

# JEWES, ZIONISM AND ISRAEL IN SYRIAN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS JUNE 2001

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## Executive Summary

Peace has become Syria's declared strategic choice since the Madrid Conference of 1991. The present survey, initiated by the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (CMIP), has undertaken to determine the extent to which the idea of peace with Israel has become part of Syria's official curriculum. Sixty-eight textbooks for grades 1-12 in various subjects, all having been part of the Syrian curriculum during the year 2000, were examined within this survey. The findings are as follows:

- The Arab-Israeli conflict is a major theme in the Syrian curriculum and is dealt with in most textbooks. The essence of the conflict is Israel's right to existence, not its borders. In fact, the conflict is portrayed as a fateful struggle for existence between the whole Arab nation and a Zionist-Jewish entity that has established itself in Palestine.
- Not a single word in favor of the Jews is to be found in the Syrian textbooks. The Jews are denied the characteristics of a nation, they are detached from their ancestors and from the land of Palestine, and their religion is racist. They are portrayed as enemies of the Arabs since antiquity, of Islam since its inception, of all mankind, of the prophets and of God himself. The hatred of the nations of the world towards them is justified. The Holocaust is justified, though its magnitude is exaggerated by the Jews. There is one passage in the textbooks that calls for their elimination.
- Zionism is depicted as a racist and aggressive movement based on false assumptions that the Jews are one people connected to Palestine. Zionism exploits the Jewish religion in order to exercise control over vast areas of the Arab homeland.
- Israel is portrayed as an alien and artificial entity and is not recognized as a legitimate state. Its place on the map is always referred to as Palestine. Israel is wholly evil. It resembles a spreading cancer and is also the source of innumerable troubles that have befallen the Arabs, beginning with the usurping of Palestine, through preventing the realization of Arab unity and hindering Arab economic progress, and ending with the attempt to erase Palestinian and Arab national identity. Israeli society is full of malice towards the Arabs and Israeli soldiers are demonized.
- Jerusalem is, and has always been, an Arab city. The Jews are not mentioned as its inhabitants, neither in the past nor in present times. Their holy places in the city are not mentioned alongside those of Muslims and Christians. The Jews' presence in Jerusalem is that of foreign occupiers whom Arabs and Muslims should evict. Such an operation assumes the

characteristics of purification, since the Jews defile the place by their mere presence there.

- Making peace with Israel means surrender and is rejected as a treacherous act. On the other hand, participating in the current peace process is presented as a continuation of the old struggle against Zionism and Israel by other means. In no place does the phrase "peace with Israel" appear and Syria is not referred to as committed to recognizing Israel's right to exist within its pre-1967 borders.
- The liberation of Palestine is portrayed as a major goal of Syria, as well as an all-Arab and all-Muslim duty. The Syrian textbooks do not conceal the fact that full liberation of Palestine is synonymous with the liquidation of Israel, which is mentioned as one of the goals of the ruling Ba'ath Party. It is also an act of purification, that is, purifying Palestine of the Zionist "filth", and a means to reasserting Arab and Muslim dignity.
- The struggle against Israel is a "holy war" - Jihad, which is the duty of every Muslim.
- Within this context, Martyrdom is an exalted value in the Syrian textbooks propagated by President Hafez Assad himself and inculcated in the minds of students in various ways.
- Finally, embracing and supporting terrorist activities against Israel is a common theme. Though the term "terror" itself is never used in this context and such activities are described as operations against military targets, the cases brought to the student's attention in the textbooks refer to actual or imagined attacks on civilians.

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# Jews, Zionism and Israel in Syrian Textbooks

## Introduction

Syria is a major party to the Arab-Israeli conflict. It confronts Israel both directly and through Lebanon, with certain influence on the Palestinian arena as well. Its deep-rooted nationalist ideology, its traditional aspirations for all-Arab leadership and its late President's staunch beliefs regarding the conflict, have all made Syria the last main bulwark against Israel on the latter's borders.

Yet Syria joined the peace process in 1991 (the Madrid Conference) and, though still in a state of war with Israel, declared peace a strategic choice. A relevant question in this context, therefore, is whether Syria has internalized the concept of peace with Israel and to what extent, if any, this is reflected in Syrian public life, notably in education.

In Syria, all schools, including those of the private sector and UNRWA are under the close supervision of the Ministry of Education which imposes on them all one curriculum and a single list of textbooks.

The Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (CMIP) has undertaken to investigate this issue through a survey of Syrian textbooks - as it has done regarding Palestinian and Israeli ones. To that end sixty-eight textbooks for grades 1 to 12 were examined, all of which were part of the Syrian curriculum for the year 2000. They include:

- 26 Reading and Literature books for grades 1-12
- 8 Grammar books for grades 5-12
- 7 Geography books for grades 5-11
- 7 History books for grades 5-11
- 3 Civics books for grades 4-6
- 6 National-Socialist Education books for grades 7-12
- 8 Islamic Education books for Muslim students in grades 3-6 and 8-11
- 3 Christian Education books for Christian students in grades 4, 6 and 7

All these books were thoroughly scrutinized and all material relevant to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the peace process and other related subjects extracted and then organized according to specific themes. Each theme is represented by one or more quotes from the textbooks, each translated into English and accompanied by reference to its specific source. The scope of extraneous explanations has been reduced to a minimum, so that the source material speaks for itself.

Original Quranic or Hadithic negative references to the Jews have not been included in the survey, though present-day anti-Jewish expressions based on such references have.

## Chapter I: Syria's Education System

Syria has a very large and rapidly expanding population of school age children due to an annual growth rate of 3,2%. The estimated population of Syria in 1999 was 17,200,000 inhabitants (1), of which more than 7,000,000 were of school age (5-17 years old).

When the Ba'ath took control of Syria in the Sixties, education became a priority as a means of both ensuring progress and indoctrinating and controlling the masses. Article 21 of the 1973 Constitution states that the objectives of education are "to bring up a national Arab generation, which is socialist and scientific in its manner of thinking, attached to its history and land, proud of its patrimony, and satiated with the struggling spirit".

All Syrian schools, including those in the private sector and those administered by UNRWA, are under the close supervision of the Ministry of Education, which is directly in charge of their curricula and textbooks.

During the seventies and the eighties there was a steady increase in the government's budget for education: from 6.80% in 1975 to a peak of 14.0% in 1987 (2). In 1998-1999, it dropped to 12% (3). This decrease seems to have been even more pronounced in GNP terms: less than 2% of the GNP in 1998 (4), compared with 3.9% in 1975, 6.1% in 1985, and 4.7% in 1987. (5)

This reduction reflects both Syria's economic stagnation in the nineties as well as its difficulty in coping with a rapidly growing population of school age children and the need to provide them with "basic" education.

### An Elusive Compulsory "Basic" Education

Article 37 of the Syrian 1973 Constitution defines education as a right guaranteed by the State, "free of charge at all its levels and compulsory at the primary level". The same Article also emphasizes that the State "shall endeavor to make the other levels compulsory".

The Syrian government appears to have encountered serious obstacles in attaining the full materialization of compulsory education at the primary level. The fourth Five Year Development Plan (1976-1980) set a target of full enrolment of boys of primary school age by 1980 which was not achieved. In 1981 it was necessary to promulgate Law # 35 on "Compulsory Education " for all Syrian and "similar" children aged between 6 and 12 years. (6)

This law not only identified the public and private factors responsible for carrying out its provisions, it also detailed the sanctions to be imposed both on parents and on persons hiring a child of primary education age. A widespread campaign was developed to encourage parents to enroll all children of primary school age and a new Department for Compulsory Education was created in the Ministry for monitoring and evaluating school attendance".(7)

The campaign seems to have been successful. Ten years later, at the beginning of the 1990s, it was claimed that enrolment in primary education was close to 100% for boys and 95% for girls.

Since then, however, enrolment seems to have regressed slightly to 94% in 1998-1999 (8), and there are still differences among various regions and between the sexes. Nomadism, poverty, lack of facilities in remote areas and the lack of coordination between those in charge of the compulsory law, are the main factors impeding complete enrolment.

Since the 1970s there have been several plans to enlarge the scope of primary education, convert it into a "basic cycle" covering Grade 1 to Grade 9 and place it under the umbrella of the compulsory law. This has not yet been achieved, largely due to financial reasons. Officially, other factors are invoked to explain this failure, such as the fact that "Many young girls aged 12 to 15 get married, especially in rural areas" and "Some children between 12 and 15 work with their parents in the fields and start highly paid jobs." (9)

### A Four Level Schooling System

The Syrian education system consists of four levels: pre-primary education, primary education, lower secondary (also called preparatory or intermediate), and upper secondary education. (For a general overview of the Syrian education system by level, see Table 1).

#### Pre-primary (Age 3-5)

The 3-year pre-primary level is not compulsory and operates on a fee-paying basis. Some kindergartens are attached to public primary schools, others to the General Union of Syrian Arab Women and to the Teachers Union, but most of them are run by private institutions which embrace more than 60% of children. In government institutions tuition is symbolic and the pupils are mainly the children of employees.

In 1989-1990 84,800 children between the ages of 3 and 5, representing about 5% of the age group, were enrolled in 793 kindergartens with 2,711 teachers (10). Ten years later, 108,319 children were enrolled in pre-primary education, that is 7.75% of the age group. (11)

Pre-primary education was neglected in the 60s and the 70s. This is no longer the case. Although not included in the national educational plans which focused on the other levels, the State now supports the extension of Early Childhood Education Programs, taking into consideration the increase in the number of working women. It has facilitated the opening of kindergartens, in accordance with the provisions of the Private Education Law. (12)

### Primary Education (Age 6--12)

Primary education is compulsory and free of charge. It runs for six years, from Grade 1 to Grade 6 and begins at the age of 6. The primary school day lasts 5 hours, and the school year continues for 200 days.

The curriculum includes Arabic, mathematics, religious instruction, elements of science and health education, social and national education, art, music and physical education. In some rural areas primary schools provide 4 hours/week of rural education for grades 4, 5 and 6.

Most primary schools are run by the government. Less than 3% of them are private, and 2% are run by UNRWA. Both the private sector and UNRWA follow the curriculum set by the Ministry of Education.

Enrolment is around 95%. However in remote rural areas it is frequently far below the national average. For instance, in the villages of the Dayr az Zawar Province, only 8% of the girls attended primary school. This compares unfavorably even with Damascus where only 49% of the girls completed 6 years of primary school.  
(13)

A notable effort to ensure and maintain full enrolment at the primary level was clearly visible through a substantial increase in the number of teachers, from 101,325 in 1990 to 122,249 in 1999.

An effort to improve the training of teachers has also been proposed. Until now, primary school teachers were trained in specialized institutes for two years after completing secondary level. In the future, they will be trained for a period of four years in recently established faculties of education.

### Lower Secondary Education (12 to 14 years old)

The lower secondary level, also called intermediate or preparatory level, continues for 3 years, from Grade 7 to Grade 9. It is free but not compulsory.

In the past, there was an entrance examination for Grade 7 but this was abolished in 1970. Today, all pupils who have completed primary level can automatically enter the preparatory one. In fact, 75% of primary level graduates join the intermediate level.(14) The curriculum includes all the subjects taught at primary level with the addition of English, French and "female education". At the end of Grade 9, there is an examination for the Intermediate Level Diploma.

In the nineties there were approximately 2000 intermediate schools, most of them run by the government. Of these, less than 4% were private and 2% belonged to UNRWA. Again, both the private sector and UNRWA use the curriculum set by the Ministry of Education.

In 1990 the enrolment rate for Grade 7 was close to 80%. Enrolment at intermediate level totaled 631,000 pupils (15). There is no data available for any of the following years. One can, however, infer from data showing a substantial decrease in the total enrolment for both the lower and the upper secondary levels (from 48% for the year 1990 to 42 % for the year 1996), that there was probably also a substantial decrease in enrolment in the lower secondary level. (16)

As acknowledged in an official Syrian document released in March 2000, "No major changes were recorded at this level, contrary to primary education level that witnessed crucial transformations".(17) The only notable change was the updating of teaching methods and books for the study of the English and French languages.

### Upper Secondary Education

The upper secondary level also continues for 3 years, from Grade 10 to Grade 12. It is free of charge. Entry is selective and based on the Intermediate Diploma examination at the end of Grade 9.

There are two types of upper secondary schooling: "general" and "technical/vocational". Pupils who are 15 years old are free to choose either general or technical schools, but those beyond this age must enter the technical schools.

In the eighties, the "general" school was the most popular and accounted for 78% of the total secondary enrolment (18). A notable shift seems to have occurred in the nineties (1998-1999) as 70% of the graduates of the intermediate level preferred technical and vocational education. (19)

Technical and vocational secondary schools include industrial (51%), commercial (22%) agricultural (7%) as well as "female" specialization of home economics and nursing (20%) in 1989-1990. Two-thirds of the courses were oriented towards scientific and practical training. Upon completion, the students take the "Technical Baccalaureate"; opportunities in further education for holders of the technical baccalaureate are limited. (20)

In the general secondary schools, the first year is an introductory one. The last two years are divided into literary and scientific streams. About three quarters of the pupils opt for the scientific stream. (21) Upon completion, the students sit for the Secondary Diploma (Baccalaureate), which is the sole qualification to grant automatic entrance to universities and other institutions of higher education.

In the Nineties, the subject of "Population Education" was introduced into the secondary schools.

About 90% of general secondary schools are funded by the government and 10% are private.

## Reforming Curricula and Textbooks

The Ministry of Education only defines policy guidelines, implements the major programs, allocates resources between the main sectors and govern orates (regions), and also designs the curricula and the textbooks.

The curriculum which is uniform and nationwide, is developed by the Department of Curriculum and Research at the Ministry of Education. This department is in charge of the development of courses, learning materials, teaching methods and is responsible for testing the learning material at all pre-university levels.

Moreover, through its "Establishment for School Books" department the Ministry of Education is also responsible for the printing of textbooks and for their distribution to all schools. The textbooks are free at primary level only.

At the end of the 80s there were initial attempts at reforming the curricula of primary and secondary schools as well as teachers training institutes, with the aim of introducing practical aspects related to productive work, nutrition, environmental and population studies.

Today the efforts to reform the curriculum which was "traditional and theoretical, emphasizing humanities and factual data" (22) are oriented towards the introduction of scientific and innovative concepts, attitudes, skills, and values. The Ministry of Education has assigned the responsibility for establishing and supervising procedures for changing the curricula and writing new textbooks to a Supreme Committee chaired by the Minister of Education. This committee is composed of several assistants of the Minister, directors of the central administration, instructors, members of Parliament and university professors. (23)

The setting of the new curriculum for each course was assigned to expanded and specialized committees formed by "field workers, university professors and researchers". The new curricula are presented to provincial subcommittees for comment before their final approval by the Supreme Committee.

The writing of the textbooks was assigned to other committees composed of "field teachers, instructors, university professors and coordinators", starting with primary level textbooks. In addition, the Supreme Committee decided that each new textbook would be tried before its adoption. The actual process for the production of the new textbooks was according to the following schedule:

1996/1997 Adoption of Grade 1 experimental books.

1997/1998 Spreading Grade 1 books and testing Grade 2 books on the same sample. (24)

1998/1999 Finalization of Grade 1 books, spreading Grade 2 books, and experimenting Grade 3 books.

By the end of 1999, these committees had finalized experimental books for Grade 4.

Table 1: Syrian Education System, by Level, for Year 1996-1997

Levels	Number of Institutions	Teachers	Pupils/Students		
			Males	Females	Total
Pre-primary	1,096	4,427	56,627	45,524	98,151
Primary	10,783	114,689	1,433,385	1,256,820	2,690,205
Secondary		64,661	513,927	443,737	957,664
-General	not available	52,182	469,032	396,010	865,042
-Vocational	not available	12,479	44,895	47,727	92,622
Higher(*)					
Universities	not available	4,733	101,819	66,367	167,186
Others	not available	n.a.	25,167	23,381	48,548
(*) 1994-5					

Based on UNESCO Statistical Year Book

Table 2: Public, Private and UNRWA Part in Education by Levels

Level	Public	UNRWA	Private
Preprimary	40%		60%
Primary	95%	2%	3%
Intermediate	94%	2%	4%
Secondary	90%		10%

Table 3: School Enrollment in Primary and Secondary Education, 1980-1996

	1980	1984	1990	1996
Preprimary	no data	no data	84,800	98,151
Primary [Grade 1 to Grade 6]	1,556,000	1,818,000	2,452,000	2,690,205
Secondary	604,000	870,000	914,000	957,640
Lower Secondary [Grade 7 to Grade 9]	no data	no data	641,000	no data
Upper Secondary [Grade 10 to 12]	no data	no data	273,000	no data
Total School Population	>2,160,000	>2,688,000	3,450,800	3,745,996

The data used was the most up to date information available from Syrian sources.

## Footnotes

- (1) 17,213,871 (July estimation 1999) CIA World Factbook 1999
- (2) SESRTCIC [Statistical, Economic and Social Research and Training Center for Islamic Countries] <http://www.serstcic.org>.
- (3) The National Report of the Syrian Arab Republic on "Education for All" Year 2000 Evaluation, Part I, page 10 of 24, cf. EFA FORUM (Education for All, UNESCO) [efa@unesco.org](mailto:efa@unesco.org)
- (4) According to the CIA- The World Factbook- Syria, in 1998, the GDP per capita was \$2,500, that is a national GNP of more than \$ 42, 500, 000.00, whereas the Government expenditures were estimated at \$ 4,200,000,00.
- (5) The International Encyclopedia of Education Vol. 10, Second edition, Pergamon, p5892
- (6) The National Report of the Syrian Republic on...., op. cit, Part I, page 9 of 24. "similar" refers to Palestinians, whose education is in fact assumed by UNRWA.
- (7) The International Encyclopedia of Education, on... op. cit, p5889.
- (8) The National Report of the Syrian Republic ... op. cit, Part II, p3 of 6. The following reasons are mentioned: school outcrops, students registered in foreign schools, handicapped students registered in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor) uncounted deaths, since last census goes back to 1994.
- (9) The National Report of the Syrian Republic ... op. cit, Part II, p5 of 6.
- (10) The International Encyclopedia of Education, ...op. cit, p5891
- (11) The National Report of the Syrian Republic on...., op. cit , Part II, page1 of 6.
- (12) The National Report of the Syrian Republic on...., op. cit, Part I, page 9 of 24.
- (13) frd/cstdy: @field(DOCID+sy0054).
- (14) The National Report of the Syrian Republic on...., op. cit, Part I, page 18 of 24.
- (15) The International Encyclopaedia of Education, \_op cit.p 5889
- (16) SESRTCIC [Statistical, Economic and Social Research and Training Center for Islamic Countries] <http://www.serstcic.org> , page 1 of 2. (in terms of % of the population of the age group)
- (17) The National Report of the Syrian Republic on...., op. cit, Part I, page 17 of 24.
- (18) The International Encyclopedia of Education, op. cit, p5890
- (19) The National Report of the Syrian Republic on...., op. cit, Part I, page 18 of 24.
- (20) The International Encyclopedia of Education, op. cit, p 5890.
- (21) Ibidem
- (22) The International Encyclopedia of Education, op. cit, p 5893.
- (23) The National Report of the Syrian Republic on...., op. cit, page 12 of 24.
- (24) The National Report of the Syrian Republic on...., op. cit, page 13 of 24. The experimental samples for Arabic language, mathematics and science schoolbooks were chosen among six provinces, and applied to 6,000 students.

## Chapter II: The Essence of the Conflict - Israel's Existence

### 1. Overview

The Arab-Israeli conflict is not regarded by the Syrian textbooks as a struggle over territory between two legitimate parties. Nor is it considered a local conflict between two rival nations, Jews and Palestinian Arabs that could be solved through political and territorial compromises.

Rather, the conflict is seen as a fateful struggle for existence between the entire Arab nation and a Jewish-Zionist entity that has established itself in the heart of the Arab homeland - at the expense of the Palestinian people - and has threatened the entire Arab nation ever since.

The Arab-Israeli conflict, or the Palestinian problem - as it is often referred to, is thus depicted as the most serious challenge facing the Arab nation in modern times. To this, the Syrian textbooks add the religious element which presents the conflict as a struggle between Jews and Muslims over Palestine and Muslim holy places therein.

Furthermore, the Syrian textbooks emphasize that the loss of Palestine in 1948 brought humiliation and disgrace upon all Arabs and Muslims, who experienced another similar blow in 1967. Such an unbearable situation of shame could and should be rectified only by war and revenge. The struggle against Israel is, then, a matter of honor.

Finally, the reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict in Syrian textbooks is not occasional or marginal, but rather extensive and central, and at times even obsessive. Instilling this issue into the minds of young Syrians appears to be a major objective of the textbooks.

### 2. The Essence of the Conflict is Israel's Very Existence, not Its Borders

"The Muslims in the countries of the world are struggling to evict the Jews from Palestine in defense of al-Aqsa Mosque." (Islamic Education, Grade 6, p. 57)

"The Zionist imperialist-colonial existence in the occupied part of Palestine is the extreme opposite to the existence of the Arab nation on its land." (National Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 96)

"The Arab-Zionist struggle is a fateful national struggle, a struggle for existence [sira' wujud], and not a struggle over borders." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 133)

"Our struggle with the enemy is a struggle for existence [sira' wujud] and not a struggle over borders." (Islamic Education, Grade 9, p. 67)

"Gangs of oppressive Zionism have occupied parts of our land and they threaten our existence." (Islamic Education, Grade 9, p. 166)

"...the Zionist invasion still threatens their [the Arabs'] existence...  
[Question:] What is the Arabs' duty in order to confront the dangers that threaten their existence?" (Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 7, pp. 160, 161)

"In fact, the Arab countries did not face during their long history a danger greater than the one they are exposed to today. We are struggling first and foremost in order to ward off a treacherous aggression against us and in order to safeguard our existence." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 9, p. 96)

### 3. The Primacy of the Conflict

The conflict with Israel, often referred to as "the Palestinian problem", should be considered the number-one priority issue for the Arabs. The importance of Palestine is outlined by describing it as the heart of the Arab homeland, and is stressed over that of the Golan, Syria's own territory that was occupied by Israel in the Six-Day War of 1967.

"The priority [issue] in our Arab and international policy is confronting Israel and, accordingly, giving the national aspect of the Arab-Israeli struggle priority over all [other] national matters." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 130)

"The Arab-Zionist struggle emanated originally from the Palestinian problem, which will remain the essence of the struggle. It is impossible for any solution to take place but through the elimination of injustice and the return of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 114)

"After the catastrophe [nakbah] of the year 1948 the Palestinian problem has become the primary problem of the Arabs." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 132)

"The Palestinian problem is the greatest challenge our Arab nation has faced in the modern era." (Modern Arab Literature, Grade 12, p. 101)

"The Palestinian problem is the Arabs' fundamental problem. Priority is given to the struggle for the recovery of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arab people in its land and homeland." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 49)

"The Palestinian problem is the Arabs' primary problem and the liberation of Palestine is a primary necessity like the liberation of the Golan." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 66)

"The Palestinian problem is the Arabs' primary problem" (National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 73)

In order to make this point more concrete, Palestine itself is described as the heart of the Arab homeland:

"Palestine's place among the Arab countries is like the heart's place within the body." (Reader, Grade 6, Pt. 2, p. 94)

"...the land of Palestine, the heart of the Arab homeland." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 18)

"The establishment of Israel in the heart of the Arab homeland." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 87)

"The establishment of the state of Israel in the heart of the Arab homeland, the expulsion of its people and the attempt to exterminate them." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 60)

"The Zionists proceeded to realize the second step of their plan... and they ousted the Arabs of Palestine from their homes and established in the heart of the Arab homeland a state they named Israel." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p. 131)

The discussion of the Golan issue in Syrian textbooks is far less intensive than the one concerning Palestine. A revealing statement by President Hafez Assad, in a speech to the Arab inhabitants of the Israeli-held Golan makes this point clear:

"Let your hands be clasped together, O our sons in the Golan, with the hands of your brethren, the Arabs of Palestine, because the enemy is one, because the road is one, because the goal is one, because [our] destiny is one, because [our] history is one. I salute you, O sons in the Golan, and salute your brethren, the Arabs of Palestine. Let it be known to you that Syria is for Palestine as much as Palestine is for Palestine." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 54)

This speech indicates very clearly that the real issue between Syria and Israel is, after all, not the Golan Heights but rather Palestine or, in other words, Israel's very existence.

#### 4. A Matter of Honor

Fighting Israel and taking revenge for the humiliating defeats is a matter of honor.

"The question, as it is being asked, bleeds with shame:  
How Haifa or the Negev disappeared." (Grammar, Dictation and Script,  
Grade 7, p. 199)

"Yearning for the land, homeland and kinsfolk, repentance for having left the homes, holding on to hope, and determination upon revenge became prominent [motifs] in the literature of the sons of Palestine at that stage [after 1948]." (Modern Arab Literature, Grade 12, p. 101)

"We, Muslims, should... sacrifice our souls and property... until we recover our holy places and return to our nation its glory and dignity." (Islamic Education, Grade 4, p. 106)

"The Palestinian Arab generation that was born and grew up in tents and knew Palestine through the mothers' tears and the fathers' determination to recover the land, has sworn to liberate its land and restore the dignity of its [Palestinian] people and [Arab] nation." (Civics, Grade 6, p. 129)

"Our Palestinian brethren sacrificed their blood until the whole world heard their voice and became acquainted with their cause. They are still dying on the field of honor." (Reader, Grade 6, pt. 2, p. 95)

"Let us continue our struggle and then we shall liberate our Arab land and assert our dignity." (Grammar, Grade 9, p. 55)

"We should continue the stubborn struggle in order to protect Arab dignity." (Grammar, Grade 10, p. 64)

"The setback of the fifth of June 1967 left in the souls of the Arab citizens a painful impression mixed with a real desire for revenge, rehabilitation and for washing the disgrace with blood." (Civics, Grade 5, p. 100)

"The glorious October War was an important link within the [overall] struggle against Imperialism and its ally Israel. Its most important causes were... the Arabs' desire to take revenge for the defeat of June 1967." (Modern History of the Arabs, Grade 9, p. 159)

#### 5. Obsessive Treatment of the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Of the 68 books examined in this survey, 52 contained material directly related to the conflict in varying degrees of intensiveness, in the forms of lectures and discussion, short stories, poems, slogans, quotes from President Hafez Assad's speeches, language exercises, homework of various sorts, photographs, drawings, diagrams and maps. In some of the books the Arab-Israeli conflict stretches over

whole chapters dedicated to various aspects thereof. Four more books contained negative remarks about Jews in ancient and medieval times, though without reference to the present conflict.

Among the general issues discussed within this context one can find Jerusalem and the al-Aqsa Mosque, the War of 1973, the loss of Palestine, the Palestinian armed struggle against Israel, Zionism, the ancient Hebrews as enemies of the ancient "Arabs" (i.e., Canaanites, Arameans, Chaldeans, etc.), Palestinians fighting the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, the Jews' hostility to Muhammad and the early Muslims, the Baath Party resolutions regarding Palestine and Israel, militarism, Jihad and martyrdom, the occupied Golan Heights, Israel's collaboration with Imperialism, Israel's oppression of the Palestinians, the peace process, etc.

These issues are dealt with repeatedly and they are often subdivided. The first mention of the conflict appears in Grade 2 (Jerusalem) and 3 (the 1973 war, Jerusalem). In Grade 4 the issue of Palestine as a whole appears for the first time, and from Grades 5 and 6 onwards the student is exposed to the other elements of the conflict with constant elaboration.

## Chapter III: The Portrayal of Jews and Judaism

### 6. Overview

No positive remark referring to the Jews is to be found in Syrian textbooks. On the contrary, they do not constitute a nation, they are detached from their ancestors and have no connection whatsoever to Palestine. Their religion contains racist elements.

Beyond that, the Jews have proven themselves to be eternal enemies of the Arabs since ancient times and deadly enemies of the early Muslims.

Their behavior among the nations has brought upon them the latter's hatred, and justifiably so. The Holocaust, though its magnitude is exaggerated by the Jews, may be justified as well. The Jews are racist, enemies of the prophets, the Muslims and, in fact, of all mankind and even of God himself.

The final conclusion is obvious - they need to be eliminated.

### 7. Not a Single Positive Remark about the Jews

In all the sixty-eight textbooks that were examined for the purpose of this survey not a single positive remark about the Jews could be found as can be seen from the material presented below.

The only non-hostile references in the Syrian textbooks are the following ones.

"Zionism tries to give the Arab struggle for the recovery of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people characteristics of religious and racist hostility on the part of the Arabs against the Jews. What is your opinion regarding the truth of that? Are the Arabs against the Jews as a religion? Do they [the Jews] constitute a people? Is Zionism a racist and aggressive movement? Explain that." (Homework, National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 95)

"Zionism is a phenomenon objectively anti-Semitic. The struggle against it is, actually, a struggle for a better future for the Jews, wherever they are." (Reader, Grade 12, p. 131)

### 8. A "False" people, an "Imaginary" Nation

"It is clear that the Zionist claim regarding the existence of a Jewish people with an independent nationalism [qawmiyyah] is a false claim unsupported by scientific facts or by actual data. For the Jews are sons of the societies they live in and they belong to them nationally, linguistically, culturally and historically. The religious factor alone cannot make them an independent nationality." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 90)

"Judaism is a religion embracing followers from the various peoples of the world. Among them [one can find] the Falasha of Ethiopia, the Tamils of India, the Arabs of Yemen, the Khazars of the Turks and the Slavs and Germans of Europe... Every Jew is a citizen of the country where he lives." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 94)

"The Zionist movement strove to exploit the Jewish religion as a factor for gathering the dispersed Jews of the world who belong to various nationalities and numerous peoples." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 89)

"The Zionists believe in the existence of "a world Jewish nation" whose human element is constituted by the Jews of the world who live in various countries and under diverse regimes. They constitute one nation in spite of [the fact that] they do not enjoy the basic characteristics that create a nation like territory, culture, language, mental composition, common history and economic unity." (Reader, Grade 12, pp. 129-130)

## 9. The Jews are detached from their Ancestors and from Palestine

The Syrian textbooks make an effort to detach the Jews of today from their ancestors and, consequently, from their ancient homeland. Even Islamic Education textbooks which refer to the Patriarchs and other Jewish figures considered holy in Islam, do not associate them with the Jews. One example is the chapter about Abraham in the Islamic Education textbook for Grade 3, pp. 59-60. In higher grades, this theme is further developed, with the conclusion that the modern Jews do not have any connection with Palestine.

"Their claim, that they are the descendants of the Hebrews who emigrated to Palestine more than two thousand years ago, is false scientifically and is refuted by anthropologists, as there is no pure-blooded people [in the world], because [all] the peoples have already been mixed with one another... It is [also] false historically, because groups from various peoples embraced Judaism without having been from Palestine or from a Hebrew descent, like the people of the Khazar Kingdom... and they constitute today 90% of world Jewry." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 94)

"Zionism is based on an old religious notion which claims that there is a connection between the Jews and Palestine, though it is known that the Jews of today do not have any connection with Palestine." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 92)

## 10. Judaism and Jews are Racist

The Jews are described as racist. One textbook recommends that the students read a book entitled "Jewish Racism" by Dr. Jirji Kan'an. (National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 151)

The concept of the "Chosen People" is twisted in order to claim that the Jews are racist.

"They [the Jews] are pushed by their racism to claim that they are the cream of creation and the favorites of God." (Islamic Education, Grade 11, p. 33)

"They [the Jews] say of themselves that they are racist. Merely by saying that you are a chosen people of [all other] peoples. This is racism." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 94)

## 11. Occupiers of Arab Lands since Ancient Times

In contrast with the denial of Jewish national existence, Syrian history textbooks do refer to the Jews as a people in Palestine, though not as a "rightful" one. The basis of this assertion rests upon the modern Arab claim that all the nations of the ancient Middle East and North Africa, save one, were Arab. Thus, the ancient Assyrians, Chaldeans, Emorites, Canaanites, Arameans, Egyptians and Berbers were all Arabs who had emigrated from the Arabian Peninsula to Mesopotamia, the Levant, Egypt and North Africa (Ancient History of the Arabs, Grade 5, p. 17 and a map on p. 18).

According to this view, the Muslim Arab conquerors of these areas in the seventh century AD "liberated" Arab lands from foreign domination (History: The Era of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs, Grade 6, p. 105).

The subsequent migration of Muslim Arab tribes to these areas and their mixing with their "Arab brethren" already there completed the creation of the modern Arab nation (National-Socialist Education, Grade 7, p. 31). According to this logic, Palestine has always been Arab (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 94).

Moreover, this line of argument also presents the Jews as traditional enemies of the Arabs from time immemorial.

"A mixed people, dazzled by the richness of the Canaanite cities and their civilization, crossed the river Jordan, which gave it the name "Hebrews". It began to engage the Canaanite city-states and to seize them one by one, inflicting ruin and destruction, using all sorts of treachery and deception in order to drive a wedge between the Canaanite city-states. It took advantage of the absence of a unified Canaanite state that would be able to stand against the avid invaders and drive them back, as the Zionists do today in Palestine while taking advantage of the disagreement and weakness that inflict the Arabs. The war between the Canaanites and their adversaries

continued for about one hundred and fifty years and during that period the Hebrews managed to establish a state in Palestine. Soon after that it was split, because of the disputes among its leaders, until the Chaldeans came and put an end to it." (Ancient History of the Arabs, Grade 5, p. 43).

"Compare the attitude of the Hebrews then and the attitude of the Zionists presently." (Homework, Ancient History of the Arabs, Grade 5, p. 67)

"Damascus, Hama and Suba were Aramean kingdoms that fought the Hebrews many years and managed to put an end to their avidity." (Ancient History of the Arabs, Grade 5, p. 45)

"Among its [Assyria's] most famous kings is... Sargon II who expelled the Jews from Palestine." (History of Arab Civilization, Grade 10, p. 12)

"It [the Chaldean Empire] reached its utmost extension in the reign of their king Nebuchadnezzar who wanted to return to the region its Arab face, so he clashed with the Jews who had occupied part of Canaanite Palestine and who began to conspire against him and revolted. That made him put an end to them and destroy the cities they had occupied and lead them as captives to his capital, Babylon." (Ancient History of the Arabs, Grade 5, p. 27)

"Among their most famous kings is Nebuchadnezzar, and among his great deeds is the elimination of the Kingdom of Judea and sending the Jews as captives to Babylon." (History of Arab Civilization, Grade 10, p. 12)

"The Nabatean king had to protect the borders of his state and defend them. That led him to wars with the Jews." (Ancient History of the Arabs, Grade 5, p. 79)

## 12. Enemies of the Arabs and Muslims in the Middle Ages

The Prophet Muhammad's mission involved some antagonism with the Jews of his time, which is expressed in the Quran and in his relations with several Jewish tribes. The Syrian textbooks emphasize this antagonism and add other themes that depict the Jews unfavorably and as enemies of Islam and the Muslims.

"There dwelt in the city of Yathrib [Medina] two Arab tribes, Aws and Khazraj... And alongside these two tribes were three small Jewish tribes who stirred up hostility between the Aws and the Khazraj which generated wars to which many fell victim." (Ancient History of the Arabs, Grade 5, p. 147).

"Why did the Jews and the pagans want to eradicate the Muslims' state in enlightened Medina? ...What is our duty towards the enemies who lie in wait for our nation?" (Homework, Islamic Education, Grade 5, p. 141)

"The Prophet knew about the treacherous intention harbored in the Jews' souls." (Islamic education, Grade 6, p. 127)

"Why did the Jews incite the [pagan] tribes to invade Medina? ... Compare the position of the Jews towards the Prophet then with the present position of the Zionists towards the Arab nation." (Homework, History: The Era of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs, Grade 6, p. 51)

"The Prophet felt that time had come for punishing the Jews for their position that was full of deception and conspiracy." (History: The Era of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs, Grade 6, p. 55)

"As for the treacherous and disloyal Jews, they remained in Medina as criminals and sinners, waiting for the Muslims' verdict in their case." (Islamic Education, Grade 10, p. 113)

"The men [of the Jewish tribe of Qurayzah] were between 600-700 [in number]. A trench was dug for them in the market and they were beheaded there in front of the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, and his companions. [This way] God released the Muslims from the cunning of all the Jews of Medina." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 157)

"The Muslim should be cautious with the Jews." (Islamic Education, Grade 9, p. 49).

### 13. Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust are Justified

The Jews are presented as the sole cause for anti-Semitism.

"...the state of isolation in which the Jews were living in the societies where they were found as a result of their looking down on others in those societies..." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, pp. 89-90)

"Name the reasons for the grudge of the nations against the Jews in the societies where they live." (Homework, National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 92)

"During World War II Nazism persecuted millions of human beings in Europe and elsewhere and part of this persecution affected the Jews for the following reasons:

- Because of the non-mingling with the nations and the societies where they lived.
- Because of their control and monopoly over currency exchange, banks and commercial financing.
- [Because of] their treason toward their homeland, Germany, as they had put themselves in the service of the Allies." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 104)

"He [Hitler] became aware of the conditions of the Jews in Germany and of their role in weakening it and in its defeat in the [First World] War... The most important of these [Nazi] principles and ideas [were]: ... The

abolition of the Jews' rights because they are strangers to the German Aryan society, in addition to their impact on Germany's defeat in the First [World] War." (History of Modern Times, Grade 11, pt. 2, pp. 68-69)

#### 14. The Jews are Evil and deserve to be Eliminated

The Jews are presented as enemies of the Muslims, of all mankind, of the prophets and of God himself. They are portrayed as harboring an evil nature and criminal intentions that are rooted in their personality. They should therefore be eliminated.

"The Jews spare no effort in deceiving us, being hostile towards us, denying our noble Prophet, inciting against us and distorting the Divine Books... The Jews collaborate with pagans and atheists against the Muslims because they see that Islam unveils their cunning ways and evil nature." (Islamic Education, Grade 11, p. 33)

"The congruence of ethnic and religious racism reveals a reactionary notion condemned by humanity because it ranks the Jews higher than the other peoples and involves hostility and disdain towards the nations." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 95)

"The Children of Israel did not hold the prophets in esteem. They killed some of them and heaped charges against others, as they did to Moses, may peace be upon him, when they accused him of having killed Aharon. They [also] accused him of adultery and accused him of having a defect in his body... Therefore they deserved the punishment of God." (Islamic Education, Grade 10, pp. 171-172)

"The Jews held a grudge against him [Jesus] because they had found in his call a depreciation of their behavior and weakening of their influence, so they conspired against him." (History of Arab Civilization, Grade 10, p. 233)

"In the vicinity of the al-Aqsa Mosque in the land of Palestine the Jews, the enemies of God, attempted to crucify Christ [but] God rescued him from their plot." (Islamic Education, Grade 6, p. 56)

"[One] of the reasons for the hostility on the part of the Jews towards the Arabs is that God sent Muhammad as the Seal of the Prophets from [among] the Arabs, while they believed that prophethood was exclusively theirs." (Islamic Education, Grade 11, p. 33)

"The Jews, enemies of God, want to remain in Palestine in order to take hold of al-Aqsa Mosque." (Islamic Education, Grade 6, p. 57)

Hence the verdict.

"You have already learned of the attitude of the Jews who plotted to kill, loot and exterminate the Muslims [in the time of the Prophet]... That is the

characteristic of traitors and deceivers in any time and place. They make use of tolerance and gentleness as a hotbed and a loophole for their crimes and sins.

"If this [affair] points to anything, it points to the hostile [and] evil tendency that is rooted in the Jewish personality. That, in its turn, confirms that co-existence with them, or having them as neighbors, is an enormous danger that threatens Islamic and Arab existence with destruction and extinction.

"Therefore, the logic of genuine justice decrees against them one verdict the carrying out of which is unavoidable. Their criminal intention should be turned against them by way of their elimination [isti'sal]." (Islamic Education, Grade 10, pp. 115-116)

## Chapter IV: Zionism

### 15. Overview

Zionism, the national movement of the Jewish people desiring to reestablish its national home in its ancestral homeland, is portrayed as a 'racist-imperialist-colonialist-aggressive political movement' that exploits the Jewish religion in order to control vast areas of the Arab homeland in partnership with imperialism.

The Syrian textbooks present Zionist ideology as a reactionary one, based on old religious notions that there is a connection between the Jews and Palestine and a false allegation that the Jews are one people.

To further blacken this image, the essence of Zionism is described in the Syrian textbooks as similar to that of Nazism, or worse.

Zionism is presented as the most hostile movement threatening Arab nationalism and the Arab homeland in its entirety.

### 16. Presenting Zionism to Syrian Students

Zionism is presented to the students in the lower grades accompanied by negative epithets, such as "the Zionist aggressors" (Reader, Grade 2, pt. 1, p. 107), "the Zionist enemy" (Conversation, Reader, Expression and Recital, Grade 2, pt. 2, p. 20), "the filth of Zionism" (Islamic Education, Grade 6, p. 109) "the Zionist cancer" ("Palestine is Arab", Selected Stories, Grade 6, p. 52). It is further portrayed as the main identity of the enemy. Zionist soldiers, or simply "the Zionists", are the ones who kill Bassem's father in the story "The Small Lemon Tree" (Short Stories, Grade 5, pp. 8, 12 respectively). Zionists, rather than Israelis, are mentioned as occupiers and oppressors in the West Bank city of Nablus in the story "Palestine Is Arab" (Selected Stories, Grade 6, pp. 47, 49, 50, 54, 57).

From the eighth grade on, the presentation of Zionism becomes more systematic, albeit distorted, and a great effort to refute Zionist ideology is made in the Syrian textbooks, especially those on National-Socialist Education.

### 17. A Racist Movement Based on Lies and False Allegations

"Zionism is a racist-imperialist-colonialist-aggressive-expansionist political movement connected with imperialism, which makes use of the Jewish religion in order to realize its own goals regarding the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine and the neighboring lands." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 89)

"Racism: Racism [ probably a mistake and one should read: Zionism] regards the Zionist as superior to all humanity." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 93)

"The gravity of the racist tendency [in Zionism] has become manifest in statements by leaders of the Zionist movement. Herzl called for the rounding up of the Arab Palestinian people and for their collective extermination." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 95)

"Zionism is a racist political movement established by the Jews of Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century. It aimed for the creation of a national home for the Jews, but they differed regarding the definition of the area. They later agreed on Palestine." (Modern History of the Arabs, Grade 9, p. 97)

"Zionism is based on an old religious notion which claims that there is a connection between the Jews and Palestine... Zionism exploits this claim in order to exercise control over the Jews of the world. The Zionist notion was but a dream until the nineteenth century, the era of nationalism in Europe, when the Zionists transformed the religious notions into nationalistic ones." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 92)

"Zionism considers itself a nationalist ideology based on the allegation that the Jews are one people... From the outset, Zionism presented itself as an alternative to the Jewish Question and called upon all the Jews of the world to emigrate to the "Promised Land"... This call has been accompanied by a chauvinistic attitude characterized by discrimination, haughtiness and denial of others' rights. Their view of the Palestinian Arabs in particular was more racist than the Americans' view of the Indians." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 99)

"Zionist thought is based on many lies and allegations of which the most important ones [are the following]:

1. The Jews are one people of a common descent from which Jewish nationalism is formed and enjoys historical and cultural unity as well as unity of destiny.
2. Palestine and the adjacent Arab lands are the Jews' national home.
3. The Jews who live in various areas in the world should emigrate from their homelands and gather in Palestine." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 93)

"Zionist ideology is based in its general outlines on reactionary-fanatic foundations, hostile to national liberation and to all the world's powers of peace and progress. It expresses the interests of the Israeli leadership and of the Jewish bourgeoisie that is connected with international monopolies. As it sprang from imperialism and because it is connected with the latter's most aggressive and reactionary forces, it contributes to international political tension and intoxication." (Reader, Grade 12, p. 126)

"[Zionism] conducts massive propaganda [efforts] in all countries where Jewish communities [exist] in order to prevent the Jews from assimilating in the countries they reside in, with a view of isolating them from their peoples and misleading them [to believe] that they belong to the so-called "world Jewish nation"... Therefore we see that this ideology pays special attention... to the revival of the Jewish religion and the resurrection of the so-called distinct Jewish culture through the call for learning the Hebrew language and [through] the establishment of theaters and scientific institutes which have an "independent Jewish" character." (Reader, Grade 12, p. 127)

## 18. A Partner of Imperialism

"[It is] the foster son of imperialism... It is called 'World Zionism'... It has been [imperialism's] partner in the game of robbing the peoples and it got a share of the profit... It desired to establish a basis in the Arab region that would protect the interests of both partners." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 7, pp. 205-206)

"Imperialism has found in Zionism an important means to realizing its ambitions in the Arab homeland... Zionism on its part has found in imperialism the best ally for the realization of its [own] projects." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 98)

"Zionism is an integral part of the imperialist movement." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 100)

## 19. Zionism Resembles and Even Surpasses Nazism

"What is the difference between the essence of Nazism and the essence of Zionism? The Nazis were claiming racial superiority, while the Zionists claim that they are God's chosen people to whom all peoples of the world should submit... The Nazis justified the occupation of the lands of other [people] and their enslavement by their need for living space, while the Zionists occupy the lands of others under the pretext of guaranteeing security space for the state that they established unjustly and aggressively on the lands of others. The Nazis oppressed and expelled other peoples and the Zionists are doing the same thing today with the Arabs and tomorrow with the other Muslim peoples and others." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 93)

"The vigorous and long struggle of our brethren [in the Palestinian Intifada] has exposed the racist nature of Zionism in front of world public opinion... It has exposed [this] new Nazism... which has brought to perfection Hitler's lessons, amassed malice and become superior in crime until it has become a model of racist evil." (Reader, Grade 11, p. 49)

"The chauvinistic trend and the aggressive-military trend do not separate and they were the kernel of the Nazi movement in the 1930's of this

century. People usually forget that precedence in this trend belongs to Zionist thought. It preceded Nazism in time and surpassed it in clarity." (A publication by the Ba'ath Party, National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 99)

In addition, senior grade students are advised to read the notorious "Beware: Zionism!" by the Soviet propagandist Yuri Ivanov, translated into Arabic (History of Modern Times, Grade 11, pt. 2, p.182).

## 20. The Danger of Zionism

"Zionism is considered the most dangerous movement hostile to Arab nationalism, as it aims for the liquidation of the Arab presence and the settlement of the Jews of the world in Arab Palestine, with the help of imperialism." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 45)

"Zionism is the form of Imperialism most dangerous to the Arab and Muslim nation. That is so because it is an expansionist and colonialist movement and aggressive in its means and goals. It aims at the expulsion of the peoples of the Arab nation, at their humiliation, at the occupation of their lands and at the realization of its stupid dream of building the State of Zion from the Euphrates to the Nile." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 87)

"The colonialist-imperialist Zionist invasion of Palestine threatens the entire Arab homeland, because Zionism's desires do not stop at the borders of Palestine." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 75)

"Zionism's ambitions in the sphere of land occupation are not restricted to what has been [already] occupied. Rather, it aims at expanding at the expense of the Arabs in other regions of Arab land." (Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9, pp. 92-93)

## 21. The Arab Struggle against Zionism

"We are facing, in the [context of the] Arab-Israeli struggle, the world Zionist movement, that racist-expansionist-aggressive movement, which has generated a colonial invasion carried out by Israel, with unlimited support from the forces of... imperialism." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 48)

"The struggle between the Arab nation and the Zionist movement is a relentless, bitter and long one. It is so because this racist-Nazi movement intends to barbarically colonize an area in the Arab homeland stretching from the Euphrates to the Nile at the expense of the Arab nation and its national existence on its land and in its homeland..."

"The struggle between the Arab nation and Zionism had actually started when gangs of the strangers of the world began flocking to the territories of Palestine at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the

twentieth century. [But] it has taken shape in four wars that the Arab nation conducted against the racist Zionist enemy in the years 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973...

"We say that this [1973] war is not the end of the Arab struggle with racist Zionism. Rather, it is but a link in a series of wars of liberation that may be the lot of more than one generation of the Arab nation, until the liberation of the entire occupied soil is realized and until the Zionist imperialist-colonialist presence on Arab land is liquidated." (A party document, National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, pp. 96-97)

"Resisting world Zionism, as a racist-aggressive-expansionist movement connected with imperialism." (Position of the Ba'ath Party, National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 73)

## Chapter V: The portrayal of Israel and Israelis

### 22. Overview

As a sovereign state, Israel does not exist in Syrian textbooks. Its place on the map is always marked by Palestine and its name is sometimes given between quotation marks. In many other cases Israel is not referred to by its proper name but rather by variations of the term "Zionism".

Israel is depicted as an alien entity that Imperialism has planted in the midst of the Arab homeland in order to crush the Arabs. Hence, it is both illegitimate and artificial.

Apart from that, Israel is blamed as the source of innumerable troubles that have struck the Arab world and which are widely described to the Syrian students. First and foremost is what the Syrian textbooks define as the usurping of Arab Palestine in 1948 and the dispersal of the Palestinian people.

Among Israel's other 'vices' included in Syrian textbooks are: the oppression of those Palestinians who remained under Israeli control, working in the service of Imperialism against the Arab nation, expansionism, war and aggression against Arab states, inhibiting Arab progress and economic growth and striving to erase Palestinian and Arab national identity.

Israelis as individuals are stereotyped. Israeli society does not constitute a nation and is portrayed as racist and full of hatred towards the Arabs. Israeli soldiers are demonized: they love killing Arab children, torture Arab prisoners of war, rob the dead and tease fasting Muslims during the holy month of Ramadan. Even their appearance and smell are repulsive.

### 23. Israel is an Alien Entity Established in the Heart of the Arab Homeland

"...the establishment of a colonialist entity in Palestine in the year 1948 whose inhabitants have come from the various parts of the world."  
(Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9, p. 91)

"Imperialism has many goals which have pushed it to establish Israel on the Arab land of Palestine:

- Establishing an alien and a hostile human barrier in order to separate the eastern part of the Arab homeland from its western part." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 98)

"The struggle between the Arab nation and Zionism had actually started when gangs of the strangers of the world began flocking to the territories of Palestine at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century." (A party document, National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 96)

"An Arab people is uprooted from its land and incoming strangers are used by Imperialism and Zionism as a tool of oppression against the liberation movements in the region." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 7, p. 207)

"Our land was invaded by alien people who had come from distant lands..." (Reader, Grade 5, pt. 2, p. 45)

"The Zionists... had homes in their distant homelands... [but] the oppressors insisted on taking our own home." ("The Small Lemon Tree", Short Stories, Grade 5, p. 12)

"What would be your position if one day a person from the [other] end of the world came to you, from an unknown place, an unknown [person] whom you do not know and who does not know you, an alien person...[and] the alien who had come from the [other] end of the world is the one who planned intentionally to destroy your house above your head and do away with you, just to get rid of you and take over your home?" (Reader, Grade 11, p. 41)

"I imagined Palestine as a calm and peaceful nest... and a spotted snake that had sneaked in from the remote parts of the world, suddenly attacking all the nests." ("A Letter to My Son", Selected Stories, Grade 6, p. 140)

#### 24. Israel is an Artificial and Illegitimate Entity

"The state of the artificial Zionist entity." (History of Modern Times, Grade 11, pt. 2, p. 178)

"'Israel' usurped it [Palestine] by force." (Reader, Grade 6, pt. 2, p. 94)

"In our days that are full of the dangers of 'Israel' and of those who are behind 'Israel'..." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p. 121)

"The Zionists managed to establish... what they named the state of 'Israel'." (Geography of Greater Syria [Sham], Grade 5, p.36)

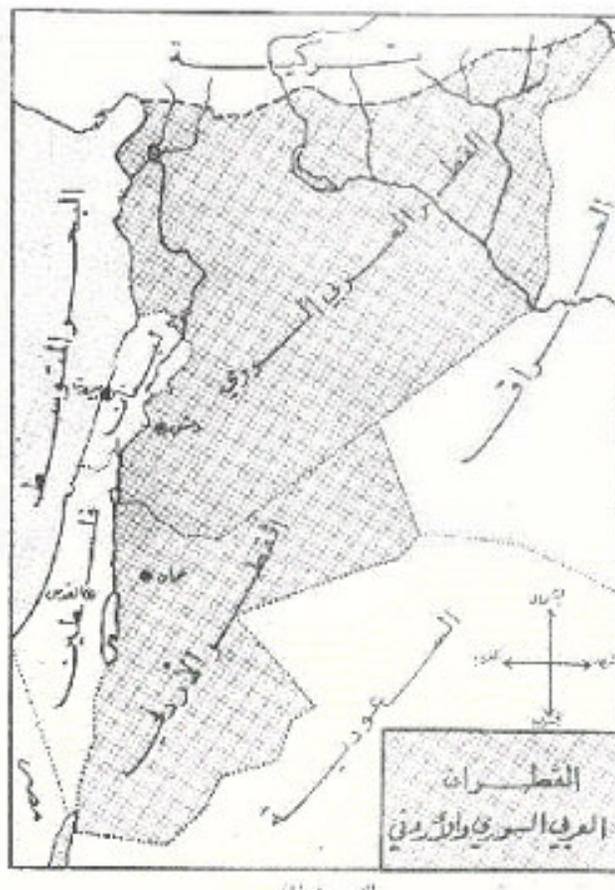
"'Israel' distributes among our sons in the occupied land identity cards notifying them that they belong to its forged identity. [the sense of] Arabism is firmly established in the depths of the heart and a false card cannot wipe it off." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 7, p. 210)

## 25. Israel does not Exist on Syrian Maps

There are numerous maps of Syria and the Arab world in the Syrian textbooks, especially geography textbooks. None of them shows the State of Israel, even within its pre-1967 borders. The whole country is named "Palestine".

Following are several examples:

Civics, Grade 4, p. 6:



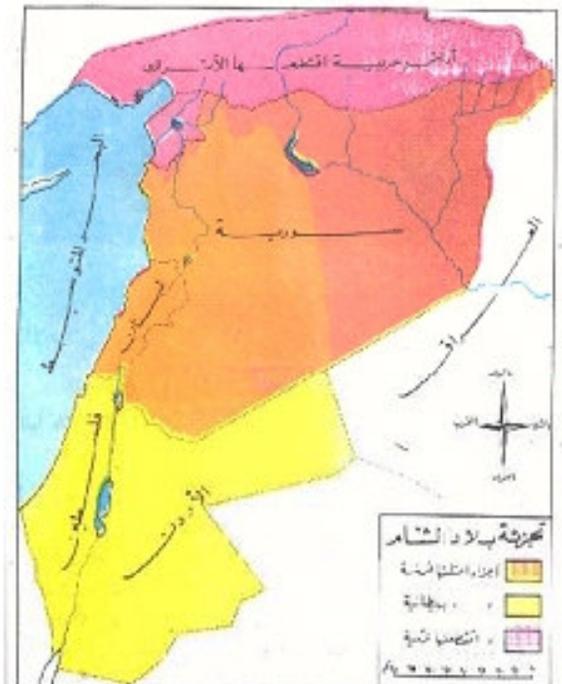
Geography of the Syrian Arab Country, Grade 8, p. 8:



Civics, Grade 6, p. 132:



Geography of Greater Syria [Sham], Grade 5, p.34:



## 26. Israel Usurped Palestine

"The establishment of the usurper state of Israel upon the land of Arab Palestine, [as] usurper people took the place of the peaceful folk of Palestine who were expelled from their land and driven away to live in camps and suffer from hunger, cold and disease." (Civics, Grade 6, p. 129)

"The Zionists managed, with the cooperation of the imperialist states in the year 1948, to establish what they named the State of "Israel" in part of the land of Arab Palestine." (Geography of Greater Syria [Sham], Grade 5, p. 36)

"Palestine's place among the Arab countries is like the heart's place within the body, for it is located in the midst of the Arab countries... "Israel" usurped it by force, evicted its sons, dispersed them and made them refugees who look back to their homeland and aspire to return to it." (Reader, Grade 6, pt. 2, p. 94)

"The Zionist movement, with the help of Imperialism, managed to usurp the land of Arab Palestine and establish upon it the state of Israel." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 45)

"They [Imperialism and Zionism] worked together to establish a political entity in the heart of the Arab homeland... That is how the so-called State of Israel was established. That is how the tragedy of Palestine took place." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 7, p. 207)

"The occupying Zionists usurped the land of Palestine." (Islamic Education, Grade 5, p. 134)

"What is the Arab country that the Zionist invaders have usurped? What is the Arabs' position regarding the usurping of the occupied land?" (Homework, Civics, Grade 5, p. 112)

"Bassem asked with his eyes filled with big tears: Why did the Zionists kill my father and why did they expel us from our land? Bassem's mother said: The Zionists killed him, and they would kill all our people and expel us all from our homeland if they could. They had homes in their distant homelands... [but] the oppressors insisted on taking our home." ("The Small Lemon Tree", Short Stories, Grade 5, p. 12)

The text is accompanied by a picture of a man being executed by soldiers and another of a woman carrying a baby and holding a small boy by the hand while wandering in a desolate landscape:



"The Small Lemon Tree", Short Stories, Grade 5, p.9

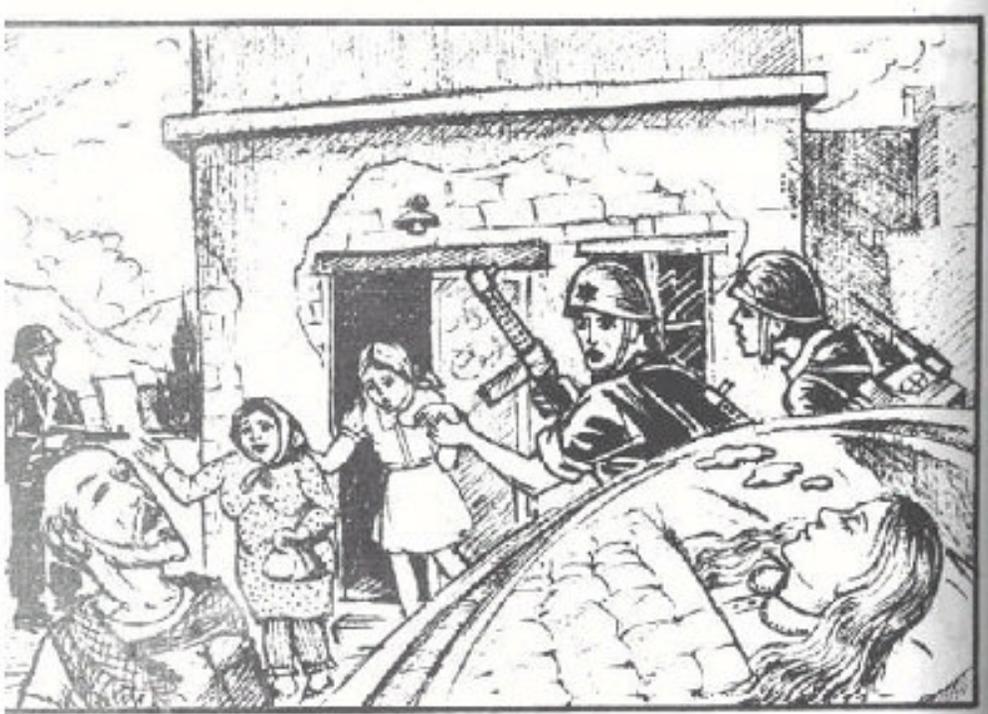


"The Small Lemon Tree", Short Stories, Grade 5, p.11

"Layla finished writing her homework, then she approached her father and mother and said to them: I am going to bed. Good night. Only a few moments had passed since she fell asleep when she heard many shots. She got up from her bed confused... She opened the window and saw in the dark armed men expelling her father and mother from the house... They entered her room and ... dragged her harshly by her hand ... and threw Layla into the street... Layla screamed... Then she felt her mother's hand

shaking her and waking her up. It was an annoying dream and she told her parents what she had seen in her dream. Father said: That is what happened in Palestine." ("This is Our Land", Reader, Grade 5, pt. 2, pp. 43-45)

The text, which is designed to bring the Palestinian problem directly into young Syrian's minds, is accompanied by a picture in which soldiers who have the Star of David on their helmets are evicting an Arab family from its house:



## 27. Israel Tries to Exterminate the Palestinians

"Zionism takes organized and studied measures against the Arabs of the occupied land with the objective of getting rid of them, so that the land will remain for the Zionists alone. Some of these measures are the following..."

- The expulsion of the inhabitants as part of a general plan to empty the occupied areas of the Arabs.
- Collective extermination: Israeli authorities carry out campaigns of collective extermination in order to get rid of the Arab inhabitants, as happened in Deir Yassin in 1948, Kafr Qassem in 1956 and other massacres." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, pp. 103-104)

"The Palestinians have been exposed to a tragedy unprecedented in history, except the annihilation of the Indians in the USA." (Modern History of the Arabs, Grade 9, p. 174)

"It [Israel] has driven many of them [the Palestinians] out of Palestine and spread fear and fright among the Arab inhabitants by way of collective massacres, as happened in Deir Yassin, Kafr Qassem and the Sanctuary of Abraham [in Hebron]." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 113)

"[Israel] confronts the Arab demographic presence by stopping its increase and growth by means of oppression, terror, arbitrariness, murder, forced emigration and dispersion of the main residential concentrations, so that they would not constitute a danger to it." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 115)

"Israel tries painstakingly to dissolve the Palestinian society, disrupt its economy and turn the Palestinians into a hired working class in order to facilitate their uprooting from their land." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 112)

## 28. Israel Oppresses the Palestinians and Strives to Erase Their Arab National Identity

"The Arabs of Palestine have been subject to a military government since 1948, which has applied oppressive rules curbing their freedoms, preventing their moving about, restricting their residence and work [opportunities] in a way that left them under the mercy of the military governor." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 104)\*

\*[The military government over the Arab citizens of Israel was abolished in 1966.]

"'Israel' distributes identity cards among our sons in the occupied land notifying them that they belong to its forged entity. [The sense of] Arabism is firmly established in the depths of the heart and a false card cannot wipe it off." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 7, p. 210)\*

\*[Israel has granted its Arab inhabitants full citizenship including the use of the ordinary identity card. It is inscribed in both Hebrew and Arabic.]

"Most Arab residential areas are deprived of drinking water, electricity, paved roads, hospitals and clinics, and [deprived of the right] of establishing learned and social associations." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 113)\*

\*[Most Arab residential areas in Israel have these basic facilities today. Absolutely no one is deprived of the right of establishing learned and social associations.]

"The Israeli curricula in the Arab areas concentrate on distorting the Arab national concept." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 112)

"The racial discrimination against the Arabs becomes clear in [the field of] culture and education, as most of the Palestinian Arabs are deprived of educational opportunities." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 112)

"Non-education of the Arabs: Israel fights Arab culture by closing down schools and universities on any occasion and stands against the development of Arab education." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 103)

#### "Schemes for the Obliteration of Arab National Identity

The imperialist states and Israel have announced the project of Middle Easternism, which aims at realizing the following:

- Rejecting the concept of Arab nationalism, Arab unity and Arab solidarity.
- Justifying the legitimacy of Israel's existence of the region, so that Israel would consider itself one of the national states in the region, assuming that the Middle East includes a large variety of nationalities, as it claims." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 116)

### 29. Israel is a Colonialist Entity in the Service of Imperialism against the Arabs

"...the establishment of an Israeli colonialist entity on the land of Palestine, the expulsion of its sons and the attempt to exterminate them." (Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 6, p. 34)

"Israel is an imperialist-colonialist state and at the same time it is a tool of imperialism in the world." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 100)

"The Zionist entity in Palestine belongs to the type of colonialist imperialism... This entity combines imperialism of both settlement and exploitation." (Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9, p. 92)

"[Israel] is the most vicious and most dangerous form of colonialist imperialism." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 136)

"Imperialism used numerous and diverse means and methods in order to gain control. Among them... immigration and settlement. Some of the citizens of the imperialist state would emigrate in large groups to settle in a certain country... As for the [indigenous] inhabitants of that country, they are treated as slaves and are often exposed to oppression, forced

emigration or extermination. This is what the Europeans did in parts of Africa, and the Zionists in Palestine." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 81)

"The establishment of Israel constitutes the peak of the Imperialist provocation against the Arab nation:

- Israel has become the principal frontal base of Imperialism against the Arabs.
- Consolidating the state of division which contradicts the natural situation of the Arab nation.
- Striking at the Arab liberation movements.
- Hindering economic, social and cultural growth and keeping the Arab homeland in a state of anarchy and backwardness." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, pp. 114-115)

"Colonialism established Israel, and Imperialism continues to support Israel with all the essential elements of force, so that it would continue to be a base for imperialism and an executor of its plans to strike at the liberation movements in the Arab homeland." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 89)

"Following its domination of Palestine, Israel has endeavored to expand, dominate the Arab homeland and carry out the Imperialistic designs. It is a base for imperialism because their ambitions are not separate and because it fulfils the mission for which Imperialism created it." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 47)

"Israel has been a frontal base for it [Imperialism], carrying out its designs and protecting its vital interests in the Arab region... After the Colonialist tide had subsided, Israel became an important alternative representing it by its existence on the Arab land." ( National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 98)

"Imperialism has many goals which have pushed it to establish Israel on the Arab land of Palestine:

- Establishing an alien and hostile human barrier in order to separate the eastern part of the Arab homeland from its western part.
- The control of Palestine means control over the Suez Canal which is the most important sea passageway in the world.
- Israel would protect Imperialism's interests of which the most important is the Arab oil.
- Hindering the Arabs' progress and preserving their backwardness, because the Arab countries would allocate a large part of their resources for defense while confronting Zionist ambitions.
- Resisting the Arab liberation movement and striking at any of its successful accomplishments. Israel executed that through the aggression of June 1967 when it tried to strike at the liberated regimes in Syria and Egypt." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, pp. 98-99)

"Zionist imperialism represents the classical form of colonial imperialism which has been turned into an Imperialist frontal base inside the Arab homeland, of which the mission is carrying out the Imperialist policy, inhibiting the national liberation movement, stabilizing [the present state of Arab] division and backwardness, and foiling Arab development plans, thus creating focuses of tension and a threat to peace and security in the region." (History of Modern Times, Grade 11, pt. 2, pp. 107-108)

"Israel constitutes an economic frontal base of Imperialism." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 116)

### 30. Israel is Racist

"...in order to create favorable circumstances for the Zionist entity to justify its religious and racist existence as a racist Jewish Zionist state." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 67)

"Racial discrimination... is applied against the Arabs on a religious and national basis." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 103)

"The policy of racial discrimination and apartheid has encompassed all aspects of Palestinian life in Israel." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p.113)

### 31. Israel is Aggressive and Expansionist

"Follow the [Syrian] mass media: radio, television, newspapers, magazines, for a week, and write an essay in which you will show that Israel does not stop its aggressions and inhumane acts against the Arab people. [You should be] showing that this state was established in war, and is based on the continuation of the war. [You should show as well that] nothing will break its vigor and arrogance except the language it understands, because it does not respect [any] right, nor does it abide by [any] obligation, and it ignores all international agreements and conventions." (Homework, National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 148)

"Aggression finds its expression... in the belief of Zionist thinking that force is the best means to achieving goals... The Zionists have been anxious to take care of military preparation and the use of force in order to intimidate, destroy and assure Israeli military superiority, accompanied by concepts of arrogance, deterrence and annihilation..." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 96)

"Zionism established its state by force and aggression, knowing that its survival will be realized only by force. Therefore it concentrated on its military forces and has made them a tool of its recurring attacks against the Arab states." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 93)

"Israel is the enemy of peace. It believes only in the logic of oppressive force. It relies only on weapons." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 69)

"Racism necessitates constant expansion... with the objective of swallowing up new lands... Zionism's expansionist goals are manifest in its constant refusal to withdraw from the occupied Arab lands." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 95)

"Is Israel content with the Arab land it has occupied, or has it further ambitions?" (Grammar, Grade 9, p. 73)

"Israel... thinks only about expansion in the Arab land and about imposing its hegemony over the remaining parts thereof." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 69)

"They have established a state, supported by the forces of Imperialism, which strove to expand at the expense of the neighboring independent Arab countries, by waging wars from time to time, like the war of June 1967 and the invasion of Lebanon in the year 1982." (Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9, p. 91)

"The ambitions of the Zionist enemy in Palestine and in the [rest of] the Arab land have no limits and we do not know where they stop." (Reader, Grade 6, pt. 2, p. 95)

"The essence of the Zionist policy is based on annexation, expansion and appropriation. It is a completion of Palestine's appropriation and detachment operation that started in the year 1948 and has not yet ended." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 116)

"Israel plans to expand its territory at the expense of the neighboring Arab states... It intends to annex Sinai, the west and east banks of the Jordan [river] and some adjacent areas in Syria and Lebanon as a first step, in order to reach later the Euphrates and the Nile." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, pp. 45-46)\*

\*[The Sinai Peninsula was given back to Egypt completely following the signing of the peace treaty between the two countries in 1979. Israel returned to Syria territories it held beyond the Golan Heights under the Disengagement Agreement of 1974. In 1985 Israel withdrew from vast areas it held in Lebanon following the 1982 war. Under the peace treaty with Jordan in 1994, Israel withdrew from certain border areas.]

"The Zionist leaders...emphasize their gradual aspirations regarding the nucleus of the Zionist state as follows: The whole of Palestine, south Lebanon - including the cities of Sidon and Tyre as well as the sources of the Litani river and Mount Hermon, the Jordan valley and the eastern heights [i.e., parts of the Kingdom of Jordan], south-western Syria - including the Golan Heights and part of Hawran as well as the Yarmuk river and al-Hama and a part of the lands of Egypt [stretching] from al-

Arish to the Gulf of Aqaba." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 114)\*

\*[Al-Hama is an area constituting a part of the State of Israel proper. It was occupied by Syria in 1951 and held by it until 1967.]

"This way Zionist colonialism realized the goal it had determined for the third stage, which is the establishment of a Zionist state in Palestine. Will it stop at this limit or is there a fourth stage? The history of Zionism makes it clear to any sound-minded person that it strives to establish a homeland that will stretch from the Nile to the Euphrates. There is no doubt that the Arabs are threatened with a huge catastrophe if they do not pay attention to this imminent danger and work for its elimination." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p.131)

### 32. Israel is Compared to a Spreading Cancer

"Zionist colonialism... most resembles a malignant and deadly cancer which has clung to one part of the heart of the Arab homeland - occupied Palestine - and then has tried to spread and thrive at the expense of the other parts of the Arab homeland and at the expense of the Arab nation as a whole." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 96)

"Israel" which was established on the land of Palestine, strives to expand in a cancer-like manner at the expense of the remaining parts of the Arab homeland." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 112)

### 33. Israel is a Threat to the Whole Arab World and an Obstacle to Arab Unity

"Zionist colonialism is the greatest danger that threatens the Arab states." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p. 127)

"The aggression that has occupied the [Palestinian] land threatens the whole [Arab] homeland and the whole [Arab] people." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 81)

"The establishment of Israel on the land of Palestine has created a barrier separating the eastern and western parts of the Arab homeland. It thus stabilized [the state of Arab] division and prevented the establishment of Arab unity." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 47)

"The grave injustice that has befallen the people of Palestine since the beginning of the Imperialist-Zionist design to usurp the land of Palestine, has hit the entire Arab nation because the objective of this design in the first place is tearing apart the Arab homeland and putting obstacles on the road to Arab unity." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 91)

#### 34. Israel Supports Localism and Sectarianism in the Arab World

"The localist tendency [which is opposed to Arab unity] attracts the attention of the Imperialist and Zionist apparatus which endeavors to fan it... Likewise, Imperialism and Zionism employ sectarianism as a means to dividing and weakening any Arab country, as happened in Lebanon." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 11, pp. 37-38)

#### 35. Israel is the Cause of Arab Backwardness

"The existence of Israel in the heart of the Arab homeland has put the region in a constant state of tension and made the Arabs allocate a large part of their wealth to the war effort... and this situation causes backwardness." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 48)

#### 36. Israel is All Evil

"Israel has done evil and has been overtaken by illusion. Arrogance has filled the heads of its leaders, which made them continue deep into crime and enjoy aggression. Black malice against our people and against humanity fills their hearts and they are possessed by thirst for bloodshed. Their moves are directed by contempt for the principles and ideals of humanity and for international laws and resolutions." (President Hafez Assad in a speech to Syrian soldiers on October 6, 1973, National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 144)

"The Zionist entity in Palestine... aims at human extermination, at the suppression of the national spirit and at the obliteration of the Arabs' religious, cultural and historical personality, besides the spreading of ignorance, poverty and disease among the Arab citizens." (Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9, p. 92)

"The Zionist enemy in our occupied land perpetrates lots of vile actions that are shunned by any human being. This enemy does not hesitate to commit the greatest crimes, as he did in Sabra and Shatila." (Grammar and Dictation, Grade 6, p. 109)

"You, the ones that shed my blood  
That took away the light from my eyes...  
That usurped the right of a peaceful people who did not commit a crime..." ( Modern Arab Literature, Grade 12, pp. 109-110)

### 37. Israelis are not a Nation

"...the establishment of a colonialist entity in Palestine in the year 1948 whose inhabitants have come from various parts of the world. They are not connected to each other neither by race nor by language, and are not united by [any] nationalism." (Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9, p. 91)

"The Israeli society includes people who came from ninety countries, each of them having his own customs, traditions and distinct life style, and living an unenviable life of mental and social dissonance." (Reader, Grade 12, p. 129)

### 38. Israelis are Full of Malice towards the Arabs

Malice [hiqd] is a strong word in Arabic and it is used in this context quite often. Most people have no idea of this virulent accusation and will probably be surprised to learn how much Syrian, and Arab media in general, count on this alleged characteristic of the Israelis in order to incite the Arab audience. There are numerous examples in the Syrian textbooks of this phenomenon.

"The Israeli society is fanatic and looks at the Arabs with malice and disdain." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 103)

"We are facing a problem unprecedented in history: a problem of a people dispersed, who has been robbed of its homeland, and of an unfair, racist and malicious enemy who does not hesitate to perpetrate any crime." ("A Letter to My Son", Selected Stories, Grade 6, p. 141)

"The ruins of Quneitra... tell of the black malice of the invaders. The stone's is an unforgetting memory and the peoples' is an unmerciful revenge." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 7, p. 43)

"You blew up in the holy march [of 1973] the fortresses that the enemies' malice had built and erected." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 9, p. 114)

"No matter how much the enemy try to conceal its malice, it becomes visible from its deeds." (Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 11, p. 32)

"[Zionism's] goal is well-known: gathering the Jews of the world under the umbrella of the malicious Zionist ideas in a racist state." (Reader, Grade 12, p. 130)

"They kill the flowers, the children, the wheat and the dew beads  
And they lay enmities, malice, graves and knives" (Modern Arab Literature, Grade 12, p. 109)

### Israelis kill Arab children

"The teacher said: The enemy is infatuated with killing children. The camp commander said: Did they not kill the children of Bahr al-Baqar and the children of the village of Dael? The teacher said further: They kill the children so that they would not grow up and defend their nation."  
("Hunting the Wolf Alive", Short Stories, Grade 5, pp. 78-79)

### Israelis torture Arab prisoners of war to death

"In the last session, the patience of the interrogator came to an end and the volcano of his historical malice erupted in a form I had never witnessed in my life... He fell upon me with blows from both his hands, aiming his blows at my wounds... In front of an enemy whose malice has no match and an interrogator who does not have mercy, there, I bled to death."  
(Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p. 175)

### Israelis rob the dead

"The Israeli forces entered Quneitra [in the Golan Heights, in 1967]. Then the town fell victim to one of the biggest robbery operations in history. Even the cemeteries were desecrated in a search for the jewelry of the dead." (Reader, Grade 10, p. 9)

### Israelis tease fasting Muslims

"The Zionist planes [during the 1973 war] were playing with the inhabitants of Damascus in Ramadan at the time of the fast breaking, so that the people would hurry to the shelters leaving behind them their food and drink. The Zionists knew that, and they would repeat it once or twice a week." (Reader, Grade 12, p.33)

## 39. Israelis' Appearance and Smell are Repulsive

This theme is used with students of the lower grades.

"On their faces there is an insolent expression, an expression that does not appear [on any face] except on the face of a person obtaining something he actually does not dream of." ("Palestine is Arab", Selected Stories, Grade 6, p. 61)

"He examined their faces quickly and then stopped at one of them with an unfamiliar shape and disgusting mustache. He felt towards him special alienation. Then he looked at all of them and saw the same strange look and the same repugnant mustache." ("Palestine is Arab" Selected Stories, Grade 6, pp. 64-65)

"Their faces were frowning like those of devils." ("This is Our Land", Reader, Grade 5, pt. 2, p. 44)

"A permeating smell returned me to consciousness. It is his [the wolf's] smell, that smell that my nose cannot miss... Suddenly I saw him among the bushes. He was crumpled muttering in a language I did not understand and in front of him was a strange appliance." ("Hunting the Wolf Alive", Short Stories, Grade 5, pp. 76-77)

## Chapter VI: Jerusalem

### 40. Overview

According to Syrian textbooks Jerusalem was established by an Arab people 4,500 years ago and has been inhabited by Arabs ever since. The Jews are never mentioned as inhabitants of the city, neither in the past nor in the present. The Syrian textbooks do not refer to Jerusalem as a city holy to the Jews, nor are their holy places there mentioned alongside those of Muslims and Christians.

The presence of the Jews in Jerusalem is portrayed as that of foreign occupiers. They are also accused of violating the holy places of both Muslims and Christians. Hence, it is the duty of every Muslim to evict them all from the city. Such an action assumes the character of purification, since the Jews defile the place with their mere presence.

### 41. A City Founded by the Ancient Arabs which has been Arab Ever Since

"[Jerusalem] is the Canaanite city of Jebus." (History of Arab Civilization, Grade 10, p. 171)

"Jerusalem is considered among the most ancient cities of the world. It used to be called Jebus, after its inhabitants, the Jebusites, who built it in the year 2500 BC. They are relatives of the Canaanites, for they emigrated from Yemen with the second Arab wave towards the land of Syria." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 118)

"Jerusalem is Arab and our forefathers lived there for thousands of years." (Reader, Grade 3, pt. 2, p. 25)

### 42. An Arab City Occupied by Israel

"Jerusalem is Arab and our forefathers lived there for thousands of years. But the Zionist aggressors have occupied the city of Jerusalem and killed and expelled many of its people... Jerusalem is Arab... and it will remain Arab forever." (Reader, Grade 3, pt. 2, p. 25)

"In what Arab country is the city of Jerusalem to be found? Who occupies this city now?" (Civics, Grade 4, p. 9)

"Jerusalem today is an injured city. Her blood flows and the echo of her call for help fills the horizon. For she is under Zionist occupation and her

people have to suffer ill treatment. (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p. 196)

"Jerusalem will remain Arab, and will remain the light of freedom

Our nation's flag will be flown high, in spite of barbarism

Above her summits, in spite of [all] trials

Above her hills, over [all] times

The Arab people will liberate her, and eliminate the usurper's existence

And return her smile to her, so she shall become a lighthouse for every proud [man]

For Jerusalem is ours, in spite of [all] trials

Jerusalem is ours, over [all] times

All the children shout, in a roaring and a loud voice:

Jerusalem has been our nation's, and she will remain [so] for generations

Jerusalem is ours, in spite of [all] trials

Jerusalem is ours, over [all] times." (Conversation, Reader, Expression and Recital, Grade 2, pt. 2, p. 29)

"Connect each word with the one that suits it:

Jerusalem - Arab [Jerusalem is Arab]." (Conversation, Reader, expression and Recital, Grade 2, pt. 2, p. 21)

#### 43. A Holy City to Muslims and Christians. Jews are not Mentioned in This Context

"[Jerusalem] is a blessed city among Muslims and Christians alike in all parts of the world." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p. 194)

"It [Jerusalem] has an important religious position among Christians and Muslims." (History of Arab Civilization, Grade 10, p. 171)

44. Only the Muslim and Christian Holy Places are Mentioned, not the Jewish Ones

"It is the pure city that God has blessed... Christ lived there... and Muhammad went thither [in his Midnight Journey - Isra' - according to Muslim belief] and thence he ascended to Heaven [Mi'raj - according to Muslim belief]... Al-Aqsa Mosque is there, as well as the Dome of the Rock... and the Holy Sepulcher. (Reader, Grade 3, pt. 2, pp. 24-25)"

45. Israel Desecrates the Muslim and Christian Holy Places in Jerusalem

"In Jerusalem we have brethren whose Sanctuary has become the spoils of the wolves. (Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 12, p. 130)

"Our enemies... allow their soldiers to become insolent towards the Holy Sanctuary. They already inspired one of their citizens to set fire to the al-Aqsa Mosque... History shall not forgive them for this abominable crime which offended the sentiments of Arabs and Muslims in all places." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p. 196)\*

\*[Al-Aqsa Mosque was set on fire in 1969 by a mentally-ill Christian Australian tourist, not by an Israeli citizen.]

"The continuous assault on the holy places, as al-Aqsa Mosque has been exposed to arson more than once, the assault on the Holy Sepulcher, offenses against Christian clergymen and their imprisonment, violation of the sanctity of al-Aqsa Mosque by Israeli soldiers and settlers challenging the sentiments of Arabs and Muslims before and after every Friday prayer and, lastly, Israel's latest attempt to dig the tunnel underneath the al-Aqsa Mosque building in order to destroy it..." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 118)

46. Muslims Should Liberate the Holy Places from the Jews

"The defense of al-Aqsa is a duty of every Muslim, male and female, because God has purified it and has blessed its surroundings, and it is impermissible that the enemies of God defile it." (Islamic Education, Grade 6, p. 57)

"There will be no peace of mind so long as al-Aqsa Mosque and the Holy Sepulcher are in the hands of the oppressors." (Grammar, Grade 10, p. 61)

"The capital of Arab Palestine shall not return to her original owners except by [sacrifice of] soul and blood, and that is a trust tied to our necks." (Reader and Literary texts, Grade 8, p. 196)



Reader, Grade 6, pt.2, p. 94

## Chapter VII: Rejection of Peace with Israel/Acknowledgement of the "Peace Process"

### 47. Overview

Peace with Israel is regarded as treason, surrender and submissiveness. It is in this light that the peace treaty of 1979 between Egypt and Israel and the abortive agreement of 1983 between Lebanon and Israel are described. Syrian students learn from their textbooks that their own country has been a champion of the battle against peace with Israel.

The Syrian textbooks explain why Syria entered the peace process and what that peace really means. The expression "peace with Israel" is not to be found anywhere in the Syrian textbooks. Rather, they talk of a vague regional peace, without going into concrete details.

The peace process is perceived as a continuation of the old struggle against Zionism by other means, taking into account the present international circumstances. Sometimes it is called "the battle of peace" [ma'rakat al-salam].

Peace is portrayed as conditional and one-sided. On one hand, its price is to be paid by Israel alone: full withdrawal and full recognition of the Arab rights which remain unspecified. On the other hand, Syria is not called upon to give up any of its principles in return for peace: nothing is said about recognizing the State of Israel and its right to exist within its pre-1967 borders.

### 48. A Champion of the Battle against Peace with Israel since It Means Surrender and Treason

"The Syrian Arab country has rejected all the yielding surrender attempts which aim at the loss of the Arab nation's rights and especially the right of the Palestinian Arab people to liberation and return... We should be alert and watchful of the enemy's deception and cunning and reject any call for peace with it." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 88)

"Revolutionary Syria... has rejected the course of surrender and treacherous negotiation." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 43)

"We should believe that any hand extended for peace with the aggressors is a criminal hand that must be cut off, because that is an open treason against Islam and the Muslims. On this basis we judge the position of the conspiring agent, who violated his nation's will and his religion's instructions, [Egypt's late President] Anwar Sadat, as well as what he did, beginning in the disgraceful and treacherous visit to Israel and ending in his despicable and shameful negotiations." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 88)

"Anwar Sadat signed with the Zionist entity the so-called "Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty"... It called for alleged peace between the Zionist entity, on the one hand, and the Egyptian regime and the Arab countries neighboring the Zionist entity, on the other hand. This is another treacherous step on the road to ending the Arab-Zionist struggle in the interest of the enemy, imposing surrender solutions, relinquishing occupied Arab land and neglecting the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, pp. 57-58)

"Some of the weak souls have not benefited from the lessons of history and are still running after the surrender solutions." (Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 7, p. 106)

"Let them [our youth] reject all the agreements of submissiveness and surrender which the traitors and the renegades present to them in a favorable light." (Islamic Education, Grade 9, pp. 66-67)

"The [Syrian] President said in a speech of his: Israel threatens the Arabs and says: I want you to comply with what I design and I say: Either my peace which means your surrender or my war which means your destruction." (Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 11, p. 166)

"The Arab-Socialist Ba'ath Party... has called for the... rejection of peace, negotiations and recognition of the Zionist entity." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 66)

"The Arab-Socialist Ba'ath Party under the leadership of the Fighting Leader Hafez Assad rejected the treacherous conspiracies as well as the surrender treaties and agreements which the Egyptian regime had concluded with the Zionist entity and looked for ways to oppose them." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 58)

"Syria... contributed to the establishment of the [Arab] Steadfastness and Opposition Front, following the visit by [Egypt's president Anwar] Sadat to Jerusalem [in Nov. 1977]." (Modern History of the Arabs, Grade 9, p. 160)

"The Syrian-Arab country, under the leadership of the Arab-Socialist Ba'ath Party and its Secretary General the Fighting Comrade Hafez Assad, managed to annul the submissiveness agreement [signed between Israel and Lebanon in May 1983, under the auspices of the US]." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 59)

"Israel tries to mislead world public opinion by its acceptance of the negotiation with the Arabs and by its desire for peace, but a peace in its own special sense which means the Arabs' surrender, without [Israel's] implementation of the resolutions of international legality. The Fighting Leader Comrade Hafez Assad described Israel's game regarding the peace process saying: In spite of its claim that it wants peace, Israel is doing the opposite in word and in deed." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 107)

"Israel shall not give up its expansionist ambitions and shall not change its mentality of hegemony and expansion. Therefore, we must prepare for the defense of our land and homeland and not to place much hope in the possibilities of peace, because Israel is a state of invasion and aggression. It pursues them rather than pursuing peace." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 109)

#### 49. The "Peace Process" is the Continuation of the Struggle against Israel

The "peace process", or as it is sometimes called the "battle of peace", is a code word for pursuing the struggle against the existence of Israel while adapting it to the present international circumstances. Furthermore, by joining the peace process Syria has gained international standing and respect.

"The Arab people of Syria took upon itself the greatest burden in the confrontation and offered great sacrifices in both lives and property for the sake of the Arab nation's honor and dignity. Syria is now conducting a political battle stronger and more ferocious than the armed battle in order to recover the Arabs' rights for the sake of the Arab nation's future and progress... That is the battle of peace." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 65)

"The facts of the present phase of our Arab history, especially regarding our confrontation with the Zionist enemy, stress the importance of Arab cooperation, whether in war or in the battle of peace." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 53)

"Our nation still continues its struggle against the Zionist invasion, accommodating its circumstances and the recent struggle methods while emphasizing international legality as embodied in the UN resolutions 338, 242, 425 and the exchange of land for peace. Just and comprehensive Peace." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 148)

"Liberating the Arab land that Israel has occupied... Establishing just and comprehensive peace that will return the Arabs' right... Supporting the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people for the recovery of its rights and the establishment of its independent state with Jerusalem as its capital." (Goals of the Syrian regime under Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 7, pp. 64-65)

"Syria has gained an international standing, thanks to its leader's wise way and instructions which take inspiration from the interest of Syria and the Arabs, especially regarding the peace process which the Leader Assad described, saying: peace means equal dignity to all." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 7, p. 60)

"Syria has obtained the respect and support of the European states, the Great Powers and the international community because of its position

regarding the peace process, that battle which it [Syria] wages presently with utmost courage and firmness for the recovery of the Arabs' right in return for spreading security and peace in the region." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 132)

## 50. Conditional and One-Sided Peace

Full withdrawal and full recognition of the "Arab rights" is the price demanded for peace, without any commitment regarding the recognition of Israel and its right to exist.

"Syria has agreed to enter the peace process in the region in response to the international initiative and on the basis of the implementation of the Security Council resolutions 242, 338, 425 - which stipulate the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab lands, and on the basis of the land-for-peace principle. All the developments and events in the region have emphasized that it is impossible to reach a real, just and comprehensive peace in the region without Syria. That is what the Fighting Leader, Comrade Hafez Assad, has often called for, namely, that Syria is heading towards peace provided that it is just and comprehensive, which would return the land and the rights to their owners, remove injustice and put an end to occupation and aggression. This is the peace of the brave which will open the horizons of progress and prosperity for the region." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 66)

"[Homework:] Extract from the following statement by the Fighting Leader Comrade Hafez Assad, the importance of achieving the peace which we are pursuing.[The statement:] We want peace indeed. We see and understand that everyone has an interest in that peace. But we also oppose anyone who tries to turn peace into a monopolized interest of his. We oppose him. No one will ever be able to make peace with Syria without Syria's consent, since it holds on to its interests and rights, and first and foremost - its occupied land... We have a right that we cannot relinquish. Giving up any part of the homeland means giving up the [whole] homeland... [It means] submission at the expense of [our] rights, destiny and future." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, pp. 68-69)

"We are for peace [which is] in accordance with the UN resolution. It is the peace that accomplishes the return of the land and the return of the usurped rights." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 83)

## Chapter VIII: Liberation of Palestine; Liquidation of Israel

### 51. Overview

Syrian textbooks strive to present the liberation [tahrir] of Palestine as a main goal of Syria as well as an all-Arab and all-Muslim duty.

The liberation and the struggle in itself are also regarded as a means to reasserting Arab and Muslim dignity, since the loss of Palestine to the Jews is perceived as humiliation and disgrace. Thus, the Palestinians, who die fighting Israel, die on the field of honor.

The full liberation of Palestine means the liquidation [tasfiyah] of the State of Israel and the Syrian textbooks do not conceal that. On the contrary, such liquidation is mentioned as a goal and appears in the Ba'ath Party resolutions (see below). Moreover, the liquidation of the State of Israel is even further extended to become an act of purification, that is, purifying Palestine of the Zionist "filth", as Syrian students learn. In one case, the liquidation of Israel assumes the metaphor of killing a dangerous snake.

According to Syrian textbooks, liberation will be achieved by force alone and the liquidation of Israel is but a matter of time. Both the October War of 1973 and the Palestinian Intifadah are seen as a prelude to the great war of liberation and liquidation.

### 52. Liberation of Palestine is an Official Syrian Goal

#### "The Goals of the Party's State on the All-Arab Level

##### 2. Liberation of Palestine and the usurped lands" (Civics, Grade 6, p. 128)

"Your Syrian Arab country, under the leadership of the Arab-Socialist Ba'ath Party, has supported the Palestinian Resistance... and it has regarded the liberation of Palestine as a fundamental goal among its goals." (Civics, Grade 6, p. 130)

"The Arab-Socialist Ba'ath Party has considered the Palestinian problem the Arabs' primary problem and the liberation of Palestine a primary necessity like the liberation of the Golan... It has called for the adoption of the armed struggle as a basis for the liberation, ...for non-relinquishment of any inch of the Arab land, and for the commitment to supporting the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people for its return to its homeland and its self-determination on its land." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 66)

"Revolutionary Syria regards the aggression against the al-Aqsa Mosque as an act of aggression against Damascus and the Umayyad Mosque therein. Therefore, it has followed - under the leadership of President Hafez Assad - the road of struggle until liberation." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 43)

"We [Syrians] are fighting these aggressive Zionists and we shall not let injustice pass, until Palestine returns to its owners and the right returns to its people." ("This is Our Land", Reader, Grade 5, pt. 2, p. 45)



Reader, Grade 4, pt.1, p. 28

### 53. Liberation of Palestine is an All-Arab and All-Muslim Duty:

"The duty of the Arab and Muslim nation today is to mobilize its strengths, unify its will and prepare well for the liberation of the al-Aqsa Mosque and other occupied Arab parts. Not a [single] Arab or Muslim country is exempted by its distance from the front line with the enemies. The danger threatens us [all] as a nation." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 61)

"The duty of the Muslims today, as many parts of their land have been usurped, their homeland's soil desecrated and their holy places - especially the al-Aqsa Mosque - violated, is to sacrifice anything they have in order to liberate al-Aqsa and the rest [of the seized places] from oppressive Zionism and its allies." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, pp. 42-43)

"The Arabs have the same goals, which obliges the Arabs to act together in order to realize them. The most important [goal] among them [is]: Liberation of all the usurped Arab lands from all foreign influence, first

and foremost - Palestine." (Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 6, pp. 31-32)

Even the students are being prepared to be part of the liberation effort, either as children or when they grow up.

"Every Arab has his role in the liberation battle. What is your role then, that you want to play in that battle?" (Homework, "Palestine is Arab", Selected Stories, Grade 6, p. 76)

"Are children of the same age as Aminah [a nine-year-old girl in the story "A Demonstration in Gaza"] supposed to take part in the great liberation battle?" (Homework, Selected Stories, Grade 6, p. 16)

"Ahmad felt proud of this great hero [Saladin] and he wished for himself to grow up and become a soldier defending the homeland and liberating Jerusalem again from the hands of the Zionist enemy." (Conversation, Reader, Expression and Recital, Grade 2, pt. 2, p. 20)



Reader, Grade 4, pt. 2,p.87

The liberation issue is also used in language exercises and in poetry.

"The Arabs will liberate Palestine" (Reader, Grade 4, pt. 1, p. 83)

"We shall sacrifice our blood for the liberation of the usurped land."  
(Reader, Grade 4, pt. 2, p. 144)

"I wish I gathered all the revolt in the universe  
So that I would see you as a savior of the enslaved homeland" (Reader,  
Grade 5, pt. 1, p. 66)

#### 54. The Liberation of Palestine is a Means to Restoring Injured Arab Dignity

"We, Muslims, should... sacrifice our souls and property... until we recover our holy places and return to our nation its glory and dignity."  
(Islamic Education, Grade 4, p. 106)

"It is the duty of all Muslims to act together in order to recover [both] land and dignity by all means." (Islamic Education, Grade 9, p. 166)

"The Palestinian Arab generation that was born and grew up in tents and knew Palestine through the mothers' tears and the fathers' determination to recover the land, has sworn to liberate its land and restore the dignity of its [Palestinian] people and [Arab] nation." (Civics, Grade 6, p. 129)

"The duty of the sons of our Arab nation today is to liberate our holy places, revenge for our [injured] dignity and recover the usurped parts of our land." (Islamic Education, Grade 5, p. 134)

"The events have proven that the armed struggle is the best way to recover land and dignity." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 9, p. 102)

"We have been conducting the struggle for this long time... defending our land... in which we see our honor and dignity." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 81)

"Let us continue our struggle and then we shall liberate our Arab land and assert our dignity." (Grammar, Grade 9, p. 55)

"We should continue the stubborn struggle in order to protect Arab dignity." (Grammar, Grade 10, p. 64)

"Our Palestinian brethren sacrificed their blood until the whole world heard their voice and became acquainted with their cause. They are still dying on the field of honor." (Reader, Grade 6, pt. 2, p. 95)

"We [should] declare a Jihad as the only way to liberate the land and regain [our] dignity." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 88)

"Let us believe in Jihad as a way to liberation, glory and dignity." (Islamic Education, Grade 9, p. 169)

"Rip apart, O Damascus, the map of shame." (Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 8, p. 42)

## 55. Liberation of Palestine Goes Hand-in-Hand with the Liquidation of Israel

"Syria endeavors, under the revolutionary Arab-Socialist Ba'ath Party and the leadership of the Fighting Comrade, Hafez Assad, to assemble [all] Arab strengths in order to liquidate the colonialist-imperialist Zionist existence on the Arab land and liberate the entire occupied Arab soil." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 48)

"Salah al-Din [Saladin] managed to overcome the Franks [the Crusaders] after having unified the Arab front. What is the role of [Arab] unity today in liquidating the Zionists' state?" (Homework, Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 9, p. 79)

"Arab unity is no longer a mere realization of a historical past. Rather, it is an immediate necessity in the battle for Arab existence against imperialism, in order to establish an Arab state with quantitative and qualitative gravity that will be able to liquidate Imperialism's positions and monopolies, as well as the Zionist existence on Arab land." (Party resolutions, National-Socialist Education, Grade 11, p. 20)

"And though the snake [Israel] still clings to the land in spite of the blows inflicted upon it, the battle goes on and I am still waiting, like any other Arab soldier, for the right moment to apply the slogan "fighting until victory". And if it is not realized in our lifetime, then you and your generation will realize that... fulfilling the duties of the battle and finishing the snake off completely and irrevocably." ("A Letter to My Son", Selected Stories, Grade 6, p. 142)

"They [the Zionists] ventured upon their crimes imagining that their state will survive." (Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 8, p. 72)

Tomorrow we shall return and the ages will listen to the footfalls at the return  
...With the bloody flags above the blaze of blades and bayonets" (Modern Arab Literature, Grade 12, pp. 105-106)

"- When is our appointment with victory [due]?  
- Tomorrow." (Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 7, p. 159)

## 56. Purifying Palestine of the Zionists

"Let us not let an opportunity pass by idly, but rather fill it with a deed that will benefit our Arab nation and lead us towards... the liberation of

the Arab land and its purification of the filth of Zionism, first and foremost - the city of Jerusalem and Palestine." (Islamic Education, Grade 6, p. 109)

"No doubt, near is the day when we will see the Arab homeland purified of the filth of Zionism and Zionists." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p. 131)

"How will we purify our Arab land in Palestine and liberate it from the aggressive Zionists?" (Reader, Grade 5, pt. 1, p. 9)

"The purification of Palestine of the Jews in the defense of the al-Aqsa Mosque is a Jihad for the cause of God." (Islamic Education, Grade 6, p. 57)

"There is neither excuse nor forgiveness for the one who refrains from Jihad for the cause of God, for the purification of Palestine of the Jews." (Islamic Education, Grade 6 p. 57)

## 57. Legitimizing Violence and Bloodshed

"The stone split the head of the Zionist soldier" (Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 11, p. 153)

"-I do not like the sight of blood.

-Only a killer or a murderer would like that sight... But what would be your position if one day a person from the [other] end of the world came to you... and... planned intentionally to destroy your house above your head and to do away with you, just to get rid of you and take over your home?" (Reader, Grade 11, p. 41)

"The setback of the fifth of June 1967 left in the souls of the Arab citizens a painful impression mixed with a real desire for revenge... and for washing the disgrace with blood." (Civics, Grade 5, p. 100)

"An amazing luster and a thunder-like roar turned the house of Bassem's father [together] with those [who were] inside it into a mass of fire. Bassem refused to have the foreigners dwell in his house. [Question:] Do you agree with what Bassem did? Do you have a desire for doing what Bassem did? Why?" ("The Small Lemon Tree", Short Stories, Grade 5, pp. 17-18)

#### 58. Force is the Only Way

"Revolutionary Syria... has raised the slogan [which says:] what was taken by force shall not be returned, except by force." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 43)

"What was taken by force shall be returned by force." (Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 7, pp. 106, 113)

"The Arabs will recover their rights by struggle." (Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 7, p. 113)

#### 59. The 1973 War was a Preliminary Step towards Liberation and Liquidation

"This is a great victory! But the greatest victory [will be] when the Zionist enemy is driven out of Palestine and the entire Arab soil is recovered. Then we shall have our greatest joy." (Principles of Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 5, p. 21)

"The Arabs and the Muslims should prepare for the redemption of the holy places from the claws of Zionism... The Ramadan [the Muslim month corresponding to October in 1973] War of Liberation which was led by the Leader President Hafez Assad is but a fundamental step on the road to liberation." (Islamic Education, Grade 5, p. 135)

#### 60. The Intifada is the Beginning of Liberation, Annihilation and Purification

"The Intifada of the people in Palestine is but the beginning of a liberation movement for the annihilation of that evil Zionist colonialism." (Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9, p. 93)

"Our people wanted the Intifada to go on as an enlightening torch... and they shall not withhold their pure blood until the land of peace is purified of the filth of the usurper." (Grammar, Grade 10, p. 55)

## Chapter IX: Holy War [Jihad] and Militarism

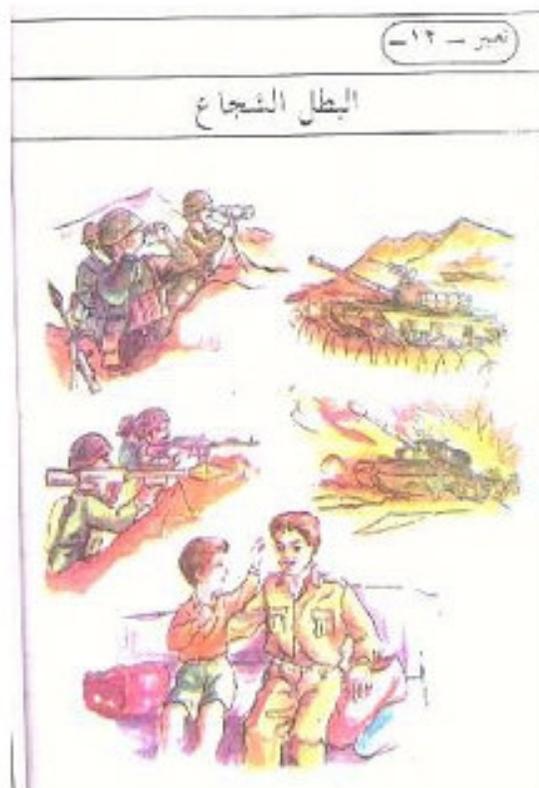
### 61. Overview

Jihad is a Muslim term equivalent to "Holy War". Though it has several interpretations, it is in this capacity that Jihad is being used as far as the struggle against Israel is concerned. As an Islamic precept, it is directed at Muslims mainly, but not exclusively. There is no dispute in the Syrian textbooks that the struggle against Israel is a Jihad, whether the Muslim holy places are involved in it or not. The mere fact that Muslim land is lost and Muslim honor is hurt suffices to declare a defensive Jihad which is incumbent upon every able-bodied Muslim. The following quotes reflect that quite clearly.

The theme of militarism may be regarded as a secular contribution to the idea of Jihad by the Ba'ath regime. It is dealt with at the beginning of the section.

### 62. Militarism in Syrian Textbooks

Militarism is a value in the Syrian textbooks. The first Grade student is presented with a series of pictures showing Syrian soldiers destroying enemy tanks under the title "The Brave Hero" (Reader, Grade 1, Pt. 1, p. 146).



Following are some more references, taken mainly from language exercises

"Do not forget the soldiers who defend the homeland's soil, for they build its glory. [Question:] How do the soldiers build the homeland's glory?" (Conversation, Reader, Expression and Recital, Grade 2, Pt. 2, pp. 69-70)

"Running away from battle is a great sin which entails severe punishment in this world and in the next one." (Islamic Education, Grade 5, p. 59)

"The Arabs have never boasted of gathered gold but of a vanquished enemy." (Grammar and Dictation, Grade 6, p. 67)

"The people and the nation seek glory under the shade of the swords." (Grammar, Grade 10, p. 47)

"Life is noble under the shade of the swords." (Grammar, Grade 9, p. 169)

"The soldiers continued their offensive with their souls full of determination." (Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 8, p. 121)

"We bombarded the enemy with twenty shells." (Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 8, p. 126)

"The enemy's planes fell down in the October War." (Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 11, p. 60)

### 63. The War against Israel is a Holy War (Jihad)

"Al-Aqsa Mosque and the land of Palestine that surrounds it are a holy country that the Muslims should wage a Jihad for, in order to recover [it] from the hands of the Jews." (Islamic Education, Grade 4, p. 84)

"The purification of Palestine of the Jews in the defense of al-Aqsa Mosque is a Jihad for the cause of God." (Islamic Education, Grade 6, p. 57)

"Jihad has been, and will remain, the only way to defend the homeland and to recover what the enemies have usurped thereof." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p. 4)

"We [should] declare a Jihad as the only way to liberate the land and regain [our] dignity." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 88)

"Let us believe in Jihad as a way to liberation, glory and dignity." (Islamic Education, Grade 9, p. 169)

"This is the law of Jihad regarding us today, as our country has been exposed to aggression and parts of our land have been occupied by the oppressive Zionists who threaten our existence." (Islamic Education, Grade 9, p. 166)

#### 64. Everyone Should Participate in the Jihad

"Jihad today is an individual duty of every Muslim." (Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 88)

"Refraining from the Jihad... is high treason for which the perpetrator deserves punishment in this world and the hereafter." (Islamic Education, Grade 5, p. 108)

"There is neither excuse nor forgiveness for the one who refrains from Jihad for the cause of God, for the purification of Palestine of the Jews." (Islamic Education, Grade 6 p. 57)

"Women should share with the men in the Jihad in accordance with their strengths, possibilities and the nation's needs." (Islamic Education, Grade 10, p. 16)

"The Muslims in all countries of the world are preparing for the Jihad against the Jews and for their expulsion from Palestine. We are preparing for the Jihad against the Jews and for their expulsion from beloved Palestine." (Islamic Education, Grade 6, p. 58)

Geography of Greater Syria [Sham], Grade 5, p. 39:



## Chapter X: Martyrdom [Shahadah]

### 65. Overview

Martyrdom is an exalted value in the Syrian textbooks. It is given much emphasis both as an important tool in the battle against Israel and as an independent value in itself. It has such a positive connotation in Syrian parlance that a martyr's death is considered an event equivalent to a wedding party [urs], where one should be joyous rather than mournful.

President Hafez Assad was known for his deep interest in the martyrdom issue, which is openly discussed in the textbooks. Quotations from his statements on this subject are given as well and the students are urged to study them.

But the indoctrination effort regarding this issue is not restricted to Assad's sayings. The textbooks employ a variety of other means to inculcate the ideal of martyrdom in the minds of the students, such as poetry and language exercises. There are also home and class assignments to this effect. In Grade 12, after which the students are to join the Syrian army, the indoctrination effort reaches its climax with a personal pledge on behalf of the students to seek martyrdom.

### 66. An Exalted Value

Martyrdom is the Right way

#### "The Way of Martyrdom"

This is the way of truth. This is the way of justice. This is the way of glory. This is the way of martyrdom." (Civics, Grade 6, p. 119)

Martyrdom is an Occasion for Joy, not for Mourning

"Martyrdom has become the highest decoration which every person wishes to obtain. It is a social wedding party celebrated instead of [expressions of] sorrow and consolation among the people." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 76)

"The Martyrdom wedding parties have increased during this period of our struggle against Zionism and Imperialism." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p. 9)

"What position will you take, offer your condolences on [occasion of] seeking martyrdom, or congratulate on that [occasion]? Why?" (Homework, Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 9, p. 44)

## 67. Martyrdom as the Road to Liberation

"... our steadfast nation has believed that martyrdom is the road to victory and liberation." (Islamic Education, Grade 9, p. 67)

"A large number of our youths in present times are bent on dying so that their nation would live. You see them rushing towards death, trying to reach it ahead of one another. They are proud to have martyrdom as the seal of their lives for the sake of the liberation of their homes and homeland that the Zionists have occupied." ("Direction and Urge for Holy War and Martyrdom", Islamic Education, Grade 5, p. 108)

"The martyr outlines for us the correct road to the recovery of the land and the seizure of the usurped rights. What is this road?" (Homework, Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 9, p. 95)

"Our country, our country  
Our Jihad is for her  
Our seeking of martyrdom is for her  
Our country, our country  
[Question:] Why do we wage a Holy War and ask for Martyrdom?"  
(Reader, Grade 4, pt. 2, pp. 87- 88)

"By means of martyrdom we shall recover our rights and our dignity and maintain them." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 62)

## 68. President Hafez Assad and the Martyrdom Issue

"The leader of the Arab nation, President Hafez Assad, has believed in martyrdom, has given it the highest degree and considered it a holy duty, so much so, that he has wished it for himself." (Civics, Grade 6, p. 111)

"The Comrade Leader has given martyrdom and martyrs [that kind of] attention that no other leader in the world has. He has spoken of it on numerous national and all-Arab occasions, in party congresses and [in congresses] of popular organizations." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 151)

"The Fighting Leader Comrade Hafez Assad has given the martyrs and martyrdom extraordinary care which no [other] leader in the Arab homeland has done. (National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 76)

"The Comrade Leader, the Primary Teacher of our nation's generations [Syrian president Hafez Assad], wishes that his life end in martyrdom for the sake of the grandeur of our Arab homeland and the dignity of our nation." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 63)

"I always say: Our slogan should be "martyrdom or victory", and I say martyrdom first, because martyrdom is our road to victory. [Question:]

What is the slogan which the President asks for its implementation?"  
(President Hafez Assad + Homework, Reader, Grade 5, pt. 1, pp.107-108)

"Let us make seeking martyrdom [Istish'had] a higher value in society. Seeking martyrdom is an essential need in every national struggle against the invaders and the imperialists. It is the essential basis, which is inevitable and has no alternative, for the protection of the homeland and the liberation of the land... Let us glorify martyrdom and let it become important in the souls of all of us. Let it be our way whenever the homeland calls." (President Hafez Assad, Reader, Grade 6, pt. 1, p. 138 and see also Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 7, p. 68)

"We have believed in martyrdom as a road to [achieving our] right, victory and life. Martyrdom has become a general love of the masses and a general heroism of the masses. It will definitely remain [as] our love which no [other] love would compete with. Let martyrdom live in our souls as a fruitful feeling, everlasting conviction, an axiom not to be debated and a belief not to be doubted." (President Hafez Assad, National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 155)

"Martyrdom is an integral part of our mental and physical entity."  
(President Hafez Assad, Civics, Grade 6, p. 115)

"Let our time be a time of martyrdom. Let us live in a time of martyrdom."  
(President Hafez Assad, Civics, Grade 6, p. 118 and see also National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 63 and National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 79)

"O members of the youth movement, you are the first ones among those who should hold martyrdom sacred and carry its flag... We shall not feel dignified and enjoy this feeling unless we feel that martyrdom is an integral part of our mental and physical entity." (President Hafez Assad, Civics, Grade 6, p. 119 and see also National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 62)

"We should stay ready to rush vigorously towards the honor of martyrdom." (President Hafez Assad, Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 7, p. 8)

## 69. Other Means of Inculcating Martyrdom

Through poetry

"The body that yearns for martyrdom..." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 9, p. 91)

"I shall carry my soul in my palm and toss it in the abyss of destruction."  
("The Martyr's Poem", Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 12, p. 102 and again on p. 145)

"In what verse did he [the poet] refer to our country as a source of martyrs?" (Homework, Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 9, p. 51)

Through language exercises

"The martyr watered the homeland's soil with his blood." (Reader, Grade 5, pt. 2, p. 107)

"It is inevitable for the Arab to have either martyrdom or victory." (Principles of Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 5, p. 19)

"The heroic soldiers seek martyrdom on the fields of honor." (Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 8, p. 10)

"Think of death as a sweet [thing] on the road to martyrdom and [thus] you will build the glory of our Arab nation." (Grammar, Grade 9, p. 55)

"How difficult it is [for him] not to end his Jihad with martyrdom; how cruel it is [for him] to be deprived of martyrdom." (Grammar, Grade 9, p. 167)

"O my country... you will be given the blood of the martyrs." Grammar, Grade 10, p. 52)

"We shall not hesitate to sacrifice our blood in order to be elevated to the ranks of the martyrs." (Grammar, Grade 10, p. 62)

"I shall sacrifice my soul in order to water my homeland with my blood." (Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 11, p. 16)

"Courage, O revolutionary [fighter]; rush towards martyrdom." (Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 11, p. 184)

## 70. Assignments on Martyrdom

"Write, on one page, the story of a martyr from among the martyrs of the homeland and then expound upon the greatness of martyrdom and its impact on our life." (Homework, Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 7, p. 16)

"Some of the students will be assigned with the [task of] issuing a class magazine about the importance of martyrdom and the martyrs for the cause of victory of the Arab nation's goals." (Assignment, National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 64)

"Write an essay about martyrdom and martyrs with quotations from the Fighting Leader Comrade Hafez Assad's sayings and examples from your [own] environment of martyrs who fell on the battlefield in defense of the homeland." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 80)

Personal pledge by twelfth graders to seek martyrdom

"We pledge to the Leader of our March to offer our blood and soul for the cause of our nation's grandeur and the defeat of the unjust colonialist. Let our wish become a slogan for seeking martyrdom for the realization of the goals of our Arab nation. Let us love martyrdom passionately as it means immortality. Let us bless the martyrs and let their way be our everlasting wish. I hope that my life will end in martyrdom only." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 63)

## Chapter XI: Terror

### 71. Overview

Embracing and supporting Palestinian terrorism against Israel is a common theme in the textbooks. The term "terror [irhab]" is never used to denote Arab activities. This term is reserved exclusively for Israel. It is Israel who, according to these textbooks, plants bombs in crowded areas.

For Palestinian terrorism, the Syrian textbooks use the terms "revolution", "Palestinian Resistance", "Armed Struggle" or "the Fidai Action". Fidai is best translated into English as "a fighter ready to sacrifice his life for a cause". All these terms refer to attacks against Israeli citizens and Jews around the world, and are depicted as operations against military targets. A close examination of the cases surveyed in the textbooks reveals the true nature of these attacks.

Whatever the label, Palestinian terrorism is considered legitimate and worthy of Arab support. The Syrian textbooks also try to rally the students around this issue, using appropriate exercises.

Palestinian terrorism is also considered one of the best ways of achieving victory, recovery of both land and dignity and bringing about the destruction of Israel.

### 72. The Term Terror [irhab] is Reserved Exclusively for Israel

"In spite of all the means of coercion the enemy has, the methods of oppression it uses and the terror, murder and torture it resorts to..." (Grammar, Grade 10, p. 55)

"Israel relies on terror as a method for carrying out its aggressive aims against the peaceful inhabitants, like planting explosives in crowded areas in some of the Arab cities." (National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 106)

### 73. The Portrayal of Palestinian Terrorism as Military Activity

"They conduct brave Fidai operations in which they attack the enemy, blow up its tanks and armored cars and arouse dismay in the souls of its soldiers, until it becomes convinced at last that the usurper cannot survive and that the land [belongs] to its owners." (Reader, Grade 5, pt. 1, p. 111)

"What we read today in the papers and the magazines and what we hear through the various communication media about these extraordinary heroic [actions] carried out by those heroic martyrs, like penetrating

enemy camps and blowing up their vehicles and installations - these are unusual heroic actions written down with pride and glory in the pages of our Arab nation's modern history." (Islamic Education, Grade 6, p. 20)



Reader, Grade 5, pt.1, p. 109

"[Dalal al-Maghribi] died as a martyr on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road in the occupied land, after she had hoisted, with her Fedai comrades, the flag of Palestine over a Zionist truck for four hours during day-time." (Reader, Grade 6, pt. 2, p. 97.)



\*[In March 1978 a group of several Palestinian terrorists, led by a woman, came from Lebanon on a boat and took over a civilian bus on the coastal road between Haifa and Tel Aviv. Thirty eight Israeli civilians, men, women and children, were killed on the bus.]

"Fatmah Barnawi is a young woman of Jerusalem who took part in raising the flag of the armed revolution in the occupied land of Palestine and followed the road of the difficult struggle in the framework of the Palestinian Resistance." (Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 8, p. 161)\*

\*[Fatmah Barnawi was arrested in Jerusalem in 1967 following her attempt to plant a bomb in the "Zion" cinema while it was full of civilian spectators.]

"Our group will... attack in the morning the fortress of Jeddin and the colony that is located below its walls. You will be proud, my father, [to

hear] that I am one of those Fedais." ("A Letter from a Fidai", Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 7, p. 66)\*

\*[The "fortress" of Jeddin is an archaeological site in northern Israel. It has no military significance at all, as is the case with the nearby kibbutz of Yehiam.]

#### 74. Supporting Palestinian Terrorism

"Our Palestinian brethren had sacrificed their blood until the whole world heard their voice and knew about their cause. They are still dying on the field of honor after inflicting upon the enemy heavy casualties in lives and property in defense of their land. We should add to this Jihad the Arabs' assistance to them." (Reader, Grade 6, pt. 2, p. 95)

"The Fedai Action finds respect and appreciation in the hearts of the citizens" (Grammar and Dictation, Grade 6, p. 37)

"An amazing luster and a thunder-like roar turned the house of Bassem's father [together] with those [who were] inside it into a mass of fire. Bassem refused to have the foreigners dwell in his house. [Question:] Do you agree with what Bassem did? Do you have a desire to do what Bassem did? Why?" ("The Small Lemon Tree", Short Stories, Grade 5, pp. 17-18)

"Write a news-item for the school radio about a group of Fedais who set up an ambush for the enemy, using the following verbs (do not write more than four lines): resist, ambush, move, hide, surprise, fire, demolish, capture." (Homework, Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 7, p. 34)

"I collect information about one of the heroic Fidais and write it down in my notebook." (Homework, Reader, Grade 5, pt. 1, p. 114)

#### 75. Terror Leads to Victory, Recovery of Land, Dignity and to Israel's Destruction

"By the Fedais' arms you will win tomorrow, O Palestine." (Principles of Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 5, p. 49)

"The events have proven that the Armed Struggle is the best way to recover [both] land and dignity." (Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 9, p. 102)

"The revolutionaries of the occupied land shall not surrender until the land becomes purified of the invaders' filth." (Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 11, p. 21)

## List of Sources

All the books examined in this survey were published by the General Foundation for Printed Material and Textbooks under the supervision of the Ministry of Education of the Syrian Arab Republic. The titles of both agencies appear on each book. Fifty-eight out of the sixty-eight books were printed at the Ba'ath Printing House. Following is the full list of the textbooks examined in this survey, organized according to subjects and grades. The publishing year and number of pages for each book are given as well.

### Reader

Reader, Grade 1, pt. 1, 99/00, 160

Reader, Grade 1, pt. 2, 98/99, 143

Reader, Grade 2, pt. 1, 96/97, 112

Reader, Grade 2, pt. 2, 96/97, 128

Reader, Grade 3, pt. 1, 99/00, 184

Reader, Grade 3, pt. 2, 96/97, 143

Reader, Grade 4, pt. 1, 99/00, 144

Reader, Grade 4, pt. 2, 98/99, 160

Reader, Grade 5, pt. 1, 98/99, 128

Reader, Grade 5, pt. 2, 96/97, 128

Reader, Grade 6, pt. 1, 98/99, 159

Reader, Grade 6, pt. 2, 97/98, 127

Reader, Grade 10, 95/96, 76

Reader, Grade 11, 96/97, 99

Reader, Grade 12 (scientific & Humanistic), 96/97, 152

### Reader and Literature

Conversation, Reader, Expression and Recital, Grade 2, pt. 1, 98/99, 94

Conversation, Reader, Expression and Recital, Grade 2, pt. 2, 98/99, 94

Short Stories, Grade 5, 98/99, 80

Selected Stories, Grade 6, 98/99, 143

Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 7, 99/00, 232

Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, 99/00, 207

Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 9, 99/00, 232

Literature and Texts, Grade 10, 99/00, 295

Literature and Texts, Grade 11 (Scientific), 96/97, 272

Literature and Texts, Grade 11 (Humanistic), 93/94, 324

Modern Arab Literature (Humanistic), Grade 12, 99/00, 278

## Grammar

Principles of Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 5, 99/00, 112  
Grammar and Dictation, Grade 6, 98/99, 128  
Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 7, 95/96, 224  
Grammar, Dictation and Script, Grade 8, 96/97, 183  
Grammar, Grade 9, 97/98, 184  
Grammar, Grade 10, 95/96, 103  
Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 11 (Humanistic), 93/94, 216  
Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 12 (Humanistic), 96/97, 175

## Geography

Geography of Greater Syria [Sham], Grade 5, 99/00, 191  
Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 6, 97/98, 208  
Principles of General Geofraphy and the World, Grade 7, 97/98, 199  
Geography of the Syrian Arab Country, Grade 8, 99/00, 176  
Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9, 96/97, 216  
Natural Geography, Grade 10, 97/98, 248  
Geography of the World, Grade 11 (Humanistic), 99/00, 334

## History

Ancient History of the Arabs, Grade 5, 98/99, 160  
History: The Era of the Prophet and the Orthodox Chaliphs, Grade 6, 98/99, 182  
History of the Arabs in the Umayyad Era, Grade 7, 97/98, 175  
History of the Arabs in the Abbasid Era, Grade 8, 99/00, 206  
Modern History of the Arabs, Grade 9, 99/00, 192  
History of Arab Civilization, Grade 10, 96/97, 278  
History of Modern Times, Grade 11 (Humanistic), pt. 2, 96/97, 184

## Social Education (Civics)

Social Education (Civics) - Our Country, Grade 4, 99/00, 152  
Social Education (Civics), Grade 5, 97/98, 120  
Social Education (Civics), Grade 6, 98/99, 144

## National-Socialist Education

National-Socialist Education, Grade 7, 99/00, 120  
National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, 99/00, 160  
National-Socialist Education, Grade 9, 99/00, 155  
National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, 98/99, 160  
National-Socialist Education, Grade 11, 99/00, 191  
National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, 89/90, 131

## Islamic Education

Islamic Education, Grade 3, 99/00, 128  
Islamic Education, Grade 4, 98/99, 119  
Islamic Education, Grade 5, 98/99, 147  
Islamic Education, Grade 6, 98/99, 150  
Islamic Education, Grade 8, 99/00, 167  
Islamic Education, Grade 9, 99/00, 203  
Islamic Education, Grade 10, 98/99, 251  
Islamic Education, Grade 11, 99/00, 248

## Christian Education

Christian Education, Grade 4, 97/98, 110  
Christian Education, Grade 6, 99/00, 127  
Christian Religious Education, Grade 7, 85/86, 164

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