above]

We shall describe what we see in the picture.

How did the events represented in the picture influence world politics?

How did the USA take advantage of the 9/11 events to impose its hegemony on international politics?


The events of September 11, 2001, and the resulting destruction of the [World] Trade Center [Twin Towers] in the United States of America [provided] justification for the United States to break its obligations and impose its priorities on international politics. The US adopted the slogan of fighting terrorism as justification for interfering in the domestic politics of any country in the circle of American attention. All countries in the world were required to provide information to America, reconsider their school curricula and financial transactions, declare that they were against terrorism, and conduct media policies that were not inconsistent with the policy of the United States of America. [The 9/11 events] also gave [the US] the right to intervene in the countries of the world and extend its control over everyone, becoming the world's policeman, especially after the occupation of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003.

The United States policy found itself in direct confrontation with all the social and political forces in the world suffering from injustice, oppression and poverty. Demonstrations and protests took place in the world against the US policy and administration, as happened when the United States decided to invade Iraq. Most notably in Palestine, Egypt, France, Spain, Denmark and others.

We shall form a mock court to judge the crimes of the USA in Iraq.

*Historical Studies, Grade 12*, 2018, p. 100.

Peace and Terror

One fifth grade social studies textbook\(^ {20} \) features the only case of peace advocacy we detected. But there are caveats: Peace is referred to as a universal ideal, with no mention of the conflict with Israel (or any Other for that matter); recommendations refer to countries (or states), not "resistance movements," a meaningful omission; peace-making includes Islamic rules of war, taught by the curriculum as a religious duty (*jihad*); and only those above age fifteen may take part (officially) in violence.

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\(^ {20} \) *Social Studies*, Vol. 2, Grade 5, pp. 83–84.
Defense and protection:

Some countries have agreements with other countries in order to protect them from the dangers surrounding them. The weak countries seek protection from the powerful ones. Some countries seek to cooperate with one another in order to achieve security and stability.


Though the curriculum's emphasis is on violent struggle, peace, love and tolerance briefly form part of the conversation.

Father: States should solve the problems between them through dialogue and peaceful methods; they should spread love and peace among their peoples . . . and help each other to resolve conflicts.


Oddly, peace education includes much about the rules of war, both Islamic and secular. Children under age fifteen should not participate in war or be enlisted in armies. Acknowledgement that children should be protected during wars is also significant, considering the pro-martyrdom themes in the curriculum.
Said: Islam has developed a humanitarian ethic during wars, as evidenced by the commandment of Abu Bakr to the army of Usama bin Zaid: 'Do not kill a small child or a very old man or a woman, nor cut off the head off of a palm tree, nor burn it, or cut a fruitful tree . . .'


- Persons who have not reached age fifteen shall not participate directly in the war.

- To protect the civilian population in armed conflicts and to take all feasible measures to ensure the protection and care of children affected by armed conflict.


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Letters of Mutual Recognition between the PLO and Israel

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to live in a new peace and security. The Organization commits itself to the Middle East peace process, to the peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides, and declares that all the core issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations. The PLO renounces the use of terrorism and other acts of violence [the textbook's version does not include the PLO's commitment to "assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance."] The paragraphs of the Palestinian Charter that deny Israel's right to exist are no longer valid.  


22 The wording is from the textbook, translated to English, not the official English text.
The text of Arafat's letter is presented with some deletions. Recognition of the State of Israel and its right to live in peace and security are part of the document text but the idea is not explained, nor is it taught. An important omission is the PLO's commitment to "assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance."

The curriculum includes information about Zionism while negating Zionism as a legitimate national movement. We might conclude this is to better know the Zionist enemy. One history book states that Jews in Europe were rejected by the majority populations, without mentioning the Holocaust or the persecution of Jews of in the Arab world. So while the first Zionist Congress voted to "create a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine," Zionism remains "a colonial political movement linked to the emergence of colonialism and nationalist thinking in Europe."

Terrorism is considered a legitimate tool for liberation movements. Elsewhere in this report there is much praise and admiration for the Dalal Mughrabi Coastal Road massacre. Here, the history textbook acknowledges responsibility for aircraft hijackings as part of the PLO's heritage. Presented as a part of history, there is no particular praise for these terrorist acts. Indeed they are somewhat camouflaged by focusing on "Zionist" attacks and retaliation.

I learned:
The Zionist attacks continued on Palestinian bases and settlements in Lebanon, as well as on some Lebanese villages, cities and economic targets. The Palestinian factions responded with a number of operations against Zionist targets, including airplane hijackings. The Zionist Occupation [i.e., Israel] launched Operation Firdan in 1973, named after the street in which it was carried out. Three PLO leaders: Kamal Nasser, Kamal Adwan and Abu Yousef Al Najjar were assassinated in Beirut [by Zionists].


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23 Geography and Modern History of Palestine, Vol. 1, Grade 10, 2018, p. 78.
24 Ibid., p. 80.
25 Ibid., p. 78.
The text praises guerilla-terror operations particularly those of the Fatah movement. Following is Fatah’s first such operation (January 19, 1965, sponsored by Syria) against Israel’s national water carrier. Typically, pre-1967 Israel is described as the "Zionist Occupation."

The contemporary Palestinian revolution was launched in 1965. The Palestinian people began the stage of organized armed struggle against the Zionist Occupation by launching the first guerrilla operation on January 19, 1965. The "storm forces" [Fatah’s Al-‘Asifah] blew up the Eilabun Tunnel, followed by a series of guerrilla operations. The Palestinian thus turned from a refugee to a Fedayeen, launching [its missions] from bases neighboring the occupied territory. The significance of the revolution draws on its self-reliance. It achieved military and political victories and has gained prominence at the regional and global levels.


**The Munich Massacre**

The text then openly endorses The Munich Massacre, referred to in the textbook as the Munich Operation. One of the most harrowing terrorist attacks in the history of the conflict, the 1972 Munich massacre occurred during the 1972 Munich Summer Olympics when the Fatah’s Black September group took eleven Israeli Olympic team members hostage, killing them along with a West German police officer. The text does not provide details but uses this attack as a good example for justifying Palestinian warfare against "Zionist interests abroad."

The image shows the first Palestinian National Council meeting (1964) in Jordan-controlled Jerusalem.
The Palestinian Resistance resorted to many methods in their opposition to the Zionist Occupation [Israel]. The Fedayeens pursued the method of guerrilla warfare in most of their confrontations with the Zionists in the Palestinian territories. They also sought to strike at Zionist interests abroad, such as the Munich operation in 1972, as well as direct confrontation in many battles, such as the 1968 Battle of Karameh [in Jordan], the southern Lebanon wars, and the siege of Beirut in 1982, in addition to the methods of peaceful popular resistance, including strikes, blocking roads, refusing to pay taxes, demonstrations and marches condemning the occupation. The 1987 Intifada applied these methods as directed in statements by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising.

Radical Islam: Jihad War, Ribat, Martyrdom

He who Fights so the Word of God is Supreme (Interactive Lesson)

[Among the goals of the lesson:]

Acquaintance with two terms: Jihad fighter (mujahid) and martyr (shahid).


The discussion of jihad war is meticulous and includes many dimensions, from the religious requirement to the rewards. Martyrdom—dying in the battlefield—is a coherent part of jihad. The meaning of jihad in this chapter is warfare, as it is clear from the title and image of the chapter (above) to the six different Quranic verses, supplied after the discussion.
The teacher will discuss the following subjects, ideas and concepts with students:

1 Define the following concepts: jihad, jihad fighter (mujahid), martyr (shahid).
2 Demonstrate that jihad relies on the Holy Qur'an, and from the Sunnah of the Prophet.
3 Clarify the impact of jihad on the individual and society.
4 Describe the rewards awaiting the jihad fighter and the martyr in the way of Allah.
5 Indicate the goals of jihad in Islam.
6 Point to jihadi positions of the Companions—may Allah be pleased with them.
7 Emphasize the true faith in jihad in the cause of Allah, and in every action.


This eighth grade Islamic textbook bolsters the ethos of the jihad theme with six war verses, selected from various chapters of the Qur'an. The most famous promises eternal life to those who die fighting for Allah; combined, the verses cover the psychological and practical dimensions of warfare.

Fighting has been enjoined upon you [even] while it is hateful to you. But perhaps you hate a thing and it is good for you; and perhaps you love a thing and it is bad for you. And Allah knows, while you know not [Al-Baqara 2: 216].

Fight them until there is no [more] fitnah [in-fighting] and [until] worship is [acknowledged to be] for Allah. But if they cease, then there is to be no aggression except against the oppressors [Al-Baqara 2:193].

Permission [to fight] has been given to those who are being fought, because they were wronged. And indeed, Allah is competent to give them victory [Al-Haj 22: 39].

And prepare against them whatever you are able of power and of steeds of war by which you may terrify the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others besides them whom you do not know [but] whom Allah knows. And whatever you spend in the cause of Allah will be fully repaid to you, and you will not be wronged [Al-Anfal 8:60].
And what is [the matter] with you that you fight not in the cause of Allah and [for] the oppressed among men, women, and children who cry, 'Our Lord? Rescue us from this city of oppressive people and appoint for us from Yourself a protector and appoint for us from Yourself a helper' [Al-Nisa 4: 75]?

And never think of those who have been killed in the cause of Allah as dead. Rather, they are alive with their Lord, receiving provision [Al-Imran 3:169].


Among the activities aimed at ingraining *jihadi* culture, the text brings to mind Saladin, the quintessential role model for the Palestinian curriculum.

أذكر موقفًا جهاديًا للقائد صلاح الدين الأيوبي - رحمه الله تعالى -

I mention a *jihadi* stance of the leader of Salah al-Din al-Ayubi (may Allah have mercy on him).


Islam and the Youth
The role of the youth: Carrying the Islamic message
Youth are the safety valve of society because they have a role in protecting the homeland and repelling enemies in *jihad* for the sake of Allah.


*Jihad* is a classic military institution. Preparing for *jihad* is a duty of the imam, about which there is no ambiguity. In other words, Palestinian Islamic education is Islamist.

4. **Defending the State and the Nation's Creed:**

The imam must respond to any aggression that compromises the faith of Muslims, or harms their countries or lives by way of preparing for *jihad* and arming and developing the armies: "And prepare against them whatever you are able of power and of steeds of war by which you may terrify the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others besides them whom you do not know [but] whom Allah knows. And whatever you spend in the cause of Allah will be fully repaid to you, and you will not be wronged" [Al-Anfal 8:60].


The curriculum uses barely hidden (subliminal) messaging to insert violent content in various contexts. Here, *jihad* is given as an example to explain syntactic end-vowel marking in Arabic grammar:

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**Desinential Inflection**

26 Examples:

1. *Jihad* is one of the gates of paradise.

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26 Grammar: Vowel marking according to the syntactic analysis.
Jihad, holy war, and martyrdom in battle (becoming shahid) remains a popular subject in the Palestinian curriculum. From an early age students learn that giving their lives is a religious duty that carries great rewards and much honor. In fact it amounts to the central meaning of life, the highest point toward which one can aspire.

Martyrs' Status with Allah:

"And do not say about those who are killed in the way of Allah: 'They are dead.' Rather, they are alive, but you perceive [it] not," [Al-Baqara: ] 154. For Allah, martyrdom is a great status, a high point, so the magnitude of the effort and the sacrifice [should emanate] from the loftiness of the goal and purpose.

And the Martyr: he who invested himself in the cause of Allah in defense of his religion and homeland; so Allah's word is supreme.

The verse prohibits describing martyrs as dead; because they live with their Lord in delight, they have moved from the life we know to another life we do not sense.

'And never think of those who have been killed in the cause of Allah as dead. Rather, they are alive with their Lord, receiving provision,' Al-Imran: 169.

Islamic Education, Grade 12, 2018, p. 16.

The PA Islamic Education taught to students in Gaza and the Palestinian Authority, continues to encourage ribat, which can be understood as a subdivision of jihad war with a focus on a frontier war of attrition.²⁷ Former editions of Islamic Education (grade 12) teach that: "The people of the

²⁷ In medieval Islam ribat was a military-religious institution and a building or a site. Originally, the verb r-b-t signified preparations for battle made with cavalry mounts. In the first centuries of Islam ribat took on the meaning of performing jihad "on the frontier." Murabitun were those who performed ribat, generally considered as defensive, but sometimes included raids or guerilla-type warfare. During the Abbasid Caliphate, the term also acquired the meaning of an observation tower, a small fort, a fortress and even a caravanserai (inn for caravans). Later, ribat also referred to the lodges of mystics. Ribat as jihad of the frontier was revived by Al-Qaida, ISIS and the PA. The term murabitun and murabitat was often applied to men and women participating in clashes over the
Levant in general and Palestine in particular, are in a state of *ribat* until the Day of Resurrection." Since 2006, examples explaining *ribat* in PA textbooks have included famous Islamic battles in the Levant (*bilad al-sham*, Greater Syria); Yarmouk (Rashidun against the Byzantians, 636, near the contemporary Syrian-Jordanian border); Hittin (Saladin against the Crusaders, 1187); and Ayn Jalut (Mamluks against the Mongols, 1260), in contemporary Israel.28

While the PA curriculum envisaged an eternal attrition war against Israel, paradoxically, the examples given were of major battles in the history of Greater Syria. Also, an "eternal *ribat* war" fought "until the Day of Resurrection," suggests that realistically, victory will never come.

The new *Islamic Education* (grade 12 edition) textbook for the 2018–19 academic year, avoids the term eternal war ("until the Day of Resurrection"). It explains that *ribat* means living a "normal" existence while readying oneself for *jihad*—in places such as Palestine and the Sham (Greater Syria, the Levant), where danger lurks from the "enemies of Islam."

*Islamic Education*, Grade 12, 2018, p.74.

Ribat: means preparing one's soul to [to engage in] *jihad* for the sake of Allah and defending religion and the Muslims, as one continues to reside in places where people are afraid of the enemies of Islam. This refers particularly to residing in the land of Palestine and generally to the Levant [*bilad al-sham*, Greater Syria].

And *ribat* is the best deed that remains rewarded after one's death; because all the acts of righteousness could not occur unless safety from the enemy is secured and one keeps guarding. So the [one who engages in *ribat*] gains the reward of all the acts of righteousness that are held because of his *ribat.*


The term "enemies of Islam" almost always includes Israel, which of course does not consider itself as such. The definition of ribat in the new textbook is somewhat milder than in previous texts. The focus is more on guarding and being prepared but only if there is danger. Also, the concept of eternal war has been removed at least from this textbook, including references to famous past jihad battles. The meaning of ribat has changed from an eternal frontier war to preparation for jihad. As such, one cannot exclude the possibility of the movement toward a more immediate war. Inciting students to be ready for an actual jihad war can be more easily understand in this context.

Encouraging boys and girls to sacrifice their lives in the name of religion is a central goal of this curriculum. The textbooks for young children and early teens provide dramatic stories of martyrdom and suffering from early Islamic wars, followed by modern-day anecdotes presented as a thinly veiled attempt to illustrate what children should expect in their future.

One such example is the heroic story of the Prophet's friend Khabib Ibn Adi, who was crucified by the enemies of the Prophet. The narrative for eleven-year-olds describes a valiant hero who participated in many battles and then became a prisoner of war, later sold as a slave to the family whose relative he had killed in battle.

When taken to the wooden platform to be crucified in Mecca's Tan'im area, he asked to perform two prayer rak'ahs (prostrations) for Allah. They agreed and he said: "By Allah, if they would not think that I took my time out of dread and fear of death, I would have continued praying longer."^29

The story relates that he was the first to begin the tradition of giving religious testimony (shahada) before dying for the sake of Allah. As he was led to the platform to be crucified, he declared:

> ولستُ أبالي حين أقتُلُ مسلماً
> علي أي جنب كان في اللّه مّضْرَعٌ

> When dying as a Muslim, I do not mind what part of my body causes my death in Allah.


Then they asked him whether he would prefer that Muhammad would take his place, to which he answered: "By Allah, I would not wish to be with my family knowing that Muhammad was pricked by a thorn." The story continues with Muhammad sending someone to take his body down. [The envoy] "approached the wooden platform, united his bonds, lowered his body and

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placed it on the ground." The text then reiterates again: "This holy man was the first to be crucified in the way of Allah and the first who created the tradition of reciting the death prayer."

Immediately after this intense scene, the text directs the children to their own village or small town.

I will tell a story of a martyr from my hometown, who rose in defense of his religion and his homeland Palestine. *Islamic Education, Vol. 2, Grade 5*, 2017, p. 70.

A companion martyrdom story is that of Asim Ibn Thabit from whose skull a female enemy wanted to drink wine in revenge.³⁰ His body was protected by bees and then washed into the creek by rain sent by Allah. The story is followed by current local example:

I will name a number of prisoners from my hometown in the Occupations prisons. *Islamic Education, Vol. 2, Grade 5*, 2017, p. 69.

Other means are used to impact childrens' emotions, such as accusing Jews for desecrating Muslim graves. The following picture is of a tomb in Jerusalem believed to be Muhammad's companion, Ubada ibn as-Samit.

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Topic for Discussion:

The Jews desecrate the tombs of some of the companions and righteous; they bulldoze them and remove them from Muslim graveyards, especially in Jerusalem and generally throughout Palestine.

[Image]

Let’s listen to the chant: 'I am a Jerusalemite and from here.'


The new textbooks treat radical Islamist figures in Palestinian history respectfully, particularly, Haj Amin Al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti during the British Mandate. Haj Amin played a crucial role in radicalizing Islam and the creation of Islamist anti-Semitism. He was a high echelon Nazi official, played an active role in the Holocaust and was conducive to the rejection of the partition plan—none of which is taught by the curriculum.³¹

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Extremist Nationalism: War, Jihad and Martyrdom

The liberation of all of Palestine is described in a violent poem aimed at nine-year-olds. It calls for "sacrificing blood" to remove the Israeli enemy from the land by "eliminating the usurper" and to "annihilate the remnants of the foreigners". 32

The Land of the Generous/ Haidar Mahmoud

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.


32 Uzilu (أزيلع) in the poem can be translated as eliminate and remove; ubidu (أبيد) as annihilate and exterminate.
Nationalism coupled with militarism begins in the first grade.


A reading exercise with the letter "h" (hāʾ, ه) for first graders includes the word shahid (martyr) at the center with other words such as hujum (attack) and harab (run away). All three semantic fields—attack, run away, die as martyr—typify clashes of children with soldiers.

Dalal al-Mughrabi, the perpetrator of the 1978 Coastal Road massacre, remains a cultural hero for the Palestinian Authority, representing guerrilla fighters and the struggle. In the following image, a hijab-style Palestinian kufiyah was added to her portrait to make her look more nationalistic and palatable to Islamists. Fifth graders are invited to follow in her footsteps and sacrifice their lives.

**Dalal Al-Mughrabi**

Our Palestinian history is brimming with names of martyrs who have given their lives to the homeland, including the martyr Dalal al-Mughrabi. Her struggle portrays challenge and heroism, making her memory immortal in our hearts and minds. The text in our hands speaks about one side of her struggle.

The text describes the death of the bus hijackers in detail. "And she irrigated the land of Palestine with her pure blood; to create a flourishing revolutionary history that will never calm down."\textsuperscript{33}

Heroism is about sacrificing the pure souls of youth for the homeland. In this paragraph there is a clear distinction between the roles of girls and boys. The boys defend the honor of the homeland. The girls are supposed to sacrifice and give. The struggle will continue until the return of the rights (that were lost). There is no mention of reconciliation or coexistence.

The Palestinian people are garrisoned [within the frontier war, \textit{murabit}]\textsuperscript{34} on their land, despite all the calamities and catastrophes that have descended upon it. And here they are defending [the land] with all their groups offering what is precious and invaluable. The slogan of women is sacrifice, giving and providing.\textsuperscript{,} And the youth offer their pure souls in defense of the dignity and honor of their homeland. There is nothing unusual about it. Dignity is their nature and honor runs in their veins. That's why this people have become an eternal legend expressed by the famous adage: 'Right before power.' Inevitably, the rights will return to their owners.


As described, the curriculum does not renounce terror. Airplane hijackings of the 1970s are acknowledged.\textsuperscript{35} Terror is not a goal in and of itself but part of an overall popular war. The opening page (below) for Unit 1 in first grade history books uses provocative graphics to stimulate angry emotions in students.

\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Arabic}, Vol. 2, Grade 5, 2017, p. 52.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Murabit} means performing \textit{ribat}, an Islamic term for frontier war explained in \textit{Islamic Education} (grade 12) as "preparing one's soul for \textit{jihad}.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine}, Vol. 2, Grade 10, 2017, p. 60.
Unit 1

Liberation and Struggle Movements

I shall meditate and think: True liberation is not only a revolution, but also freedom from the legacy of the colonizer.


The slogan demands continuous struggle, under the assumption that the essential motivations and purposes of colonial powers can never be reconciled with those of the oppressed, even after
liberation. Dialogue, reconciliation, exchange, coexistence—all appear to be excluded from this revolutionary outlook.

This textbook is divided into two sections: The first deals with liberation movements (Cuba, Vietnam, India, China and the Arab Homeland) while the second unit covers regimes (Islamic caliphate, royal authoritarian, royal parliamentarian and republican). The last chapter of each unit is entitled "Open dialogue, and self-evaluation," a message that somewhat contradicts the revolutionary paradigm, which rails against colonialism and its cultural heritage.

This paradigm is one of struggle against a colonial power that, once removed, should leave no cultural traces behind. The curriculum does not envisage an end to the conflict that will be followed by coexistence, interaction or living as a neighborly Other.

The movements of liberation and resistance seek to end the colonial [occupation] of the land, which exploits the people, erodes their dignity and denies their existence. They seek to formulate their political, economic and social programs upon which they will build the society established after liberation. [They will] build the culture of the masses in harmony with the culture of people seeking liberation so that after the liberation the culture will not be that of the colonalist regime.


The underlying principle of the curriculum is not peace and coexistence, but liberation from the reality of Israel as a neighbor. In the following assignment the student must compare a number of liberation movements (clockwise from the upper left: Cuban, Indian, Algerian and Palestinian).

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We will describe what we see in the pictures. We will identify the types of resistance expressed in the pictures. 


As seen in the above images, achieving liberation may be secured through a variety of means, including violence. By comparing a variety of liberation movements, the students have ample opportunity to assess which strategies lead to success. There is no dictum regarding *non-violence*. The question remains open and various pros and cons are considered.

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*تعطي أمثلة على الأساليب والوسائل التي استخدمها الفلسطينيون لمقاومة الاحتلال الصهيوني في الانتفاضة الشعبية عام 1987 م، وانتفاضة الأقصى عام 2000 م.*

<table>
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<td>Peaceful Resistance</td>
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We shall give some examples for the methods and means applied by the Palestinians to resist the Zionist Occupation in the popular Intifada of 1987 and in the [armed] Aqsa Intifada.


The chart above is followed by a debate on the argument that peaceful means alone cannot achieve liberation. The discussion is based on the various examples. While no conclusion is offered, it seems that the examples of the two intifadas suggest a cautious approach.

Still the discourse assumes that terror is legitimate in the case of liberation movements, internationally and religiously. Any doubts revolve around the effective mobilization of the masses, to which the textbook attributes much importance.

**Case for Discussion**

Some people explain the acts of resistance carried out by the liberation movements as terrorist acts. How do we respond to that?


A discussion of successful cases narrows the options down to two models: that of the First Intifada; and the Algerian War of Independence. The text describes the vast mobilization and huge amount of casualties and damage, particularly in Algeria (1.5 million martyrs). The key to success is ultimately mass mobilization brought on by a steady supply of blood and martyrs.

The blood of every martyr provides a fuel, feeding the intifada and supplying it with force, so it could continue.

Peace and reconciliation are not part of the discourse. The model is that of a liberation movement struggling against a colonial power in order to defeat it. The goal is total victory. All cultural remnants should then be cleansed. The means vary but include violence within an overall strategy that encompasses mass mobilization and international support. Elsewhere in the curriculum, a dream is kept alive of final war led by an Arab or Islamic coalition.37
Radicalism: Bigotry and Anti-Semitism

The curriculum applies Islamic tradition selectively to foment anti-Semitism and hatred of Jews. In so doing it also incites against other groups—including Christians—who don't wish to become Sunni Muslims. The curriculum often attaches an interpretation that fits a radical world view from the ocean of Islamic traditions (hadith) to Qur'anic verses open to various interpretations.

In the following verse no Jews are mentioned.

And judge [O Muhammad], between them by what Allah has revealed and do not follow their inclinations and beware of them, lest they tempt you away from some of what Allah has revealed to you. And if they turn away, then know that Allah only intends to afflict them with some of their [own] sins. And indeed, many among the people are defiantly disobedient (Al-Maidah 5:49).

Islamic Education, Grade 12, 2018, p. 21.

The verse emphasizes that the Holy Prophet must adhere to the rule of God and not follow the whims of those Jews who appealed to him to pass judgement among them. [The Prophet] should be aware of their lies and fraud.

The Jews are sinful and liars. They turned their backs on the Prophet and caused pain to the Prophet.

Islamic Education, Grade 12, 2018, p. 21.

Allah tells His Prophet that turning their backs on accepting His judgment deprives Jews of guidance because of their sins and transgressions.

And then Allah alleviated the pain the Prophet may have sustained because of the rebellion of the Jews and hypocrites by turning their backs to the truth, which he brought to them and called them to accept.

Islamic Education, Grade 12, 2018, p. 21.
Two: Jewish Attempts to Kill the Prophet

Let's watch a video from the attached disc about the attempt of the Jews to kill the Prophet:

1. The attempt of Banu-Nadhir after the Battle of Badr to kill the Prophet by throwing a big rock at his head, while he was sitting next to their fence. But Allah in His power sent him the inspiration of Jibril [Gabriel] who informed him that the Jews are planning to kill him. So [the Prophet] left them and hurried to Medina, prepared the Muslim army, then encircled them, fought against them and expelled them from Medina.

2. There was an attempt by a Jewish woman to kill the Prophet with poison. She gave the Messenger of Allah a sheep, inserted the poison into it and served it to the Prophet. He ate from it and his disease relapsed from the effect of eating that poisoned sheep, until he died. (From a Bukhari myth).

The enemies of Islam never stop at any time and place to use all means and methods to fight Islam and the Muslims, fight those inviting [others] for the faith, and try to turn off
the light of Allah on earth. But Allah helps his religion and adherents, no matter how many methods of distortion and abuse are there.


Unsubstantiated myths about Jews killing the Prophet are taught as part of the curriculum and considered an appropriate discussion topic for eleven-year-olds.

**Discussion Topic**

The repeated Jewish attempts to kill the Prophet.


Teaching the myth of the Prophet's poisoning, particularly to children in grade 5, is extremely problematic. This myth has been largely eschewed in mainstream Islam, among both Sunnis and Shias, because of a number of theological problems. Moreover, the narrative presented here distorts even these largely rejected traditions.

Most troubling is the concluding paragraph, which imparts a pessimistic and paranoid worldview of war against the ever-conspiring enemies of Islam and the Muslims who only wish to "to turn off the light of Allah on earth."

In the exercise section, Jews are blamed repeatedly for killing the Prophet. The immediate connection to the current conflict is all the more serious in the context of exhorting eleven-year-olds to risk their lives.

The heroism and sacrifice of female companions of the Prophet are also featured.

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Note that this Islamic education textbook was prepared during the Knife Intifada of 2015–16, when boys and girls were encouraged by social media to attack Israelis with knives and other sharp tools. This image, in an authoritative religious textbook, appears to be instigating girls to kill and be killed.

The following banner brings home the connection between the women martyrs of early Islam and the current conflict.

**Topic for Discussion:**

I will talk about the role of the Palestinian woman in sacrificing and displaying steadfastness in front of the Jewish-Zionist Occupation.

The addition of *Jewish* to Zionist, here in the term "Zionist Occupation" (Israel), suggests further radicalization of these recent textbooks.

Following is a quotation from Fatiha 1:7, the first Surah of the Qur'an and a standard part of daily prayers. However, a radical presentation of the passage is given to first grade (age six) children in their Islamic education textbook.

The fiery image of hell teaches Palestinian students a strict orthodox interpretation of Islam.

"The path of those upon whom You have bestowed favor [not of] those who have evoked [Your] anger or of those who are astray."

**Activity:**

Who are those who have evoked [Allah’s] anger?  
Who are those who are astray?

Israel: Demonization, Denial, Penetration

An exercise about sound in a science textbook blames Israel for interfering with loudspeakers at the Al Aqsa Mosque call for prayer.

5. The forces of the Zionist Occupation [Israel] prohibit the call for prayer (adhan) from the minarets of the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Discuss.

Similarly, in a geology and environmental studies textbook, Israel is blamed for trying to destroy Muslim holy places.
Humans constitute one of the external factors influencing land and buildings. This is evident in the cracks that have occurred in the walls of Al-Aqsa Mosque as a result of the excavations and tunnels, which the Israeli Occupation made under Al-Aqsa Mosque. *Science and Life, Vol. 2, Grade 6*, 2017, p. 96.

One example in this textbook describes a student with a serious spine injury. The reason given for the injury is a suspicious object left as a result of the "Zionist aggression against Gaza."

Ali was absent from school as a result of an injury to his spine, which led to his paralysis. He played with a suspicious object—one of the remnants of the Zionist aggression on Gaza. His colleagues decided to visit him to check on his health.

Answer the following questions:
Which parts of Ali were damaged? And why?
What is the spine? Why is it important?
What is the significance of the spinal cord to the body?
What are the likely effects of spinal cord damage on the body?
What is the impact of the Zionist aggression on both environment and health?
What safety precautions should be observed when seeing a suspicious object?
What are the ways to preserve the health and integrity of the spinal cord?

In a discussion about chemical solutions, a political issue is conveyed in a graphic with a caption that says water + salt = Palestine (i.e., no Israel); students are encouraged to consider the use of a water and salt solution during a hunger strike as a security prisoner.

Observe and think: Water and salt keep the Palestinian prisoners alive while conducting the empty-guts battle [hunger strike].


Students learn about their hormones by describing a clash with the Israeli army. The following text and image explain how the pituitary gland functions. A group of Palestinian children in the village of Jibia near Ramallah endured a fearful hour in the forest around the village. This allegedly occurred as the result of an incursion by Israeli occupation forces. The text describes how the armed soldiers encircled the scouts' camp setting off sound bombs and firing tear gas on the children's tents.

The students are asked: What is the sudden situation that led to the panic of the children? What organ in the body was activated by that event? What endocrine gland operated? What is the name of the hormone that forwarded it to the gland?

To Discuss: In our society, the Occupation insists on leaving devastating psychological and physical effects on our children, some of whom have lost their limbs for no reason. Using the concept of smart homes, how can you return the smile to their faces!?

*Communications and Electronics* (Technology Branch), Grade 12, 2018, p. 63.

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In a new Arabic Language textbook, Israel is blamed for a pre-meditated murder, of the baby girl Iman Hiju, who died during the armed Al-Aqsa Intifada.⁴⁰

"Statement of Accounts"

By Ahmed Dahbour

Ahmed Dahbour (1946–2017) is a Palestinian poet. He was born in the city of Haifa and was displaced with his family to Lebanon, and then to Syria after the Nakba (1948). He has published several poem collections, including: "The Story of the Palestinian Boy," and "Martyrdom with the Five Fingers."

He authored a poem, "Statement of Accounts," in free style, expressing the Palestinians’ devotion to the land and their defiance of the occupier, refusal to relinquish their rights and defending them and reveals the crimes of the occupier and his cowardice as he chases and murders children, such as in the assassination of the baby girl, Iman Hiju, at the beginning of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2001.

Arabic, Grade 11, 2017, p. 98.

The following map does not use the name: "Israel" nor does it include Israeli cities such as Tel Aviv. The map includes cities and bordering countries in a combination that never occurred in history (Tel Aviv was established in 1909; Beersheba a few years earlier, before the Sykes-Picot Agreement).

*Geographic Studies, Grade 12, 2018. p.45.*

The textbook follows the map, stating that the "Negev Plateau is located in southern Palestine." The story remains the same for sixth graders: The Negev is only in Palestine.

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Lesson 2: Ratio

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41 *Geographic Studies, Grade 12, 2018, p. 46.*
Activity 1
The Negev Desert is an integral part of the land of Palestine. Its area is around fourteen thousand km$^2$. Calculate the ratio of this desert from the area of Palestine, which is twenty-seven thousand km$^2$ . . .


"The Zionist Occupation" seized [Palestine's] natural resources$^{42}$ and the textbook includes a map (without Israel or Israeli-cities) of "Mineral Distribution in Palestine."$^{43}$

Among other things, the textbook appropriates all of Israel's natural oil and gas "newly discovered in the Mediterranean region off the Palestinian coast between Ashkelon and Gaza and opposite the plain of Acre and Haifa; uranium located in the Negev Desert in large quantities used for the production of nuclear energy," as well as peat and oil shale.$^{44}$

A grade 10 textbook, *Geography and Modern History of Palestine*, focuses on the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis. Even pre-1967, the curriculum typically labels Israel "the Occupation State"$^{45}$ or the "Zionist Occupation."$^{46}$

The Arab armies withdrew from Palestine, and the Rhodes Truce [Armistice Agreement] was signed in 1949 separately between the Zionist Occupation and Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. This truce gave the Occupation more territory than had been allocated to it in the partition resolution.


Note that while the textbooks argue that the Arab armies "withdrew from Palestine," the Jordanian Army remained in the West Bank (now under the PA and Israel); the Egyptian army occupied the Gaza Strip (now under Hamas). The message gives the impression that Israel-proper is Palestine.

The textbook presents "The Consequences of the 1948 War (Nakba)" and students receive, among other material, the following map displaying "Lands seized by the Jews after the war." There is no acknowledgment of Israel on this map. Territories granted to a Jewish state in Resolution 181 are considered land seizure by Jews.

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$^{42}$ Ibid., p. 55.
$^{43}$ Ibid., p. 64.
$^{44}$ Ibid.
$^{46}$ Ibid., p. 7.
Here, the difference between Israel-proper and the regions included in the Oslo accords is evident, while Israel is still not acknowledged. The map describes post-1967 "Zionist Settlements”—existing and dismantled.

The partition plan resolution openly stipulating the establishment of both an Arab and a Jewish state is referred to in the new grade 12 history textbook. This is then followed by a mock trial of the United Nations for its role in the "disaster." Arab rejection is not mentioned, but is perhaps alluded to by criticizing the UN. Elsewhere in the curriculum, a history textbook takes full responsibility for the fatal rejection of the 1947 and other partition plans.47 But the consequences of this decision are blamed on the UN, not the Arab nations.

As regards Palestine, the United Nations after the war and at the recommendation of the International Committee, on November 29, 1947, adopted Resolution 181, stipulating the partition of Palestine into two states, Arab and Jewish.

We shall form a mock court in which we will put the United Nations on trial for not performing its [proper] role in the Palestinian Nakba and the loss of Palestine and for its failure to implement its resolutions regarding the Palestinian issue.

Historical Studies, Grade 12, 2018, p. 41.

The new curriculum presents the struggle against the British Mandate and the Zionist project from the perspective of the most radical Arab and Islamist trends in Palestine and the region at the time; moderate voices and Jewish-Arab cooperation are ignored, as are inter-Arab struggles. The curriculum lauds indiscriminate violence toward the Jewish population48 and justifies the

48 Ibid., pp. 113, 120.
rejection of peace and the partition plans.\textsuperscript{49} It defends radical alliances with [Nazi] Germany (e.g., Mufti Haj Amin Al-Husseini).\textsuperscript{50} Radical Pan-Arab, Palestinian-Arab and Islamist causes are interchangeable and have the same goal: to destroy Israel.\textsuperscript{51} Joint Islamic-Arab military initiatives are not criticized even when leading to disaster (1914, 1948).\textsuperscript{52}

Islamist volunteers, Arab armies and military groups fighting for Palestine from across the Arab world (Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt), are appreciated.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., pp. 114, 120.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., p. 115.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., pp. 91, 116.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., pp. 89, 120.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., p. 101.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., p. 109.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., pp. 109, 113, 120.
We think, and give our opinion: Izz al-Din al-Qassam fought the armed struggle for the liberation of Palestine, despite his Syrian nationality.


There is a map of Israeli settlements after 1967 with special reference to those evacuated from the Gaza Strip. The map is typically anti-Israeli and warns of the dangers of the "Zionist settlements." Israel remains "the Zionists."


The Palestine Purity Project in *Business Entrepreneurship*, includes a chart of threats and opportunities of an imagined cardboard recycling project, focusing on recycling the cardboard used in the "Palestinian city of Nazareth."56

The opportunities include: "the Municipality of Nazareth adopting and supporting environmentally friendly projects," and "opening the Palestinian North market for vegetables, as a side benefit to the project." In other words, the curriculum encourages business with Israeli Arabs by describing them as living in the "Palestinian North" or in a Palestinian city (Nazareth is a city in Israel).

Everything related to Israel appears in the Threats column. One threat is "complications by the Zionist Occupation [Israel] of procedures for importing recycling machines from abroad."

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56 *Business Entrepreneurship* (Technology Branch), Grade 12, 2018, p. 145.
Another, "dumping low-price-low-quality Zionist cardboard on the Palestinian market." The expression "Palestine Purity Project is redolent of racist tradition." ⁵⁷

Case Study 1: Palestine Purity Project
Recycling the cardboard used in the Palestinian city of Nazareth.

Opportunities
- The Municipality of Nazareth adopting and supporting environmentally friendly projects.
- Opening the Palestinian north market for vegetables, as a side benefit to the project.

Threats
- Complications by the Zionist Occupation [Israel] of procedures for importing recycling machines from abroad.
- Dumping low-price-low-quality Zionist cardboard on the Palestinian market.

₅⁷ Ibid.
Return: The Destruction of Israel

A literary analysis of Mahmoud Darwish's poem: "The Eternity of Cactus," describing a father and son fleeing the Galilee in 1948, interprets the poem as wishing to sow the seeds of hope in future generations: Israel ("the Zionist Occupation") will be defeated and vanish just as did former occupiers such as Napoleon and the British.

The father does not fail to remind his son of the history of this land, and the greedy ambitions of strangers in it. He reminds him of Napoleon, who tried to conquer [the land in 1799], as he built a mound to observe Acre. He recalls with him the time of the British occupation, after the British defeated the "Janissary" Turkish army in World War I. At that time, the English tortured his father on a Sabra [cactus] for two nights. Then came the Jews to destroy the place, erase its history, and build their homes on the ruins of Palestinian houses.

All the while, the word "remember" is being repeated as the father talks to his son, in order to keep alive the memory of the generations and protect them from oblivion and extinction. It also aims at spreading hope among the future generations: Just as the crusaders, Napoleon and the English have been defeated, so will the Zionist Occupation [Israel].

Arabic (2): Literature and Rhetoric (Literary and Shar'i Branches), Vol. 2 Grade 12, 2018, p. 37.

The following excerpt is one of the clearest examples charting what may be referred to as the "Saladin Model." This archetype envisions the emergence of a powerful cross-national coalition on the model of Ayyubid dynasty founder, Saladin, who successfully united the Muslims by promoting the spirit of jihad, defeating the Crusaders and conquering Jerusalem:
After assuming power in Egypt, Saladin worked to achieve unity between Egypt and the Levant (Bilad al-Sham, Greater Syria) and Mosul. For more than ten years Saladin could not unite them, and thus he refrained from entering into large battles with the Crusaders, focusing on attaining unity and fortifying Egypt and the Levant.

Slaladin succeeded in securing unity, worked on spreading a jihadi spirit and developed a naval and armament industry. The result of all these preparations was the creation of a strong united Islamic front ready to confront the Crusaders.


We note an intensified focus on return and refugees. This motif strengthens the demonization of Israel as the "cause"—thus keeping the revolution alive by blocking normalization. As the following image suggests, the theme of "Grand Return" envisions one Palestine, without Israel.

Raise Your Voice: Demand the Right of Return

A fifth grade Arabic language textbook lesson based on the story of Deir Yassin serves as an illustration. The village near Jerusalem is known for the massacre that took place there during the 1948 War.

The lesson begins with the poem "Oh Deir Yassin," by Lutfi Yassini who was born in the village. The poem tells the story of the village, combining nostalgia for the past and hope for return.\textsuperscript{58}

The poem and narration of Deir Yassin forms part of a long chapter which focuses on the 1978 Coastal Road massacre three decades later. The current curriculum teaches Palestinian students to venerate the infamous terrorist attack in a new Arabic textbook. The description establishes a direct connection to the refugee problem and the Deir Yassin massacre within Israel: Mughrabi was born and lived in "the refugee camp of Sabra, one of the refugee camps in Beirut, which is bleeding pain resulting from the Nakba. She rode on the sea leading her fedayeen group, the Deir Yassin Group."\textsuperscript{59} Places inside Israel where the operation occurred include the seashore photographed at the background of Mughrabi's image and the city of Haifa, toward which the hijacked bus was heading, according to the textbook's narrative (see image, p. 26.).\textsuperscript{60}

As Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem from the Crusaders represents the projection of a past victory into the future, Deir Yassin's destruction represents a past disaster waiting to be redeemed. As this new textbook demonstrates, Dalal Mughrabi, the female commander of the 1978 Coastal Road massacre, remains a cultural hero in Palestinian schools, regardless of recent international outcries over funding of schools named after her.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Arabic}, Vol. 2, Grade 5, 2017, p. 55.
\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Arabic}, Grade 5, Vol. 2, 2017, p. 52.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., pp. 52–54.
A grade 9 social studies textbook discusses the return of the refugees. The issue is addressed through a presentation of the population density in the Gaza strip, which is then connected to the refugee problem and the necessity of return.

The Dimensions of the Population Problem in the Gaza Strip:

Activity 5/a: We shall examine the pictures, conclude and answer.
The Palestine Nakba, 1948 [image on right]
Al-Shati refugee camp in the Gaza Strip [image on left].


The textbook addresses the process of migration into Israel. First, it establishes the occupation of Palestine (Israel) and the displacement of the Palestinians by the Zionist gangs as the root cause of the problem.

The real cause behind the overcrowding in Gaza is the forced displacement operations as practiced by the Zionist gangs against the Palestinians after their occupation of Palestine in 1948. [These gangs] displaced the population from their towns and villages, such as Ramleh, Lod, Beit Jibrin, Yazour, Askalan [Ashkelon] and other towns, villages and Bedouin tribes.


The occupation of Palestine mentioned in the previous paragraph refers uniquely to pre-1967 Israel. The images below show a refugee holding a key and a land certificate of registration. The certificate issued by the British Mandate is written in Arabic, with the title "The Government of Palestine" creating the image that there used to be a historical Arab country of Palestine, which was later occupied by "Zionist gangs."

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If that is the source of the problem, the solution should be resolved accordingly.

The solution to the problem of overcrowding in the Gaza Strip lies primarily in the return of the displaced population to their homes for which they are still holding their keys in Beersheba, Iraq al-Manshiyya, Falluja, Webna, and other cities, villages, towns and Bedouin homes, and their return to the cultivation of their lands, for which they still keep their registration certificates in the plains of Al-Masmiyya, Salamah, Aqar, Qatra, Khulda and others, thus solving their housing and food problems.

*Social Studies, Vol. 2, Grade 9, 2017, p. 68.*

The ninth grade social studies textbook does not specify what will happen to a country established by the Zionist gangs and its inhabitants. But the curriculum as a whole clearly does so.64

A chapter in a grade 10 literature textbook is devoted to the 1948 Tantura Massacre.65 It is a story worthy of discussion. The destruction of the village, removal of the inhabitants by Israelis on buses to Forodis and then to Tul Karm in the West Bank was a tragedy. The men became prisoners of war. The text stresses that there is a "consensus among the researchers" about this
being "one of the ugliest, bloodiest massacres [ever] having been perpetrated in Palestine." In reality, the events were subject to a prolonged historical debate, which even included a court case.

This massacre is considered by a consensus of researchers who studied its details, one of the ugliest bloodiest massacres having been perpetrated in Palestine. The reason for its monstrosity is not only the number of victims, which reached two hundred and thirty martyrs, but that it had been premeditated. It was the corollary of advance planning by an organized army during the second truce and after barely one week had elapsed since the establishment of the Zionist entity's state. It thus confirms the definitive evidence that this massacre and the massacres that occurred before and after it leading to the fall of thousands of innocent individuals from our struggling people amount to a genocide and forced displacement. Both of these were perpetrated by that entity in order to secure its central goal which had been the ethnic cleansing of this land, frightening its original people and driving them with the force of arms to leave their villages and houses.

Ethnic cleansing: a political intellectual term that began to spread after the massacres perpetrated by the white people against the red Indians and the massacres of colonialism in Africa and the means to intrude on a particular human species [by] killing and deporting them in order to exterminate them and totally annihilate them.


We will point to the motives leading the Zionist gangs to perpetrate genocide and forced displacement of our people in 1948.


While blaming the Zionists of perpetrating genocide, the curriculum unrepentantly acknowledges Palestinian and Nazi leader Haj Amin Al-Husseini. 66

In modern times, the Mufti of Palestine, Haj Amin Al-Husseini, stopped in [Tantura] when he had been chased by the British forces. He slept in one of [Tantura's] caves and from it, left on a small boat to Ras Al-Naqura and then to Lebanon.


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66 Haj Amin was the Grand Mufti of British Mandate Palestine and the most radical Palestinian Arab leader of his time. In WWII he had a leadership role within Nazi Germany's war effort, both in propaganda and actual operations (including the 1941 Baghdad uprising and anti-Jewish pogrom). He actively participated in the Holocaust, mainly by advancing various extermination plans and blocking escape routes. He contributed to making Islamism into a radical anti-Semitic ideology and played a critical role after the war in rejecting the partition plan, opting instead for an all-out war against the Jews.
1. The Zionists established their entity on the basis of terrorism, annihilation and colonialism; we will explain.

2. There is a common expression among the Zionists: "The old will die and the young will forget;" how can we answer them?

3. We will explain the significance of the following expressions:
   a. And they killed them on the Sabra bushes, and they were giggling as they did so.
   b. I will never forget the features of these criminal murderers; they looked to me like the face of death.

*Arabic (Academic Path), Vol. 2, Grade 10*, 2017, p. 27.

There are numerous melancholy expressions such as: "it's appropriate that Jaffa will return to our arms." At times the Nakba and the refugee problem are just mentioned while teaching something else. In this case, the numbers 1,9,4, and 8, (1948) are used for a math exercise, which like other classroom exercises is used to associate actual learning with the historical anti-Israel narrative promulgated by the curriculum.

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The year 1948 represents a turning point in the life of our Palestinian people. It is the year that the Nakba took place, Palestine was occupied, and our people became displaced in the refugee camps and the Diaspora.

[Followed by math exercise]

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.  

1. **RESPECT**: The curriculum should promote tolerance, understanding and respect toward the “Other,” his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life.  
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.  
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.  
4. **PEACEMAKING**: The curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace.  
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.

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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.
List of Researched Textbooks

The following textbooks were monitored for the research in this study. Please feel free to contact IMPACT-se for access to textbooks contained in our research (http://www.impact-se.org/about-us/contact-us/). The titles both here and referenced in the text have been translated into English to aid the reader.

*Arabic*, Vol. 1, Grade 5, 2017
*Arabic*, Grade 11, 2018.
*Arabic (2): Literature and Rhetoric* (Literary and Shar'i Branches), Vol. 2 Grade 12, 2018.
*Business Entrepreneurship* (Technology Branch), Grade 12, 2018.
*Chemistry*, Grade 12, 2018.
*Communications and Electronics* (Technology Branch), Grade 12, 2018.
*Geographic Studies*, Grade 12, 2018.
*Historical Studies*, Grade 12, 2018.
*Islamic Education*, Grade 12, 2018.
*Life Sciences* (Scientific and Agricultural), Grade 12, 2018.
Mathematics (Literature and Shar'i), Grade 12, 2018.

Our Beautiful Language, Vol. 2, Grade 3, 2017

Science and Life, Vol. 2, Grade 9, 2017
Science and Life, Vol. 2, Grade 11, 2017

Scientific Education, Grade 12, 2018.


Technology (Scientific and Industrial), Grade 12, 2018.