The PA Educational System:
In the Shadow of the Terror Wave

An Interim Report

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May 2016
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Main Findings

This Impact-se report revisits the Palestinian Authority school curriculum, which is perhaps the chief expression of Palestinian cultural independence. The report covers the main findings of our 2011 report as well as some current observations up to and including, the 2015–16 terror wave.

Major findings include some positives: civil and gender issues, care for the environment, respect for the internal Other (disabled, authority figures, elderly) and the Muslim/Arab Other (collaboration with Arab countries). Vilification of the West is widespread but not to the point of violence.

More troubling from the perspective of Israeli Palestinian peace is: (1) deligitimization of Israel and the Jewish national movement; (2) the paradoxical presentation of Israel as an evil entity to be eradicated (while it does not actually exist on maps); (3) the concept of Return, manifested as the requirement to settle millions of Palestinians within Israel; (4) continuous war drawing on a culture of martyrdom (5) rejection of negotiations (6) commitment to a strategy combining violence with international pressure until Israel ceases to exist.

While the curriculum does not directly call for students to take up arms and attack Israelis, it instills an atmosphere of endless war and dedication to violence. Thus, it does not meet UNESCO Standards for peace and tolerance. The curriculum espouses a strategy of ejecting Middle Eastern Jews from their lives in an independent nation-state—presumably to a helpless persecuted minority status, if not worse. Yet, the report allows for some guarded optimism: transformation is possible. And the crucial lever of that change for its youth must be in the Palestinian curriculum, itself.

Fostering Hate

In its current form, the PA curriculum fosters violence in the short run and is committed to continuous violent struggle over time, thus promoting a strategy which rejects negotiations, encourages violence and relies on international pressure.

Long Term Strategy

In the Palestinian curriculum, the State of Israel, with one exception, never actually appears on maps. Palestine, as an Arab country, occupies the entire geographical space, from the Jordan Valley to the Mediterranean Sea. Within this context, Israel has never existed.

According to the curriculum, “Israeli occupation” refers to Israel proper, meaning that Israel is a territory for Palestinian settlement defined as the Return, and not expected to occur peacefully. Religious hatred supports violence and remains in the curriculum, mainly in sharia studies, now controlled by the “State of Palestine Ministry of Education.” The following Hadith (Islamic tradition), features as well, in Article 7 of the 1988 Hamas Charter and openly speaks about genocide awaiting the Jews:
Fighting the Jews and the victory over them: The Messenger [Muhammad] already announced [the good news of] the end of the Jews’ oppression upon this Holy Land and the removal of their corruption and of their occupation thereof. [It is told] by Abu Hurayrah [one of Muhammad’s Companions] that the Prophet said: ‘The End of Days will not take place until the Muslims fight the Jews, and the Muslims will kill them to a point that a Jew will hide behind a rock or a tree, and then the rock or the tree will say: ‘O Muslim, O God’s servant, there is a Jew behind me, so come and kill him, except the salt bush (Gharqad), for it is one of the Jews’ trees.’


The PA textbooks encourage students to engage in an open jihad war or an endless religious frontier war of attrition (ribat). The right of jihad is widespread: “O brother, the oppressors have exceeded all bounds and Jihad and sacrifices are necessary.”

The Levant is seen as an arena of endless war until the Day of Resurrection. There is no peace process, just war. The examples provided for a ribat war are the great battles of the past—Yarmuk, Hittin and Ain Jalut against the Romans, Crusaders and Mongols.


Once it has been established that the entire Holy Land is Palestine and that a ribat war should be launched until the Day of Resurrection, it follows that this curriculum advocates martyrdom.

The Palestinian strategy therefore rejects negotiations as it does the existence of the Other. The Palestinian cause is “one of the most pressing issues on the international agenda” and is not seen as a bilateral issue. Indeed, in explaining the benefits of the failed PA attempt to attain member state status at the UN in 2011, the Palestinian schoolbook points to the “transfer of the Palestinian question from the question of bilateral negotiations, controlled by Israel, into an international question.” Moving unilaterally, Palestinians throughout the world will be granted citizenship, allowing them automatically the right of Return to their homeland, while providing the means to pressure Israel internationally.

1 Reading and Texts, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015), p. 44.
3 Ibid., p. 28
4 Ibid.
The peaceful nature of the peace process and the commitment not to resort to violence are not presented as an inherent part of the Oslo Accords. In fact, the word “peace” does not appear at all. Therefore, a Palestinian student never learns at school that in the \textit{Letters of Mutual Recognition}, “The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security” and that “The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.”

\textbf{Tactical Use of the Curriculum: Children as Ammunition}

This is clearly not a curriculum of peace, but a \textit{curriculum of war and struggle} aimed at preparing young Palestinians to fight continuously for the elimination of Israel. Because Israel cannot be wiped out in one single action, students must be educated for a long struggle.

The 1974 Phased Plan of the PLO, which allowed for lulls in the “armed struggle” in order to acquire a territorial foothold in Palestine, still seems to be the paradigm. The strategy requires the Palestinian population be loyal and obedient, allowing for diplomatic advancement in the battle against Israel while fanning the flames of violence when necessary. The PA educational system, which is also used in Israeli east Jerusalem, teaches students that the \textit{status quo} is bad. It maintains a level of frustration and a readiness to commit acts of violence.

Strategically, the Palestinian curriculum reflects a world-view that strives to accomplish the long term goal to eliminate Israel, even in the event that a peace agreement is reached. Tactically speaking, students could best be described as coal embers ready to be ignited into flames at any moment. Under this circumstance, the curriculum provides the ideological cover for the PA to utilize Palestinian children in waves of violence, as it deems appropriate.

The curriculum is part of a sophisticated strategy that works in tandem with other tools—social media, including school magazines and Facebook pages and inflammatory public speeches that ensure Palestinian youth are ready to jump into action and to kill or be martyred.

It is important to note that it is not curricula-based incitement alone that kills Palestinian and Israeli youth. Everyone is touched by the violence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, including young Arab Palestinians and Jews living in Israel. Radical politicians and activists spread hate. Violence on the ground breeds anger. Local and regional media outlets fan the flames.

But children who received methodical peace education are more prepared to resist the temptation to act out violently. They are more likely to see others as human beings, like themselves.

\footnote{Letters of Mutual Recognition (September 9, 1993) (https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Peace/recogn.html).}

\footnote{Also known as the PLO’s Ten Point Program; adopted by the Palestinian National Council (PNC), Cairo 8 June 1974. Arabic: khuttat al marahel, or barnamadj al-niqat al-‘ashr.}
This, however, is not the case for those children exposed to a curriculum devised to turn them into tools for violence.

**From Conflict to Peace: Education as a Lever of Change**

The once-entertained hope that independent Palestinian curricula would become a peace-oriented enterprise, seems to have been dashed. Evaluating the curriculum from the point of view of UNESCO’s standards for peace and tolerance in school education, it is clear that the curriculum does not meet these standards. Yet, if any hope for peace is to be found, it must start with curricula that have peace at their core. It is late but hopefully not too late.

Our attention should therefore be focused on this education system. A change in Palestinian education to conform to international standards—from a guerrilla mentality to peace and mutual recognition—could serve as a leverage point in helping to solve the conflict. Palestinian education—the curriculum, school activities and social media—should therefore abide by UNESCO standards while:

- (1) Committing to the spirit and language of the peace process
- (2) Advocating mutual understanding and peace, rather than martyrdom and eternal violent struggle
- (3) Treating Israel as a legitimate nation and the Jews as fellow Middle Easterners, largely sharing the same religious and cultural heritage

and avoid:

- (4) Presenting a biased perspective of the Arab-Israeli conflict
- (5) Rejecting the rights of Jews and Israel’s existence
- (6) Demonizing both Jews and Israel
- (7) Adhering to the guerrilla strategy of rendering Middle Eastern Jews a helpless minority through violence and international pressure

The Palestinian curriculum should eliminate its commitment to eternal war and the veneration of martyrdom. Schools have to stop teaching generation after generation of Palestinian youth that their homeland is comprised of the area that includes Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. “Resistance,” translated into an eternal *jihad* war through *ribat* (frontier/guerrilla actions), should not be part of the curriculum.

Instead, Israel must be plainly described as a legitimate nation-state. Students are now left with a state of cognitive dissonance and confusion. The PA curriculum should cease describing Israel as the source of all evil. It should cease educating for a settlement policy of millions of Palestinians
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in Israel and give up the concept of “resistance” (conquest of your neighbor by stages) and martyrdom (suicide killings) as recurring motifs.

Finally, the PA should stop endangering Palestinian children. They should not be used as cannon fodder for an old generation of guerrilla fighters and new generation of Islamists. The curriculum should give up the on the centrality of struggle, heroism, suicide and death. It should cease stereotyping Israelis as farcical villains and begin talking about them as neighbors and fellow humans who have a long history and cultural roots in the region.
Introduction

In this interim report, Impact-se revisits the Palestinian curriculum for the first time since 2011. We are publishing this report in the shadow of the recent terror wave.

In many ways, education holds the key to mitigate the current surge in violence. In the main, the violence is largely held in check because of a strong IDF presence, in collaboration with Palestinian security forces. But in the Palestinian Authority (PA) educational system, hate and potential violence are a constant companion—kept alive as coal embers ready to become a raging fire.

This report focuses on any changes in the curriculum since we last surveyed it in 2011, while utilizing our findings as a tool for strategic analysis and policy recommendations.

To be sure, we can now better assess the role of the PA curriculum as part of an overall political strategy. Our findings are not encouraging: we believe this curriculum fosters violence in the short run and is committed to continuous violent struggle over time. It reflects a decades-long, deeply-rooted strategy of PLO and pro-Hamas educators. The curriculum promotes a strategy of rejecting negotiations, encouraging violence and relying upon international pressure.

But the clarity of the findings is also a source of guarded optimism. A serious conversation about the PA educational system could instigate truly positive and dramatic changes in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. An ambitious mission to be sure, but the fruits of such efforts will surely be sweet.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge Idan Gorendar for assembling much of the material we used for the research and David Byer for editing this report.

Eldad J. Pardo
1. IMPACT-SE: 2011 Main Findings

In this section we reiterate the main findings of our 2011 report on school textbooks used by the Palestinian Authority. The books were published as official documents of the “State of Palestine: Ministry of Education” and the “State of Palestine: Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs.” The latter includes textbooks for the Waqf (high schools). Today, however, these books are published by the Ministry of Education, for specialized Sharia (religious law) studies.

From our research in 2011, we concluded that the school textbooks of the Palestinian Authority contained an emphasis on women’s rights (despite some stereotyping and religious discrimination of women), respect for authority figures and the law, nationalistic symbols, democratic values and preserving the environment through sustainable energy. Students were taught to respect adults such as teachers and parents. Within the curriculum, they were not encouraged to participate in individual acts of violence, to pay attention to the Other within their society and participate in debates, listening and persuading. These approaches were at the time seen to be positive signs as part of a process to control violence and make efforts toward constructive nation-building, which is essential for peace.

However, in our examination of the textbooks against the background of our UNESCO-derived standards, we identified serious shortcomings. While there was no direct incitement to violence against Israelis or Jews, an environment of denial and hatred toward Israel and the Jews pervades the curriculum, with no education for peace, mutual recognition, coexistence, mutual knowledge or collaboration. Israel was blamed for environmental and other problems, while the extensive cooperation on the ground between the governments, civil organizations and citizens from all walks of life, were never mentioned.

Consider this: Since the very existence of the Palestinian Authority was predicated on a commitment to shun violence and engage in a serious peace process, it was astonishing to find within Palestinian texts a denial of the very existence of Israel and any Jewish presence in the Holy Land (Israel/Palestine). Not one Israeli individual was shown—even potentially—to be a friend or a partner. Tel Aviv and the entire State of Israel with all its Jewish cities, kibbutzim and villages were almost never mentioned, let alone depicted in maps. (There were two maps in a higher grade school book in which the name Israel appeared, in the context of aggressive Israeli plans, and included only in the post-Arafat days, as a result of international pressure.) Moreover, the constant indoctrination throughout the curriculum, advocating a “return to the territory of 1948,” suggests there was never a serious intention for peace; neither was there a description of, nor a place for, the Other.

That individual Israelis were not represented (in contravention of the UNESCO standards) is certainly problematic; worse, no meaningful historical context or other data were provided in order to explain root causes of the conflict and why peace and coexistence are even necessary or desirable. Particularly disturbing (with the exception of some Grade 11 books), was the omission of the Holocaust or Jewish history (either in the Diaspora...

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7 Israel, the West, Women and the Environment in Palestinian Textbooks: An Analysis of Palestinian Authority Textbooks, Grades 1–12, Impact-se, 2011.
or in the Jewish homeland). Certainly there was no mention of Jewish nationalism (Zionism). There was also no reference to the destruction of Jewish communities in the Arab Middle East, including those destroyed by the Palestinians in the twentieth century (including Gaza, Hebron, Jerusalem’s Jewish Quarter and Gush Etzyion) or those almost destroyed (such as Safed).

The huge number of Israeli victims from Arab attacks and terrorism are also not mentioned. The 1948 war, which is called the War of Independence by Israelis and diaspora Jews, is described by Palestinians as the Nakba (disaster); yet there is no sense of responsibility by Palestinians for the Arab rejection of the original partition plan and the ensuing invasion on the Jewish community in Palestine (Yishuv). We did find a passing reference to Arab rejection of the UN partition plan8 and one reference to what “befell” European Jews in WWII in a context alleging European bias. There was, however, no discussion of the Holocaust (let alone, the complicity of some Arab and Palestinian leaders).9

Central themes included extensive references to and veneration for jihad (violent) and ribat (frontier war), blood and martyrdom and the Return10 (by force) to, and liberation of (what most of the world considers), Israel, the West Bank and Gaza. Longing for specific areas within Israel exemplified this spirit. Classic anti-Semitism was still widespread especially (but not solely) in textbooks issued by the Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs.

The Palestinian curriculum offered no education for peace, but rather the encouragement of on-going war and martyrdom. Any agreements (such as the rarely mentioned Oslo Agreement) were typically assumed to be the result of weakness on the Arab/Muslim side. Thus, the curriculum appeared to educate for an everlasting struggle—not a peace process—with Israel.

8 “The Arab League decided . . . that the Partition Resolution is null and void and that it should be foiled. Also, the Palestinian people should be assisted.” Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2007), pp. 30–31.


10 Palestinians argue for a right of return for surviving refugees and their descendants from the Arab-Israeli War of 1948 to what is now Israel. Since this would number in the millions and Palestinians reject the notion of a Jewish State, Israel would then be neither Jewish nor democratic. Most Israelis believe there is no legal basis for this and would lead to the demise of Israel.
2. Additional IMPACT-SE Findings Prior to the 2015–16 Terror Wave

In an article published in September 2014, we discussed the impact of education on the violence of the previous summer. We compared the conditions of education under the Palestinian Authority, the PA-East Jerusalem, Hamas, the Israeli State, State-Religious, Haredi, and Arab curricula and found indications that violence was tied both to the curricula taught in schools and to problems of attendance. We concluded:

So what are Israelis and Palestinians to do? First, it must be said that there are a number of positives. In Israel, the very existence of an Arab minority education system, teaching through the medium of the Arabic language and immersed in Arab culture, is a unique achievement. At the heart of Haredi education there is an encouraging pacifist element for those who believe in peace and pluralism. The fact that Israeli Jerusalem accommodates Palestinian education is also, on the face of it, a positive phenomenon.

The problem is that all these minority curricula amount to ‘too much of a good thing,’ with mixed results as regards violence and intolerance. Jerusalem is a case in point. To counter the tinder-box situation there, the Israeli state, the local municipality and the leaders of the various communities and PTA’s need to put far more emphasis on the commitment to peace, sharing and coexistence in all the curricula. In addition, Jerusalem needs a city-wide peace, interfaith and coexistence program in all schools. Ways of creating benign expressions of minority identity must be developed. In parallel, problems such as school dropout rates, non-enforcement of education frameworks as well as illiteracy and ignorance in schools must be addressed. As for the Palestinian education systems in the West Bank and Gaza, there is much to be desired. First and foremost—both Hamas and the Palestinian Authority need to teach peace and coexistence and genuinely give up dreams of eliminating the national ‘other’ soon or at some point in the more distant future.11

Another problem we dealt with in recent years was the challenge of activities beyond the classroom.12 Since the official curriculum is closely monitored by us and others, the Palestinian Authority and Hamas use semi-official outlets such as children’s magazines, school websites, social media and school theater to instill hate messages— which fly under the radar of monitoring. Particularly bad was the Hamas children’s magazine, Al-Fateh,13 but no less so than the UNESCO-supported PA publication, Zayzafuna, which included descriptions of class activities and projects by children, some of them possibly created by adults. A map illustrating the conquest of Israel after an imaginary war is featured, while regular textbooks often show a full map of Palestine where Israel should be displayed.

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Following is an excerpt from a telling poem in which ten-year-old Miryam al-Nimri from Beit Nabi-la Girl’s School addresses four world leaders including Saladin, the twelfth century conqueror of Palestine and Adolf Hitler, “the one who killed the Jews.”

I turned to the next door; there Hitler awaited me. I said, ‘You’re the one who killed the Jews?’ He said: ‘Yes. I killed them so you would all know that they are a nation spreading corruption on Earth. And what I ask of you is to be resilient and patient, concerning the suffering that Palestine is experiencing at their hands.’ I said: ‘Thanks for the advice.’

(Zayzafuna 32, February 2011, p. 19)

The crime of “spreading corruption on Earth” in Islamic Law, often results in a death sentence such as by crucifixion and other harsh punishments including cutting off hands and legs or in other cases, excommunication and deportation (Qur’an, 5:33). It may also lead to the destruction of a people and its leader as in the case of the Qur’anic Pharaoh (Qur’an 7: 103, 134–6). What we witness in the quoted paragraph is a direct call for genocide to be carried out against the Jews.

In the same poem, Saladin, “the liberator” of Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa, told the girl that “there will rise up a proper leader to liberate Jerusalem.” Whether this poem was really written by a ten-year-old girl or by an adult is not clear. But let’s assume she did indeed write the poem and is now fifteen or sixteen, the age of many of the knife-wielding teens easily lured into committing murder-suicide attacks during the terror wave of 2015–2016. In our analysis at the time, we assessed that the PA was aiming to continue violence against Israel for the distant future, under the assumption that Israel would either implode or be conquered; students, for the time being, were advised to continue their studies and quietly wait for the appropriate time.14

For two decades, we pointed out the danger to children in such a complicated, though at times, seemingly peaceful situation; we continue to consider this, educational child abuse. Certainly since 2011, Impact-se has warned of the potential volatility— particularly in Jerusalem—and called for city-wide civil education of a non-political nature.

In retrospect, as will be elaborated later, the curriculum was far less innocent than we had initially thought. As counterintuitive as it may seem, on closer examination and when political needs arise, it appears that this type of education actually facilitates the exploitation of Palestinian children for suicide-murder operations. As reflected in recent Palestinian opinion polls, rather than education for peace, the curriculum caters to a widespread preference for violent problem-solving within Palestinian society.15

Official school websites provided many examples of genocidal suggestions, beyond the classroom. While the Holocaust is ignored within the curriculum, outside-the-classroom setting it is not only a reality but indeed a happy event.

14 Compare to David Pollock, “Compromise for Now, the End for Israel Later,” Mosaic, Nov. 19, 2015.
3. A Glance at the Current PA Curriculum

Impact-se is presently studying the current curriculum of the Palestinian Authority. Our findings so far suggest that few changes have been introduced; among the most important—the omission of the Holocaust.

In the past we noticed that the PA occasionally introduced textbook changes in response to various external pressures, ostensibly to project moderation and openness (although any changes that have occurred within Palestinian society have served to heighten nationalism and to reject the Other). Some moderation in the curriculum was apparent after the passing of Palestinian Leader Yasser Arafat and the rise to power of President Mahmoud Abbas (Abu-Mazen). Yet with the victory of Hamas in the 2005 elections, a shift back to a more confrontational tone occurred.16

[T]he ascendancy of Mahmoud Abbas in late 2004 brought some change, not in the fundamentals themselves, but in some of their manifestations, implying a degree of readiness on the part of the new leadership to ease somewhat the rigid guidelines dictating non-recognition, demonization, and violence. In themselves, these changes did not depart from the basic fundamentals, but they provided some hope for further improvement in the future.17

In the Grade 11 books published at that time, Palestinian students were for the first time given a relatively substantial amount of information about ancient Jewish history in Palestine. Also, Jerusalem was mentioned as the Jews’ capital for that period, a phenomenon not to be encountered in previous books. Otherwise, Jews were mentioned once as inhabitants of the city in 1948.18

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16 Amon Groiss, Palestinian Textbooks: From Arafat to Abbas and Hamas, Impact-se, 2008.
17 Ibid., p. 16.
3.1 Ignoring Israel

Some curriculum changes were eliminated in later editions. Consider, for example, the following erased sentence: “The Jewish state reached its widest borders during his [Solomon’s] days.”\(^\text{19}\) The term \textit{Jewish State} is apparently a \textit{faux pas} among the Palestinian curriculum authors.

Also removed, as mentioned, was any hint of the Holocaust. While our current research project is still unfolding, thus far we have found that the curriculum remains silent on the Holocaust or the exodus of some 850,000 Jews from Arab and Islamic countries. Similarly, there is nothing on the killings, flight and evacuation of Jewish communities from parts of Palestine controlled or occupied by Arabs during various revolts leading up to and including Israel’s War of Independence (1948). Here is the paragraph on the Holocaust, taken from a 2010 Grade 11 textbook.

\begin{quote}
The Jewish question is first and foremost a European problem. What befell the Jews at the hands of Nazism turned anti-Semitism into a moral and political burden for the European Union and contributed to the delineation of its Middle Eastern policy. Europe had a significant role in establishing Israel and in supporting it, especially under the circumstances of the Cold War.\textit{Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2010), p. 41.}\end{quote}

Even though this faint allusion to the Holocaust amounts to no more than some criticism of EU policies, the so-called “Jewish question” is not just a European “problem” but has also been a major issue in Arab and Muslim countries (Palestine included). Nevertheless, even this ambiguous reference has now been removed from textbooks, so there is once again no mention of the Holocaust in the PA curriculum.

3.2 Demonization of Israel and the Jewish National Movement

Although some of the more offensive descriptions of Israel have been removed from the curriculum, demonization of both Europe and Israel continue.

\begin{quote}
Zionism appeared during the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century and is a racist political movement. Its appearance was synchronized with the appearance of the modern European colonial movement, since it actually forms an integral part of the global colonialism.\textit{History of the Modern and Contemporary World, Grade 10 (2014), p. 51.}\end{quote}

So, the Jewish national movement is defined for Palestinian children as a \textit{racist political movement} and part of world colonialism. The existence of Israel is described only as an occupation. No historical context is given for the tragedy of the 1948 \textit{Nakba}, which leaves a one-sided impression unnecessarily denigrating the Israeli Other. Furthermore, the role of Britain is skewed.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1, 2014, p. 9.}
3.2 Demonization of Israel and the Jewish National Movement

1–Imperialism: Palestine was occupied by the British in 1917 after [sic] World War I and by the Israeli occupation in 1948, with Britain’s help. The Israeli occupation destroyed most of the Palestinian villages and cities, expelling Palestinian citizens and forced them to leave their land and villages.

*National Education* Grade 6 (2014), p. 15.

Demonizing in literature takes a more picturesque form of the “protected people” (Christians and Jews), described as invading snakes.

**Invading snakes:** “By your life! How come that snakes invade us and we [still] observe a protection covenant [dhimma] which respects commitments?” (Hossam Harasha/ Palestine)


Unfortunately, such vilification of Jews (and Christians) includes theological elements. While competition among the three monotheistic religions is probably impossible to avoid, it is doubtful whether the rigidity displayed is necessary for elementary-age children.

*Sura Al-Isrā’* is also informally referred to as Sura Bani Isrā’il [Chapter of the Israelites]. The book mentions two instances of corruption committed by the Israelites and discusses Allah’s warnings and punishment for such future behavior of the Israelites. Jerusalem’s destruction in the past is also mentioned in the passage. *Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1* (2014), pp. 13–14.

Hatred and rage are instilled through poetry, showing horrific images of attacks by the (Israeli) enemy of one’s family. The context is radical-nationalistic and personal.

How would you respond if an alien person attacked your family—

*Having been dazzled by his weapon he bared a wolf’s fang . . .
How would you respond if he claimed that the date palm grove
And the orange orchard and your Arab olive trees
And yourself, and your wife Salma and your decent sons
Are war spoils and seized possessions*


On the other hand, some biased phrases were removed from the Islamic education for general students.

*I shall explain: the rate of suicides in the Non-Islamic society is high, while it is almost rare in Muslim society.*


A graphic portrayal of (Israeli) enemies as murderers of children, women and the elderly was removed from the curriculum in recent editions (2013, 2014), again showing that changes may occur (albeit too late for Palestinians in their early 20s and up).

*Murderers:* Your enemies killed your children, split open your women’s bellies, held your revered elderly men by the beard, and led them to the death pits.

*Reading and Texts, Grade 8, Part 2* (2008), p. 16.
A passage referring to Jews as “deceitful” has also been removed (at least from 2013 texts).

Deceitful: “The Messenger of God [Muhammad] ordered to Zayd Ibn Thabit to learn the language of the Jews in order to be safe from their cheating . . . “


The name “Israel” appeared for the first time on PA curriculum maps, though indirectly and in a negative context. The maps describe two “aggressive” Israeli plans, that of (Yigal) Alon and (Ariel) Sharon; predictably, they contribute nothing positive to learn about Israel itself. Still, while these maps form part of the “struggle,” the name Israel on the Galilee should be seen as significant against the background of the overall denial of Israel as a real and legitimate geopolitical entity. These two maps remain to this day in the Palestinian curriculum. Although far from satisfactory, they demonstrate that the PA—fully independent in all matters relating to education—has all the authority it needs to improve the curriculum.

Here is the newest edition of the maps that include the word, “Israel”:

With the publication of the new Grade 12 textbooks, which occurred after the election of Hamas, racist materials were introduced and past issues not corrected. As we explained in our 2008 report:

In early 2006 free parliamentary elections brought to power a new government led by Hamas, which had been an opposition movement until that time. As it happened, the books for Grades 1–10 were all prepared and published under Arafat, while the books for Grade 11 were written under his successor, Abbas, and the books for Grade 12, under the Hamas government.20

While certain positive aspects have remained, such as nation-building, environmental awareness, gender sensitivity, respect for teachers and parents, and care for the disabled and elderly, so too

20 Arnon Groiss, Palestinian Textbooks: From Arafat to Abbas and Hamas, p.1, Impact-se, 2008
have many negative elements: indoctrination rather than free thinking and religious bias to name a few. And paradoxically, while there is a constant stream of demonization about Israel, there is simultaneously the denial of its very existence.

### 3.3 Civil and Gender Issues

The curriculum is gender sensitive, but traditional roles are sometimes overemphasized. LGBT issues are ignored and at times there is an openly anti-female bias, particularly in religious contexts. Here we see that the testimony of two women is equal to the testimony of one man, because women have “faint hearts,” can “easily break down,” “are stressful in money matters” and “prone to forget details.” All this, as far as we know, is not necessarily part of Islam, at least not according to the faith as taught by more liberal curricula.21

The verse indicates that it is permissible to take one man together with two women as witnesses, that is, a testimony of two women is equal to a testimony of one man; this is by no means detracting from women’s capabilities or anything else, but is rather an extra precaution taken in order to protect their rights, because women are influenced by their faint heart, and may easily break down when they are pressured. Additionally, they pay less attention to financial transactions, and are more stressful about them; thus women are prone to forget details . . .


The curriculum is sensitive to the environment and the need to use sustainable energy. However, it shuns collaboration with Israel, while condemning it for many environmental problems.

Problem! Israel destroys the environment

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Water issues are presented as another Israeli crime and a reason for future wars. That Israel is a world leader in water technology and offer solutions to such problems through collaboration are just not in the lexicon of the textbook authors. While objectively, Israel offers hope in this particular domain, it is presented as a menace.

It is not a surprise that the struggle over water and control of its sources is intensifying . . . many experts think the current century will witness wars over control of water sources. The struggle over water is one of the dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict, with Israel stealing it in broad daylight and preventing Palestinian owners of the land to use it.

3.4 Magic Israel: Now You See It, Now You Don’t

While Israel is portrayed in the Palestinian curriculum as a water thief, the State of Israel—with one exception—never actually appears on maps.22 Here is the Middle East with no Israel in it.

The maps feature Palestine in Israel’s place.

22 A new atlas has been published recently, which we did not have the opportunity to examine.
3.4 Magic Israel: Now You See Us, Now You Don’t

In this map from the same book entitled, “The Transportation Map of Palestine,” Tel Aviv—as well as other non-Arab Israeli cities—is not shown. Eilat, Israel’s southernmost city, is called Umm Al-Rashrash.

The following map is titled: “Lesson Four: Palestine is Arab and Muslim” and “The Palestinian people form part of the Arab-Muslim Nation.” The inscription next to Israel’s location reads “Palestine.” Israel is not part of the Palestinian student’s world-view of the legitimate regional family of nations.

Subsequently, the curriculum would have students believe there is no room for Israel in the Arab world. Palestine, an Arab country, occupies the entire space that the rest of the world (though in some cases, grudgingly) recognizes as Israel. In some instances Palestine refers to the geographical area in which Israel exists. (But not in the following example, which refers to matters of sovereignty and existence, by clearly stating that Palestine is a state, dawlah, not Israel. This is the world-view as bequeathed to future Palestinian generations. The text reads:

“I learn. The land of the Levant [Bilad al-Sham] was so named because it is located to the north of the Holy Ka’bah. So within the texts, the land of the Levant presently consists only of the following states: Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria.”

There is simply no Israel.


History of the Ancient Civilizations, Grade 5 (2014), p. 27.
There were also no changes found in the Grade 3 mathematics textbook. Students are asked: “An independent Palestinian state was declared in 1988. How many years have passed since the declaration of independence”? While the answer changes every other year with time elapsing since 2001, the attached map portrays a no-Israel Palestine.

*Mathematics, Grade 3, Part 1 (2014), p. 80*

The state of Israel does not exist, and so it is with the people “living” there. In this fantasy world presented to Palestinian youth, the Jewish citizens of Israel simply do not exist. The following table, on “The Dwellers of Palestine in February 1, 1999,” covers various Palestinian populations—The West Bank, Gaza, the “inside Palestinians,” the diaspora Palestinians and the total. Israeli citizens, who are Palestinians, are not described as living in Israel, but in the “inside,” as if Israel was some kind of a bad word. In any event, there are no Jewish or Israeli dwellers within this parallel reality.


The Negev area—all of Israel’s south—is shown only as part of Palestine:

“Activity – Let’s Color the Negev Desert on the Map of Palestine:”

The curriculum continues to deny (in contravention to the Qur’an), the sacred aspect of the land to Jews. A 1996 Palestinian textbook described the tomb of the matriarch Rachel—long considered the holiest place of Jewish women—as the “Dome of Rachel [Qubbat Rahil], mother of our Lord Joseph and wife of Jacob.” In 2001, however, the name was changed to “The Mosque of Bilal Bin Rabbah.”

Also, a reference to the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem was removed from PA textbooks after 2002. Here is the original, but later-erased map (referring to the Jewish Quarter, but not the Wailing Wall. Only three holy places are mentioned: the Dome of the Rock, Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher).

The current Grade 2 schoolbooks continue to erase the Hebrew caption from a trilingual British Mandate post stamp, leaving only the English and Arabic. The erased Hebrew words read Palestina /EY (EY=Eretz Yisrael/ the Land of Israel).

The Jewish historical attachment to the “Land” is denied by creating a false counter-narrative depicting Canaanites as Arabs and the original settlers in Palestine (Biblical Hebrew, the language of the ancient Israelites, was the local Canaanite dialect; “the language of Canaan,” Isaiah 19:18). The Canaanites, according to this narrative, built Jerusalem. These “Arab” Canaanites were later joined by the Arab Muslim conquerors.24 As seen in the following paragraph, this imaginary paradigm leads to the conclusion that “Palestine [that is, in its entirety] is still under Israeli occupation to this day.”

The Arab Canaanites were the first to settle in Palestine, then it was ruled by various nationalities and invaders building many places that have become with the passing of time ancient ruins that exist to this very day . . . with the conquest (fath) of Palestine by the Muslims it became Islamic and it still is . . . Palestine is still under Israeli occupation (ihtilal) to this day. National Education, Grade 4, Part 1 (2013), p. 14.

A tourism map in a Grade 12 text displays the entire territory of Israel. But this imaginary map shows neither Israeli cities nor Jewish holy sites.

In some of the maps, one can understand that not all of Palestine is the same. In this map of religious places, the provinces are marked only for the West Bank and Gaza. Yet the Israeli cities, such as Tel Aviv, are conspicuously absent. The name Israel is also missing. Instead, Arab cities are noted and the student is supposed to draw lines between the religious places in the pictures and the cities in which they are located, including within Israel.

The logical conclusion of this paradigm is that Israel is—or will be—an empty country, ready for millions of Return immigrants.


What to make of such a map? The territory of Israel is there—but without any Israeli presence. The country with which the Palestinians are committed to reach a peace treaty via a process of negotiations and collaboration is denied of ever having existed. And when non-existent Israel is not repudiated, it is maligned.

### 3.5 Nakba and Return

To explain “Israeli Occupation,” the text describes the 1948 *Nakba* (disaster), which befell Palestinian society by “Zionist organizations” and established the “State of Israel” in part of Palestine. Consequently, the “occupation” for Palestinian students refers to the very existence of Israel. Although the “State of Israel” is mentioned, which is important, the wider historical context of the untold tragedy befalling both peoples is absent. Critical, is the Arab rejection of the Partition Plan and the attack against the Jewish *Yishuv* by multiple Palestinian groups and Arab armies shortly after the Holocaust (recently erased altogether from the curriculum). Parts of the Palestinian leadership were involved, especially in blocking escape routes. Nothing is included in the curriculum regarding the persecution and larger exodus of Jews from Arab-occupied territories and nations.

*The Israeli Occupation:*

A disaster [nakbah] fell upon Palestinian society in 1948 at the hands of the Zionist organizations as most of the Palestinians were forced to emigrate from their land and the State of Israel was established on part of Palestine . . .


According to the PA Curriculum, “Israeli occupation” refers to Israel proper, meaning that Israel is not a legitimate country but rather a territory for Palestinian settlement, and defined as Return.

*We Shall Return*

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

The paradigm of Return to Israel proper is used to indoctrinate students through activities beyond the curriculum. (See the Facebook page of the [Samiha Khalil Secondary School](https://www.facebook.com/samihakhalilsecondaryschool/).)
3.5 Nakba and Return

- The picture shows Hanan Hroub, recently awarded a coveted Global Education Prize for “teaching non-violence,” displaying the symbol of Return, a large key, against the backdrop of the map of Palestine (which includes Israel).25

3.6 Eternal War

The Return is not supposed to happen peacefully. Religious hatred that encourages violence remains in the curriculum, particularly in sharia studies, which is now under the “State of Palestine Ministry of Education,” but is intended for those planning a career as the spiritual leaders of Palestinian society.26 The following Hadith (Islamic tradition) that also features in Article 7 of the 1988 Hamas Charter, openly speaks about genocide awaiting the Jews.27

"Fighting the Jews and the victory over them: The Messenger [Muhammad] already announced [the good news of] the end of the Jews’ oppression upon this Holy Land and the removal of their corruption and of their occupation thereof. [It is told] by Abu Hurayrah [one of Muhammad’s Companions] that the Prophet said: ‘The End of Days will not take place until the Muslims fight the Jews, and the Muslims will kill them to a point that a Jew will hide behind a rock or a tree, and then the rock or the tree will say: ‘O Muslim, O God’s servant, there is a Jew behind me, so come and kill him’, except the salt bush (Gharqad), for it is one of the Jews’ trees.’ Faith, Grade 11 [Sharia Studies] (2013), p. 94.


26 These books were formerly issued by The State of Palestine: The Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs.

27 http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.
While moderate Muslims stress that this Hadith pertains to a miraculous time in the future, has no practical significance, and relates to particular groups who left their faith and not to Jews in general, the perspective here—just like in the Hamas charter—is genocidal. The textbook editors added the milieu of the Holy Land’s conflict to the original Hadith as well as the Jews’ purported corruption, justifying violence against all Jews. Instead of a mitigating explanation, warning against violence, the context provided for young Palestinians hoping to become the spiritual leaders of their community, is one leading to a genocidal mentality.

Some of the PA textbooks, intended for all, encourage students to engage in an open jihad war or an endless religious frontier war of attrition (ribat). In the following poem, “Palestine,” by Ali Mahmoud Taha, the right of jihad is expressed:

> O brother, the oppressors have exceeded all bounds and Jihad and sacrifice are necessary


The following text explains that ribat is part of jihad:

> Ribat for the sake of Allah: Islam urged Jihad for the sake of Allah, in defense of the Islamic Community’s pride, dignity and land. Ribat for the sake of Allah is one of the actions that are related to Jihad for the sake of Allah. Ribat means living in areas where there is a struggle between Muslims and their enemies, so the inhabitants suffer from the enemies’ harm, living in fear of them with a shortage of subsistence, standing steadfast on this land in order to strengthen the Muslims against their enemies . . .  


The authors of the PA curriculum teach Palestinian youth that Palestine is an arena of endless war until the Day of Resurrection, - in effect, forever. There is no peace process, just a war. The examples provided for a ribat war are the great battles of the past—Yarmuk, Hittin and Ain Jalut against the Romans, Crusaders and Mongols.

> The people of the Levant in general and Palestine in particular, are at a state of Ribat until the Day of Resurrection . . . If you examine the history of Palestine, you shall find that momentous battles took place on Palestine’s soil. Its inhabitants are in constant struggle against their enemies; they are at a state of Ribat until the Day of Resurrection. The Battle of Yarmouk was the decisive blow to the Romans, and the Battle of Hittin was a decisive victory against the Crusaders, and the Battle of Ain Jalut decided the fight against the Mongols. *Islamic Education*, Grade 12 (2014), pp. 86–87

3.7 Martyrdom: Encouraging the Noble Death

Once it is established that the entire Holy Land is Palestine and that a ribat war should be launched until the Day of Resurrection, the widespread education for martyrdom becomes clear. Here, the blood of the martyrs is glorified in a poem by Iyyad Atef:

A morning of jasmine, sweet briar and dew
A morning of glory and red liberty, watered by the blood of the martyrs . . .
Your morning, my homeland, with your sun, we will prevail the darkness


Another poem, “The Martyr,” by Abd Al-Rahim Mahmoud, also honors blood and martyrdom.

By your life! I see my death/ But I hasten my steps toward it
I see my death without my stolen right/ And without my country as a desired one
Hearing [weapons] clash is pleasant to my ear/ And the flow of blood gladdens my soul
And a body thrown upon the ground/ Skirmished over by the desert predators
Whose blood covered the land with crimson/ And burdened the east wind with perfume
He fell asleep in order to dream the dream of eternity [i.e., Paradise]/ And enjoy in it the lovesliest visions

By your life! This is the death of men/ And who asks for a noble death – here it is
I shall throw my heart at the enemy’s face/ My heart is iron and my fire is a blaze

The textbook’s exercise section further stresses the role of sacrificing one’s life as deduced from the poem.

1. What is meant by the phrase ‘a noble death’ in the poet’s verse ‘And who asks for a noble death—here it is’
   A. Death as a result of a disease
   B. A sudden death
   C. Martyrdom in defense of the homeland.
2. The poet sees his death close, yet he hurries towards it. Why?
3. The poet has described the martyr’s body in the seventh and eighth verses. Let us clarify that . . .


The martyrs are alive with their Lord.
3.7 Martyrdom: Encouraging the Noble Death

3. The martyrs (shahids) are alive with their Lord...
6. The heroes withstand in front of the enemy


Martyrdom (becoming a shahid) is presented as marriage, a cause for celebration

_Oh my homeland, I would not cry at this wedding party
For our Arabness refuses that we cry over the martyrs
_Arabic Language: Linguistics, Grade 12 (2013), p. 8._

3.8 No to Negotiations: Violence and International Pressure

The Palestinian approach as explained to Palestinian children, includes the assumption that Palestinian statehood is “one of the most pressing issues on the international agenda,” and is not a bilateral issue. Indeed, in explaining the benefits of the failed PA attempt to attain Member State status at the UN in 2011, the Palestinian schoolbook points, first and foremost, to the “transfer of the Palestinian question from a question controlled by Israel, via bilateral negotiations, into an international question.” Moving unilaterally, the Palestinians will be able to grant Palestinian citizenship to Palestinians all over the world, which will automatically grant them the right of return to their homeland as well as various means to pressure Israel internationally.

When discussing the Oslo Accords, the text does inform students that final status negotiations are part of the accords, but—blaming Israel—stresses the hopelessness of negotiations leading to the (armed) Al-Aqsa Intifada and beyond. Hence, the peaceful nature of the peace process and the commitment not to resort to violence are not presented as an inherent part of the Oslo Accords. In fact, the word “peace” does not appear at all. Therefore, a Palestinian student never learns at school that in the _Letters of Mutual Recognition_, “The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security” and that “The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.”

In effect, the glaring absence of the “right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security,” together with the overall tone of the curriculum—stressing everlasting _jihad/ribat_ [guerrilla] war, venerating _shahid_ (martyrdom), vilifying/denying Israel, and insisting on flooding it with millions of Return immigrants—all suggest a two-pronged strategy by the PA: hatred, demonization and continuous violence, together with international pressure to eventually do away with Israel.

30 Ibid., p. 28
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid., pp. 25–29.
4. UNESCO Standards and the Current Palestinian Curriculum

It is unfortunate to conclude this brief update by noting that with the exception of a number of changes (the most significant being the removal of any mention of the Jewish Shoah), the Palestinian curriculum essentially remains the same as it did in 2011. The four fundamentals identified from our previous research persist and continue to form the basis of Palestinian education.

The PA school textbooks:

1. Reject the rights of Jews and Israel’s existence
2. Demonize both Jews and Israel
3. Present a biased perspective of the Arab-Israeli conflict
4. Don’t advocate mutual understanding and peace, but rather martyrdom and eternal violent struggle

The Palestinian curriculum reiterates that hatred and animosity toward Israel’s very existence are deeply entrenched. The extent of the damage caused by the worldview expressed in this curriculum—to generations of Palestinians and Israelis alike—is impossible to gauge. One must reflect that the indoctrination inherent in these textbooks presents only one side of a tragic and complicated reality, however it is presented as absolute truth. Sadly, there is no encouragement toward any meaningful discussion or dialogue, let alone education for peace. Thus, we are left with an authoritarian regime and an educational system that conveniently blames Israel and Jews for essentially every problem of life (that is of course, during the rare instances when they actually do recognize Israel’s existence).

The commitment to eternal war and the veneration of martyrdom, the persistent and fervent longing to possess all the lands of the neighboring country, coupled with a narrow interpretation of orthodox Islam, are also part of this seemingly insolvable dilemma. In such an environment—and contrary to what we have seen in some Muslim textbooks in the US—Christianity and Judaism are not viewed as sister traditions. More, there is outright rejection of non-traditional forms of Islam like that practiced by the Baha’is and the Ahmadiyya. What remains then, as the main theme of Palestinian national life is an eternal “resistance”/ jihad/ribat war to conquer the Other’s coveted land.

Evaluating the curriculum from the point of view of UNESCO’s standards for peace and tolerance in school education, it is clear that the curriculum does not meet these standards.

The curriculum should promote tolerance, understanding and respect toward the other, his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life. RESPECT—an important concept by any cultural
standard, is non-existent in relation to Israel and Jews. The curriculum should also foster personal attachment toward the Other as an individual and his or her desire to be familiar, loved and appreciated. There is no reference in the curriculum to the INDIVIDUAL OTHER.

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. In short, the curriculum should be HATE-FREE. It is not.

The fourth UNESCO standard requires that the curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace. In other words, PEACEMAKING skills should be developed. There is nothing of the sort, with respect to the conflict with Palestinians’ neighbors. As regards the fifth standard, UNBIASED INFORMATION, here again, the curriculum is not up to par. Educational materials (textbooks, workbooks, teachers’ guides, maps, illustrations, aids) are not up-to-date, accurate, complete, balanced and unprejudiced and do not employ equal standards to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.

To meet the GENDER standard, the curriculum should foster equality and mutual respect between women and men. It should refrain from stereotypical gender roles. As previously mentioned, the curriculum does something better with this standard, although it contains some anti-female bias and even discrimination; it should be noted that the curriculum does make an effort in this area, with room for improvement, including LGBT issues which are not considered.

As for SOUND PROSPERITY and COOPERATION, there is much to do. The main problem, here again, is that given the compact geographical and environmental setting in which Israel and the Palestinian territories exist, with so much economic interdependence, there is simply no way to educate for sound prosperity and cooperation without recognizing Israel as a legitimate entity—and ultimately, partner. The imaginary ideas presented by the curriculum that Israel is either evil, does not exist, or will soon disappear, cannot lead Palestinian society to any constructive venue. What remains under such delusions are only destructive paths.

In the next section, we will assess why the Palestinian curriculum is so constructed. We will also try to gauge the correlation between the curriculum and extra-curricular materials, the manner in which these educational strategies are translated into action and what the curriculum reveals to us about the prospects of a lasting peace treaty between the Israelis and Palestinians.

5. From Conflict to Peace: Education as a Lever of Change

The Palestinian curriculum teaches year after year of Palestinian children that their homeland is comprised of the area that includes Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This viewpoint not only applies to the land but includes a particular historical and future perspective. According to the curriculum, Palestinians descend from the original Canaanites (who were Arabs) and settled “the Land” millennia before the Israelites; later they
were joined by the Muslim-Arab conquerors. The Palestinians are part of the Arab nation and the Muslim *Ummah* (Islamic Community). The way for the Palestinians to retake their land is through “resistance,” which translates into an eternal *jihad* war through *ribat* (frontier/guerrilla actions). The Palestinian school textbooks revere and encourage martyrdom and self-sacrifice. The Palestinian longing for various parts of the Israeli territories are deeply instilled. Religiously, there is one true and eternal religion to rule the land, with tolerance, protection and citizen rights for Christians (even though their religious scriptures and those of the Jews are falsified). Attitudes toward Jews as citizens are less clear. Other religions are rejected.

There is no room for Israel in this world-view. Israel and Zionism are either denied or maligned. Generally, they are denied when it comes to anything that might explain in any positive way the existence of Israel and its achievements and contributions to others, including those directed to the Palestinians and the region. Israel is demonized as a means to underscore the vision of eternal Palestine on *all* the Land from past to future; it is the scapegoat for everything that goes wrong in the Palestinian territories run by the PA.

No consideration is given in the curriculum to the Jewish roots and the millennia-long history in the region and Land; that Biblical Hebrew—not Arabic—was the Canaanite language (Bible: *Isaiah* 19:18, “the language of Canaan”); that the Land was known as the “Holy Land” primarily because of the origin of Judeo-Christian monotheism there; or the historically strong interfaith relations between Judaism and Islam. Missing as well, is the decades-long, largely pacifistic nature of early Zionism and the efforts to build the Jewish national home under an Islamic (Ottoman) superstructure, let alone the Holy Qur’an’s prophesies regarding the return of Jews to the Holy Land and their rights (Qur’an 2:142–144, 5:21, 17:104, 26:59).

What is also missing from the curriculum is that the Jews—as other minorities—fell prey to the rise of radical ideologies resulting from ancient hatreds and upheavals unleashed by modernity. Both in Europe and in the (Islamic34 and) Arab worlds (including Palestine), these ideologies led to the destruction of ancient Jewish communities. Instead of looking at the conflict as the result of large historical processes and the ways both sides grappled with them, the curriculum maligns the Other, while assuming a victim status for Palestinians and discarding anything that doesn’t fit into this mold. Achievements of Israelis—including Israeli Arabs—in numerous fields that also contribute to the Palestinians are ignored. Moreover, the great contributions of many Palestinian Arabs (both Israeli citizens and others) toward Israel’s successes are also disregarded. Israel simply doesn’t exist as a geographical entity, let alone as a robust democracy or an important partner to the Palestinians, economically and otherwise. Tragically, the students of this curriculum are left with an abysmal cognitive dissonance and no small amount of confusion.

The PA curriculum sees Israel as the source of all evil—a link in a chain of anti-Palestinian inva-
sions that occurred throughout history—by the Israelites, the Crusaders, the Ottomans and the British (but conveniently, not the Arab-Muslims). Yet among all the “conquerors,” the Zionist Israelis are thought to be the worst. The roots of Zionism are decried by the texts as part of a racist movement, originating in nineteenth century Europe. Since their early settlement, “the Jews aimed at controlling Palestinian lands in order to take the place of the original dwellers, following their deportation or annihilation.”35 A modern series of “disasters” are also listed: the British occupation, the 1948 Nakba during the establishment of Israel and the occupation of the rest of Palestine in 1967, among others. Alongside such historical evils, Israeli occupation is blamed for water shortages, a host of environmental problems and various economic challenges, not least, the effect on tourism. Israel is blamed for trying to “Judaize” the land and for all the Palestinian “martyrs” and prisoners (who are not criticized for their own indiscriminate violence).

The “Return” to Israeli territories, resistance to the occupation and martyrdom (suicide killings) are recurring motifs in the curriculum. While the curriculum does not directly call for students to take up arms, attack Israelis or engage in violent operations, the centrality of struggle, heroism, suicide and death, coupled with the demonization of all Israelis—who are always considered to be evil and never regarded as human beings—is extremely dangerous for children.

The poem, My Homeland by Ibrahim Tujan, treated by many as a national anthem, reads: “The youth will never tire/ they wish independence or to perish/ we will drink from death and never be like slaves to the enemy/ we do not want our eternal humiliation and miserable life.”36 It is not difficult to understand the role such a beautiful, yet inflammatory poem, with its dramatic melody (by the Lebanese composer Mohammed Flaifel), can play in leading young Palestinians to murder and death. The poem’s context is no less telling. It is part of a textbook intended for eleven-year-old children and is presented after a discussion about the concept of “resistance” (muqawama), recounting various “Palestinian” uprisings like the “1929 Revolt.”37

It is important to emphasize whatever positives we find: As shown in the last section, overall, the curriculum does not meet UNESCO standards; however, it includes a number of positive elements that may lead to a better future. We have pointed out that some of the more gruesome and hateful quotations found in past textbooks have been removed.

Indeed, the Palestinian curriculum has some elements necessary in a culture of respect for others, particularly the elderly and authority figures, but also toward women, the disabled, Christians and others in general. Though there is much historical criticism of colonialism (especially the British), it is not to a degree that would

36 National Education, Grade 5 (2014), p. 32
endanger any European. The curriculum, as we have described, is sensitive to gender issues even though it still includes some discriminatory comments, while over-emphasizing traditional gender roles (we did not detect any conversation regarding LGBT). Interest in the environment, water issues, economic conversation and collaboration (though not with Israel) should also be viewed with guarded optimism.

Also, on the positive side, one may point to some elements that mitigate the overall anti-Israeli tone. Albeit in a negative tone, the curriculum explains that Israel did not just appear all of a sudden in 1948, but was the result of a long process. The curriculum also mentions the word Israel on two maps though in a maligning way; but it is still connected to the peace process and the establishment of the Palestinian Authority. The symbols relating to the State of Palestine, including flags and national emblems, also indirectly contribute to peace by undermining numerous Palestinian complaints that the Oslo process was a disaster, since the “occupation” remains. As the fully independent curriculum implicitly teaches its young students, the State of Palestine already exists on the ground, with a government in place, with its territorial integrity, president, ministries, budget, economy, culture, flags, police, security forces, embassies all over the world, independent legal and educational system and a great many beautiful cars.

But ultimately, the curriculum’s implicit message is: yes, there are issues and problems, perhaps corruption, but all is the fault of our evil neighbors who keep building settlements and harassing us. By all means, work on driving them out, gradually but consistently. At a certain point in the future they will not be here anymore, just as the Israelites, the Crusaders, the Mongols, the Ottomans and the British. Meanwhile, listen to your parents, teachers and president, and make sure your homework is done.

So, why is there so much violence and hate in the PA curriculum?

Part of the answer has been given: The curriculum is focused on building a nation ruled by a conservative Arab-Islamic political culture that is held together mainly by a national project: the removal of Israel—gradually but violently—and the creation of an independent Palestine within the framework of an Islamic-Arab nation or block of nations in the territory west of the Jordan River. The PA leaders are for the most part veteran guerrilla fighters turned politicians, and this is their perspective.

This is not a curriculum of peace, but a curriculum of war and struggle aimed at preparing young Palestinian generations to fight continually for the elimination of Israel. Because Israel cannot

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be wiped out in one single action, students must be educated for a long struggle, “resistance” (muqawama) or ribat (frontier jihad war) until the Day of Resurrection, or until a powerful leader (like Hitler or Saladin), will emerge. But to do until that happy day, when Israel will just not be there and the Jewish diaspora instinct kicks in again, as most Palestinians believe? Obedience, good citizenship and hard work are required for the time being.

Is the curriculum mainly about the future?

The recent wave of violence has taught us a great deal about the role of education. Almost without exception, violence and terrorism originated from areas in which no structured peace education exists. While the media blames incitement, religious quarrels, television messages, social media and even racism for the violence, a more simple truth is that those experiencing a solid, peace-based education as found in most Israeli, Israeli-Arab or Christian schools, are not easily influenced to commit violence.

Not surprisingly for an organization that monitors peace education, we believe that education is central. It is not enough to say that Palestinian youth are confused and bitter. Indeed, they may be, even though many of them are middle-class and some are privileged. They are bitter and confused because they were educated to be that way from the start of their school education. They are deceived, paradoxically, that by becoming martyrs and taking the lives of their “enemies” they will resolve their bitterness and confusion.

Let us consider Ibrahim Tuqan’s beautiful words again: “The youth will never tire/ they wish independence or to perish/we will drink from death and never be like slaves to the enemy/ we do not want our eternal humiliation and miserable life.” Thus, students learned in school how they should feel and how they should act.

One might certainly ask: Why are Palestinians doing this to their children? The answer to this question may be beyond the scope of this short report. However, we believe that parents too have been influenced by the curriculum; it likely binds them ideologically and even acts as an assurance that their children can successfully participate in violent activities.

The 1974 Phased Plan of the PLO, which allowed for lulls in the “armed struggle” in order to acquire a territorial foothold in Palestine, still seems to be the paradigm. The Phased Plan was later transformed, with inspiration from the Iranian strategy of “resistance” (muqawama), to the current doctrine of “popular” or “peaceful” resistance. The strategy requires the Palestinian population to be loyal and obedient, allowing for diplomatic advancement in the battle against Israel, while fanning the flames of violence when needed. The PA educational system, which is also used in Israeli east Jerusalem, teaches students that the status quo is bad. It maintains a level of frustration and ready to commit acts of violence. Tactically speaking, students could best be described

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39 انَشيعو اد َبؤملا ان َلذ /ْديرن ال ْديرن ال /ديبعلاك ديبعلاك /ىدعلل نوكن نلو /ىدرـلا نم يقتسن / ْديبي وأ َلقتسي نأ ه ُمه / َلكي نل ُبابشلا
40 Also known as the PLO’s Ten Point Program; adopted by the Palestinian National Council (PNC), Cairo June 8, 1974 (Arabic: khuttat al marahel, or barnamadj al-niqat al-’ashr).
41 Muqawama silmiyyah (“peaceful resistance”) or muqawama ghayr musallaha (“unarmed resistance”)
as coal embers ready to be ignited at any moment. On the tactical level, the curriculum allows the PA to use Palestinian children and youth in waves of violence as it deems appropriate. Strategically, the curriculum reflects a world-view that strives to accomplish the long term goal to eliminate Israel, even in the event a peace agreement is reached.

Our attention should therefore be focused on this education system. A change in Palestinian education to conform to international standards—from a guerrilla mentality to peace and mutual recognition—could serve as a leverage point in helping to solve the conflict.

Conclusion

Since the beginning of Arab Spring uprisings and protest movements across the Middle East in 2011, a new discourse has emerged in the region placing responsibility on the educational curricula for many of the horrors that followed. The connection between the prevailing educational curricula and violence has been demonstrated repeatedly. The impact of education can manifest itself millennia after a curriculum has been unleashed, as we have shown in a recent Biblical study, or within a century as occurred with the Iraqi education of the 1920s and its influence on ISIS, some ninety years later. The cases of Egypt, Syria and Tunisia—all researched by Impact-se—point to direct cause-and-effect links between education and its bearing on everyday lives. Iran’s “Imperial Dreams” educational curriculum, as another example, translates into violence across the Middle East and beyond.

Looking at the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through the lens of education, one may conclude (as many scholars have)—that there is room for improvement on both sides. Indeed, the Israeli curriculum lacks enough empathy for Palestinian suffering and their historical roots in the region. There is likewise not enough of the history of Middle Eastern Jews or Arabic instruction. And Islamic studies, while surprisingly intensive, offers little related to dialogue between Judaism and Islam, or other faiths, like Zoroastrianism and Christianity. Yet, the Israeli educational system stands alone in the Middle East in allowing minorities to study their own culture and history in their own languages, such as Arabic. Moreover, Israel has the distinction of being the only country in the world that tolerates curricula which decidedly undermine its existence and independence. The Palestinian curriculum taught in East Jerusalem and the pacifist-anarchist anti-nationalist curriculum taught in large sections of the Haredi sector all over the country, both reject Israel as a nation-state. Moreover, Israeli-Palestinian Knesset members call for “Resistance” studies in Israeli schools. But if the Israeli curriculum at large is perhaps overly pluralistic and chaotic, it is nevertheless fully compatible with UNESCO standards and decidedly teaches peace, reconciliation, mutual recognition, coexistence, collaboration and living in harmony with the Other.
Conclusion

As we have repeatedly demonstrated, it is not so with the Palestinian curriculum. What is clear from this research is that the world-view instilled by the Palestinian Authority through this curriculum is that Israel should not—and one day will not—exist.

We did not detect any direct encouragement of children to attack Israelis violently. The view generally instilled is that of patience, respect and nation-building. This includes positives as regards gender, the environment and the like. The message is: for now, let us focus on studying while keeping the hate towards Israel alive. One day, sometime in the future a great leader—a Hitler or a Saladin—will take care of Israel. Therefore, there is no point in learning anything about Israel and the Jews, except that they are evil.

Sadly, that is not all. The PA curriculum works in tandem with other tools—school Facebook pages and magazines, social media and inflammatory speeches—luring Palestinian youth to be ready to jump into action and kill or be killed. The PA curriculum has become part of a sophisticated strategy aimed at the destruction of Israel in the long run, while working with maximum control on violence as needed by the PA's public diplomacy and international PR campaign.

We need to conduct more research that will cover the various curricula across Israel, the PA and Gaza. We need to analyze available data on the 2015–16 Knife terrorist attackers. We must study the entire curriculum in greater depth along with the extracurricular media that occupies students’ every free moment.

But our conclusions from the research to date are nevertheless convincing: It is not incitement alone that kills Palestinian and Israeli youth. Everyone is touched by the tragic unfolding of violence, including young Arab Palestinians and Jews in Israel. Radical politicians and activists spread hate. Violence on the ground breeds anger. Local and regional outlets fan the flames.

But children who received disciplined peace education are more prepared to resist the temptation to act out violence. They are more likely to see others as human beings, like themselves.

This is not the case for those participating in curricula devised to turn them into tools for violence. The once-entertained hope that an independent Palestinian curriculum would become a peace-oriented enterprise, seems to have been dashed. Yet, if any hope for peace is to be found, it must start with a curriculum that has peace at its core. It is late but hopefully not too late.
## List of Textbooks

**General Sciences** (Grade 1, Part 1), 2010.

**National Education** (Grade 1, Part 1), 2010.

**Our Beautiful Language** (Grade 1, Part 1), 2010.

**Civil Studies** (Grade 2, Part 1), 2009.

**General Sciences** (Grade 2), 2010.

**General Sciences** (Grade 2, Part 1), 2013.

**General Sciences** (Grade 2, Part 2), 2013.

**Islamic Education** (Grade 2, Part 1), 2009.

**Mathematics** (Grade 2, Part 1), 2010.

**National Education** (Grade 2, Part 1), 2009, 2014–15.

**National Education** (Grade 2, Part 2), 2009.

**Our Beautiful Language** (Grade 2, Part 1), 2009, 2013.


**Our Beautiful Language** (Grade 3, Part 1), 2010.


**General Sciences** (Grade 4, Part 2), 2012, 2014.

**Mathematics** (Grade 4, Part 1), 2010, 2013.

**National Education** (Grade 4, Part 1), 2010.

**Our Beautiful Language** (Grade 4, Part 1), 2010.

**Arts and Crafts** (Grade 5), 2013.

**General Sciences** (Grade 5, Part 1), 2010, 2012.
List of textbooks


*History of Ancient Civilizations* (Grade 5), 2009, 2014.

*Human Geography* (Grade 5), 2013–14.

*National Education* (Grade 5, Part 1), 2009, 2014.


*Physical Geography* (Grade 5), 2013–14.

*Arts and Crafts* (Grade 6), 2013.


*General Sciences* (Grade 6, Part 2), 2012, 2014.

*Human Geography* (Grade 6), 2012, 2014.

*National Education* (Grade 6), 2009, 2014.


*The History of the Arabs and Muslims* (Grade 6), 2006, 2009.

*Arts and Crafts* (Grade 7), 2013.

*Civil Studies* (Grade 7), 2010.

*General Sciences* (Grade 7, Part 1), 2013.

*General Sciences* (Grade 7, Part 2), 2012.

*Geography of Palestine* (Grade 7), 2010, 2014.


*History of the Middle Ages* (Grade 7), 2010.

*Islamic Education* (Grade 7), 2010, 2013.

*National Education* (Grade 7), 2010.


*Arts and Crafts* (Grade 8), 2013.
List of textbooks

*Civic Education* (Grade 8), 2010.

*Environmental Geography* (Grade 8), 2010.

*General Sciences* (Grade 8), 2010.

*General Sciences* (Grade 8, Part 1), 2013.

*General Sciences* (Grade 8, Part 2), 2012.

*History of the Arabic and Islamic Civilization*, (Grade 8), 2010.

*Islamic Education* (Grade 8, Part 1), 2010.

*Reading and Texts* (Grade 8, Part 1), 2009–10, 2015.


*Arts and Crafts* (Grade 9), 2013.

*Arab Modern and Contemporary History* (Grade 9), 2010.

*Civic Education* (Grade 9), 2010.

*General Sciences* (Grade 9, Part 2), 2013–14.

*General Sciences* (Grade 9, Part 2), 2013–14.

*Geography of the Arab Homeland* (Grade 9), 2009–10, 2013, 2015.

*Health and Environment in our Life* (Grade 9), 2010.

*Islamic Education*, (Grade 9, Part 1), 2009–10.


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

*Linguistics* (Grade 10), 2010.


*Contemporary Issue* (Grade 11, Part 1), 2010.


List of textbooks

Faith, Sharia Studies (Grade 11), 2013.

Arabic Language: Reading, Literature and Critique (Grade 12), 2010.
History of the Arabs and the World in the 20th Century (Grade 12), 2010.
Islamic Education (Grade 12), 2014.
Physical and Human Geography (Grade 12), 2010, 2014.