Generational Change: Egypt’s Quest to Reform its School Curriculum

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## CONTENTS

1. Executive Summary
6. Foreword by Dalia Ziada
9. Preface by Eldad J. Pardo, PhD
12. Acknowledgements
13. Introduction
19. Curricular Reform
33. General Perceptions of War and Peace
40. Society and Politics following a Decade of Upheaval
56. Treatment of the “Other”
75. Domestic Challenges
85. Status of Women
97. Regional and International Outlook
120. Conclusion
126. Author Biography
127. Methodology
129. List of Textbooks
Executive Summary

This IMPACT-se report examines 271 textbooks from the Egyptian national curricula, published between 2018 and 2023. The study focuses on Arabic language, Islamic and Christian religious education, social studies, values and respect for the other, national education, history, geography, and philosophy.

Main Findings:

- Egypt is undergoing a year-by-year reform of its national school curriculum. The implementation process began in 2018 with the 1st Grade and is scheduled to conclude in 2030 when it will have extended to all 12 school grades. As of 2023, the reform has reached Grade 5.

- The reformed curriculum textbooks promote general concepts of peace and tolerance, teach principles of coexistence, justice, and equality, respect for others, and common values shared by monotheistic religions within Egyptian society. Newly introduced textbooks are void of incitement to violence, extremism, and hatred.

- The unrevised textbooks for grades 6-12, however, remain problematic. Although these textbooks are reprinted annually, with the new school year added on each cover, the contents of the textbooks have not been updated, with a single exception, and frequently do not adhere to UNESCO standards.

- A newly-introduced set of textbooks titled “Values and Respect for the Other” emphasize respect for the other and religious freedoms, rejection of intolerance and violence in society, ethical behavior and personal accountability, and engagement with the world.

- Textbooks present a love for peace even as the military is held in high regard. The army is presented as integral to Egyptian society and is elevated across multiple grades and subjects.

- Islamic concepts of war are discussed, along with non-violent interpretations of *jihad*. Students are taught the Islamic view of war as a last resort, as well as the preference for moderation and compassion.

- Democracy and democratic values are praised. Textbooks reflect a view of human rights as mostly socioeconomic rather than political.

- The narrative concerning former enemies and colonial powers is hostile, while contemporary foreign policy is presented as one of friendly cooperation.

- The revolutions of January 2011 and June 2013 are portrayed in a positive light. However, political protests are discouraged. The Muslim Brotherhood is not alluded to.

- Contemporary Egyptian foreign policy is framed as a project of friendly and cooperative relations. Regional tensions with Iran, Turkey, and Qatar are not discussed. An exception is the dispute with Ethiopia. The legacy of colonialism is expressed through a narrative centered on oppressive external enemies who are confronted by Egyptian defenders of the homeland.

- Textbooks largely promote gender equality and women’s rights. Some textbooks reveal a conservative approach to gender issues.

- Textbooks address demographic issues, encouraging students to find solutions.
Environmental issues are shown as a priority for the government.

- There is slow improvement in attitudes toward Jews. Traditional antisemitic stereotypes were removed from the revised textbooks and replaced with tolerant ideas. However, textbooks in higher grades present harmful attitudes toward Jews. The curriculum lacks information about Jewish history in general, and Jewish presence in Egypt in particular, although stories about the Prophet Moses and a passage on Jews in Alexandria are included. The Holocaust is not taught.

- Christianity is depicted as a religion of noble values, and Christians are treated with respect. Social unity between Christians and Muslims is emphasized.

- New Christian Education textbooks indicate a Jewish connection to the historical land of Israel and the existence of a Jewish temple built by King Solomon in Jerusalem. Yet, the same new textbooks state that the Jews crucified Jesus.

- Textbooks' approach to Israel is contradictory. On the one hand, the political settlement with Israel is seen as legitimate in passages where Egyptian students learn about the benefits of the 1979 Egypt-Israeli peace agreement, with significant positive changes made to textbooks to emphasize the viability of peace with Israel. However, in other texts, Israel is presented as an illegitimate, colonialist entity. It is not featured on maps. The liberation of Palestine is expressed as an Islamic duty.

The Egyptian Ministry of Education is managing a comprehensive reform of its textbooks, which will be implemented between 2018-2030, covering education from kindergarten until high school graduation. As of the 2022-23 academic year, the Ministry has introduced a revised curriculum for grades 1 to 5, while each year an additional grade is added to the reform.

The reformed textbooks align with government assurances that textbooks will reject violence and extremism; promote dialogue; emphasize recognition of differences and coexistence; and combat hate and intolerance. The textbooks promote general concepts of peace and tolerance, introducing new, positive content on common values shared by monotheistic religions and principles of dialogue, ethics, justice, equality, tolerance, human rights, and coexistence.

The Ministry of Education introduced a new set of textbooks in 2021, titled “Values and Respect for the Other,” which emphasize religious freedoms, rejection of intolerance and violence in society, ethical behavior and personal accountability, and engagement with the world. They are intended to foster a greater sense of Egyptian identity and promote tolerance of societal differences. Activities explore personal and collective identity, individual’s relationship with their surroundings, and encourage respect for the Other.

Textbooks present a love of peace as the national ethos defining Egypt and its leadership, from ancient times to the present day, embodying Islamic values supported by Quranic

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1 Islamic Religious Education (Teacher Guide), Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2022, pp. 2-3.
verses and traditions. Teachers are instructed to address the qualities of love, peace, and humanity to their students. Students are encouraged to strive for peace in the region and with other cultures, as well as internal peace among the different sectors of Egyptian society.

That said, there is mixed and contradictory messaging on a host of issues, with negative examples and prejudices remaining mainly in unrevised higher grade textbook editions reprinted for the current 2022-23 school year. Textbooks for higher grades that have not yet been included in ongoing reforms are reprinted with existing content intact and each new academic school year on the cover. One extreme example containing antisemitic tropes has been removed, indicating that efforts to revise problematic material in advance of reforms are possible. However, the vast majority of content, some of which does not meet UNESCO standards, remains in the reprinted editions. Newly introduced textbooks are void of incitement to violence, extremism, and hatred.

The Egyptian army is the military is held in high regard, and its sacrifices lauded. Islamic concepts of war are discussed – including the notion that engaging in jihad against an invading enemy of a Muslim land is considered a personal duty – along with non-violent interpretations of jihad. Students are taught the Islamic position that war is a last resort, as well as its preference for moderation and compassion.

Democracy and democratic values are praised as part of Egypt’s universal heritage, although there is no discussion of such principles within the context of Egypt becoming a liberal democracy. Egyptian textbooks frame the revolutions of January 2011 and June 2013 in a favorable light, as popular attempts to bring about freedom, democracy, and liberal values. The role of the army is positively depicted as an honest broker that came to the rescue of the people. While the 2011 revolution is shown to have ended in failure, the latter is depicted as a realization of the aspirations of the people.

At the same time, students are encouraged to maintain political stability, with political protests and revolutionary actions discouraged. The Mubarak regime is blamed for using violence against protestors. President Morsi is blamed for his failure to conduct early presidential elections, and for failing to offer solutions to the problems of the Egyptian people. Textbooks reflect the Egyptian concept of human rights as mostly socioeconomic rather than political. The Muslim Brotherhood is not mentioned by name.

Contemporary Egyptian foreign policy is framed as a project of friendly and cooperative relations. There is a special emphasis on economic ties with countries including the US, India, Germany, Brazil, and Nigeria. Regional disputes with Iran, Turkey, Qatar, and Ethiopia are not discussed. The legacy of colonialism is expressed through a narrative centered on oppressive external enemies who are confronted by Egyptian defenders of the homeland. The French conquest of Egypt in 1798 is described as having implicit colonialist motives, and students are taught that the cause of the 1919 Egyptian Revolution was British violence during its occupation of Egypt. A textbook criticizes Western capitalism, claiming that the division of the Arab homeland by colonial forces was “artificial” and caused political unrest, whereas another textbook uses a photo of New York City to present it as a role model for the Egyptian economy.
Textbooks generally encourage gender equality and oppose discrimination or oppression based on gender. Women are encouraged to participate in public life, and the curriculum is committed to their independence. Lessons feature female historical figures as prominent role models, and respect for women’s rights and gender equality are taught as Islamic, Christian, Arab, and Egyptian values. Traditional customs such as early marriage are recognized as obstacles to this aspiration. Female genital mutilation is, overall, delegitimized. However, exceptions to this progressive approach include discrimination of women on religious issues and property rights and calls for women to obey their husbands and dress modestly.

Textbooks educate students about the demographic challenges that Egypt faces, such as population density, and encourage students to seek solutions, presented both as a societal need, and as permitted under religious law. Textbooks impress upon students the importance of preserving the environment and position Egypt as a leading global and regional actor in addressing climate change.

There is a slow improvement in attitudes toward Jews. Promisingly, elementary school textbooks rewritten since 2021 do not include traditional, harmful antisemitic stereotypes such as attributing evil deeds and negative traits like disloyalty, fraud, greediness, and violation of contracts to Jewish people. These were replaced with values of tolerance and coexistence between Islam and Judaism, highlighting common ground such as Islam’s recognition of the Torah and permission for Muslims to eat Kosher food.

However, in the majority of textbooks, attitudes toward Jews remain ambivalent and, at times, contradictory. Students are exposed to antisemitic prejudices in both religious and historical contexts, in upper grade textbook editions. This includes blaming Jews for causing antisemitism in Europe; describing them as an ethnic group engaged in finance; and a Jewish collective hatred of Muslims. It is notable that in one case, antisemitic tropes were removed. They had been featured in a multiple-choice exercise about the reason why Jews were supposedly not allowed to live in Jerusalem after it was conquered by ‘Umar, including as options their love of money, their treachery, and betrayal, were removed.

The curriculum lacks information about Jewish history in general and the particularly rich history of Jews as Egyptians over four millennia in particular, aside from stories about the Prophet Moses and an example that recognizes that Jews lived in Alexandria (albeit depicting them stereotypically). There are no descriptions of the lives of Egyptian Jews, from the community of Jewish soldiers in Egypt supporting the Achaemenid Empire in 550 BCE, through their connections with Arab Muslim majorities during the golden ages, to the eventual fate of Jewish communities in Egypt and the Arab world. The Holocaust is not taught, although a history textbook blames the Zionists for exploiting the “claim” that six million Jews were “killed or burned by the Nazis” in order to justify the immigration of Jews to Palestine at the expense of the Arabs living there.

The Christian “Other” is depicted positively and treated with respect. Christian freedom of worship is venerated, and the social unity of Christians and Muslims is emphasized. New elementary school Christian Education
textbooks acknowledge Jewish religious connection to the historical land of Israel, emphasizing this through many biblical stories and visual illustrations, as well as the use of such terms as “the land of Israel” and “the Jewish land” to designate the territory of the Roman province of Judaea during the early days of Christianity. Remarkably, the existence of a Jewish temple built by King Solomon in Jerusalem, referred to explicitly by the names “Israel” and “Urshalim” (Jerusalem, as opposed to the Islamic name “al-Quds” or “Bayt al-Maqdis) is acknowledged. Yet, the same new textbooks state that the Jews crucified Jesus.

Upper year textbooks also feature positive examples of Jews and Christians, emphasizing peace, tolerance, and respect. Judaism and Christianity, alongside Islam, are described as the main source of human rights; students are taught that marriage between Muslim men and Christian or Jewish women is the “greatest form” of co-existence with the “Other”; and the Jewish Ten Commandments are seen as “clear evidence of human rights and freedoms.”

Egyptian textbooks’ approach toward Israel is contradictory and can be seen as a reflection of the wider ambivalence that characterizes the “cold peace” between the two countries. On the one hand, Israel is at times presented as legitimate: Egyptian students learn about the benefits of the 1979 Egypt-Israeli peace agreement, with significant positive changes made compared to previous textbooks from the early 2000’s. During the past decade, a greater emphasis is put on the legitimacy of Israel as a peace partner and the economic value of peace. Students are required to memorize the provisions of the peace treaty and delineate the “advantages of peace for Egypt and the Arab states.” A photograph of the peace treaty signing at the White House is shown. Passages such as “recognition of the sovereignty of each side in the conflict over its territory” were changed to “respect by each side of the other’s sovereignty and independence,” and establishing “normal relations” between the two countries was changed to establishing “friendly relations.”

That said, Israel is often presented as an illegitimate “Zionist entity,” supported by Western colonist forces and driven by the ongoing ambition to expand at the expense of the Palestinians and the Arabs. The liberation of Palestine and Jerusalem from Israeli occupation is portrayed not only as a political goal, but also as an Islamic duty. Maps consistently avoid calling the State of Israel by its name, referring instead to “Palestine.”
“Education is similar to water and air” is a motto that your eyes will meet on the external walls of almost all the 58,807 schools spread across Egypt. It is not an Arabic translation of Abram S. Hewitt’s iconic phrase “education should be free as air and water,” which inspired student movements in the United States during the early years of the 21st century. The slogan that transformed the Egyptian education system in 1950 was created by Taha Hussein, one of the pioneers of modern Arabic Literature, who served as the Minister of Education in the last liberal government that ruled the country before the Free Officers’ revolution against the monarchy in 1952.

Hussein was the first senior official to take upon himself the mission to make primary education accessible to all Egyptian children, regardless of their gender, religion, or the social status of their families. Over the decades, Hussein’s initiative inspired consecutive governments to dedicate huge resources to building schools and developing education systems. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the number of schools dramatically increased to cover distant villages and rural cities, with the purpose of containing the ever-growing population crisis. In rural culture, families used to marry teenagers as young as 14 years old. That not only resulted in high birth rates and a greater number of children per family, but also increased rates of poverty and illiteracy. Therefore, the government at that time adopted a long-term strategy to fight the population crisis by enrolling more children in governmental education.

This strategy worked miracles in terms of delaying the age of marriage and decreasing the rates of illiteracy and poverty, by offering new work opportunities to the educated youth in rural areas. However, the increase in the number of pre-university schools came at the expense of the quality of the education offered in these schools. In fact, the quality of the content offered in the Egyptian education system has always been a reflection of the quality of the ruling regime itself. That is mainly because the government owns and runs more than 90% of the pre-university schools and sets the curricula for more than 95% of the schools, excluding Al-Azhar and International Certificate schools. The curricula offered in Egyptian schools have always been dictated by the political leadership, based on its ideological orientations and political goals on both levels of domestic and external affairs.

To give an idea, the schools’ textbooks were overwhelmed by lessons preaching communism and pan-Arabism as noble values during the era of President Gamal Abdel Nasser (1954–1970), who based his domestic rule and regional policy on the premises of socialism and Arab solidarity against the then newly-established state of Israel. When President Anwar Al-Sadat took over after Nasser, he favored Islamists from Al-Azhar and banned political Islamist groups (e.g., the Salafists and the Muslim Brotherhood) to help him mitigate the Nasserist movement that threatened his rule. As a result, Al-Sadat encouraged the insertion of religious (Islamic) verses in educational textbooks, and gave hours of live airtime on national television to Sheikhs and Imams.
Nevertheless, the pre-university education system witnessed a positive transformation under the rule of Hosni Mubarak, due to the personal interest of the then-first lady, Suzan Mubarak, in improving the human rights of women and children. She reached out to respective bodies in the United Nations (e.g., UNESCO and UNICEF) and governmental organizations in developed countries, such as USAID, and sought their help in improving the pre-college educational system in Egypt. New curricula were written, and more schools were built, in addition to creating open libraries inside and around schools where children can read and research books outside the main curriculum that they have to study, for free.

The educational system and curricula of primary schools have changed several times between 1990 and 2005 to reflect these changes and keep pace with the emergence of information technology and children’s easy access to the internet. She also led a nationwide campaign to fight against illiteracy by providing free education to the elders and the youth who missed primary school education in rural areas.

Ironically, this created a generation of highly educated and highly skilled youth who could not find a place in the barren job market that was damaged by the political corruption of the ruling regime. That resulted in extreme frustration among the massive youth population, who ended up launching a revolution against the Mubarak regime that served them with high quality free technical education.

In the past decade, Egypt has been grappling with a myriad of political and social changes that overwhelmed society after the Arab Spring revolution of 2011. The these changes have highlighted the conflict between secular and Islamist values in social and political arenas of daily life. One of the areas where these changes have been most notable is in the country’s education system. The current political leadership of President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi has made a concerted effort to introduce a new education system that reflects its political values, especially in fighting against Islamist radicalization and promoting religious freedom.

The current education system in Egypt reflects the political values of the current regime. At its core, the new vision for school education is built on teaching students about the history of their country and unifying them around the concept of “the unique Egyptian identity.” The modern Egyptian identity is a complex concept that has evolved over time and is influenced by many different factors, driven by social and religious values that trace back thousands of years to the ancient Egyptians.

Yet most importantly, the current education system is designed to encourage critical thinking and improve students’ research skills. Textbooks at primary and preparatory schools are openly educating pupils about human rights, civil rights, and democracy, with a strong emphasis on religious tolerance and coexistence. This marks a stark contrast from the previous education systems, which considered these topics taboo and were heavily driven by religious teachings, and focused on the propagation of a single faith – Islam. As one striking example, in 2021, the Egyptian Ministry of Education approved educating a new school curriculum at primary and preparatory schools that explores the religious texts and the common values of the three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The Jewish religious texts have not been taught in Egyptian schools since the monarchic era. Even
worse, the Jewish faith and people used to be negatively described in textbooks.

Ultimately, the new education system in Egypt, while still facing numerous challenges, has great potential to produce a new generation of well-educated, tolerant youth who are immune to radicalization and extremism. However, achieving this result requires more investment by the government and private sector in improving the quality of the education offered at governmental schools as well as the curricula offered at the parallel education system of Al-Azhar.

Dalia Ziada

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Preface

The present research examines the Egyptian curriculum in a period of transformation, which followed a decade of political and social upheaval. The 2011 Egyptian revolution was a pivotal event in the Arab Spring pro-democracy protest movement: it showed that the Arab Republic of Egypt is part of the Arab world, dancing to its beat, and sharing its destiny.

This was not always the case.

During the 1920s, Egypt's articulate elites had no particular interest in the Arab world. They saw themselves as Egyptian nationalists, and their homeland as a constitutional monarchy. Egypt had been living through a highly liberal period in all aspects of her culture since the 1919 anti-British revolution, which ran under the banner of “Egypt for the Egyptians.” Saad Zaghloul, its most prominent leader, dismissed pan-Arabism out of hand. Pride in the glorious Pharaonic past of Egypt merged with a commitment to liberal democracy and self-determination.3 While fervently nationalist, the country was largely cosmopolitan, still under British military presence and political influence even after gaining independence in 1923. Howard Carter’s sensational 1922 discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamun ignited a global fascination with Egypt,4 which at the time was populated with indigenous “Egyptians,” and a variety of minorities and immigrants who came from near and far: Ottoman elites (Turks, Albanians, Circassians), the French, Italians, Greek, Syrians, British, Armenians, Belgians and Jews (Egyptians and foreigners). Their role as entrepreneurs is known, but the impact of those “foreigners” was multifaceted, and included the creation of workers’ movements and a wide range of cultural activities.5

In 1925, Egypt's Prime Minister, Ziwar Pasha, sent an official representative to the inauguration of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, which he lauded as a contribution to

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humankind. It is no wonder that, unlike many Arabs elsewhere, the cosmopolitan Egyptians were unreceptive to fascism during the 1930s.

“Egyptian public opinion was largely unreceptive to fascism, openly rejecting totalitarian ideas and practices, Nazi racism, and Italy's and Germany's expansionist and imperialist agendas. The majority (although not all) of Egyptian voices supported liberal democracy against the challenge of fascism, and most Egyptians sought to improve and reform, rather than to replace and destroy, the existing constitutional and parliamentary system.”

Concurrently, in the 1930s, pan-Islamic and pan-Arab notions gradually emerged, replacing the sole dedication of Egyptian elites to territorial nationalism. Still, an existing moderate nationalism and cultural liberalism paid off. During the 1940s, Egypt, still occupied by a large British military force, was economically powerful, having talented entrepreneurs and a legal system that supported joint-stock companies and the private sector. Large companies such as Misr, Yahya, and ʿAbud competed for dominance over Egypt's growing industrial sector, intensifying the conflict between the nationalistic Wafd party and King Farouk, a member of the wealthy Ottoman elite. Egypt's economic independence, passionate nationalism, and pan-Arabic sentiment led to the weakening of the British grip over the country, but also to the Free Officers military takeover of 1952. This was the end of the liberal system, with the inevitable consequences of forfeiting an open economy, multiculturalism, free speech, and democratic institutions, flawed as they had been. By the early 1960s, there were very few foreigners in Egypt – most were gone.

The policies of the hyper-charismatic President Gamal Abdel Nasser enhanced Arabism as a central identity, to the point of removing Egypt as a country name during the period of the United Arab Republic (1958–61). So, he forced non-Arab Egyptians out, introduced economic statism, tried to impose Egyptian hegemony – Nasserism – upon the rest of the Middle East, and endeavored to fight non-Arab and/or non-revolutionary countries such as Israel, Iran of the Shah, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia.

It was only after Nasser that Egypt gradually retracted from its statist-confrontational approach. Paradoxically, it first had to go to war in 1973 before launching its open-door policy, the Infitah, to try and liberalize the market.

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10 Farouk had Albanian, Circassian, Turkish, French, Egyptian, and Greek ancestry. His first languages were Egyptian Arabic, Turkish and French. William Stadiem, Too Rich: The High Life and Tragic Death of King Farouk, New York: Carroll & Graf, 1991, pp. 11–12.
12 A few members of the Greek community remained in Egypt against all odds, took advantage of the diminished competition and contributed to the country even after the early 1960s. Efthyicia Mylona, “A Presence without a Narrative: The Greeks in Egypt, 1961–1976”, Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée, 144 (2018), pp. 175–190.
1977, with the historical visit of President Anwar Sadat to Jerusalem, Egypt left the Pan-Arabist conflict against Israel behind and began its journey back home. In the words of writer Tawfiq Al-Hakim a few years earlier, Egypt opted for a “Return to Consciousness,” shedding the Soviet Block, dreams of Arab leadership, and wars. Launching an ‘Egypt First’ approach, Sadat hoped to make Egypt a powerful country once more. Forty years later, however, Egypt still struggles with structural challenges. Statism, authoritarianism, and animosity toward Israel lingered on during the Mubarak era. The 2011 and 2013 revolutions tell us that Egyptians expect much more from their governments, and are not ready to replace the radical pan-Arabism of the past with radical pan-Islamism, as represented by the Muslim Brotherhood.

Will Egypt return to its cosmopolitan era, regain its status as a cultural and economic powerhouse, and become part of a peaceful, diversified, and harmonious region? What do school textbooks tell us about the future national psyche of Egypt?

The main finding of this report is that the Egyptian curriculum is largely successful in imparting a vision of national solidarity, a democratic spirit, and a strong identity that largely emanates from the country’s own heritage. This is a vision of peace, combined with openness toward other cultures. Another encouraging dimension of the curriculum is education for women’s rights. Environmental issues, a hallmark of the culture of the Nile Valley throughout the ages, are prominent within the curriculum, as are ancient local values associated with harmony and cleanliness, in society and in nature.

What is still missing, and this is evident from the report’s findings on all themes, is a clear vision for the future. The curriculum seems to harbor duality on many issues, from female circumcision to attitudes toward Israel and Jews. There is much information missing, particularly on the role of “foreigners” in Egypt's economic and cultural success. Here and there we see suspicion toward Jewish and Greek communities. There is no particular nostalgia for the cosmopolitan spirit of Egypt, even as Islam and its Pharaonic heritage are cherished.

While the curriculum is unambiguous in its commitment to peace, the duality that we have identified suggests that Egyptian education is not serious enough about openness and success. In the long run, this may lead to frustration, populism, and radicalism.

Historically, Egypt was at its best when combining its unique civilization and predisposition for harmony and balance with openness to diversity and the contribution of others, at home and in the region. Some of this exists in the curriculum. A forward-looking education on Egypt’s cosmopolitan heritage – from time immemorial all the way to the 1920s and the 21st century – could help remake it as the world center it deserves to be.

Eldad J. Pardo, PhD
IMPACT-se Director of Research
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IMPACT-se’s research of a single curriculum involves the analysis of thousands of pages of textbooks, measured against UNESCO-based standards of peace and tolerance.

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Introduction

Egypt's population stands at over 106 million people, and is growing at an annual rate of 1.9%. Currently, more than half of the Egyptian population is under 24 years old, and about one-third is between the ages of 0–14. The overall number of school students in Egypt in 2019-20 exceeded 25 million.13

Education has been identified as a key element in Egypt's evolution by the current administration. It drives the country's ability to develop a competitive economy, create job opportunities for its younger generation, and burgeon its regional and international status. The improvement of the education system is a personal concern of current President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, who declared 2019 as the “year of education.” During his term in office, the education budget has been increased, as have teachers' salaries, albeit still below the metrics of more developed countries.14

Egyptian government interest in education is not new. When Muhammad Ali Pasha, the founder of modern Egypt, assumed power in 1805, he introduced modern European-style education, modeled after the French system. He established high schools (1816), preparatory schools (1825), and primary schools (1832). Egypt's first constitution, promulgated in 1923, made primary education compulsory for all Egyptians, boys and girls alike.

Following the July 23, 1952 revolution, the Egyptian state introduced a development strategy that included an educational element. It adopted the principle of the “democracy of education,” with the hope of offering people from all socioeconomic strata the opportunity to be educated. In 1981, the period of compulsory education was extended from 6 to 9 years, between the ages 6 and 14. Education policies under President Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011) were intended to stimulate advancements in all areas of education, with the goal of elevating Egyptian society through its economy.

The current Egyptian constitution, which is based on articles from the constitution of 1971 and was most recently amended in 2019, asserts that “high-quality education is a right guaranteed by the State for every citizen. It is free throughout its stages in all government educational institutions, obligatory in the primary stage, and the State shall work to extend obligation to other stages.” The State supervises all stages of education, and is committed to dedicating sufficient resources from the national GDP.15

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Structure of the Egyptian Education System

The formal pre-university education system in Egypt consists of four levels: pre-primary (kindergarten, ages 4-6), primary (ibtidā'i, grades 1-6, ages 12-14), preparatory (i'dādi, grades 7-9, ages 12-14) and high school (thanawi, grades 10-12, ages 15-17). The latter is divided into general and technical school. Students must pass a demanding end-of-level examination at the end of primary education; those who do not pass after two attempts must either move to a vocational preparatory school, or withdraw from education altogether.16

About 90 percent of Egyptian students attend public schools, while the rest attend private schools. The national governmental curriculum is taught in most Egyptian public schools, as well as some private schools. International private schools follow their own curricula. The roles of the Ministry of Education are to supervise public schools, develop their curricula, manage human resources, and provide professional incentives for teachers to improve their level of professional work and educational outcomes.17

The Ministry of Education publishes a single textbook for each subject. Teachers and schools are not free to choose different textbooks or narratives;18 such textbooks could be updated yearly, thus helping educators to adjust their messaging.19

Challenges and Reforms

Over the last decade, Egypt has experienced a period of transformation that has also affected education. Following 30 years of rigid stability, Egypt became one of the focal points of the Arab Spring protest movement, the 2011 Egyptian Revolution leading to the election of an Islamic Brotherhood government. Inefficiency and Islamization triggered the Second Egyptian Revolution of June 2013, which was a combination of popular protests and military takeover, leading to the rise of President El-Sisi. Since then, Egypt's education, ranked by international indexes, has registered a remarkable improvement,20 even if the education system itself is yet to deliver high-quality education – essential to meet the country's needs. For instance, in the last 2019 TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study), Egyptian students were ranked below the international average.21 Likewise, while illiteracy rates are in moderate decline, they still stand at 17.2 percent for Individuals under 45 years of age.22

There are several significant challenges which negatively affect the quality of education in

18 Podeh, "A Distorted Other."
19 Wolny-Abouelwafa, "Teaching of the Islamic Religion in Egyptian Governmental Primary Schools."
22 Yara Sameh, "CAPMAS: Egypt's Illiteracy Rates Stand at 17.2% for Individuals under 45 Years," Sada el-Balad (Sep. 8, 2022), https://see.news/capmas-egypts-illiteracy-rates-stand-at-17-2-for-individuals-under-45-years/.
Egypt. These include an outdated curriculum; insufficient investment in the education of science and technology; dependence on rote memorization instead of scientific research; overcrowded classrooms (the average number of students per class in Egypt is 47.5, but some schools include up to 90 students per class); a severe shortage of infrastructure and competent teachers. Also problematic is the inequality between governorates, rural and urban areas, and social classes. Consequently, many Egyptian families cannot afford quality education or private lessons for their children.

To meet these challenges, the Egyptian government invests effort and resources into promoting reforms in the educational system. In 2021, President El-Sisi announced the launch of the country’s ‘New Republic’ strategy. The term has become synonymous with El-Sisi’s promise to raise the overall standard of living and improve health, housing, employment, and infrastructure in the country. The strategy calls for a renaissance in education, in order to create a path for achieving sustainable development, and to prepare young Egyptian students for the requirements of the local and global labor markets of tomorrow.

Some reforms focus on the modernization of Egyptian schools and the development of their infrastructure. In April 2020, Egypt announced an ambitious plan to invest 6.8 billion Egyptian Pounds in the building of new schools and classrooms, to reduce overcrowded classes.

Other reforms relate to the curricula. The Egyptian Ministry of Education formulated a long-term vision for developing Egyptian textbooks, to be implemented between the years 2018-2030, starting in first grade. As of the 2022-2023 academic year, the Egyptian Ministry of Education has introduced changes to textbooks from grades 1 to 5, while each year an additional grade is added. This assumes a 12-year program of change. The official guiding principles for the new textbooks center around critical thinking, acceptance of the other, respect for diversity, tolerance, peaceful coexistence, rejection of extremism and violence, and openness to the world, alongside preserving Egyptian cultural identity. This framework is based on international criteria, including that of UNICEF, UNESCO, and the World Bank, with adjustments for an Egyptian context.

According to the Egyptian Minister of Education and Technical Education, Dr. Reda Hegazy, the renewed Egyptian education system is designed “to build an Egyptian who is able to gain knowledge and life skills, is capable of

lifelong learning, and is capable of devotion to his country, his Arab nation and his African continent, is innovative, creative, understanding and accepting of differences, proficient in knowledge and life skills, capable of lifelong learning, and capable of global competition.” He added that the investment in a modern education system is intended to make sure that the young generation of Egyptians will “enjoy a better future” and “transfer their homeland, Egypt, to the ranks of major countries in the foreseeable short-term.”

The recent reforms in Egyptian textbooks are aligned with the regime’s greater efforts to cope with Egypt’s political, ideological, and economic challenges, chief among them combating radical Islam. In 2015, the Ministry of Education formed a committee to review the religious education curricula and to submit its findings to the Ministry of Endowments and al-Azhar for revisions, to avoid violence, extremism, and fanaticism. Later, in February 2021, the Ministry of Education approved a parliamentary proposal to teach common values among the monotheistic religions as a subject, including the principles of tolerance, citizenship, and coexistence. According to an official teacher’s guide, the evolving curriculum is dedicated to “establishing the correct faith, instilling the true faith, and forming common values that contribute to the development of tolerance, coexistence, and respect for the uniqueness of others.”

A new set of textbooks, titled “Values and Respect for the Other,” was introduced by the Egyptian Ministry of Education in 2021. It was the result of a presidential directive, following a request that the subject be taught in schools and universities. The Minister of Education announced the introduction of these textbooks for the purpose of molding “an Egyptian that belongs to his homeland, to his Arab nation and to his African continent,” and who is able to both “understand” and “tolerate” difference. The textbook is divided into themes focusing on personal and collective identity, as well as the relationship between an individual and the world around them. Activities stress respect for the other, personal accountability, and making reasoned judgments.

**Previous Essays on Egyptian Textbooks**

Following the June 2013 revolution, several studies examined Egyptian textbooks. Wolny-Abouelwafa’s research has highlighted the role of textbooks in the fight against terrorism and extremist ideas from 2013 to 2016, and in fostering co-existence between Muslims and Christians. She also found that textbooks on Islamic education were presenting values of a universal character, such as respect for the elderly, prevention of discrimination, proper treatment of animals, patriotic education, and taking care of the environment. Ali’s research found high rates of environmental education.

28 Ibid., pp. 2–3.
32 Wolny-Abouelwafa, “Teaching of the Islamic Religion in Egyptian Governmental Primary Schools.”
and sustainable development topics in the new curriculum, for grades 1 to 4.\textsuperscript{34}

Over the years, other studies have focused on the presentation of Israel, Zionism, and the Jews. Podeh found that history and religion textbooks of the 1990s portrayed Israel as an illegitimate state that had driven out the legal owners of the land, schemed to expand in the region, and served Western imperialism. Geographical maps that appeared in the textbooks referred to Israel as “occupied Palestine.” Most of these textbooks emphasized Jerusalem’s Arab, Islamic, and Christian heritage, while only a few of them mentioned the historical Jewish connection to the city.\textsuperscript{35}

In a previous IMPACT-se project, Groiss examined textbooks published between 1999-2002, where he found that despite respect for Judaism and Christianity as monotheistic religions, no Jewish individual was portrayed in positive terms, except for Biblical figures and Albert Einstein. References to Zionism have always been negative, described as an expansionist movement, and Egypt’s wars with Israel were discussed much more extensively than their mutual peace process.\textsuperscript{36}

More recent studies revealed that certain lessons still teach anti-Jewish hate. Manor noted that in religious textbooks from 2010, Jews were condemned as inherently possessing and manifesting negative characteristics, such as treachery and the failure to honor contracts and agreements.\textsuperscript{37}

Podeh analyzed 16 textbooks from the years 2013-2015, some of which depicted Jews as terrorists, aggressors, brutal, treacherous, untrustworthy, and greedy, and Israel as a colonialist power. Rare exceptions were the positive descriptions of Moses and of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty.\textsuperscript{38}

Weinberg noted similar findings, both in public school and al-Azhar textbooks.\textsuperscript{39}

The author of this report found slight improvements in education of peace with Israel, based on a comparison between a 2015-2016 textbook and earlier iterations. These changes were manifested by stronger support of peace with Israel based on economic considerations; portraying Israel as a partner for “friendly” relations with Egypt; presenting a picture of Prime Minister Menahem Begin alongside President Anwar al-Sadat; and a narrower reference to past wars with Israel and to the Palestinian problem.\textsuperscript{40}

**A “New Republic” in the Making**

The current report includes the examination of more than 250 from the years 2018-2023 in the

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\textsuperscript{37} Yohanan Manor, “Inculturating Islamist Ideals in Egypt,” Middle East Quarterly 22, No. 4 (Fall 2015), www.meforum.org/5480/incipurating-islamist-ideals-in-egypt.

\textsuperscript{38} Podeh, "A Distorted Other."


\textsuperscript{40} Ofir Winter, “Peace with Israel in Egyptian Textbooks: What Changed between the Mubarak and el-Sisi Eras?,” Strategic Assessment 19, No. 1 (April 2016), pp. 61-71.
fields of Arabic language, Islamic and Christian religious education, social studies, values and respect for the other, national education, history, geography, and philosophy. The report is divided into seven chapters. The first addresses the reform of school curricula between 2018-2030, across all grades. The second chapter examines general perceptions of the military, war, and jihad, alongside values of internal peace, regional peace, world peace, and humanity. The third chapter deals with the society and politics of Egypt following a decade of upheaval, comprising the revolutions of 2011 and 2013, and the discourse over Egypt's identity and political orientation. The fourth chapter is dedicated to treatment of the “Other,” particularly Christians and Jews, including the Jewish component in the ancient and modern history of Egypt. The fifth chapter encounters domestic challenges, particularly demography, environment, and climate change-related problems and solutions. The sixth chapter focuses on the status of women, including illustrations of women and girls, female role models for Egyptian students, women's anticipated roles in the labor market, women's rights in Islam, and approaches to female genital mutilation. The seventh chapter recounts Egypt's regional and international outlook, its view of world powers, and its complex approach toward peace and conflict with Israel and Zionism.
Curricular Reform

In a speech delivered by Minister of Education Reda Hegazy, the government announced a fundamental reform of school curricula that would be rolled out between 2018-2030, covering education starting at the first two years of kindergarten until the final year of high school, or 14 school grades in total. The purpose of the reform, he said, is to mold an Egyptian who “is capable of devotion to his country, his Arab nation, and his African continent,” and to construct a modern education system “with international quality standards.”

President Al-Sisi, at a conference on these reforms in 2020, made clear that their implementation falls under the remit of the government: “The reform has made Egyptian curricula among the finest in the world […] Many doubts have been raised about the applicability of the reform, and the government will need to address future reservations. Nonetheless, the state has made a considerable effort, and its success is owed to the cooperation between the state and the citizens.”

In September 2021, the government announced the release of a new National Human Rights Strategy for 2021-2026, which promotes religious tolerance and anti-sectarianism within educational, religious, and community institutions. This includes programs to reform the curricula of government and Al-Azhar schools, namely the removal of exclusionary material and content which reflects messages of religious intolerance. This is not the first attempt to promote interreligious discourse, tolerance, and religious freedoms. Previous initiatives on a smaller scale include the “Egyptian Family House” (established in 2011), an Islamic-Christian interfaith educational hub, and two academic competitions on Islamic and Christian culture organized by the Egyptian Church, the Ministry of Awqaf and the MOE. The 26th session on developing the skills of teachers of religious education and promoting religious freedoms sits within the framework of cooperation between the Ministry of Awqaf and the MOE to develop teachers’ skills, promote religious freedoms, and disseminate the foundations of tolerance and coexistence. 100 male and female teachers from the two governorates of Alexandria and Beheira participated in the session.

There have been efforts by the Egyptian government to curtail extremism in school curricula. In 2015, a Ministry of Education committee was formed to review the religious education curricula and submit its findings to the

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41 Islamic Religious Education (Teacher Guide), Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2022, pp. 2-3.
42 TeN TV, “El-Sisi: The Prepared School Curricula are among the Best in the World” (السيسي: مناهج التعليم التي تم اعتمادها من أفضل المناهج في العالم), YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5er4rJrPR7o.
Ministry of Awqaf and the al-Azhar Institute for the mitigation of violent, extreme, and fanatical content. In February 2021, a proposal was presented in parliament that promoted school curricula, highlighting the common values shared by Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, and principles of tolerance, citizenship, and coexistence. While the then Deputy Minister of Education (and current Minister) Reda Hegazy stated that “the subject of common values between the three monotheistic religions will be added to the exam subjects due to its importance,” the proposal reportedly progressed no further in parliament. Nonetheless, according to parliamentary sources, schools gradually incorporated contents of interreligious tolerance into revised school textbooks.

In December 2021, the Egyptian Parliament debated a controversial bill on the use of Modern Standard Arabic (the Qur’anic form) in schools. While one member claimed that non-Muslim students “should not be forced to memorize the Qur’an,” a representative of the Al-Azhar Institute expressed support for the proposed legislation, stating that the removal of Qur’anic texts from Arabic language classes is “an explicit call to [...] cut [students] off from their language, culture, and identity, as it opens the door to destructive ideas and interpretations.”

The goals of the current program are more far-reaching. They are based on constitutional guarantees for the enhancement of human rights, respect, and protection, Egypt’s international and regional human rights obligations, and a sustainable development strategy known as “Egypt Vision 2030.”

The Ministry of Education developed a general framework for educational curricula based on five elements: equality and non-discrimination; globalization; health and population; environment and development; and awareness of citizenship. The new curriculum proposal also includes perceived challenges facing Egyptian society, alongside concerns focusing on public life, the renunciation of violence, active citizenship, respect and acceptance of others, and advocating social cohesion, justice, and equality.

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49 Ibid.
According to the MOE, the reform was begun after promoted research and a great deal of deliberation, and in collaboration with several bodies, including the Centre for Developing Curricula and Educational Material, the Al-Azhar Institute, the Discovery Educational Institute, the Nahda Institute, the Longman Institute (Egypt), UNICEF, UNESCO, World Bank education experts, British education experts, and Egyptian college professors.  

The current IMPACT-se report focuses on the revised curricula for Islamic Education, Arabic language, Social Studies, Christian Education, and Values and Respect for the Other for the 2021-22 academic year. The aim of this reform was to ensure that textbooks reject violence and extremism; promote dialogue; emphasize recognition of differences and coexistence; and combat hate and intolerance. Reportedly, as of February, the reform of grade 6 curricula is underway.

Aside from the reform of the general school curriculum, since 2020, the MOE has been reforming 85 Technical Education courses.

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curricula were reformed in 2019-20, 15 in 2020-21, and 37 in 2021-22. By 2022, the reform had been implemented in 881 schools; in 2022-23, another 423 schools will be included, and 1,250 instructors will be trained.54

The Ministry also designed a teacher training package focused on “promoting religious freedoms and spreading a culture of tolerance and rejection of intolerance” among Egyptian school students.55 According to the Minister of Education, teacher training programs are held throughout the school year, focusing on an educational philosophy, which prioritizes inquiry, followed by study and implementation.56 Furthermore, according to the Supreme Standing Committee for Human Rights in Egypt, training programs have been offered to 1,000 Christian Education teachers in cooperation with the Orthodox Church.

In this chapter, we describe the major content features of the grades 1-5 post-reform textbooks on Islamic Education, Social Studies, Arabic Language, Christian Education, and Values and Respect for the Other. The sweeping reform of various textbooks entailed the promotion of religious tolerance, gender equality, care for the environment, respect and tolerance toward non-Muslims and perceived Others, as well as the removal of problematic content that promoted violence, antisemitism, or anti-Israeli propaganda that appeared in previous textbooks. In some grades and subjects, textbook authors seemingly attempted to mitigate content that promotes violent material on jihad and martyrdom. For instance, a removed Grade 5 Arabic Language textbook contained a text praising Egypt’s role in the Yom Kippur/October War in 1973 with Israel, and the virtue of jihad.57 The textbook also instructed students to “remember that: the martyrs (shuhada) deserve great reward.”58

The glorification of martyrdom in a purely Islamic context was also found in elementary grades. In a removed Grade 5 Islamic Education textbook, a lesson included a text on the early Muslim woman al-Khansa’ bint ‘Amr, whose four sons died as martyrs in the Battle of Qadisiyya (636 CE). The text describes how the martyrdom of her sons was such a joyous occasion for her, that it stopped her weeping for her deceased brother.59 Significantly, no examples discussing jihad or martyrdom were included in the corresponding post-reform textbook.60

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56 Minat Allah ‘Abd al-Rahman, “Reforming Curricula: Minister of Education Speaks about Ambitious Plan at Development” (تغيير المناهج: وزير التعليم يتحدث عن خطة طموحة للتطوير), Masrawi (Oct. 12, 2022), https://www.masrawy.com/news/education-schooleducation/details/2022/10/12/2305733/%D8%AA%D8%BA%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%AC-%D9%88%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%85-%D9%8A%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%AF%D8%AB-%D8%B9%D9%86-%D8%AE%D8%B7%D8%A9-%D8%B7%D9%85%D9%88%D8%AD%D8%A9-%D8%B8%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B7%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%B1.
58 Ibid., p. 2.
60 However, praise for the martyr still appears in Arabic Language, Grade 5, Vol. 2, 2022-23, p. 24.
The overhaul of previous textbooks and the consolidation of new textbooks entailed the introduction of new positive content. The reformed Islamic Education textbooks contain many lessons that exemplify the role of Islam in promoting peace and tolerance. Islam is thus presented as a religion reflecting values of love, honor, solidarity, and appreciation for knowledge and labor.

Tolerance is also exemplified in a Grade 5 Social Studies textbook. In a lesson on religious life in Egypt, a story is used to teach students that the Egyptians have adhered to principles such as compassion, honesty, respect, and tolerance since ancient times, and they apply them in their lives today so that love and peace prevail among all peoples of the world.

![Religious Life in our Country (Between Past and Present)](image)

Religious Life in our Country (Between Past and Present) [...] Hisham woke up from his slumber holding the story in his hand. He then read that the Egyptian people are religious and adhere to values that go back to the earliest ages, such as mercy, honesty, respect, and tolerance, and they implement them in their lives to spread love and peace to all the peoples of the world.

While the depiction of polytheism (shirk) is frequently negative, as the Qur’an mentions explicitly that the polytheists are doomed to Hell, the reformed textbooks contain some favorable depictions of polytheists who had helped Muhammad. For instance, one textbook iterates the story of the Qur’anic figure Luqman, noting that one ought to treat his parents with respect even if they are polytheists. In a Grade 4 Islamic Education textbook, alongside a generally negative depiction of polytheists who boycotted the early Muslims and the tribe of Muhammad, an account is given of the polytheist ‘Amr ibn Hisham, who showed compassion to the Muslims, thereby breaking the siege. While this case is quite rare in including favorable depictions of polytheists, students are potentially exposed to the notion that not all polytheism is wrong, and the idea that it was rather the behavior of the individual (and not his or her religious disposition) that could be a positive influence. Thus, in attributing certain polytheists with compassion to Muslims, the texts imply that such figures may also be treated in turn with compassion. This message is strengthened by another example that teaches how the Prophet Muhammad promulgated his mission among the Meccan polytheists through means of compassion, kindness, and patience. Only after they tried to kill him did he resort to self-defence.

Gender equality is positively featured in the reformed textbooks. Compared to the unrevised textbooks, those newly published as

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63 Egypt and Islamic Civilization, Grade 11, 2020-21, p. 15.
part of the reform seem to offer more content promoting gender equality, with a greater number of illustrations of boys alongside girls (both wearing and not wearing a veil) participating in indoor and outdoor activities. In general, the reformed Islamic Education textbooks tend to portray women wearing hijabs, but young girls are also drawn without. In the following example, a boy and a girl are drawn participating in the same activity (a scientific experiment) as equals.

In a Grade 5 Values and Respect for the Other textbook, a lesson teaches the importance of equality for women. A girl manages to convince her male peers to announce the school broadcast together.

In a Grade 5 Social Studies textbook, a lesson dedicated to past and present social life in Egypt mentions that according to the 2014 constitution, the state must “guarantee the realization of equality between women and men in all civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights according to the provisions of the constitution. It also guarantees the right of women to hold public and high management positions in the country and to be appointed to legal bodies without any discrimination against them.” Students are then asked to search for information regarding female role models that have influenced the history of Egypt, and to make a presentation about their contribution to Egypt. Students are also tasked with writing a story highlighting their appreciation for women, and their impact on society.

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2. Write a story through which you clarify the appreciation towards women and its effects on society. Make sure the story includes:

1. Women's role in society
2. The importance of appreciating women
3. The ways to demonstrate appreciation towards women.

In an example of the role of women in Islam, a Grade 5 Islamic Education textbook teaches that God prescribed a great role for women in Muhammad's Hijra (his migration to Medina) due to their generosity, courage, and capacity to give.68

In line with the reform's objectives of aligning Egyptian education with contemporary humanitarian concepts, the reformed textbooks contain texts concerning human and children's rights, respect for others, equality, and care for the environment. This conforms to the reform's vision of providing children with the knowledge and skills relevant to contemporary domestic and global issues.

The inclusion of topics on human rights, and particularly those of children, possibly reflects an attempt to increase awareness of the persistent problem of child employment, child sexual abuse, and other forms of exploitation. For example, a text from a Grade 4 Arabic textbook introduces rights from the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).69

Acceptance of the Other is also included in Arabic Language and Islamic Education textbooks. In a reformed Grade 5 Islamic Education textbook, students are tasked with creating a booklet on coexistence, acceptance, and respect for the Other.70 Furthermore, the textbooks seem to put a greater emphasis on education for compassion, gender equality, and ensuring the success of others as a means of achieving happiness.71

The importance of maintaining the environment, in light of climate change, also receives much attention in the reformed textbooks. In a Grade 5 Islamic Education textbook, children are asked to explain whether plants and inanimate objects should be protected by humans.72 Preservation of the environment and the natural ecosystem (animals, plants, vegetation and water) are promoted as Islamic values.73 These are also present in new Social Studies textbooks, such as Egypt's efforts to combat climate change and reduce greenhouse emissions.74

A new set of textbooks, titled “Values and Respect for the Other,” was introduced by the

69 Arabic Language, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2022-23, p. 78. See also ibid., pp. 85, 184; Social Studies, Resources and Legacy of My Country, Grade 4, 2022-23, pp. 90, 91.
Egyptian Ministry of Education in 2020, the result of a presidential directive, following a request that the subject be taught in schools and universities. The Minister of Education announced the introduction of these textbooks for the purpose of molding “an Egyptian that belongs to his homeland, to his Arab nation and to his African continent,” and who is able to both “understand” and “tolerate” difference. The textbook is divided into themes focusing on personal and collective identity, as well as the relationship between an individual and the world around them. Activities stress respect for the other, personal accountability, and making reasoned judgments. As stated above, these ideas seem to have been incorporated into the reformed textbooks of other subjects as well.

The textbooks promote notions of racial and gender equality, representation of people with disabilities, helping and respecting others, for instance:

Representation of children with disabilities:

Respecting others (and portraying girls partaking in sport not wearing veils):

The reform also includes Christian Education textbooks. The vast majority of material concerns stories of saintly figures which are presented in either a positive or neutral way, mainly promoting Christian ideals of compassion and mercy. A Grade 2 textbook teaches that tolerance should be directed toward everyone, “including enemies.” For example, Jesus is portrayed as bringing salvation to all mankind, and Jews are described as the “people of God” in the story on the Crossing of the Red Sea.
The Pharaoh of Egypt harassed the people of God [people of Israel]. Thus, the prophet Moses and the people left Egypt for a new land, but when they reached the sea, they discovered that Pharaoh and his troops were behind them...

The new textbooks also contain several mentions of “Judea” (identical in Arabic to the word “Judaism” [al-yahudiyya]) to a greater extent than pre-reform textbooks, therefore acknowledging some degree of connection between Judaism and the geographical territory of the land of Israel.78 A remarkable example is a text from a Grade 4 textbook, teaching that King Solomon had built the Temple on Mount Moriah in Jerusalem, referring explicitly to the names “Israel” and “Urshalim” (Jerusalem, as opposed to the Islamic name “al-Quds” or “Bayt al-Maqdis”).79 This introduces a Jewish aspect to the predominantly Islamic narrative that focuses on the establishment of al-Aqsa mosque by the Islamic prophets (Adam, Abraham, etc.) and the Arab nature of Jerusalem.

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A similar example about Jesus’s Via Dolorosa teaches that Jerusalem (Urshalim) was home to a great Temple, which the Jews of the world would visit yearly to celebrate Passover.80

In a reference to Jesus in the Old Testament from a Grade 5 Christian Education textbook, a text says that Moses and Aaron “led the people of Israel […] to the Promised Land (the land which God had promised to them and posterity).” Here too, the content confirms not merely the historical connection of Judaism to the land of Israel, but also the spiritual connection manifested through God’s promise of the land for them.81

The considerable achievements of the textbook reforms notwithstanding, our study of the reformed textbooks identified a few instances of remaining problematic content, mainly concerning polytheism and unbelievers, and the rare negative portrayal of Jews in both Islamic and Christian contexts. For instance, in Islamic Education textbooks, failure to uphold not only the word of God but also that of his prophets, as well as one’s being an infidel, dooms such people to Hell. In a Grade 4 Islamic Education textbook, whereas the Qur'an presents an ambiguous statement on improper behavior entailing punishment in “the lowest of the low,” [Qur'an, al-Tin 95: ], it is interpreted as damnation in Hell.82 These sayings, which are either detached from a Qur'anic or Hadith reference, or derived from an interpretation of obscure statements, reflect negatively on those who do not believe in Muhammad as the prophet of Islam (i.e. non-Muslims in general).

In several Christian Education textbooks, the Jews are portrayed negatively as responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus. Specifically, in a Grade 2 Christian Education textbook, pupils are taught that Jesus forgave the Jewish people even though they had stoned and crucified him. This and other texts thus promote the notion that Jews crucified Jesus, as opposed to the Romans.83

The Islamic view on other monotheistic religions, namely Judaism and Christianity, is mainly positive. While the Qur'an is presented as the superior revelatory text, the textbooks emphasize that Muslims revere other holy books (the Bible and the New Testament).84 Furthermore, the positive role of the Jews in spreading Islam is indicated in several examples. In a Grade 4 Islamic Education textbook, students are taught that the success of Muhammad’s mission hinged, in part, on the familiarity of the young Jewish men of Medina (Yathrib) with the concept of the arrival of a Prophet at the end of times. Upon hearing

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Muhammad, they believed he was that prophet, and converted to Islam. According to another text, the Prophet Muhammad created the Charter of Medina in order to live in coexistence with the Jews on the basis of peace, justice and cooperation. It is also stipulated that the charter granted the Jews freedom of religion and equal rights, without any injustice, bias, or racial discrimination against them on the part of the Muslims.

Significant removals of problematic content also concern Jews, Israel, and Palestine. In a removed Grade 4 Islamic Education textbook (2020-21), a lesson on the conflict between the early Muslims and the Jewish Qaynuqa’ tribe is concluded with a saying that “the Jews are treacherous, because they did not respect the agreements between them and the Muslims, disregarded the rights of neighbors, as opposed to the Muslims [...]” It is notable that the removed text refers to these negative traits as pertaining to the general category of Jews, and not to the specific tribe. Furthermore, pupils are instructed to explain the statement cited above according to what they had learned. Notably, as opposed to the Jews, the Christian Copts are portrayed positively.

In another example, the enmity and deceit of the Jews against the Muslims is reiterated, explaining that they desecrated the purity of a Muslim woman. Such acts impelled the Muslims to wage war against the Jews to protect Islam. That these inflammatory contents against Jews were removed is a significant step forward.

Generally speaking, the reformed textbooks go a long way in detaching criticism of Israel (which has been toned down to some extent) from criticism against Jews that often invokes antisemitic tropes. For instance, a removed Grade 5 Islamic Studies textbook contained a lesson that drew parallels between the Egyptian army’s victory over the Israeli forces in the Yom Kippur/October War of 1973, and the Prophet’s victory over the Jewish Banu Nadir tribe. This example is particularly inflammatory because it attempted to link the holy war against the Jews with contemporary events in Israeli-Egyptian conflicts. Israel is never mentioned by name in this lesson, but instead is referred to simply as “enemies” or “usurping Jews.” The lesson emphasized the Jews’ characteristic of betrayal, stating that “they are always like this.” The lesson on the war also notes that Palestine is an Arab land that the Jews seized unlawfully, and instructs the students to “use the computer to collect Qur’anic verses about the treachery of the Jews.” Students are also actively required to choose the correct answer to the statement: “Among the characteristics of the Jews (Righteousness; Betrayal; Loyalty) [Betrayal being the correct answer].”

87 Islamic Religious Education, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2020-21, p. 41-42, 44. In a removed grade 5 Social Studies textbook, a lesson on the Coptic Era and the beginning of Christianity mentions the opposition of “the Jews” (in general) and the Romans to Jesus. Social Studies, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2021-22, p. 38.
89 See also page 59 in report.
90 For an elaboration on these two examples, see pages 58-59 in report.
And these are the fortifications of the Bar Lev Line. Allah helped us against the Jews just like when He helped the Messenger against them in Medina, destroying their fortifications with them inside. The father said: this was in Medina, when a Jewish tribe – Banu Nadir – attempted to kill the Apostle when he resided in their midst [...]

Such material strengthens the premise that Israel and Jews are potential subjects of jihad. Indeed, several pages later in the same textbook, in a lesson on the Israeli withdrawal from Yamit in Sinai, the text focused on criticizing the general conduct of “the Jews” in demolishing villages prior to their evacuation, “so its people can’t make any use of it at all,” as they had done in the time of Muhammad. The remnants of the village are viewed as evidence of “the glory of the Egyptian soldier and the humiliation of the Jews.” The same lesson contains a task to prepare a message for the school broadcast entitled “the Jews of yesterday are the Jews of today.” Hence, the fact that they are not replicated in the reformed textbooks constitutes a significant step forward in Egypt’s portrayal of Jews and Israel.

Remarkably, this does not appear in the corresponding post-reform textbook. In the reformed Social Studies textbook of the same grade, the war is not portrayed with particularly Islamic themes, especially those that commemorate the wars between Muhammad and the Jews. Rather, the narrative focuses on factual events that demonstrate Egypt’s “victory.” Notably, the same text also focuses on the benefits of the ensuing peace treaty between Israel and Egypt that outweigh those of war (see below).

Among the most important wars that Egypt witnessed in the 20th century was the “October 6 1973” war, led by the late president Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat to free the territory of Sinai from Israeli occupation. Whereupon the Egyptian army surprised the entire world with its [successful] crossing of the Suez Canal and the destruction of the Bar Lev line in merely 6 hours. Then the Israeli army was defeated.

In this vein, consider also the removal of a Grade 5 Social Studies textbook in which the Yom
Kippur War was compared to the Battle of Ayn Jalut (1260 CE), where the Mamluks of Egypt defeated the invading Mongol forces. Prior to the removal, students may have surmised from this comparison that Israel's military efforts in the war are similar to the widespread conception of the Mongol invasion as an attempt to end Arab and Islamic civilization.

In the reformed corresponding textbook, a lesson is dedicated to Egypt's victories over the ages, including their “victory” in the Yom Kippur/October War. Nonetheless, the text highlights the importance of the peace agreement signed with Israel, whose favorable outcomes include the returning of Sinai to Egypt and using the state’s resources for development and the improvement of Egyptian lives, rather than on wars.

Social Studies textbook contained a lesson asking the students to suggest solutions for the liberation of al-Aqsa mosque from the “Zionist Occupation.”

Improvement with respect to the representation of Israel is also evident in the tendency toward neutral geographical maps of the area. Whereas removed textbooks contained maps referring to the territory of Israel as “Palestine” or “Occupied Palestine,” in several reformed textbooks the territory is often left unnamed. In one example of a Grade 5 Social Studies textbook, a map of Egypt’s natural resources is shown with (2021, including Palestine) and without (2022) the names of bordering countries:

In 1979 the late president Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat signed a peace treaty with Israel, in which Egypt regained control over Sinai. Thanks to the peace, Egypt was able to focus on development projects and improving the lives of Egyptians, instead of spending the country’s resources on wars.

The Egyptian’s obligation to the Palestinian cause notwithstanding, the removal of anti-Jewish or anti-Israel content is significant and indicates a positive step toward mitigating inflammatory teaching. A removed Grade 5

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95 See also Social Studies - Resources and Legacy of My Country, Grade 4, 2021-22 (New Edition), pp. 24. 46. See also page 115 in report.
Apart from the reformed textbooks, other textbooks for higher grades are being rewritten and reprinted. As opposed to the thorough reform implemented in grades 1-5, in higher grades the textbooks are mainly reprinted for each academic year. Until the completion of the full revision of textbooks, the reprints serve as a good opportunity to remove problematic content. For instance, in one case, antisemitic tropes featured in a multiple-choice exercise about the reason why Jews were not allowed to live in Jerusalem after it was conquered by 'Umar, including such options as their love of money, their treachery, and betrayal, were removed.96


56 ‘Umar ibn Al-Khattab refused to let the Jews live in Jerusalem because:

a- Their betrayal and treachery.
b- They refused to enter Islam.
c- Their military strength.
d- Their love of money.

This is a pertinent example of removing specific incidences of problematic content without having to wait for the reformed textbooks to witness improvements. Hopefully this process continues on a larger scale, and is replicated for all unreformed textbooks. Despite revisions having still not been implemented in textbooks of higher school grades, careful scrutiny of the textbooks in order to surgically remove problematic content may be implemented to a satisfying degree prior to reprint.

Nonetheless, in several cases, problematic material is left unchanged. For instance, students are presented with examples of “the Jewish hatred toward Muslims,” as they are taught that during Muhammad’s lifetime, the Jews constantly searched for opportunities to sow discord among the Muslims. This includes using the illness and death of a convert to Islam to raise doubt about Muhammad and Islam, as well as spreading rumors about the Jews bewitching the Muslims so they could not have children anymore.97

96 See further discussion on page 71.
97 Egypt and Islamic Civilization (Activities and Exercises), Grade 11, 2022–23, p. 6.
General Perceptions of War and Peace

War, the Military, and Jihad

Numerous texts in Egyptian textbooks laud the Egyptian army. These messages reflect the dominance of the army in all spheres of Egyptian life since the 23 July 1952 revolution, and to a greater extent, since the June 2013 revolution led by President El-Sisi.

The army is presented as an integral element of Egyptian society, from Pharaonic times to the present day. Both past and contemporary Egyptian soldiers are praised for their sacrifices in combating foreign aggressors, invaders and terrorists, and for defending Egypt, the Arab nation, and the entire world against these threats.

Islamic concepts of war are also discussed in the textbooks in several ways. On the one hand, Egyptian students are taught that the army is an Islamic institution that was supported by Muhammad. The students also learn about Islamic rulings and justifications for jihad and “istishhad” (martyrdom). On the other hand, students are exposed to non-violent Islamic interpretations of jihad and taught about Islam’s view of war as a last resort, and its preference for moderation and compassion.

In the Egypt of Civilization textbook for Grade 10, students learn that the Egyptian armed forces have always been a shield protecting Egypt and the Arabs against external and internal threats since ancient times, and implicitly, to this day.

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100 Islamic Religious Education, Grade 8, 2021-22, pp. 94-97.
Arab countries against all their enemies“ from as early as the Battle of Megiddo. At the same time, a sidenote clarifies that the ancient Egyptians were far from being colonialists, as their aim of “taking over neighboring regions” was “to preserve Egypt's national security, rather than capitalizing on the civilizations of these countries.”

The Arabic language textbook for Grade 4 contains several exercises with illustrations and texts that glorify Egyptian soldiers.

This textbook was in use until 2022 and was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year with a new textbook. Under the title “Egypt is the anthem of the world,” there was an illustration of an Egyptian soldier, a tank, and a parachute. Students were asked to express their opinion of the illustration.

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Exercise 3(a): In your writing about the pictures, use each pronoun correctly:
1. He...
2. They...
3. They both...

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103 Egypt of Civilization: Egyptian Civilization and the Ancient World, Grade 10, 2022-23, p. 79.
An Arabic Language textbook for Grade 7 harnesses nationalist feelings via a patriotic illustration, and a poem on the topic of loyalty to the homeland.

Similarly, another example features a paragraph about the importance of the Egyptian army’s contemporary role in fighting terrorism for the sake of protecting Egypt, the Arabs, and the entire world.

In a Grade 8 social studies textbook, Students learn that an army is a legitimate institution from an Islamic point of view, as “the Prophet was interested in preparing a strong and trained army after he received the (Quranic) verses of jihad in order to defend Islam and the freedom of conveying its message to the people...”

In the Islamic Religious Education textbook for Grade 8, students learn that according to the Muslim tradition, shahid (martyr) is positively
defined as someone who “killed over his wealth,” “killed over his religion,” “killed over his blood,” or “killed over his family.” Another definition also includes someone who was killed “while defending his good name, land, or property.”

The below example instructs students that Muslims are not allowed to attack others; yet, this prohibition expires as soon as someone attacks a Muslim.

**Islamic Religious Education, Grade 7, 2022-23, p. 108.**

**Muslims shall not attack first:**

*Muslims shall not be the first to attack others; only when they are attacked, they must respond to the aggression. Among the evidence that supports this [claim] is the command of the Prophet to his soldiers to conquer Mecca while avoiding fighting as much as they could. When he saw combat with swords from afar, he condemned it. Then, he was told that Khalid ibn al-Walid [an Arab-Muslim commander and one of Muhammad’s companions] was provoked to fight by a group of polytheists, so he fought.*

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**The Value of Peace**

Peace in textbooks is portrayed as a national and Islamic value. Teachers are expected to preach love, peace, and humanity to their students. Peace is taught as a national ethos that characterizes Egypt and its policymakers, from ancient times to the present day, and as an Islamic commandment that is supported by Quranic verses, traditions, and the common Muslim greeting of “salam 'aleykum.” Egyptian students are encouraged to strive for peace with other nations and cultures, and particularly internal peace among the different sectors of Egyptian society.

A social studies workbook for Grade 7 refers to the peace treaty between Ramesses II and the Hittites, following his victory in the Battle of Kadesh. It is mentioned that this treaty was the first of its kind in history and was based on military force. The agreement included a mutual ceasefire, the resumption of friendly relations, and a commitment to mutual aid in case of an attack by a third country.

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105 *Islamic Religious Education,* Grade 8, 2021-22, p. 75.
107 *Social Studies: Natural Phenomena and Egyptian Civilization* (Exercises and Activities), Grade 7, Vol. 1, 2022-23, pp. 30, 32.
Extra information:
The peace treaty signed between Ramesses II and the Hittites was the very first peace treaty in history, based on his military force.


[Ramesses II] waged wars against the Hittites for 15 years. The most famous of these was the Battle of Kadesh, which ended in his victory over them and forced the Hittites to sign a peace treaty with him, that included:

- Ceasing the war between both sides.
- Resuming the two countries' friendly relations.
- Both helping each other when they are exposed to an attack by another country.

In the Arabic Language textbook for Grade 7, Students are taught that Egypt's goals include regional peace, economic prosperity, and cooperation for the purpose of disarmament.


Read and notice:
Egypt is trying to spread peace, and is making efforts in order to establish justice in the region. This is done, in order to achieve stability, progress of the countries, development of the economy and rising of income levels. Thus, society will live in prosperity, the rich countries will give the poor people material, nutritional and pharmacological help, and countries will cooperate to destroy deadly weapons and use the money that is spent on armament to protect the environment from pollution and to end poverty.

The following lesson includes a nationalistic poem that expresses an Egyptian yearning for peace, by the poet Muhammad Ibrahim.


My country be peaceful
An Arabic Language textbook for Grade 5 was in use until 2022, and was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year with a new iteration. It encouraged students to discuss “the role of Islam in spreading peace.” Students were taught that the Qur'an emphasizes the values of security, stability, and peace in society and that such a peace will not be achieved except through adherence to the path of Allah. Islamic tradition (hadith) was also mentioned as a source of love, communication, friendship, and peace in society.\textsuperscript{111}

An Arabic Language textbook for Grade 3 presents students with a poem that encourages peace, love, and fraternity between people of diverse nations, languages, and races.\textsuperscript{112} Another text calls for openness and peaceful dialogue with other cultures, accompanied by illustrations of children of different origins – Arab, European, African, Asian, and Mexican.

\begin{flushright}
Peace upon Egypt in the time of the ancestors,  
In every moment and in every time. 
Peace upon Egypt, upon its people and army, 
The Nile, the knowledge, nobility and religion. 
Peace upon Egypt in every year, 
Peace upon the honorable people of Egypt. 
And an army that will protect and never will it assault, 
Peace upon Egypt the land of peace. 
My country, my country, my country, be peaceful.
\end{flushright}

\textsuperscript{111} Arabic Language, Grade 5, Vol. 2, 2021-22, pp. 2-3, 24 (Removed Textbook).

\textbf{Informational text: cultures of different nations}
The world consists of different nations, and each nation has its own customs and traditions regarding food, drinks, clothes, and hobbies. In addition, every nation has a distinctive language which it uses for communication, and distinctive arts it practices. This is what is known as “national culture.”

Differences between nations don't prevent us from getting to know the cultures of others, because this knowledge removes many obstacles that stand in the way of communication between these nations.

When we get to know customs and traditions of a nation, we are able to cooperate with it. Learning the language of a nation enables us to communicate with it to understand its ideas. This is also true for the arts, as they show a nation’s culture and values.

Becoming acquainted with the cultures of others makes us gain various skills, and enables successful communication with them to achieve peace and progress.
An activity in a textbook sends students a clear message that peace and tolerance are the means through which to resolve conflict, as opposed to violence.

Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2022-23, p. 137.

If each one of us chooses tolerance and peace in order to solve conflicts, then violence will disappear.

This Grade 4 Arabic Language textbook was in use until 2021 and was replaced in the 2021-22 academic year with a new textbook. An exercise labeled Sham el-Sheikh as the “city of peace” for its hosting of peace conferences.


Bakkar: My friend, I read on the Internet that the city Sharm el-Sheikh was labeled by UNESCO as the “City of Peace”. The reason for this lies in the many conferences and meetings that were held there on the topic of just peace between countries.

The following textbook contains a chapter on “Tolerance and Peace” that emphasizes the benefits of world peace for different nations.

Arabic Language, Grade 10, Vol. 1, 2019-20, p. 27.

Introduction to the unit:
Peace is a necessary requirement to build nations and peoples. This is possible only through tolerance between societies and peoples. The lessons of the unit promote the spreading of a culture of tolerance, and emphasize that Islam laid down the social foundations for society, stressing the importance of human rights. The lessons also emphasize the importance of guarding people’s lives and their possessions.

A Civics and Human Rights textbook for Grade 11 introduces the “right for peace” as a basic human right, which applies to all nations.

Civics and Human Rights, Grade 11, 2019-20, p. 25.

The right for peace:
By this right it is meant that all peoples should be granted the complete opportunity to live together in peace and good neighborly relations, which includes the emphasis on not permitting the use of armed forces for dispute settlement.
Egyptian Revolutions of 2011 and 2013

At the beginning of 2011, then Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak was dismissed after almost three decades in office, in what was termed the “Arab Spring.” In July 2013, another Egyptian President, Mohamed Morsi, was removed from office after one year of Muslim Brotherhood rule, and a new regime led by President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi was established.

The political upheaval that Egypt has experienced throughout the last decade has been incorporated into several history, national education, and Arabic language textbooks. The revolutions of January 2011 and June 2013 are portrayed to students in a positive manner, as popular attempts by the Egyptian people to bring their country a future of freedom, democracy, social justice, dignity, integrity, development, and economic welfare. According to the textbooks, the 2011 revolution deviated from its original path, and ended in failure. In contrast, the 2013 revolution and President El-Sisi's subsequent rise to power are described as the realization of the aspirations of the Egyptian people for a better future.

Alongside praise for both revolutions, students are encouraged to maintain stability, avoid vocal protests against injustice, and work to correct faults through non-revolutionary actions. The textbooks do not quote the slogans of the revolutions, and do not refer to the Islamist versus civil-nationalist tensions which led to the ousting of President Morsi in 2013. The reasons for the 2013 revolution are to be found, according to the curriculum, in the failure of the Morsi regime to effectively address economic problems and the issue of social justice. The Muslim Brotherhood is not specifically mentioned, save for Morsi being the candidate of the Freedom and Justice Party.

Students learn that both revolutions of 2011 and 2013 reflected the authentic popular will of the Egyptian people, and were supported by the Egyptian armed forces, who served as the “warrantor” of the revolts. However, according to the textbooks, the 2011 revolution deviated from its original path, and ended in failure. In contrast, the 2013 revolution and President El-Sisi's subsequent rise to power are described as the realization of the aspirations of the Egyptian people for a better future.

Society and Politics Following a Decade of Upheaval

115 Social Studies: Natural Phenomena and Egyptian Civilization (Activities and Exercises), Grade 7, Vol. 1, 2022-23, pp. 27, 47.
A sixth-grade social studies textbook refers to the Egyptian revolutions of 2011 and 2013, and their positive outcomes. Students are taught that these revolutions were a manifestation of civic unity, and marked the beginning of an era of democracy, respect for human rights, and unity between Egyptian Muslims and Christians. The Mubarak regime is blamed for using violence against protestors and for a shutdown of social media (phones and internet). The role of the army is positively depicted, but the authors do not hesitate to report the “overthrow of the president and the ruling regime.”

Among the achievements of the 2011 revolution, the textbook highlights “strengthening and consolidating the feeling of citizenship and emphasizing the national unity between Muslims and Christians,” and “raising political awareness among the Egyptian people, and awareness of their rights and respect toward human rights.” Among the achievements of the 2013 revolution, it emphasizes the presidential elections, and the triumph of Abdel Fattah El-Sisi: “Thus, began a new era of Egyptian history, fulfilling the ambitions and hopes of the Egyptian people in a new life, enjoying democracy, progress, and welfare.”

According to the textbook, among the circumstances leading to the 2013 revolution were the lack of improvement in the political, economic, and social situation during the rule of former President Mohamed Morsi. An increase in the number of demonstrations and confrontations between the regime’s supporters and opponents led to the intervention of the army to maintain public safety, and promote reconciliation between the parties. The refusal of President Morsi to conduct early presidential elections, alongside the opposition’s refusal to engage in dialog, resulted in a mass gathering in the streets and squares – eventually triggering the new revolution of June 30, 2013.

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The Events of the Revolution:
1. Spread of calls on social media for young people to go out and peacefully demonstrate in all Egyptian squares on January 25, 2011.
2. The cohesion of the different national forces and the participation of millions in the Egyptian provinces.
3. Demonstrations erupt in Tahrir Square and main public squares in the provinces.
4. The regime cut off all social media (phones and internet).
5. Use of violence against demonstrators.
The military is presented in the curriculum as an honest broker that comes to the rescue of the people in times of crisis. In the context of the revolutions of 2011 and 2013, students are taught that the Egyptian armed forces protected the security and property of the citizens during the events. The same message is expressed in an image, accompanied by a slogan.

Unity of the people around the Egyptian flag is also stressed as a lesson to be drawn from the revolutions.

In the same lesson, it is taught that the new policies adopted by President Mohamed Morsi “never offered solutions to the problems from which most of the Egyptian people suffered, especially social justice, and the persistence of bad economic conditions.” These issues are part of the reason for the revolution of June 30, 2013.122

The approval of a new constitution in January 2014, and the election of Abdel Fattah El-Sisi as the new President in June of that year, are portrayed as the beginning of a new era in the modern history of Egypt.

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The publication of a new constitution in January 2014 was followed by presidential elections and the announcement of the victory of the candidate Abdel Fattah El-Sisi. Thus, began a new page in the modern history of Egypt. The Egyptian people learned to expect to achieve their aspirations for democracy and social justice. Egypt started to march forward toward progress and prosperity in all fields.

Students are encouraged to express their love for Egypt by using their minds rather than shouting with their throats, which is implied to be engagement in political protests.

One author said: “When I was little, in school, I expressed my love to my country by shouting with my throat. When I became older, I found out that my country doesn’t need this anymore, but she rather needs shouting with minds. When throats are shouting, the world is filled with screaming, when minds are shouting the world is filled with action.”

Democracy, Liberalism, and Human Rights

Since President El-Sisi took power in 2013-2014, he has governed the country in what has been defined by some international observers as “an increasingly authoritarian manner.” However, textbooks that are taught in Egyptian schools praise democracy as a desired form of governance, encourage the concept of an elected and representative parliament and political parties, and emphasize the constructive role of civil society organizations.

The textbooks also positively discuss liberal democratic principles and values, such as minority rights, gender equality, pluralism, freedom of expression and belief, and the concept of the people as the source of authority. Democracy is presented as a universal heritage inspired by ancient Greece and the West, as well as a system accepted by Islam, and a national choice enshrined in the Egyptian Constitution of 2014.

At the same time, basic democratic principles are rarely discussed in the textbooks, including the separation of powers, transfer of power, and freedoms of assembly and association. The textbooks tend to reflect the official Egyptian concept of human rights, which prioritizes social and economic rights over political rights. While the textbooks claim that Egypt has made considerable progress during the past decade in the field of human rights, the curriculum does not specify the criteria that the country must still meet in order to become a liberal democracy.

A class in the Political Geography textbook for Grade 12, dedicated to “the elected political rule,” stresses the importance of democratic values, including “freedom, participation, and equality.”

Students are taught about the requirements for citizenship in a state, among them several liberal principles such as the denunciation of individual or minority rule, encouragement of equal opportunities for all citizens, and political participation.

The Basic Requirements of Citizenship
The minimal limit for a state to be considered as maintaining the principles of citizenship is represented in these basic requirements:

1. No autocracy or rule by a few [oligarchy] and the liberation of the state from subordination to the ruling person, and this by considering the people as the source of authority, according to a democratic constitution.

2. Considering all the inhabitants holding the state’s citizenship as citizens who have equal rights and obligations. The state also promotes legal warranties and social opportunities vouchsafing the implementation of citizenship in real life.

3. The existence of channels allowing the individual to express their opinion, participate and influence the decision making, such as political parties, local councils and parliaments, and professional associations.

While introducing the concept of universal human rights, the textbook states that “Egypt cooperated with the states of the world to defend human rights.”

The three divine religions – Judaism, Christianity, and Islam – are the main source of human rights. The textbook mentions the Jewish “ten commandments dictated by Allah to our lord Moses” as “clear
evidence of human rights and freedoms.” Christianity is affiliated with values of affection, justice, equality, and philanthropy. Islam, according to the textbook, “emphasizes the idea of equality between all people, and recognizes their basic rights, regardless of the differences between them.” Another section of the textbook is devoted to Egypt's approach toward human rights, and its progress in this field.

The below example features a story about a tour for students to the Egyptian Parliament, where they learn from their guide, Yusuf, about the role and the mission of the parliament and its elected members: to represent the will of the people, and express their demands. However, there is no reference to the specific powers of the Egyptian Parliament—equated here to a school's student council.

The National Education textbook for Grade 12 discusses the Egyptian constitution extensively and highlights its liberal nature, as well as its Western sources of inspiration. Students learn about articles of the constitution, which address equal opportunities, gender equality, democracy, political pluralism, transparency, individual freedoms, and social justice. Democracy is presented as important to everyone worldwide, due to its multifaceted, positive contribution to society.

- Leads to political and social stability.

A social studies textbook for Grade 9, as well as other textbooks, mention a lack of democracy and the spread of corruption among the causes of the Free Officers Revolution of July 23, 1952, alongside Egypt's defeat in the war of 1948.

The same textbook refers to the positive role of civil society organizations in educating citizens about their political rights, fighting violence and terrorism, protecting the environment, and enhancing national unity.

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127 National Education: Political Participation in Egyptian Society, Grade 12, 2019–20, p. 45; a Social Studies textbook for Grade 9 adds that "the women's right to vote and nominate to the National Assembly" is among the 1952 Revolution's achievements. Social Studies: World Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Egypt (Activities and Exercises), Grade 9, Vol. 2, 2022–23, pp. 29–30.
Civil society organizations

Civil society organizations are considered active elements in providing social services and executing development programs as a complement to the work of the government. Among the civil society organizations’ activities there are the following:

- Educating citizens and teaching them their political rights, such as voting, electing, and nominating for political offices.
- Clarifying the citizen’s relationship with the state and how to express his rights and duties.
- Creating an atmosphere of national unity, through raising the individuals’ awareness of the fight against violence.
- Supporting the general policy of the state and its position on the state’s issues, such as prohibiting the use of landmines, fighting terrorism, and protecting the environment.

Similarly, a philosophy textbook denounces the exclusion of slaves and women from equal political rights by some ancient Greek philosophers. While slavery in Islam and in Pharaonic Egypt is not addressed in the examined material, the recognition of some aspects of a Western worldview as core values of modern Egypt is significant.

This textbook, and a philosophy textbook for Grade 12,\textsuperscript{128} criticize those flaws of ancient Greek democracy which contradict modern democracy – particularly the exclusion of slaves and women from having equal political rights by some ancient Greek philosophers.

A tenth-grade textbook on ancient civilizations portrays democracy as the greatest gift of Greece to humanity, and as a continued source of inspiration for contemporary Egyptian students. Naturally, this textbook pays much attention to the glory of ancient Egypt, which also provides the graphic leitmotif of the entire book, and to Mesopotamia. Still, the Greek, or Western, heritage of democracy is wholeheartedly embraced, with caveats as regards the exclusion of slaves and women.

\textsuperscript{128} Philosophy and Contemporary Issues, Grade 12, 2019-20, pp. 40-41.
• It excluded women from pursuing their political and legislative rights.


Egyptian textbooks introduce democracy as a legitimate form of Islamic governance, adopted and applied by Muslim rulers in the form of *shura* (consultation) long before modern times.\(^\text{129}\) In a lesson on the Battle of Uhud between the believers and Quraysh, the students are taught that the Prophet Muhammad advocated the principle of democracy and formed a Shura council, consulted them, and even changed his decision because they represented the majority.

\(^{129}\) See also *Islamic Religious Education*, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2019-20, p. 46.

Freedom is introduced to Egyptian students as a positive value according to both Islamic and Western (French) points of reference, with figures such as the second caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab (583/584–644) and the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) quoted.


- Some of the most important statements of philosophers and thinkers manifesting the value of human freedom:
  1. “When did you enslave the people? They were born free to their mothers” - Umar ibn al-Khattab.
  3. “People are free by the testimony of reason and Sharia (Islamic law)” - Imam Muhammad Abduh.
  4. “Complete freedom brings with it complete responsibility” - Jean-Paul Sartre.

Egyptian students are asked to read and analyze selected articles from the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights, mainly focusing on economic and social rights.


Among the lessons drawn from this battle is that the Messenger established the principle of democracy, the Shura council, by the Messenger, when he consulted the young men about going out to meet the enemy outside Medina. That was because they were representing the majority, although he himself had a different opinion on the matter.
Read, then analyze:
Dignity is a basic characteristic of all of humanity; it is the foundation of justice and peace in the world. This document mentions some of the rights that must be fulfilled in order to achieve dignity among us. These are some important ones:
1. Equality: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
2. The right to work: Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions.
3. The right to leisure: Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and paid periodic vacations.
Therefore, we call to strengthen the honor of these rights and freedoms through education, teaching, and taking active national and global measures to ensure their acknowledgment and perseverance.

The below example highlights the importance of the value of freedom, but also implies the need for restrictions to be imposed on individuals by their society.

Egypt’s Identity and Political Orientation

The debate over Egypt’s identity has intensified since the Muslim Brotherhood was ousted from power during the revolution of June 30, 2013. The government of Abdel Fattah El-Sisi is, through Egyptian textbooks, attempting to shape a national identity as an inclusive mosaic composed of several pillars. In their introductions, some of the textbooks declare that Egypt’s educational system is “designed to produce an Egyptian who belongs to his country, to his Arab nation, and to the African continent.”

130 National Education (I, Egyptian), Grade 10, 2020-21, pp. 16, 18-19, 28.
131 Islamic Religious Education, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2022-23, p. 3; Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2022-23, p. 3.
The most dominant pillar of identity is a particularistic Egyptian nationalism, which is inspired by Pharaonic heritage and by loyalty to the Egyptian homeland. Textbooks contain many expressions of love for the Egyptian homeland, commitment to its protection, willingness to sacrifice for its well-being, patriotism, and national pride.\textsuperscript{132}

Another dominant pillar of identity is Arab nationalism. Egyptian textbooks frequently use terms such as “our Arab Homeland,” and emphasize common interests and heritage shared by Arabs.\textsuperscript{133} The textbooks highlight Egypt’s leading role in the Arab world, and promote a vision of unity, solidarity, cooperation, coordination, and integration among Arab nations in the political field as well in the sectors of economy, industry, agriculture, and tourism.\textsuperscript{134}

Other identity pillars that are less extensively mentioned in the textbooks are the African pillar, representing Egypt’s strategic depth in the continent; the universal dimension, which is manifested in Egypt’s contribution to world affairs and in its good relations with other cultures; and the religious pillar, mainly Islamic, which is reflected in Egypt’s solidarity with its fellow Muslims, and its embrace of moderate and flexible interpretations of Islam.

In the “National Education” textbook for Grade 10, students learn that the Egyptian persona [\textit{shakhsiyah al-Misriyya}] is affiliated with tolerance, justice, patience, joy, openness, and religious piety.\textsuperscript{135} According to the textbook, “tolerance” means acceptance of the other, dialogue, and mutual respect, regardless of religious, ethnic, or ideological differences. Students are called to maintain unity within the homeland, and to avoid sectarianism between its people.\textsuperscript{136}

In another lesson, students learn about the five pillars that compose Egyptian identity, namely the social-national; the Arab; the African; the universal; and the religious pillars. Note that this text does not refer directly to Islam. The text portrays involvement in and concern for the Arab world, but with no claim to leadership. Similarly, the example indicates no particular ambitions toward Islam and the Muslim world, except for awareness of the issues of the “Ummah.” The attitude toward Africa is more specific, and the continent is described as Egypt’s “strategic depth,” but no further details are provided.

\textsuperscript{135} National Education (I, Egyptian), Grade 10, 2020-21, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., p. 19.
Dimensions of Egyptian Identity:

1. **The National Social Dimension:** means to belong to this society and maintain its identity, customs, traditions, values, as well as to live together despite the differences of opinion and to handle society’s issues and problems while trying to solve them. It also means to show responsibility towards society in all areas and utilize diversity and variety as a rich source for progress.

2. **The Arab Dimension:** means the recognition, attachment to, and preservation of the Arab identity; and showing concern for all the issues relating to our Arab nation in various fields.

3. **The African Dimension:** includes the recognition of belonging to Africa, which constitutes Egypt’s strategic depth, and being involved in the different relevant issues.

4. **The Global Dimension:** involves the connection between Egyptian identity and the other identities in the world. This requires:
   - Respecting the rights of others and their freedoms.
   - Partnership in resolving crises peacefully.
   - Encouraging world peace.
   - Concern for international affairs.
   - Recognition of the existence of different political ideologies in the world.
   - Acceptance of different cultures.

5. **The Religious Dimension:** relates to recognition of issues that concern the [Islamic] nation and the preservation of its religious and cultural identity, which constitutes a basic element of the Egyptian persona.

In one of the stories in a second-grade textbook, students are asked to color a map of Egypt for an exhibition titled “I love my country.”

The teacher gave the students a map of Egypt and asked them to color it, in order to display it in the exhibition, “I love my country.”

The following exercise presents six values which encourage students to be proud and respectful citizens of their country, such as visiting museums to learn more about Egyptian history, and keeping their environment clean.
Another passage addresses the virtues of ancient Egyptians, which are presented as a source of inspiration for modern virtues. Note that in local Egyptian culture, morality emanates from the surroundings of the River Nile. The image includes beautiful renderings of four gods: Thoth, Sekhmet, Horus, and Anubis.

The students are asked to practice their skills in Arabic by writing out the chorus of the Egyptian national anthem: “My homeland, my homeland, my homeland – you have my love and my heart.” They are also asked to read a poem that talks about the connection of an Egyptian boy to the land of his forefathers.

In an Arabic language textbook for Grade 10, students are taught that over the years, Egyptian citizens have been ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the homeland and are encouraged to commemorate Egyptian martyrs. It is stated in the textbook that “people have no value without the homeland, and the homeland has no meaning without loving citizens.”

In a Grade 10 Building National Character textbook, loyalty to one’s homeland is described as an Islamic commandment in several respects. Firstly, engaging in jihad against an enemy that invades a Muslim land is considered a personal duty (fard ‘ayn) for the people of that land (“if the enemy enters a Muslim country,

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137 While not explicitly stated, the text is religious in nature, “written on the stones,” or tombs. It is a report by the deceased on his or her compliance with the principles of truth, balance, harmony and justice, or Ma’at, which is also a name of an important Egyptian goddess.


139 Ibid., p. 93.

and repelling the enemy become a personal duty on the people of this country”). Secondly, the following Quranic verse is brought as evidence of the legitimacy of modern independent and sovereign “homelands that are inhabited by peoples and tribes.” “People, We created you all from a single man and a single woman, and made you into races and tribes so that you should get to know one another” (Al-Hujurat 49: 13). Thirdly, students learn that contemporary international relations, and agreements between nation states, comply with the principles of Islamic law.

In a Grade 8 Religious Education textbook for Islam, Egyptian national identity is framed in Islamic terms. Students learn that Islam calls for the love of the homeland and are asked to prove this claim by sourcing evidence from Islamic tradition.

In this passage, which was removed from the curriculum, Egypt plays a leading role in the Arab world. Students learned that Egypt supports all Arabs, and will always be a refuge and a guiding beacon for the Arab world. This textbook was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year.

In an Arabic Language textbook for Grade 7, students read a passage that exalts their Arab identity and affiliation and stresses the peaceful message of the Arab nation to the world. There is no special role for Egypt within this message.

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141 Building National Character, Grade 10, 2020-21, p. 19.
142 Ibid., p. 23.
Activity Eight: Language Exercises

The Arab nation is a glorious nation, its culture is ancient, its sons are bound by many ties, their goals are common, and their hopes are one; they want a bright future, in which prosperity and peace will prevail throughout the Arab nation and the world.

In a lesson on the locations and territories of the Arab nation, students learn that Allah has granted Arabs the foundations of unity and integration, which grants them the potential to unite and become an influential world power. In their exercises, students are asked to suggest what Arab countries must do in order to strengthen their unity, and what kind of aid Arab countries should offer one another in case of danger.

Arab unity: Allah has granted our Arab nation many gifts that prepared the ground for unity and integration of its countries. This calls us as Arabs to unite and to become an influential power in the world.

- Identify factors contributing to unity of our Arab homeland:

- What must the Arabs do in order to create strong Arab unity?
- What types of aid should an Arab country give another in case it is exposed to some kind of danger?

In a Grade 8 social studies textbook, students learn that the division of the Arab homeland into different countries by European colonial forces was artificial, and caused political problems in Palestine and Sudan, among other places. Students are encouraged to resist colonialism “in all its forms.”


Do you know why our Arab Homeland is divided into countries of different territorial sizes?
This is because of its exposure to European Colonialism, which divided it into countries that are different in their territory and number of inhabitants, and are separated from each other by artificial political borders. This reality caused several political problems, such as the ones in Palestine and South Sudan and Darfur.

Using the internet, search for the causes of these problems.
Values I Learn: Be sure to resist colonialism in all its forms.

In a Social Studies textbook for Grade 8, Egyptian students learn about the benefits of drawing upon Arab natural resources to promote Arab interests. The example provided is the oil embargo that was declared by Arab states during the 1973 October War, as a means to put pressure on major world powers to avoid
supporting Israel. In another lesson, it is stated that “Economic unity among the countries of our Arab nation could make [them] an influential world power.”

The Geography of Growth textbook for Grade 11 calls for the promotion of Arab unity modeled on economic blocks such as the European Union, as a solution for the underdevelopment of Arab countries.

The contribution of industry to the national income remains weak in Arab countries. Many Arab countries suffer from unemployment and poverty, which make them victims of foreign ambition. If we look at the world around us, we will find many countries that were convinced that an economic bloc is a starting point for human development and well-being. There are, for example, the countries of the European Union and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and the Union of South American Nations. In our Arab homeland we most need this kind of ties, cooperation and integration, so our Arab nation could face internal and external economic challenges, achieve development, and release itself from dependency and foreign shackles.

Given the economic challenges Egypt faces, the textbooks offer students a vision of the future which, at its core, aspires to achieve greater integration between Egypt and its Arab and African neighbors. In a class on “the economic blocs” in a Grade 12 geography textbook, students are asked to express their opinion on the establishment of an Arab economic bloc, based on the EU model, and to deliver a speech to convince Arab leaders of the need for Arab economic unity. Students also learn about the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the economic advantages that have been granted to Egypt since it joined the organization in 1998, including contributing to the formation of development plans in Africa.

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144 ibid, p. 32
145 Political Geography, Grade 12, 2022-23, p. 88.
146 ibid, p. 96.
Treatment of the “Other”

Jews and Judaism

Since 2014, the Egyptian regime has made positive changes to its discourse on Jews and Judaism. This phenomenon has partly been encouraged by the desire of the regime to reconstruct Egyptian national identity, with Judaism forming part of that identity. The current official identity discourse includes two fundamental components: one is a negative component that conceptualizes Egyptian identity as the antithesis of the Islamist identity advocated by the Muslim Brotherhood; the other component is positive, and presents Egypt’s nationalism as a multi-layered, pluralistic synthesis of identities and heritages which even includes – to a certain extent – a Jewish dimension.147

The El-Sisi regime is investing efforts in supporting the renovation of neglected Jewish sites. Following the renovation of the Eliyahu Hanavi Synagogue in Alexandria in 2020, it was reported that in September 2022, the ancient Ben Ezra Synagogue in Cairo is about to reopen.148

Egypt’s literary scene provides further encouraging evidence of changing approaches to Judaism. “Touring the Cairo Book Fair this year, one cannot ignore all the books and novels that deal with the Jews of Egypt,” noted a July 2021 article in al-Ahram.149 The Cairo International Book Fair of 2021 introduced no less than 12 new books on Jewish history, including historical books and literary novels, with titles such as Jews of Egypt in the Twentieth Century: How Did They Live and Why Did They Leave?: Jews of Egypt in Popular Proverbs, Jokes and Aphorisms; The Jews of Ancient Egypt; Al-Da’ud Building; and The Last Egyptian Female Jew.150

Nonetheless, attitudes toward Jews in Egyptian textbooks are still ambivalent, and sometimes contradictory. Alongside expressions of animosity toward Jews, and even antisemitism, there is also growing education for religious tolerance and fraternity with the monotheistic religions, including Judaism. Furthermore,

149 “Egypt’s Jews Published in the Wings of the [Book] Fair, and Critics [say]: an Example of Pluralism in the Face of Entity Struggles” (يهود مصر ينتشرون بأجنحة المعرض ونقاد: نموذج للتعددية في مواجهة صراع الهويات), Al-Ahram (Jul. 13, 2021), https://gate.ahram.org.eg/daily/News/203813/122/815613/%D8%A3%D8%AF%D8%A8-%D9%88%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A8-%D9%8A%D9%87%D9%88%D8%AF-%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B1-%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%B4%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%A8%D8%A3%D8%AC%D9%86%D8%AD%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%B6%D9%88%D9%86%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%AF-%D9%86%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B0%D8%AC-%D9%84%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B9%D8%AF%D8%AF.aspx.
150 Muhammad Sayyid Ahmed, “Book Fair – Twelve Novels and Books that Delve into the History of Egyptian Jews” (معرض الكتاب. 12 رواية وكتابا ينقب في تاريخ اليهود المصريين), Masr360 (Jul. 20, 2021), https://masr360.net/%d9%85%d8%b9%d8%b1%d8%b6-%d8%a7%d9%84%d9%83%d8%aa%d8%a7%d8%a8-%d8%a7-%d9%8a%d9%86%d8%a8-%d9%81%d9%8a-%d8%aa%d8%a7%d8%b1%d9%8a/.
textbooks for grades 4 and 5—which until 2021-22 included hostile expressions, negative stereotypes, and prejudices toward Jews—were replaced with new textbooks that avoid such discourse.

The most comprehensive topic related to Jews and addressed in the textbooks is Muhammad’s relations with the Jewish tribes of the Arabian Peninsula during the early days of Islam, in the 7th century. The Jews of Medina and Khaybar are depicted negatively as enemies of the Prophet Muhammad, and the Muslim community. The Jewish tribes are blamed for rejecting Muhammad’s revelation, plotting against him, and breaching their treaties with the Muslims.151

In some of the textbooks which were recently removed from the curricula, evil deeds and eternally negative traits like disloyalty, fraud, greediness, and violation of contracts are attributed to Jews of all generations, from the days of Muhammad until contemporary times.152 A textbook that was removed also mentions the persecution of Jesus by the Jews.153

In Islamic studies textbooks, Egypt’s modern wars with Israel are introduced in religious terms as wars against the Jews, and are compared to Muhammad’s clashes with the Jews of his time. Jerusalem is portrayed as an Arab city over which Muslims and Christians have exclusive historical rights, while any Jewish right or historical connection to the city is denied.154

However, some textbooks refer to the status of Jews as “the People of the Book,” who deserve legal protection within Islamic lands.155 The textbooks also mention the Charter of Medina, a document that set out the rights and duties of the eponymous city’s inhabitants, including some of its Jewish tribes. The Charter is introduced as a precedent for Islamic support of freedom of worship and belief and of coexistence between Muslims and Jews in particular, and for a pluralistic, religiously, and culturally tolerant Muslim society in general.156

The textbooks further highlight the common ground between Islam and Judaism, such as Islam’s recognition of the Torah; the permission given to Muslims to eat Jewish Kosher food and to marry Jewish women; and Islamic belief in the Prophets of Judaism. Moses stands out in the textbooks as a positive figure associated with the Jews, but is also recognized as a Prophet by Islam and Christianity, while Pharaoh plays the role of villain in the Biblical story of Exodus.157 Unlike Moses, the Israelites of Egypt are blamed in a teacher guide for their own oppression by

the native Egyptians due to their poor morals, and mistreatment of the local population.¹⁵⁸

While Muslim and Christian students attend most of their classes together, the exception is religious studies, where Christian students have separate classes and textbooks. Mixed messages toward Jews are also evident in Christian education textbooks, which address the issue across various historical contexts. On the one hand, Jews are portrayed as a threat and a source of fear for Jesus and his followers,¹⁵⁹ and as sharing the responsibility for Jesus’ crucifixion.¹⁶⁰

On the other hand, some Christian education textbooks depict the Biblical Israelites in a positive manner, and even refer to their religious connection to the historical land of Israel. Additionally, diverse terms such as “Palestine,” “the land of Israel,” and “the Jewish land,” are used to describe the territory of the Roman province of Judaea during the early days of Christianity.¹⁶¹

The following textbook was in use until 2021, and was replaced in the academic year 2021-22 with a new textbook. Islamic Religious Education students in Grade 4 were taught about the fraud, animosity, and plots perpetrated by the ancient Jews of the Arabian peninsula against Muslims. In a lesson on the expulsion of the Jewish Tribe of Banu Qaynuqa’ from Medina, it is stated that Jews in general are “treacherous,” unlike Christians, who peacefully coexist with their fellow Muslims.¹⁶²

Islamic Religious Education, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2020-21, pp. 41-42.

Then the teacher asked his students: what are the lessons we learn from this? And how do Muslims treat people of different faiths?

Ahmad: Jews are treacherous, as they didn’t respect the pacts they had with the Muslims, and didn’t observe the rights of their neighbors, but Muslims keep their pacts, treat their neighbors well, and treat people of different faiths with kindness.

Isma’il asked for permission [to speak], and said: I have a Christian friend. We visit each other, I study with him sometimes, and I always treat him with kindness.

The teacher said: this is the noble character of the Muslim, Isma’il. We in Egypt live as bothers who love each other; Copts and Muslims. We work together for the greater good, and we share the good times and the bad times, ever since Amr ibn al-As conquered Egypt. We stand together to defend the homeland, and this will lead to the realization of safety and security for the nation and its people.

In an exercise, students are asked to prove the claim according to which “Jews do not respect

the neighbor’s right and do not honor agreements with their neighbors.”

The following textbook was in use until 2022, and was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year with a new textbook. A lesson entitled “Bravery and Self-Sacrifice” drew a direct comparison between the 1973 Yom Kippur War, and a past war between the Prophet Muhammad and the Banu Nadir Jews, teaching that Allah helped Egypt in Sinai just as He helped Muhammad in his war against Jews. According to the textbook, the Jews of Medina destroyed their homes before abandoning them, just like the Jews of Yamit did before their withdrawal from Sinai. Thus, the lesson depicts the 1973 War not as a purely political conflict, but rather as a religious war between Muslims and Jews. Israel is never mentioned by name in this lesson, but instead is referred to simply as “enemies” or “usurping Jews.” The lesson emphasized the Jews’ characteristic of betrayal, stating that “they are always like this.” Students are tasked with searching for Qur’anic verses on the internet about “the treachery of the Jews.”

In another exercise, students are asked to use their computers in order to find Quranic verses that speak of “the Jews’ treachery.” At this moment, it is difficult to assess the significance of the removal of this content. However, it should be noted that this and similar texts have been continuously taught in Egypt during the forty years since the signing of the Peace Treaty between the two countries.

The father said: This tunnel carries the name of a great martyr, who fought the enemies and achieved martyrdom for the sake of Allah and the homeland: He is one of the heroes of the 1973 October War. He was a commander of the engineering corps, and he personally supervised the preparation of the passageways through which our forces passed, thus surprising the enemies and the entire world with fantastic planning and a quick execution. Then the father pointed to the other side, saying:

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163 Islamic Religious Education, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2020-21, p. 44.
And these are the fortifications of the Bar Lev Line. Allah helped us against the Jews just like when He helped the Messenger against them in Medina, destroying their fortifications with them inside.

Mahmood asked: How did this happen, father?

The father replied: This was in Medina, when a group of Jews from the Banu Nadir tribe tried to kill the Messenger while he was sitting with them in their homes. They violated the treaty they had with him. Allah – the Exalted and Almighty – informed him about their betrayal and commanded him to fight them. So, the Messenger besieged them for several days and they were entrenched in their fortifications. However, the Glorified and Sublime Allah casted fear in their hearts, which made them ask the Messenger to leave Medina. He made a condition that they only take what possessions their camels can carry, and that they leave their weapons behind. They destroyed their houses before leaving, and this is just what the Jews did after evacuating the land of Sinai following its liberation.

Mahmood asked: What do we learn from this?

The father said: We learn from this that the Jews have no commitment, for they betrayed Allah and His Messenger in the past, so Allah took revenge on them. They always act like this.

4- Choose the correct answer in the parentheses, as follows:
   b- Among the characteristics of the Jews (Righteousness; Betrayal; Loyalty.)

5- Complete the following:
   a- Allah helped us against the Jews in Sinai just like when He helped the Messenger of Allah against them in _____.
   b- “It is in the nature of the Jews to demolish and destroy their homes before they leave.”

Write down the Qur’anic verse that proves this.

Yellow Box:

Additional Information and Activities

The Bar Lev Line:

A defense line built by the usurping Jews on the Suez Canal’s eastern coast, in order to prevent our valiant armies from advancing to liberate Sinai. […]

Order your students to do research on the following subjects:

Palestine is an Arab land usurped by the Jews. […]

Ask your students to use the computer in order to gather Qur’anic verses that discuss the treachery of the Jews. […]


The father said: We learn from this [story] that the Jews are not faithful - in the past they betrayed God and his messenger, and God avenged them. They always act like this.

Another lesson removed in September 2022, titled “God brings victory to the believers,” recounts the story of the destruction of Yamit before the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai. Instead of focusing on Israel’s evacuation from Sinai and the demolition of Yamit as a positive aspect of the Israeli–Egyptian peace treaty, the textbook criticizes the fact that Israel – always referred to as simply “the Jews” – demolished the village “so its people can’t make any use of it at all.” The remnants of the village are viewed as evidence of “the glory of the Egyptian soldier and the humiliation of the Jews.” In this context, an interpretation of Qur’anic verses emphasizes that “the Jews are people of treachery and betrayal,” with a follow-up question asking students to prove the statement that “one custom of the Jews is to breach treaties.” Students are also tasked with broadcasting a message in school entitled “The Jews of Yesterday are the Jews of Today.”
The family visited the village of Yamit, a village located at the Egyptian border in Sinai. Everyone watched the destroyed village, where not a single house was left standing.

Mahmood asked: Why did the enemies destroy the village before leaving it?

The father replied: This is what the Jews do wherever they leave, so its people can’t make any use of it at all, just like what the Banu Nadir did with their homes in Medina.

The Almighty said:

"Whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth glorifies Allah. For He is the Almighty, All-Wise. He is the One Who expelled the disbelievers of the People of the Book from their homes for the first banishment. You never thought they would go. And they thought their strongholds would put them out of Allah’s reach. But Allah came upon them from where they never expected. And He cast horror into their hearts, so they destroyed their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers. So take a lesson, O people of insight! Had Allah not decreed exile for them, He would have certainly punished them in this world. And in the Hereafter they will suffer the punishment of the Fire. This is because they defied Allah and His Messenger. And whoever defies Allah, then Allah is truly severe in punishment. Whatever palm trees you cut down or left standing intact, it was by Allah’s Will, so that He might disgrace the rebellious." [Al-Hashr 1-5.]

- The Jews are people of treachery and betrayal. By the hands of the believers, Allah had given them a taste of the punishment for they betrayed and warned them of vengeance if they commit betrayal again.
- The hypocrites are collaborators of the Jews and polytheists, but they are more dangerous, for they pretend to have faith but hide infidelity. So, the Muslims must be careful of them.

Additional Information and Activities

- The Jews built the village of Yamit near the city of Arish, thinking that they would never leave it nor that they would leave Sinai, until the Egyptian army arrived and achieved victory over the Jews in the Ramadan War of October 1973. The Jews were forced to leave Sinai, so they destroyed the village before leaving. What remains of it still testifies to the glory of the Egyptian soldier and the humiliation of the Jews.
- Assign several of your students to preparing a message for a school broadcast, titled “The Jews of Yesterday are the Jews of Today.”

1- The Jews destroyed the village of Yamit before leaving it. Explain this while quoting and verifying this with the Noble Qur’an.
2- Why did the Jews destroy the village of Yamit? What do they resemble?
6- Provide what you know by heart from the Al-Hashr Surah that proves the following:
  a- The Jews thought that their fortifications were strong.
  b- One custom of the Jews is to breach treaties.

References to the Jews’ Opposition to Christ and relations with Muhammad

The below textbook, in use until 2022, was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year with a new textbook. In the second unit of the third lesson, which discusses the Coptic Era and the beginning of Christianity, students were taught that Jesus, referred to as “the Lord Messiah,” was exposed to persecution by the Jews.
The Lord Messiah has been exposed to persecution by the Jews and the Romans.

Unlike the 2021-22 textbooks for Grade 5 students, a new textbook introduced in 2022-23 highlights values of coexistence between Islam and Judaism. In lessons about Muhammad and the Jews of Medina, students are taught that the Prophet created the Charter of Medina to coexist with the Jews on the basis of peace, justice, and cooperation. It is also explained that the treaty granted Jewish tribes in Medina freedom of religion and equal rights, without any injustice, bias, or racial discrimination against them on the part of the believers. According to the textbook, the Prophet strived for relations of peace, coexistence, compassion, cooperation, and the fulfillment of agreements with the Jews of Medina.

Based on the aforementioned lesson about the Prophet and the Jews of Medina, students are then asked to create a booklet titled “A Guide for Dealing with Others” in order to exercise values of coexistence, acceptance, and respect, which were acquired through studying the textbook.
Discussing the consequences of not applying these values in our everyday lives with others.

In the following textbook, the historical narrative that is presented regarding the relations between ancient Muslims and Jews carries mixed messages. Before the emergence of Islam, it is mentioned that Jews who emigrated from the Roman Empire to the Arabian Peninsula were treated by their Arab hosts with generosity, and were allowed to live among them.  

Following the *hijra* of Muhammad to Medina, Jewish tribes signed the Charter of Medina with the Muslims, in which both parties agreed to coexist and protect the city. Students are presented with a summary of this treaty, referring to the initial positive relationship it established between Muslims and Jews following the *hijra*.

![Charter of Medina](image)

*Egypt and Islamic Civilization, Grade 11, 2022-23, pp. 30-31, 33.*

- Financial independence for every group: “And the Jews shall bear the burden of their expenses and the Muslims theirs.”
- Guaranteeing the freedom of belief and performance of rituals for all the people: “And the Jews of Banu ‘Awf shall be considered as one community (Ummat) along with the believers—for the Jews their religion, and for the Muslims theirs, be one client or patron. But whoever does wrong or commits treachery brings evil only on himself and his household.”
  - Providing financial aid for defending the state is everybody’s responsibility: “And the Jews shall share with the believers the expenses of war so long as they fight in conjunction.”
  - Joint Defense against any aggression: “And they [Jews and Muslims] shall have each other’s help in the event of anyone invading Yathrib.” “And if anyone fights against the people of this code, their [Jews and Muslims] mutual help shall come into operation.”
  - Advice and benevolence between Muslims and the People of the Book: “They must seek mutual advice and consultation. And loyalty is a protection against treachery.”

However, according to the textbook, after a short period of harmony and reconciliation between the parties, the Jews decided to breach the treaty. A major reason for these tensions was the Jews’ refusal to join Islam out of fear for their economic status. Students are taught that the Jews were one of two domestic threats that the Muslims in Medina had to face, alongside the hypocrites (*al-munafiqun*), a group decried in the Quran as outward Muslims who were inwardly concealing disbelief, and actively sought to undermine the Muslim community.

According to the textbook, the hypocrites incited the Jews of Banu Nadir to fight Muhammad. Furthermore, after breaching their treaty with the Prophet, Jews have adopted many methods with the aim of putting an end to Islam. These methods included distorting the image of the Prophet and of Islam; forming an alliance with the polytheists against the State; trying to break the Islamic ranks to

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sow dissent; and plotting to assassinate the Prophet.169

Students learn that Muhammad confronted the Jews via expulsions and killings. The textbook includes a story about a Jewish jeweler who harasses a Muslim woman and undresses her at the market, making other Jews laugh at her. This event also prompted Muhammad to fight the Jews, defeat them and put an end to their presence in the Arabian Peninsula.

The Invasion of Banu Qaynuqa’ took place after the Great Invasion of Badr in the year 2H, for the following reasons: The Jews of Banu Qaynuqa’ were hostile toward the Muslims, for they did not fulfill their commitments as defined in the charter.

That is in addition to the immediate cause to the invasion, which you shall learn through the following scenario:

A Muslim woman was selling and buying in the market of the Jews of Banu Qaynuqa’. She was sitting, making a sale with a Jewish jeweler. He enticed her to show her face, but she refused. So, the Jew approached her clothes and tied them to her back without her noticing, and when she stood up, her genitals were exposed. The Jews laughed at her, she screamed, and a Muslim man jumped on the Jew and killed him, followed by the Jews gathering around the Muslim and killing him.

[Blue circle:] The Messenger acts to help a woman.

The Events of the Invasion:

The Messenger’s patience toward the Jews of Banu Qaynuqa’ ran out, so he set out to fight them, putting the banner of leadership in the hands of Hamza ibn Abdul-Muttalib. When the Jews learned of the Prophet’s advance, they fortified themselves in fortresses, and the Prophet besieged them for 15 days, preventing them from any kind of reinforcements. Allah sent panic and fear down to their hearts, making them become discouraged from resisting, and they were forced to surrender.

The Consequences of the Invasion:

The Prophet ordered to tie them and register them – they were 700 people. The leader of the hypocrites, Abdullah bin Abi bin Salul, intervened and asked the Prophet to pardon them. He insisted - more than once - that it would be good to have allies among the Jews. So, with the insistence of the leader of the hypocrites, the Prophet pardoned them and banished them from Medina. They left for the Levant, and so the Muslims got rid of their betrayal and meanness.

A section on the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem teaches about the Umar’s Assurance, which insured Christian rights and freedoms, but denied Jews from living in the city.

The curriculum should have provided a wider view. Drawing mainly on Tabari’s narrative,170 the textbooks ignore ‘Umar’s parallel covenant

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169 ibid., p. 38.
with the Jews allowing them to resettle “outside the Christian zone of Aelia towards the south-eastern part [of Jerusalem] along the slope of the City of David, one of the most venerated areas to the Jews of the time.”\(^{171}\) The cancellation of the almost five hundred years long injunction against Jewish residence in the Holy City\(^{172}\) should be seen as a cornerstone in Islamic-Jewish relations. This historical event shows a spirit of tolerance and fairness displayed by the Muslim conquerors toward Christians and Jews alike leading to the emergence of an interfaith laboratory in Jerusalem testing concepts of unity and trinity. Indeed, in early-Islam Jerusalem, “Islamic shapes of holiness joined the earlier ones, Jewish and Christian, without supplanting them. It is not a coincidence that the Dome of the Rock was built to revive the Solomonic Temple on the one hand and to compete with the Holy Sepulchre on the other.”\(^{173}\)

However, students learn that during the Islamic period, Umar bin al-Khattab, the second caliph, came to Jerusalem from Medina, met its patriarch on the Mount of Olives, and dictated the treaty known as “Umar’s Assurance.” He assured the people of Aelia [Jerusalem] their security, property, and churches. According to the textbook, “the assurance contains a very important article: And Jews will not live in Aelia with them.” Since then, “Jerusalem has become an Islamic city,” which is subordinate to the “Palestine Governorate.”\(^{174}\)

Another example shows an illustration of Jesus suffering before his crucifixion. On his right, Jews are seemingly roiled by hatred, a theme which reprises ancient Christian antisemitic ideas in the minds of Coptic children. The accompanying text describes how the Jews insisted that Romans crucify Jesus, choosing Barabbas to be freed instead. This story has

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\(^{174}\) Arabic Language, Grade 12, 2019-20, pp. 14-17.
played a role in Christian antisemitism for centuries, laying the blame on Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus.

An Arabic language textbook for Grade 12 features a text by an Egyptian Historian, Dr. Hasanayn Muhammad Rabi (1938-2019), entitled “Jerusalem: An Arab and Islamic City.” Despite the title, the text does recognize the holiness of Jerusalem to the three monotheistic religions, including Judaism.

Yet Jews are blamed for spreading lies and distorted facts, by claiming that they established the city. According to the textbook, one example is the large-scale celebrations and conferences Jews held on the occasion of the 3,000th anniversary of Jerusalem’s founding, in 1996. However, historical and archaeological evidence exposes “the lies of the Jews,” and “the historical truth” according to which “Jerusalem is a pure Arab city.” It was founded thousands of years ago by the Canaanite Arabs, who called it “Urshalim,” or “the City of Peace.”

In a section of a Grade 8 Social Studies textbook, students are taught the concept of ahl al-dhimma (“the people of the covenant”), i.e. the Jews and Christians who are protected under the rule of the Islamic shari’a. According to a tradition quoted in the same lesson, the second Caliph Umar bin al-Khattab decreed to relieve a Jew from paying taxes (Jizya), a gesture that is explained in the textbook as an example of respectful and tolerant behavior toward the “Other” in society.

The Charter of Medina between Muhammad and the Jews is defined in the Islamic Religious Education textbook for Grade 12 as “a source of pride for Islam,” and is implicitly indicated as a precedent for formulating international peace agreements in the modern era.

According to the textbook, the Charter “predates international documents and national constitutions by many centuries, in applying the principle of religious freedom and adopting the principles of social security and peace, based on the principle of national unity between people with different religious beliefs.” In addition, “the document guaranties freedom of religion, security, and joint defense from any aggressor [that acts] against Muslims or Jews.”

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175 Islamic Religious Education, Grade 12, 2019-20, pp. 60-61.
Students are also taught that marriage between Muslim men and Christian or Jewish women is the “greatest form” of co-existence with the “Other.” The text adds that Islam established marriage on the principles of love and compassion, supporting this claim with a Qur’anic verse.

Islamic Religious Education, Grade 12, 2019-20, pp. 61, 64.

The Greatest Example of Co-Existence (A Muslim Man Marrying a Non-Muslim Woman):
Indeed, Islam permitted eating with the People of the Book and eating their offerings, however co-existence with the Other is embodied in its greatest form, with Islam allowing Muslims to enter into marriage with the People of the Book and marry their women. This is in accordance with the Qur’an’s resolution to establish married life on love and compassion. The Almighty said: “pure foods have been made lawful for you. Similarly, the food of the People of the Book is permissible for you and yours is permissible for them. And [permissible for you in marriage] are chaste believing women as well as chaste women of those given the Scripture before you—as long as you pay them their dowries in wedlock, neither fornicating nor taking them as mistresses. And for whoever rejects the faith, all their good deeds will be void and in the Hereafter they will be among the losers” (5 [al-Ma‘‘idah]: 5). This is the rule for the People of the Book, even if they are not in the abode of Islam.

In an Islamic Religious Education textbook for Grade 6, students are taught about the Muslim belief in the Messengers who preceded Muhammad, including Moses, the prominent Prophet in Judaism.

Extra information:
- The belief in all prophets and messengers without discrimination between them is of the foundations of the Muslim faith. The mistreatment of any prophet or messenger would be excluded from the faith circle.


An Islamic education textbook for Grade 4 was in use until 2021, and was replaced in the 2021-22 academic year with a new textbook. In a lesson on “the Story of Our Lord Moses,” students learned the Qur’anic version of the life story of Moses from his birth onwards, from the moment he was found and adopted by Pharaoh’s wife, to his departure from Egypt. The textbook noted that Moses emigrated from Egypt to Midian in “southern Palestine,” although this area was not so named at that time. The Israelites are identified as victims of Pharaoh, who ordered the killing of each male-born Israeli child.176

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In the Culture of Dialogue Literature in Islam textbook for Grade 12, a Qur’anic discussion between Moses and Pharaoh is presented as a template for a “sincere, courageous, and witty” dialogue, “based on honesty and the search for the truth, abstaining from lies, fabrications, and delusions.”

Regarding an Islamic approach to the People of the Book, those being Jews and Christians, students learn that Muslims are commanded to argue with them gracefully, justly, and honestly. In this context, the textbook quotes the following Qur’anic verse: “[Believers], argue only in the best way with the People of the Book, except with those of them who act unjustly. Say, ‘We believe in what was revealed to us and in what was revealed to you; our God and your God is one [and the same]; we are devoted to Him” [29: 46].

A Christian Education textbook for Grade 8 blames the first-century Jews for “killing Jesus unjustly,” threatening Saint Peter and John the Baptist and persecuting the Church and its believers, which forced many of them to leave the city of Jerusalem. The killing of James the Great is also attributed to the Romans and to the Jews.

A Christian Religious Education textbook for Grade 3 refers to the Israelites and Moses’ Exodus from their enslavement in Egypt, to “the land which was promised to them by God.”

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178 Ibid., pp. 49-50.
180 Ibid., p. 49.
181 Ibid., p. 50.
182 Ibid., pp. 50-51.
Notably, a lesson on Jonah from a removed Grade 5 Christian Education textbook included text that Jonah “lived in the Land of Israel.” This does not appear in the reformed edition.¹⁸⁴

**Egyptian Jews**

The curriculum lacks education about the history of Jews in Egypt, which dates back thousands of years. According to some Jewish traditions, Egypt was the womb allowing for the birth of the Jewish people.¹⁸⁵ In various periods of Egyptian history, the Hebrews and the Jews played a prominent role in the country. Similarly, the influence of Egypt and its culture on Jewish history is dramatic. Yet despite this, the Jews of Egypt are barely mentioned. They are not considered part of the national heritage, and there is no vision of reestablishment of a Jewish community in Egypt. While Egypt’s literary scene has seen in recent years the publication of several balanced history books and novels on Jewish history,¹⁸⁶ such discourse is not incorporated yet by the Egyptian Ministry of Education in the national curriculum.

Under the second unit of a National Education textbook, “Good Citizenship (values and behavior),” students learn extensively about the value of tolerance, and its importance to the idea of good citizenship. The following example ignores Judaism when discussing tolerance and mutual respect among members of the monotheistic religions, thus inferring that Jews are no longer part of the Egyptian people. The implicit message of this text is that Egyptian educators do not envision a future for Jews in their country.

Egyptians in the social hierarchy. Below this diagram the Jews are described as an ethnic group engaged in the financial sector.

Social life:
Observe the diagram on the left to get to know the social classes in Egypt under Roman rule: [the diagram reads:] Romans – Greeks from the four cities – Greeks from the Egyptian countryside – Jews – Egyptians.
What is your opinion on this distribution? Why were the Greek superior to Egyptians?

Jews:
They lived in Egypt and had their own quarters, such as the fourth quarter in Alexandria. They had capital and worked in commerce, banking and moneylending.

Later on in this lesson, the Jews are inaccurately described as being close to the Roman colonialist rulers and as receiving special treatment, compared to the ill-treated Egyptians. It may be implied here that Jews are aligned with colonial powers.

Depiction of Christians

Egypt is home to the largest Christian minority in the Middle East (approximately 10 percent of the country's overall population), a community that is regarded as one of the Egyptian regime's main supporters in the face of Islamist radical forces. The Egyptian authorities have demonstrated an approach of religious tolerance toward Christianity, such as the opening of the Coptic Cathedral in the New Administrative Capital at the beginning of 2019.187

187 Edyta Wolny-Abouelwafa, “Teaching of the Islamic Religion in Egyptian Governmental Primary Schools.”
The governmental education system also plays a role in easing sectarian tensions between Egyptian Muslims and Christians. Consequently, Egyptian textbooks treat Christian worshipers with dignity and respect. Christianity is portrayed positively as a religion that represents noble values such as justice, equality, compassion, tolerance, sympathy, asceticism, altruism, and love.\(^{188}\)

The protection of Christians’ freedom of worship is cherished in the textbooks as part of Islamic heritage in general, and of Egypt in particular since the Muslim conquest of the country between 639 and 646 by the army of ‘Amr ibn al-‘As.\(^{189}\)

Textbooks also emphasize the social unity of Christians and Muslims in contemporary Egypt. According to the textbooks, worshipers of both Christianity and Islam live together, respect each other, collaborate in everyday matters, and in times of crisis, fight side by side for the liberation and protection of their homeland. In the same vein, students are taught that during the revolution of January 25, 2011, Christians and Muslims stood side-by-side in Tahrir Square. Some textbooks include illustrations of neighboring mosques and churches.\(^{190}\)

The following textbook was in use until 2022, and was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year with a new textbook. In a lesson on the achievements of ‘Amr ibn al-‘As, the ruler of Egypt on behalf of the Khalifa, students learned that he “allowed the Christians freedom of belief, and protected their churches and monasteries and their freedom of worship within them…” It was also clarified that “the strife of Muslims against the Crusades was not against Christians, but against the European colonialist countries that came to occupy the Islamic lands.”\(^{191}\)

The following textbook was in use until 2022, and was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year with a new textbook. In the social studies workbook, the students were asked to complete writing assignments on ‘Amr ibn al-‘As’s “positive interactions with Egypt’s Copts,” and his support of Christians’ religious freedom and avoidance of compelling them to convert to Islam. Salah ad-Din was also praised for his kind and respectful treatment toward the Christians of Jerusalem, and their holy shrines.\(^{192}\)

In the Islamic Religious Education textbook for Grade 12, Students are taught about Muhammad’s acceptance of the presence of the Christians of Najran, and the treaty that was signed with them, securing their rights and freedoms. An example in the textbook refers to the Prophet’s decision to allow a Christian delegation to pray in his mosque.

\(^{188}\) Social Studies: Natural Phenomena and Egyptian Civilization, Grade 7, Vol. 2, 2022-23, p. 54; National Education (I, Egyptian), Grade 10, 2020-21, pp. 32, 38.

\(^{189}\) Arabic Language, Grade 12, 2019-20, pp. 14-17, 24-25, 73, 127.

\(^{190}\) Arabic Language, Grade 8, Vol. 1, 2021-22, pp. 22, 36.


The Messenger’s Position Toward the Christians of Najran:

During the Islamic State’s period of expansion in the Prophet’s time, there was a large group of Arab Christian tribes – specifically in Najran – whose presence the Prophet accepted as citizens of the Islamic State. He signed a treaty with them that would secure their freedom to practice their rituals (Freedom of Worship) and to believe in their religion.

The Prophet’s treaty with the people of Najran includes: “Najran has the protection of God and the pledges of Muhammad, the Prophet, to protect their wealth, lives, land, faith, property, those who are absent, and those who are present. Whatever they have is theirs, no matter how big or small. No bishop will be moved from his episcopal seat, nor no monk from his monastery, nor no priest from his cure, and no troop will press their ground.”

Here, the Prophet is setting an unparalleled example in accepting the Other: He was sitting toward 60 Christians from Najran in his noble mosque in Medina, and when it was his time pray, they stood up and faced the East to pray themselves. The Muslims hurried to stop them, but the Messenger of Allah prohibited them from doing so and let the Christian delegation practice their Christian prayer in peace in his Mosque.

In the Values and Respect for the Other textbook for Grade 3, students read a cartoon story that depicts Muslim and Christian children, clerics and places of worship side-by-side, and encourages cooperation and respect between members of both religions.


Respect is not only for people, but respect toward the places, especially places of worship, is of the foundations of respect.

A lesson in a Grade 9 Social Studies textbook, entitled “Egypt from the period of the British protectorate to the July 1952 revolution,” is
illustrated with a cross and a crescent. These symbolize the joint struggle of Muslims and Christians in Egypt for freedom from colonialism.

A National Education textbook for Grade 9 features Muslims and Christians in the context of a discussion on Egypt's national unity. Students learn that Egyptian Muslims and Copts share common land and history. Expression of their solidarity includes the war of 1973 against Israel, and the revolutions of 2011 and 2013.


The Muslims and the Coptics are brothers united in their blood, land and history. The same faith is rooted in their souls - Islam is the religion of peace and Christianity is the religion of love. In [our] land we [Muslims and the Copts] live in love and peace.

The war of October 6, 1973
National unity also appeared in the glorious October War, in which victory was achieved thanks to the unity and struggle of the Egyptian army, Muslims and Copts, who avenged their honor regardless of sectarianism [...]

The January 25th, 2011, Revolution
The national unity of the Egyptian people in all of its different communities, affiliations, and social and political forces became evident in the January 25th Revolution. The masses of the Egyptians – Muslims and Christians – took part in this revolution for the sake of the freedom and dignity of the Egyptians. The images of Coptic youth standing, holding each other's arms, to become human shields and a defense circle to protect their Muslim brothers while they pray are perhaps images that show the national unity in its most glorious way.

The June 30th, 2013, Revolution
What amazed the world even more was the June 30th, 2013, Revolution which took place to answer the people’s demands to achieve the goals of the revolution through the Future Roadmap [a term for the revolution led by El-Sisi] that placed Egypt on the right track of developing its resources and building its future.

Respect for the Other

The below textbook features visually impaired children, and those with disabilities. Recurring characters include a girl in a wheelchair and a blind boy, showing that these disabilities are a fact of life, and teaching children to be tolerant of and respectful toward people like them.

Respecting others is done by showing you notice their feelings and that you love them, even though you have different concerns and qualities.

Among the most important symbols of respecting the other is respecting different opinions, as it is natural for us to have different views according to our personalities and the environment in which we live.

Respecting the other is when you treat him the way you would like to be treated, without looking at sex, religion, or color.


Throughout the following textbook, students are taught the importance of showing universal respect toward the Other, regardless of differences in opinion, personality, sex, religion, or skin color.

Respect is when we accept others as Allah created them, and when you treat them the way you’d like to be treated.

Domestic Challenges

Demography

As a country with a population of over 100 million people and an annual growth rate of 1.9%, Egypt tries to promote awareness of demographic issues among its students. Egyptian textbooks explain the negative social consequences of the demographic problem, including poverty, population density, and unemployment. Students are encouraged to find solutions, such as reducing high birth rates, planning smaller families, and using birth control measures. These solutions are portrayed not only as a societal need, but also as permitted under religious law.

The below textbook teaches students about the negative implications of high rates of population growth and social means to meet this challenge. The first chapter describes various factors that may lead to a decline in population growth, including an increase in education levels, women’s entry into the labor market, economic recession, wars, and political instability.193

In the book’s third chapter on “demographic and social problems and future scenarios,” students are asked to memorize the ideal that “A small family is equivalent to a better life.”194 The same chapter elaborates on the negative social implications of population growth, which are “unemployment,” “density and slums,” “drug addiction,” “poverty,” and “illiteracy.”195 Hence, the demographic challenge has negative social and economic implications, which should be addressed by a comprehensive policy that combines family planning and economic development.

Suggestions for solving the demographic problem:
In order to overcome the demographic problem and its economic and social effects, it is necessary to move forward in two directions: family planning and reduction of rates of demographic natural growth, as well as economic development. The comprehensive policy must focus on dealing with the four consequences of the demographic problem [lack of balance between the number of inhabitants and the amount of available resources and services; increase of pressure on services in the cities; unbalanced age pyramid; increase in rates of illiteracy, unemployment and poverty. These consequences are detailed on pages 82-83].

While several textbooks refer to family planning as an economic and social issue,196 the below

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193 Geography of Egypt, Grade 10, 2022-23, pp. 69
194 Ibid., p. 82.
195 Ibid., p. 83.
example quotes a fatwa that legitimizes birth control measures as per religious law, under certain conditions.

3. Are there official fatwas published concerning family planning?

Yes, there are many fatwas which were published concerning this issue. We would be sufficed presenting one of them: On January 25th, 1937: 60 years ago, a question arrived at the office of the Grand Mufti saying: "A man is providing for one child, and he fears that if he were to be providing for many children, he would be confined for his lack of ability to provide his children with education and care, or the bad health of his wife for being pregnant again and again without time to rest and regain her strength. Is it allowed for such couple to use the measures recommended by doctors [...]?

[...] Abd al-Majid Salim, the Mufti of that time [...] answered it: " [...] It is allowed to use some birth control measures, regarding the situation presented in the question [...]"

Environment and Climate Change

Egypt was selected to host the Sham el-Sheikh United Nations Climate Change 27th Conference (COP27) in November 2022. In recent years, the climate issue has occupied a prominent position in Egypt's political and public agenda. Cairo sees itself as the representative of developing countries, particularly in Africa, since it leads the continent in dealing with environmental issues and wants to receive loans, investments, technological knowledge, and external aid.

Egyptian interest in this issue also stems from the direct environmental threats posed to Egypt by the climate crisis. Egypt suffers from severe water scarcity, which is likely to escalate due to the activation of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD). It is also one of the countries most vulnerable to global warming, as rising sea levels threaten the coastal areas home to 22 percent of Egypt's population, its main tourism sites, and its agricultural land in the Nile Delta. This could lead to poverty, hunger, waves of migration, and political instability.

Egyptian textbooks from grades 1 to 12 refer to environmental protection as a core national and religious value, that reflects Egypt's need for sustainable growth and its commitment to international laws. Moreover, Egypt is portrayed as having a leading regional and global role in addressing issues relating to the environment and climate change.

According to the textbooks, Egypt's top environmental priorities are saving water; preservation of the Nile River, the lifeline of Egypt, particularly in the face of Ethiopia's intent to fill the Renaissance Dam, while taking a greater share of the Nile's waters; dealing with desertification; planting trees; preserving the shores of the Mediterranean and Red seas;

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198 Building National Character, Grade 10, 2020-21, p. 9.
protecting the natural vegetation, wild animals, birds and fish from the danger of extinction; reducing air, soil and water pollution; saving energy and producing clean energies; and recycling waste.\textsuperscript{199}

The textbook below includes a paragraph dedicated to sustainable growth, which is described as a responsible use of resources, and being aware of the need of future generations for these as well. Students are provided with examples of sustainable growth projects that were conducted by the Egyptian government in recent years.

\textbf{Social Studies: Resources and Heritage of My Country, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2021-22, p. 62.}

\textit{Sustainable growth requires the use of resources in a way that meets the current citizens’ needs, while preserving the right of future generations to use these resources as well. Because of this, the state has started many projects to take advantage of the natural resources to achieve sustainable growth [...]}

In a Grade 5 social studies lesson on climate change and its effect on Egypt, students are taught about the severity of climate change and the fact that it is a man-made crisis. They also learn about Egypt's national strategy and global efforts for climate change, and the determination to combat this phenomenon and reduce greenhouse emissions.


\textbf{[...]} Marwa said: What is the reason for climate change? Her mother answered: Climate change is mainly due to human activities such as burning fossil fuels, removing forests, excessive use of pesticides and chemical fertilizers in agriculture, and the increase in industrial activities, especially the iron and cement industries, and the increase in pollution, in addition to natural factors such as volcanic eruptions. All these factors lead to an increase in emissions of greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide and ozone, and their rising in the air, which causes a rise in the temperature of the Earth's surface over time. Therefore, Egypt took several measures to confront the effects of climatic change, the most important of which is the expansion of the use of sustainable means of transportation and clean energy sources, storage of flood waters, infrastructure development and maintenance, freshwater recycling and sea water desalination, and spreading awareness of the serious impact of climate change on the individual and society. Egypt will also host the United Nations Conference on Climate Change in Sharm El-Sheikh in November 2022 to set up decisive action to combat climate change.
On May 19, 2022, the Egyptian government launched the “National Strategy for Climate Change in Egypt 2050” in cooperation with all state agencies, to confront the climate crisis that poses a threat to all aspects of life. The strategy covers all economic activities that produce greenhouse gases. The strategy directs the need to reduce emissions and quickly deal with potential climate changes, and it is a commitment by the state to make an effective and serious contribution to combating climate change.


In another lesson, students are taught about the importance of using renewable energy sources, such as hydraulic energy, solar energy, wind energy, and green hydrogen, to prevent global warming and preserve biodiversity and the environment. It is also stated that the ancient Egyptians were the first to use solar energy to heat their houses, and wind energy to sail their boats.200

In the first two units of another textbook, concerning climate and natural hazards and disasters, many examples of positive environmental education are displayed. Students are taught about human responsibility for climate change, desertification, and international innovations that are tackling the crisis.

Because of the exaggerated use of technology, some climate changes have occurred during the contemporary period, such as the increase in temperature, the spread of dryness and desertification, and tornados all over the Earth.

Desertification:
Which means the decline of the productive potential of agricultural lands, due to many causes, among those:
1. Decrease in rains.
2. Deforestation and decline of grass cover [...] 

World governments are interested in reducing global warming through:
- Proper use of energy and conducting research to find renewable and clean energy sources.
- Stopping deforestation, controlling fires that start in forests and encouraging reforestation.
- Controlling waste scientifically reduces carbon emissions.
- Imposing taxes on those who use carbon-emitting energy.


Students are taught about the responsibility of humankind, and particularly Egyptians, for limiting climate change, and are encouraged to suggest possible solutions.


Dear student, in light of the following statement, explain what is below:
"Egypt is at the head of the African governments and countries' committee concerned with climate change in the UN to find solutions to global warming".
Countries participating in the committee.
The goals of this committee.
The most prominent suggestions to solve the problem of global warming.

Another textbook includes a chapter, titled "Human and Earth," which explains protection of the environment as a religious value, based on an Islamic tradition.

The mother added: Therefore, we have to treat the environment with compassion, so that we would benefit from it and its resources, and protect it from pollution and from any damage that might be caused to it.
The Messenger of God, peace be upon him, said: "If anyone wrongfully, unjustly and with no benefit to him from it, cuts down in a desert a lote tree under which travellers and animals seek shade, God will lower his head in hell."

The effect of environmental protection
The father remained silent for a while, and then said: if a person treats the environment well and discovers God’s rules which are subjected to him, this benefits him and all of humanity, and if he treats the environment badly, he greatly harms himself and his society.

Another example emphasizes the importance of preserving the environment, focusing specifically on the Nile and its pollution problem. Students read a short story, entitled "Me and the Nile," according to which the river “flows in many countries in the African continent and ends in Egypt, where it settles down and waters its seeds and its people.....” While practicing the text, students are asked to write an article in order to convince their friends “to preserve the waters of the Nile.”

International environmental law concerns the following topics:
- Avoiding sea water pollution and increasing protection over marine life.
- Protecting the biosphere from pollution.
- Protecting vegetations, forests and terrestrial animals.
- Protecting rare species.

The below example teaches students about Western philosophical approaches to environmental protection, and includes a reference to international environmental law.
I am the Nile
I am the Nile, the world’s longest river. I pass through many countries in Africa, and I ultimately get to Egypt and settle there to provide water to its plants and its people. I pass through many Egyptian cities such as Aswan, Luxor, Qena, Sohag, Minya, Cairo, Tanta, and eventually I split into two branches—the Damietta branch and the Rosetta branch, and then I pour my water into the sea.

Similarly, another textbook teaches students to preserve the Nile. While practicing the protection of public property, students read and sign the “Nile Document,” which was signed in April 2015 by President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi. The document’s goal is to protect the Nile from any encroachments and pollution, and to affirm Egypt’s historical rights over the river (Implicitly, in the face of Ethiopian counterclaims), noting that the Nile is the primary source of life for Egypt.

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The Nile document:
"In light of the fierce attack against the Nile River, which is the lifeline for Egyptians and the gift of their presence, and out of respect for the Constitution of Egypt, to which we all swore and which recognizes the state's commitment to the protection of the Nile River, the preservation of Egypt's historical rights related to it, the guidance [of Egyptians] regarding the use of it and respecting [this use], and avoiding wasting or polluting it. It [the constitution] also stresses the right of every citizen to enjoy the Nile River, and prohibits harming it. Therefore, I declare participating in the Nile Guards Committee to protect the river from any harm. I will have a monitoring social role, will follow up the Nile's affairs, take part in raising awareness of citizens as a part of the national campaign to save the river, and I swear not to pollute or harm it."

In a discussion on Egyptian identity, students are taught the importance of the Nile and the contemporary dangers it faces, particularly from the building of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam.

What are the greatest dangers threatening the Nile River at present? How do you propose to deal with them?

The following Values and Respect for the Other textbook highlights the importance of keeping the environment clean, especially the beach. The main focus is a story about a girl who goes to the beach with her family on vacation. The girl sees residents and workers that are clean up the beach, and her father explains that plastic bottles and bags harm the sea creatures. The girl asks her parents to help cleaning the beach, and the whole family does it together. Throughout the chapter, there are many exercises that encourage students to keep the environment and beaches clean.
1. There was a beautiful day and Rana’s parents decided to spend the family vacation on the beach. Rana was very happy and prepared her sea toys. She was very excited, but when she got there, she noticed that something is unusual.

2. There was a group of workers and residents in the beach, cleaning plastic bottles and garbage. Rana asked her parents: “What is going on today?”

3. Her father replied that the workers of the beach know how important it is to keep it clean and that the residents are taking part of explaining to people the damage of throwing garbage to the sea creatures.

4. Her father asked her: “What would you feel if one of your friends would have left unclean waste in your room?”

Replied: “This is my home, and I will surely be upset with this kind of behavior. But what is the danger of plastic waste?”

5. Plastic waste such as empty water bottles and bags are getting in the water and damaging the fish and the sea creatures that lives in it.

6. Rana said: “I did know this before, father.” Then, she asked her parents to help and clean the beach. Her father said: “Sure, Rana! Let’s help them together.”

I send you this letter to suggest an initiative to protect the seas. I live in a coastal city that overlooks the Mediterranean Sea, and I noticed that the beach and the sea are polluted with many plastic materials that are created by waste from ships. This waste constitutes a threat to the life of sea animals and coral reefs.

Therefore, I offer you to provide garbage bins on the ships to collect the garbage and to throw it away when arriving [to the beach], to protect our environment and the seas from pollution.

A chapter in a Grade 4 Social Studies textbook is dedicated to discussing the preservation of environmental resources, including positive references to renewable energy sources used in Egypt, such as solar and wind power. Students learn about water and energy preservation on a state level, as well as how they can personally be aware, and help reduce their own water and energy consumption.

202 For similar positive references to the importance of clean, renewable, solar and wind energy resources: Social Studies: Our Arab Homeland – Geographical Phenomena and Islamic Civilization, Grade 8, Vol. 2, 2022-23, pp. 5, 23.
Metals and energy sources

[...] Egypt also owns many sources of energy generation, such as petrol and natural gas, which are prevalent in the Egyptian deserts and the Suez gulf, in addition to coal, found in the Northern Sinai Peninsula. Most of the year, wind and radiant sun are also considered as energy sources.

Preserving environmental resources to ensure a sustainable life

A sustainable life is a way of life that aims to responsibly handle our environmental resources [...] This is not only the responsibility of the government alone, but the responsibility of everyone in society.

Water: [...] the state enforces sanctions against those who pollute the Nile River and uses novel irrigation systems to decrease water waste [...] You also can reduce your consumption of water using the shower instead of the bathtub, and turning off the tap while brushing your teeth.

Energy: Countries of the world turn to use renewable energy sources, such as solar, wind and hydroelectric power [...] which is clean energy that does not contaminate the environment. Therefore, Egypt has constructed renewable power plants, such as the High Dam [...] and the El Kureimat Power Plant in Giza [...] In order to reduce your consumption of energy, you must turn off the light and electrical devices when they are not used, and use energy-saving lightbulbs.

In the social studies textbook for Grade 9, students are introduced to the environmental advantages of natural gas. It may be noted in this context that there is no mention in the textbooks of the extensive cooperation between Egypt and Israel in the field of gas, such as the gas deal under which Israel has been exporting gas to Egypt since 2020 and the establishment of the Eastern Mediterranean Gas Forum in 2019.

Natural gas

It is considered one of the cleanest and cheapest energy sources in the world. It became extensively used in industry, for domestic use, and to generate electricity, and as a fuel for cars instead of gasoline, to limit the environment’s contamination [...]
In the following example, students are encouraged to recycle at home using different bins.

Sort what you find in your home:
[On the blue recycle bin:] paper.
[On the green recycle bin:] food scraps.
Status of Women

Egyptian textbooks for all grades generally encourage gender equality between boys and girls, men and women, and explicitly oppose discrimination or oppression against females. They do so by referring to boys and girls in assignments using both male and female grammatical genders; featuring both boys and girls in illustrations while they practice sports and wear modern outfits; rejecting misogynistic stereotypes; and delegitimizing female genital mutilation.203

According to numerous textbooks, women are equally entitled to access lower and higher education as men, to achieve financial independence, and to play prominent roles in the labor market in sectors including health, science, law, education, and politics.204 Traditional customs, such as early marriage, are recognized as an obstacle for women to achieve better education, gain self-fulfillment, and maximize their contribution to Egyptian society.205

Respect for women's rights and gender equality are taught in the textbooks as an ingrained value that is enshrined in Islamic and Christian scriptures, as well as in Arab and Egyptian ancient and modern national traditions.206 Female historical figures – including Islamic, Arab, and Egyptian leaders, scientists, and intellectuals – are presented as role models for contemporary Egyptian students, particularly girls.207 For example, ninth grade students are asked to compare the Polish-French physicist, Marie Curie, and the Egyptian nuclear physicist, Sameera Moussa, and their contributions as women to the progress of humanity.208

There are exceptions to progressive conceptions of women's rights. These include discriminatory perceptions of women on issues such as Hajj, prayers, and real-estate; justification of Muhammad marrying ten spouses; a prohibition of marriage between two women; calls for women to obey their husbands and dress modestly; and stereotypical perceptions of gender inequality, such as attributing “physical strength” and “ability to

207 Arabic Language, Grade 9, Vol. 2, 2022-23, p. 44.
endure hardships” to men, and “sensitivity and compassion” to women.\textsuperscript{209}

Illustrations of Women and Girls

This textbook illustrates a story in which boys and girls are playing soccer together during a fun day with their family.

\textit{Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2022-23, p. 84.}

\textit{Arabic Language, Grade 2, Vol. 2, 2022-23, p. 32.}

The following illustration in an Arabic language textbook shows a schoolteacher wearing a modest yet modern outfit, without a hijab.

\textit{Arabic Language, Grade 2, Vol. 2, 2022-23, p. 128.}

The same textbook describes a situation, titled “Assisting the mother,” where a husband and children did the housework to allow a mother to rest, following a tiring day at work.\textsuperscript{211}

\textsuperscript{209} Selections from Dialogue Literature in Islam, Grade 12, 2020-21, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{210} Arabic Language, Grade 2, Vol. 2, 2022-23, pp. 12, 129.
My sister and I happily returned home from school, and saw our mother who had also returned from her work and entered her room to sleep for a while. I asked my father and sister what could we do to help our mother? We agreed to let our mother rest and to cooperate in arranging the house until she gets up. When she got up, she found that everything in the house was tidy, thanked us for it, and hugged us warmly and lovingly.

In the following Grade 4 textbook, women and girls are featured dressed in modern Western outfits, including tight or short pants and tank tops, while at home, at work or practicing sports.

Another textbook includes illustrations of a female doctor without a hijab, a girl playing tennis, and a man vacuuming his house as a representation of the fair division of household chores between male and female family members.
Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2022-23, p. 28.

Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2022-23, p. 121.

Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2022-23, p. 149.

Exercise: Divide the household chores between your family members fairly:
[On the right column:] The Chore, [On the left column:] The Family Member

Prominent Women Role Models

A whole chapter on examples of significant modern Arab scholars is devoted to the biography of Bint Ash-Shati, a Muslim Egyptian female scholar. The students are told that she is a “unique model for modern Muslim women.”
When a Muslim is reading the story of Bint Ash-Shati he is pleased and delighted because she has been a perfect female Muslim scholar, being a beacon in the path of knowledge and a bright sign for modern Muslim women, being a unique model for Muslim women in the 20th century. Having cultural and intellectual merit, she was a lady who knew the meaning of being an open-minded woman, she was capable of giving insight into various fields of knowledge, surpassed, and showed superior qualities and was raised to a high intellectual position.


7. How might Muslim women benefit from the ideological and intellectual life of Bint Ash-Shati?

A portion of the below textbook is completely devoted to the introduction of positive and influential female leading figures in Egypt. In this example, the textbook introduces Doria Shafik, an active female Egyptian intellectual and a major player in Egypt’s feminist movement.

Civics and Human Rights, Grade 11, 2019-20, p. 39.

Doria Shafik

Was one of the leaders of the women’s liberation movement in Egypt in the second half of the 20th century, and as a direct result of her efforts, Egyptian women were granted the right to vote by the Egyptian constitution in 1956 [...] the subject of her doctoral dissertation was “Women in Islam”, in which she affirmed that there are many times more women’s rights in Islam than any other system of legislation. She published the magazine Bint Al Nil which was the first female magazine in Arabic, and intended to educate Egyptian women. She also established in the late 40s the complete liberation movement for Egyptian women, which was known by the name Bint Al Nil Union, and established a movement for the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy among girls and women in several regions in Cairo.

In the third lesson of an Islamic Education textbook, “Planning of the Hijra,” under the third unit, “planning and succeeding,” students learn about the Hijra – the journey of the Prophet and his companions from Mecca to Medina – and of the reasons for its success. Among other issues, the textbook discusses the important contribution of women to the success of the Hijra, and teaches of Aisha Bint Abu Bakr and her sister Asma, who assisted the Prophet and the Muslims.


The role of women in the Hijra

Women had an important role in the Hijra, which was manifested by Aisha Bint Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq, may God be pleased with the Abu Bakr and her, who memorized the story, knew it by heart, and reported it to the [Muslim] people. It was also manifested in Aisha’s sister, Asma Dhat al-Nitaqayn, may God be pleased with her, who took part in supplying the Prophet, peace be upon him, and his companion in the cave with water and food, and bore the pain for the sake of God, as Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Kathir reported in Al-Sira al-Nabawiyaa [the Prophet’s biography] that she [Asma] said: “When the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, and Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him, left, a group of people from Quraysh, among them Abu Jahl Ibn Hisham, came to us, and
stood at the door of Abu Bakr. I went out to them, and they said: "Where is your father, O Abu Bakr's daughter?" I said: "By God, I don't know where my father is." Then Abu Jahl, who was vulgar and evil, lifted his hand and slapped my cheek with such force that my earring fell off, and then they went away.

Women’s Roles in the Labor Market

In a lesson on the rural population of Egypt, which comprises around half of the country's overall population, students learn about their positive and negative customs. While positive customs include respect for elders, cooperation, and commitment to the cultivation of agricultural lands, the negative ones refer, among others, to women's rights. These include “preferring men over women,” “early marriage, which affects the woman’s health,” “striving to give birth to a large number of boys,” and “exploiting children in agricultural work.”

Positive habits:
- Respect for elders
- Cooperating with one another
- Paying each other visits
- Holding on to agricultural lands.

Negative habits:
- Preferring men to women
- Exploiting children in agricultural work
- Early marriage, which affects the woman's health
- Striving to give birth to a large number of boys

A Social Studies textbook teaches students to respect women's rights, and to acknowledge their important roles in society, particularly in the education system and the labor market.

Values I Learn: strive to respect women's rights, for they are half of society.

The elevation of women’s status:
Women in our Arab society hold a distinct status; therefore, society grants them a significant opportunity in education and work. Rates of women’s enrollment in elementary education increased to 77% after being low in the past for some traditions and habits prohibiting women’s education. Their participation rates in the labor market increased, and they became teachers, doctors, judges and parliament members.

Women might work in all kinds of fields, according to a Civics textbook. This includes professions “such as doctors, engineers, teachers, ministers, ambassadors, and state presidents,” and “play a basic role in all fields of political, economic, and social life.”

Students learn that women’s high status was manifested in Egypt throughout history; women in ancient Egypt held positions of queens, priests, philosophers and intellectuals and gained the respect of their fellow ancient Egyptians.

According to the textbook, women were also engaged in the process of establishing modern Egypt as an independent state, and since the 1952 Revolution have participated in its rule as Parliament members.

The textbook also suggests that the progress of each society depends on the progress of its women. Students are asked to discuss with their teacher the notion that “no society can establish a civilization without the active participation of women in it,” and to prove this with evidence from their studies of Egyptian history and civilization. They also learn about the role of society in supporting women’s active participation, to enjoy progress and development.

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213 Ibid., p. 31.
214 Ibid., p. 33.
References to Women's Rights in Islam

This textbook was in use until 2022, and was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year with a new textbook. In a lesson on the biography of the Prophet Muhammad, the students were taught about the influence of Islam on the lives of pre-Islamic Arabs. It is mentioned that Islam “raised the status of women in the society and protected their rights and honor.” In addition, the status of women under Islam is described as improved compared to their status in pre-Islamic culture.

Students are taught about women’s positive role in Islamic society throughout history in the fields of politics, warfare, preaching Islam, and contribution to knowledge and social welfare. Many examples of influential Muslim women are given, while students are encouraged to be inspired by these role models and actively serve society themselves.


The Status of Women in Islam:
Islam was concerned with women, and prohibited burying newborn girls alive, and established the marriage relationship on love and compassion. It encouraged [women] to seek knowledge and education.

3. Women’s Status and Role in Islamic Society:
Islam elevated women’s stature and surrounded them by care and protection, being mothers, sisters, daughters, and spouses. Their value is no less than that of men, as the Messenger said: “Women are the counterpart of men.” Women have practiced different roles in Islamic society.

a- Politics and Warfare:
Throughout the Muslims’ history, women have had an impactful role in the fields of politics and warfare. They took part in the second pledge at al-Aqabah and participated in combat – beginning from the Invasion of Uhud, through the Invasions of Khaybar and Hunayn, and the Ridda and Yarmuk Wars. Their political role carried on, having vast influence in the State during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods.

Extra Information: The Prophet consulted with Umm Salama during the events of the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah, acting according to her opinion.

b- Call to Islam and Knowledge:
Islamic history is privileged to have many honorable examples of exporting Islam during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods, regarding the fields of jurisprudence, hadith, eloquence, literature, mathematics, and medicine.
**Social Role:**

There are multiple forms of social work for women, such as volunteering and work for the community, such as in waqfs. They have built mosques and ribat fortifications to help the orphans, the poor, and the needy. Most of their social aid has been looking after women according to their needs.

Devote yourself to social work, and to executing your role toward the society in which you live.

**Extra Information**

_Examples of the Role of Women in Islamic Society:_

a) **Politics and Warfare:**

Among the most famous female companions in the history of the Muslims are Nusaybah bint Ka‘ab and Asmaa bint Yazeed Al-Ansaryeh. In the Abbasid period: Al-Khayzuran, Caliph Al-Mahdi’s wife, Lady Zubaidah, Al-Rashid’s wife, and Shajar al-Durr who ran the Ayyubid State after the death of her husband As-Salih Najm Al-Din Ayyub, and is considered by several historians as the first Sultan of the Mamluk State.

b) **Call to Islam and Knowledge:**

Among the most famous female companions who exported Islam in the fields of jurisprudence and hadith are Lady Khadija and Lady Aisha. In the Umayyad period there were such as: Umm Al-Banin, Caliph Al-Walid ibn Abd Al-Malik’s wife, Fatima bint Sa‘d Al-Khayr Al-Ansaryeh, and Umm Hani Al-Haruniye. In the Abbasid period there were such as: Terken Khatun, Sultan Malik-Shah’s wife, Lady Rufaida Al-Ansaryeh, and Lady Sitta Al-Baghdadiyah. In Al-Andalus: Lady Aisha bint Ahmad Al-Qurtubiyya.

c) **Social Role:**

Many women are famous for it, such as: Umm Al-Caliph Al-Nasir li-Din Allah (Zumurrud Khatun), Zahra Khatun, daughter of Sultan Al-Adil Sayf ad-Din Abi Bakr bin Ayyub, and Bai Khatun, Sultan Al-Zahir Baibars’s daughter.

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ources:

1. [Islamic Religious Education, Grade 7, 2022-23, p. 34.](#)
2. [Egypt and Islamic Civilization, Grade 11, 2022-23, pp. 130-131.](#)

The following example is taken from a textbook that was in use until 2022, and was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year with a new textbook. The textbook featured an image of girls working in a lab, framed with a Qur’anic verse that encourages work and equal reward for both men and women.

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Among the religious rules for embarking on a pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj), the below textbook features a discriminatory statement according to which “women should be accompanied by a spouse, a Mahram [having a sacred status], or reliable women.”

Islamic Religious Education, Grade 9, 2022-23, p. 100.

[From the list of conditions for practicing the Hajj]:
6. Women should have with them a spouse, a Mahram (person who is in a status of sanctity), or reliable women.

In a chapter that discusses the principles of marriage in Islam, students are taught Muhammad’s saying, which states that women need the permission of a male guardian to get married.


The fundamentals of marriage in Islam
Marriage has six fundamentals:

3. Authorized agent of the bride: A women, either big or small, young or old, is not allowed to marry herself. As said the Prophet: “A woman shall not marry off another woman, and shall not marry off herself” (narrated by Ibn Majah).

Renouncing Female Genital Mutilation

Female genital mutilation (FGM) is banned under Egyptian law, and yet most Egyptian women and girls aged between 15 and 49 have undergone this procedure. The following text criticizes FGM on religious grounds, but the tone is not critical enough, and the context is that of purity and personal hygiene, alongside a comparison with male circumcision. The word ‘mutilation’ is not mentioned, but rather “circumcision.” While male circumcision is presented as a religious duty, it is stated that FGM lacks similar religious justification, and entails physical and mental dangers. The text does not explicitly state that women mutilation is forbidden under religious law; in fact, it leaves room for doubt on this subject.

Islamic Religious Education, Grade 7, 2022-23, p. 25.

One of the hallmarks of Islam is the obligation it imposed on maintaining purity and cleanliness and one of the best

expressions of the Sunnah, so that the individual will not suffer any harm. On the question of the circumcision, for example, the scholars of Islam agreed that it is an obligation as far as men are concerned, relying on the reliable texts that justify it. However, when it comes to women, there is no reliable Sharia text that requires the performance of a circumcision. As the former Mufti Dr. Muhammad Said Tantawi emphasized, this has become a custom that is common in Egypt from generation to generation, and it is disappearing among all strata of the population, especially among the educated. The religious position regarding this custom agrees with the position of expert doctors who underscore the harm inherent in women's circumcision, in the physical and mental aspects, and that the Prophet did not perform circumcision on his daughters. The contents of the hadith traditions dealing with this matter are also weak, and do not rise to the level of validity.

A Grade 11 Christian Religious Education textbook openly renounces the phenomenon of female genital mutilation from a religious, medical, and psychological perspective. A full chapter is dedicated to this topic, and the students receive a wealth of information and are provided with many arguments against “female circumcision.”

In a lesson on the Friday sermon, students are asked to discuss women’s attendance at prayers. They learn that such attendance is permitted, as long as there will be no temptation or harm. Yet, students are advised that “a prayer of a woman in her home is better for her.”

The following example presents the story of Abraham, who obeyed God and left Hagar and Ishmael in the desert. One of the lessons that the student should derive from the story, according to the textbook, is the importance of a “woman’s obedience to her husband.”

1. This phenomenon [of female circumcision] has no religious background, and there is no one verse in the Bible, in both the Old and the New Testament, which talks about female circumcision, but it is rather a social hereditary custom. The core of Christian faith strongly disapproves and fights any social or historical idea of female circumcision, which belittles women, detracts from their status, and diminishes the dignity of their bodies, which God has granted them.

2. The circumcision, which is referred to in the Bible, relates to males only. It does not distort the body of the man, and it is an explicit commandment in the Bible. 3. Female circumcision is a distortion of what God created.

In a lesson on the Friday sermon, students are asked to discuss women’s attendance at prayers. They learn that such attendance is permitted, as long as there will be no temptation or harm. Yet, students are advised that “a prayer of a woman in her home is better for her.”

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1. This phenomenon [of female circumcision] has no religious background, and there is no one verse in the Bible, in both the


4. Obedience of women to their husbands—when Abraham left Hagar and her child and went away, she was not worried and did not object, but asked him with much politeness: did God order you to do so? He answered: ‘yes’, and she submitted to God’s order and obeyed her husband.

Hagar proved that righteous women obey their husbands and help them to perform God’s orders. Explain this.


The textbook below discusses women’s clothing and states that, according to interpretations of the Qur’an, women should cover their whole body, except for their face and hands. It is clarified that women are only allowed to exercise their personal clothing preferences under these restrictions.

Islamic Religious Education, Grade 12, 2019-20, p. 102.

An Islamic Religious Education lesson titled “Solidarity in Inheritance” teaches that although women are entitled to have a share in a relative’s property, a man’s share is much larger. This concept is justified in Islam by the statement that men have various financial obligations, whereas women do not, “for Allah has instilled in men abilities that He has not instilled in women.”

A great principle has been approved, which is that just like men, women have a share in the estate of their relatives, no matter how much the estate is worth. This right has been given to them by Allah, apparent in the Almighty’s saying: “For men there is a share in what their parents and close relatives leave, and for women there is a share in what their parents and close relatives leave—whether it is little or much. (These are) obligatory shares.” (An-Nisa: 7.)

However, this share is not equal to that of men; a man’s share is twice as high as that of a woman, for this is tied to an economic perception and a social construct, which is based on the following:

a. The Islamic system has given men the task of profiting, working, and getting money, for Allah has instilled in men abilities that He has not instilled in women.

b. By law, men have additional tasks that women have not been tasked with, such as spending money, a man must spend money for his wife and children, for his daughters as long as they haven’t married, and for this brothers and fathers in case of poverty. As for women, they are not asked by law to spend money for anyone, and so a woman’s need for the estate’s money is not like that of the male inheritor—whether she is a daughter or a sister—for the husband is responsible for his wife and family.

In the field of good manners and noble characteristics, Allah has decreed when women must keep their modesty, purity, decency and covering any part of their body which was determined by Allah, for example: “[Women must] not reveal their adornments, except what normally appears [...]” [An-Nur; 31]

The Fiqh explained that the meaning of “What normally appears” is their face and hands. This should not avert women from looking good and appearing in nice clothing in the way they see fit, as long as this clothing will cover their body the way Allah had determined.
Egypt and the World Powers

The legacy of the struggle for liberation from colonialism is still very much evident in Egyptian textbooks. Students learn that the sovereignty of their country took shape following centuries of struggles against foreign colonialist forces, beginning with the Roman Empire (30 BC–641 AD), through Ottoman rule (1517–1798, 1801–1867) to the French occupation, (1798–1801) and British hegemony (1882–1956). At the heart of the Egyptian national narrative are oppressive external enemies who faced local Egyptian defenders of the homeland.

While history textbooks highlight Egypt's battles against foreign invaders, its contemporary foreign policy is presented to students in a more nuanced manner. On a geopolitical level, Egypt is a cooperative global actor, an ally for many countries from East to West, and a trade junction between continents and seas thanks to its location and to the Suez Canal.

On an economic level, Egyptian students learn that US-led capitalism proved to be the victorious economic system in the face of the collapse of the communist bloc following the Cold War. Moreover, Western economic development is occasionally presented as a role model for Egypt. Yet some textbooks criticize the current world order for its domination by Western powers, and call for the protection of national interests from the harm of globalization.

In a social studies textbook for the sixth grade, students are informed about the hidden colonialist motives of France during Napoleon Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt in 1798.
Some of the manifested reasons for Napoleon’s campaign in Egypt were:

- Punishing the Mamluks and shattering their forces and breaking their influence.
- Protecting the French merchants from the Mamluk’s oppression and tyranny.
- Alleging that they shall establish a national government ruled by Egyptians.

Some of the real (unspoken) reasons were:

- Threatening the interests of Britain by cutting the pathway between them and their colonies in India.
- Establishing a French colony with Egypt in its center, to compensate the French for their lost colonies.

In the below exercises on the French conquest of Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte, students are asked to write a paragraph about defending the homeland, and its independence.

In another social studies textbook for the sixth grade, students are taught that the causes of the Egyptian Revolution of 1919 were British violence during their occupation of Egypt, and the will to end colonialism in Egypt.

The revolution of 1919:

1. The causes for the revolution:
   1) The increase of national awareness and the call to liberate from colonialism.
   2) The violent means forced on Egypt by the British occupation during World War I.
   3) US president Wilson’s manifest of principles, among them every nation’s right to self-determination.
In a textbook on the modern and contemporary history of Egypt, Grade 9 students learn about the 'Urabi Revolution, a national uprising that took place from 1879 to 1882 against British and French influence in the country. The textbook portrays British efforts to discredit the Egyptian government, in order to justify its occupation.

In the same lesson, Egyptian soldiers who participated in the Battle of Tell al-Kebir – fought in 1882 between the Egyptian army led by Ahmed 'Urabi and the British military – are depicted as heroes, and their deaths for defending the homeland are described as martyrdom. In another lesson, the Egyptian nationalist Muhammad Farid, who struggled against the British occupation during the rule of the Khedive Abbas II Hilmi Bey (1892–1914), is described as a “jihad fighter” (mujahid). In the same textbook, students are taught that the “British protectorate” was a “total submission [of Egypt] to the British occupation.” However, the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 changed relations between both sides “from occupation to alliance.”

Extra information:
The British occupation of Egypt contradicts all of Britain’s declared principles. In order for Britain to justify its occupation of Egypt, it has carried out a European campaign to tarnish the reputation of the rule in Egypt. Britain found out that it is in its interest that this campaign against Egyptian rule will last, and will reveal the incapacity of the country to manage its own affairs in general, and thus to justify the British occupation.

In the social studies textbook “Resources and Legacy of My Country” for Grade 4, students learn that Egypt's international status is based on its geographical location “at the heart of the Arab Homeland, where the Arab countries of Asia and Africa meet.” The importance of

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226 Ibid., p. 80.
227 Ibid., p. 83.
228 Ibid., p. 86.
Egypt’s location has further increased since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which connects the Mediterranean and Red seas, and has rendered it vulnerable to the aspirations of foreign forces.\(^{230}\) There is also an explanation of the meaning of the colors of the Egyptian flag, which reflect a historical narrative that merges a struggle for freedom against colonialism, sacrifice in the course of its attainment, and a peaceful international approach.

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**Meaning of colors and symbols in the Egyptian flag**

The flag of each country symbolizes its history and heritage, with each color having its particular meaning. When we observe the flag of Egypt, we will notice that it is rectangular and comprised of three colors, each with a specific meaning: red expresses the period of struggle and blood of the martyrs [who sacrificed their lives] for liberty; white expresses peace; and black expresses the oppression Egypt was exposed to during the periods of colonialism. In the center of the flag, we find a golden-yellow eagle taken from the eagle of Saladin, and it refers to Egypt's power and ancient civilization.

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The example below compares a photo of Manhattan, New York, with a photo of what appears to be one of Cairo’s slums. This implicitly encourages students to envisage the development of Egypt into a Western-style country.

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In a Grade 9 social studies textbook, students learn about contemporary Egyptian foreign relations with a diverse range of countries, some developed and some less developed, including India, Germany, the USA, Brazil, and Nigeria. There is a special emphasis on the economic dimensions of these ties.

In the Egyptian-American context, students learn about the Qualifying Industrial Zones agreement (QIZ) – Egyptian industrial zones that are exempt from US customs duty, subject to Israeli contribution to the products. However, Israel, the third party to the QIZ agreement, is not mentioned, and thus its positive economic contribution is not brought to the attention of the students.
Egypt-Brazil relations:
Egypt and Brazil have long relations going back to the 19th century, and there is a will by both sides to expand the scope of commercial exchange between the two countries. Egypt exports cotton, food products, furniture, textile, and fertilizers to Brazil, and it imports grains, especially for oil, sugar, metals, and iron especially, meat and milk from Brazil.

Egypt-Nigeria relations:
There are strong relations between the two countries. Egypt exports [to Nigeria] fertilizer, heavy equipment, copper wires...


Additionally, a lesson on Egypt's relations with regional and international organizations places a significant emphasis on the country's role in encouraging international cooperation and in establishing Arab, Islamic, African, and other organizations to ensure such ties.


Egypt played a significant role in strengthening Arab connections, which has been executed by the foundation of the League of Arab states. Egypt has been the of the first states to sign the Charter of the UN. The Egyptian role has expanded and now comprises regional movements and organizations to encourage international cooperation, when it founded the Non-Aligned Movement, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and the African Unity Organization (currently, the African Union).

Egyptian students in Grade 12 geography are taught that many contemporary world problems stem from colonialism. For example, students are asked to write an assignment on the connection between colonialism and border disputes.

In a lesson on “the essence of international relations,” it is argued that the UN is dominated by superpowers, and therefore its regulations are biased in their favor on different issues, including the Palestinian issue. Another lesson in the textbook is dedicated to the negative implications of the so-called “new world order,” led by the West, on the interests of developing countries.

Political Geography, Grade 12, 2022-23, p. 108.

Despite the efforts of the UN, it is controlled by the superpowers and they influence its decisions, and is characterized by a lack of neutrality on various issues, for example the Palestinian cause.

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231 Political Geography, Grade 12, 2022-23, pp. 64-65.
232 Ibid., p. 68.
The events in the international arena that have taken place since the establishment of the so-called “new world order” prove that it has a great influence on developed and developing countries. Here are some expressions:

- There is an absolute monopoly on arms, finance and technology by capitalist Western countries, and therefore most economic, financial and technological assistance, in addition to trade ties, is directed in a way that serves the new relations between Eastern Europe and the West, usually at the expense of the developing countries.
- American intervention in the domestic affairs of certain countries.
- Violation of Arab cultural security through the assimilation of negative values of globalization.
- Spread of violence and the outbreak of civil wars and border disputes as has happened in Somalia, Congo and Afghanistan.

Zionism and Israel: Ambivalent Shift from War to Peace

Throughout the years of hostilities with Israel, Egypt’s educational system served as an important agent in constructing “the culture of conflict” – in other words, the array of opinions, beliefs, and feelings that delineated the goals and meaning of the conflict for Egypt’s younger generation, justified the sacrifices and victims incurred by the conflict, and defined the desired solution and the ways to achieve it. Textbooks also played a major role in inculcating the political worldviews and historical narratives that matched the traditional perception of Israel as a hostile, racist, and colonialist entity that schemed to expand “from the Euphrates to the Nile.”

Following the 1979 peace agreement, there was hope that the transition from conflict to peace would lead to a parallel cultural-educational change in negative stereotypes regarding the Israeli side, and to a transformation into a more balanced perspective. In reality, although changes in the way that Egyptian textbooks portrayed the Arab-Israeli conflict after the signing of the peace treaty were significant, they were still far from offering a full transition from a “culture of conflict” to a comprehensive “culture of peace.”

The ambivalent nature of relations between Egypt and Israel, which is often referred to as “cold peace,” is still articulated in some of the current Egyptian textbooks. The Zionist movement is presented in the textbooks as an illegitimate, racist, and aggressive entity, founded on historical sin, supported by Western colonialist forces, and driven by the ongoing ambition to spread itself at the expense of the Palestinians and the Arab states.

The conflict over Palestine, Jerusalem, and the al-Aqsa Mosque is presented as one of a religious nature, while supporting the Palestinians against Israel is presented as an

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233 Winter, “Peace with Israel in Egyptian Textbooks.”
Islamic duty. In the same vein, past Egyptian sacrifices and martyrdoms for the sake of the liberation of Sinai from Israeli occupation following the 1967 War are commended as an Egyptian national duty.

In the textbooks, it is argued that Palestine is an Arab land as a matter of historical fact, and not as a disputed land desired by two national movements. In historical contexts, Israel is labeled as an “oppressor,” “enemy,” or “the Zionist enemy,” and as a threat to the rights of Egyptians, Arabs, and Muslims. According to the prevailing historical narrative, Israel has strived to exterminate the Arabs of Palestine; it also assumes the main responsibility for past wars, massacres, and violations of ceasefire agreements.

The textbooks show no introspection in relation to Arab conduct in the conflict with Zionism, such as the collective refusal to accept UN and other international partition plans before 1948. Some conspiracies and blood libels are attributed to Israel, starting from manipulating American politics and ending in the allegedly deliberate mass killing of Palestinian populations.

At the same time, Egyptian students also learn about the benefits of the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement. These benefits include the ability to direct energy into domestic development, strengthening stability, attracting foreign investment, and encouraging tourism. Peace is presented as an outcome of the victory of the Egyptian army in the 1973 war, and Israel’s defeat. President Anwar al-Sadat is positively portrayed as “the hero of war and peace,” and as a driving force behind the historical shift toward a political settlement between Egypt and Israel.

The image of Israel presented by textbooks is multifaceted: on the one hand, it is still described as a possible threat to Egypt and as an occupier of Palestinian-Arab territories and Muslim holy sites, of which Egypt still sees itself as committed to their liberation; on the other hand, Israel is shown to have adopted the choice of peace with Egypt following the 1973 war. The United States is also presented in a complex way: a military supporter of Israel during war, but also a mediator for peace between Egypt and Israel.

From a historical perspective, contemporary textbooks highlight slight but positive changes in the portrayal of peace with Israel comparing previous textbooks from the Mubarak era. Although current textbooks remain largely faithful to their versions from the early 2000's,
changes demonstrate more explicit support for peace with Israel than in the past. While previous textbooks also mentioned the economic importance of peace, current textbooks make a greater effort to praise it as necessary for the revival and prosperity of Egypt's economy. Israel is portrayed as a legitimate partner for peaceful relations, and former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin appears in one textbook alongside Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat. The amount of space devoted to the Arab-Israeli conflict in general, and the Palestinian issue in particular, is less than in the past.  

In a lesson on Egypt and the Palestinian cause, Egyptian students learn about the special importance of Palestine to the Arabs, and the small numbers of Jews who lived there until the First World War (1914-1917), side-by-side with the Muslim and Christian majority populations.

In the same lesson, students are introduced to the Balfour Declaration, which is alleged to have been granted to the Jews due to Britain's understanding of the importance of Palestine. The declaration is described as “gave a territory that it does not own to a group that does not own it, a promise from those who do not own it, to those who do not own, to those who have no right.”

Later in the same lesson, students are taught about different reactions to the November 29, 1947, Partition Plan of Palestine. Students learn that Arabs refused the plan, Britain was absent from voting and withdrew its forces on May 14, 1948, while the Jewish armed troops “chased the Arabs from their homes, and performed the most repulsive massacres, such as the Deir Yasin massacre.” It is also mentioned that the USA and the USSR recognized Israel's establishment.

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243 Winter, “Peace with Israel in Egyptian Textbooks.”

Students are taught that the Arabs were defeated in the War of 1948, as Israel took over all Palestinian lands except for the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and East Jerusalem. The Arab defeat is attributed to the “Jews [who] violated the armistice agreements and began their forces' consolidation in terms of recruiting, rearmament, and training.” According to the same lesson, among the reasons for the Arab defeat in 1967 were Israel’s plot to drag Arab countries into a war, which they were not prepared for.

The textbook refers to Gamal Abdel Nasser’s efforts to reconstruct the Egyptian armed forces during the War of Attrition (1967-1979), and to the American attempt to mediate the conflict between Egypt and Israel, and to promote a peaceful solution in the framework of the Rogers Plan.

In a lesson on the 1973 October War, students learn about two reasons for its eruption: firstly, “Israel's refusal of all calls for peace” by withdrawing from the territories it occupied in the “aggression” of 1967; secondly, Egypt and Syria’s determination to eliminate the traces of “the Nakba of 1967.” The USA is described as helping Israel during the war via military and financial aid, but also as facilitating a ceasefire and peaceful solutions based on UN Resolution 338.

The 1973 October War is presented as a “turning point in the Arab-Israeli conflict, when it proved [to Israel] that the logic of force would not grant [it] peace.” The war also restored Egyptian and Arab reputations, and thus ended the no-peace-no-war condition, paving the way to political negotiations from an Arab position of power. The Israeli Minister of Defense, who goes unnamed, is quoted as admitting after the war that Israel is no longer “the sole military power in the Middle East,” and that there are new truths with which it has to live.

The below example of Sadat’s November 1977 peace initiative first appears in the textbook in the framework of the achievements of the October War, alongside the exhaustion of repeated wars, and Israel’s approval of the principles of land for peace and negotiations.

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The USA intervened [in the war of Attrition], and the [American] secretary of state [William Rogers] offered an initiative, known as The Rogers Plan, to achieve an end to belligerence, as a preliminary step toward finding a peaceful solution to the conflict.

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245 Ibid., p. 59.
246 Ibid., p. 60.
247 Ibid., p. 64.
248 Ibid., p. 65.
249 Ibid., pp. 65-66.
Egypt’s policy regarding terminating the Arab-Israeli conflict to settle peace:
a) President Sadat’s initiative to visit Israel for the sake of peace in 1977:
President Sadat called for a just peace for all the peoples of the region. He invited the whole world to support him in his striving for sustainable peace after a series of wars that drained the country’s energy and its human and material resources. These wars paved the way in front of Israel to accept the terms of negotiation between the two sides concerned with the issue.

Later in the same lesson, students learn about the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty and some of its articles, among them, the restoration of the Sinai Peninsula, establishing “friendly” political, economic, and cultural relations between both countries, and the foundation of Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin is featured in a photograph at the White House treaty-signing ceremony, alongside the Egyptian and American Presidents, Anwar al-Sadat and Jimmy Carter. In addition, both Israeli and Egyptian leaders are given equal credit in the description of their Nobel Peace Prize win, for their active efforts over the years to establish peace in the Middle East.

Sadat’s successor, President Husni Mubarak, receives praise in the textbook for continuing the efforts to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict, and supporting the Oslo Accords between Israel and the PLO in the mid-1990s. The accords are described as the fruit of joint action by then Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs Shimon Peres, and then Palestinian secretary of the executive committee, Mahmud Abbas, the current Chairman of the Palestinian Authority.250

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250 Ibid., pp. 69-70.
In the same lesson, students learn about the various advantages of peace in the Middle East, and of solving the Arab-Israeli conflict for the “Arab homeland.”

The advantages of settling peace and ending the Arab-Israeli conflict
Choosing peace instead of war, that exhausts all economic and human resources, benefits our Arab Nation, and shall achieve the following:

- **Internal stability for the Arab countries.**
- **Advancing economic and social development, and upgrading the state’s infrastructures.**
- **Encouraging Arab and foreign capital investment in Egypt and in the other Arab states.**
- **Increasing tourism movement that will boost the national income and supply foreign currency.**
- **Construction of national projects that will foster the development of Egypt and of the Arab region as a whole.**

In a social studies workbook, students are asked to read the Balfour Declaration, describe their feelings toward it, and suggest what would have happened if Britain did not publish it.  

Students are then asked, In the context of the Egyptian-Israeli 1979 peace agreement, to suggest further articles in order to make it more just and comprehensive; this may imply that the current agreement, in its original form, is unsatisfactory.

In other exercises, students are asked to look at the advantages of peace with Israel for Egypt in particular, and for the Arab Nation in general, as well as to point out three reasons that justify the effort to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict. Additionally, they are asked to prove the following statements with historical evidence: “Peace has many advantages for Egypt and the Arab Nation,” and the “October War put an end to the Israeli conception of security.”

The “Modern and Contemporary History of Egypt and the Arabs” textbook for Grade 12 narrates many junctures in the Arab-Israeli conflict, from an Egyptian perspective. It mentions that “Egypt entered the Palestine [1948] War with the Arab countries in order to expel the Jews from Palestine.” The failure to “eliminate the State of Israel” is attributed to...
insufficient military preparation and a lack of cooperation between Arab armies.\textsuperscript{253}

The textbook highlights Egypt's ongoing support of the Palestinian people “in taking back its legitimate rights in its homeland.” This support is presented in the context of a wider approach toward Arab peoples, “whom Egypt wished to liberate from colonialism,” implying that Israel should be treated as a colonial entity.\textsuperscript{254} According to the textbook, Egypt's rejection of colonialism and the “Western support of the Jews,” made the country subject to “numerous conspiracies, such as the 1956 Tripartite Aggression and the 1967 Aggression.”\textsuperscript{255}

In a lesson on the topic of Arab nationalism, students learn that “Palestine is Arab,” while dismissing the claim that “Israel is a historical fact.” Moreover, Jews are blamed for the development of antisemitism in Europe due to their refusal to assimilate into their societies.

The textbook justifies Arab hostilities during the Mandatory period, based on the denial of Jewish historical and religious rights in Palestine. According to the textbook, the riots of 1929 were caused by “the Jews’ encroachment on

\textit{Egypt and Arab Modern and Contemporary History, Grade 12, 2022-23, p. 116.}

\textbf{Fourth: The Arab-Israeli Conflict:}

\textsuperscript{1} The Evolution of the Palestinian Issue from the 19th Century Until the Establishment of the State of Israel: Introduction: Palestine is Arab, this is the historical fact. This is a fact that the Zionists, in cooperation with the great powers, sought to erase completely by saying that Israel is a historical fact. However, the difference between the two arguments is that the second one goes against the person’s right to his homeland, in which he and his ancestors have been living for thousands of years, as it calls to open the gates of “Palestine,” later “Israel,” to the immigration of the Jews from Europe, Asia, Africa, and every other place.

- The intellectual renaissance that started in Europe had also raised the Jews’ intellectual level. In addition, the great economic boom that took place in most of Europe gave ample opportunity for the Jews to develop their economic skills in acquiring much wealth.

- Nationalism was the convention in modern history, whereas the Jews – who mostly lived in ghettos of their own – sought to preserve their Jewish characteristics by confronting the growing sentiments of nationalism among the nations with which they live. This escalated the hostility between the Jews on the one hand and the European Christian nations on the other.

As for the Balfour Declaration, students learn that it does not refer to the Arabs of Palestine, but only to “the non-Jewish communities.” Moreover, it is stated that “Britain gave a territory that it does not own to a group that does not own it, without consulting the people of the land that constitute the overwhelming majority of its population.”\textsuperscript{256} The League of Nations, which approved the mandate system in Palestine, is accused of “exterminating the Arabs of Palestine and Judaizing it.”\textsuperscript{257}

The textbook justifies Arab hostilities during the Mandatory period, based on the denial of Jewish historical and religious rights in Palestine. According to the textbook, the riots of 1929 were caused by “the Jews’ encroachment on

\textsuperscript{253} \textit{Egypt and Arab Modern and Contemporary History, Grade 12, 2022-23, p. 77.}

\textsuperscript{254} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 85.

\textsuperscript{255} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 88.

\textsuperscript{256} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 117.

\textsuperscript{257} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 118.
The Arabs’ right at the Buraq Wall, which is attached to the Al-Aqsa Mosque.” The Jewish connection to the Western Wall is ignored.\footnote{Ibid., p. 118.}

The textbook’s descriptions of Zionist relations with the United States are full of dubious antisemitic conspiracies. Students are taught that Zionists “provided the United States with extensive services in its efforts to shatter Nazi Germany,” and supported the US oil interests in the Middle East, thus assisting its dominance in world affairs. Students also learn that the United States replaced Britain as “the first and most powerful supporter of the establishment of a Jewish state,” especially since Harry Truman won the 1945 presidential elections thanks to an “exorbitant amount of money” spent by “the Jews.”

While the United States became the first and most powerful supporter of the establishment of a Jewish state, England believed that it could not continue the Mandate over Palestine. Rather, the Zionist organizations believed that England’s role in preparing for the establishment of a Jewish state had ended; it had become a second-class state, and the leading role in this regard now belongs to the USA, especially since Truman won the 1945 presidential elections, as the success of the Democratic Party, Truman’s party, in the elections, is due to the exorbitant amount of money spent by the Jews.

Egypt and Arab Modern and Contemporary History, Grade 12, 2022-23, pp. 121-122.

The textbook blames the Zionists for exploiting the “claim” that six million Jews were “killed or burned by the Nazis” in order to justify the immigration of tens of thousands of Jews to Palestine, an act that “would only come with the extermination of the Arabs of Palestine.” While the text hints at the magnitude of the holocaust, it avoids teaching the subject.

Egypt and Arab Modern and Contemporary History, Grade 12, 2022-23, p. 122.

While Nazi Germany was on its dying breath, the Jewish Agency extensively publicized the heinous crimes committed by the Nazis against the Jews of Germany and Eastern Europe, claiming that about six million victims were killed or burned by the Nazis. In the aftermath of WWII, the Jewish Agency shipped tens of thousands of German Jews to Palestine, in a way that irritated the British Mandate authorities, as the country could only absorb these people at the expense of the Arabs there. In other words, if a national homeland was to be established in this way, this would only come with the extermination of the Arabs of Palestine.
The “strategic consequences” of the 1973 Yom Kippur War are described in the textbook as a turning point toward “peace in the Middle East.” Sadat is praised for initiating the Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement that eventually led to the Israeli-Palestinian Oslo Accords. Yet it is mentioned that “there is still a long way to go until permanent and final peace agreements in the Middle East are reached.”

Egypt and Arab Modern and Contemporary History, Grade 12, 2022–23, pp. 137-139.
The Change in Egypt’s Policy Toward a Peaceful Solution:
President Muhammad Anwar el-Sadat’s thinking began to take a civilized initiative in order to find a fundamental solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, for the sake of a permanent and just peace. So, he took the following steps:
1. His initiative to go to Israel in November 1977, where he called for the establishment of a permanent and just peace in the Middle East, so future generations can avoid the scourge of war.
2. The recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The Summit at Camp David (September 1978):
US President Jimmy Carter called on President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to hold a meeting at Camp David in the United States, which ended with laying out a framework for peace, based on the following foundations:
1. The complete withdrawal from Sinai.
2. The normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel.
3. The realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, through the participation of Jordan and the representatives of the Palestinians in determining the future of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, provided that this is preceded by the end of the Israeli Military Governorate and the establishment of full autonomy.
4. The March 1979 Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel, with the Participation of the USA, Its Most Important Content Being:
   1. Ending the state of war, refraining from the threat of war, and solving the problem in peaceful ways.
   2. Complete Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula.
   3. The recognition of the sovereignty of each side of the conflict over its land.
   4. The establishment of normal political, economic, and cultural relations between the two countries.
   5. The establishment of demilitarized zones on both sides of the border, more deeply in Sinai.
   6. The beginning of negotiations on autonomy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, a month following the ratification of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.
   7. The 1978 Camp David Accords and the 1979 Peace Treaty are based on UN Security Council Resolution 242 from 1967, which calls for ending the state of war between the Arabs and Israel, respecting the sovereignty of all countries in the region, and having Israeli forces withdraw from the territories occupied in the 1967 War.

The Consequences of the Peace Treaty and Egypt’s Efforts to Solve the Palestinian Problem:
Both sides made sure to execute the content of the treaty. [...] As for the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, according to what was brought up at the Camp David Summit in 1978, the Arabs and Israel began a dialogue to find an appropriate format for these rights – an extremely difficult matter, since both the Arab and Israeli sides were firm in their positions, adhering to their rights and principles. The matter ended with arrangements made between the Palestinians and Israel in the city of Oslo, Norway, in addition to a dialogue that occurred between several Arab parties with Israel in Madrid, Spain. The Egyptian government sponsored these conversations, along with the USA. Finally, there was the announcement of the establishment of a Palestinian National Authority in the Gaza Strip and Jericho, in order to express the aspirations of the Palestinian people in the Palestinian homeland and the Palestinian government. However, there is still a long way to go until permanent and final peace agreements in the Middle East are reached.

According to the narrative that appears in a social studies textbook for Grade 6, the war of October 1973 broke out due to Israel’s refusal to engage in peace negotiations with the Arabs. The military escalation is presented as the last resort in order to liberate “Arab territories that Israel has occupied in the June 1967 War, and to remove the traces of the aggression.” A picture in the textbook documents the Egyptian troops’ crossing of the Bar-Lev Line in October 1973.
Later in the same lesson, students are taught about the consequences of the war, among them the Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement. The latter is justified as a pragmatic means of reclaiming the occupied lands, rather than as an opening to recognize the legitimacy of the Jewish state. Other consequences mentioned are demystifying the myth of Israeli invincibility, showing the importance of Arab solidarity against enemies, and restoring Egypt’s leading position in the Arab world.

In the workbook of a social studies textbook for Grade 6, students are asked to describe the achievements of the Egyptian army and soldiers during the 1973 October War. Students are also tasked with writing letters, in one of which they will express their gratitude to the Egyptian warriors.

The Islamic Religious Education textbook for Grade 11 portrays the conflict with Israel over Palestine and Jerusalem as being of a religious nature. In a lesson on the Prophet’s night journey (Isra’ and Mi’raj), students learn that the primary conclusion that can be drawn from the story is the inseparable bond between al-Aqsa Mosque, located in Palestine, and the Islamic world, as well as the obligation of each and every Muslim to defend it.
The event of the night journey and the ascension [Al-Isra’ wal-Mi’raj – Muhammad’s night journey to “the Furthest Mosque” (al-masjid al-aqsa), which is identified according to Muslim tradition as al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem] constitutes for us important milestones with the help of which we remember the past and in the light of which we shape the future. In this event the issue of al-Aqsa Mosque and what surrounds it (Palestine) was tied to the issue of the Islamic world, as Mecca became after the Prophet’s mission the center of gathering of the Islamic world and the unity of its goals, therefore protection of al-Aqsa Mosque is the protection of Islam itself, which every Muslim around the world must perform. Negligence in defending it and liberating it is negligence in regard to Islam.

In exercises at the end of the same lesson, students are asked to write a short essay to encourage people “to unite until we will restore Jerusalem and al-Aqsa Mosque.” They are also asked to explain the reasons for the importance of Jerusalem and al-Aqsa Mosque in Islam, and for the rights of the Palestinians to their land, according to divine and international law.259

The below textbook was in use until 2022, and was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year with a new textbook. In one exercise, students were asked to suggest solutions to liberate al-Aqsa from the “Zionist Occupation.” This reference appears in the context of the war between the Muslims under the command of Salah ad-Din al-Ayyubi, and the Crusaders.

The following textbook, still in use, blames Israel for decreasing the rate of population growth among Palestinians via wars, killings, starvation, and displacement.

Although [the population in the Arab Homeland is growing], there are some Arab countries in which the death rates are still increasing due to wars and starvation, such as Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Somalia.

Conflicts and wars: Wars affect the density of the population, because many people are getting killed or forced to leave their countries, like in Palestine and Syria.

In the second unit of the fifth lesson in a Political Geography textbook, “social problems with a political dimension,” under the second unit, “political problems,” students learn about minorities and cases where minorities suffered
racial discrimination. Adjacent to the main text, a particularly egregious passage accuses Israel of racial discrimination against Palestinians, by stating that it is only the homeland of the Jewish people and that Israel perpetuates extreme racial discrimination against Arabs to force them to leave the country.

Extra information:
While the issue of racial discrimination ended, at least formally, in the United States of America and in South Africa, it is still unfortunately practiced against the Arab Palestinian people in its most disgusting form. Not only did the Jews steal a homeland, but now they claim, in the most racist way, that Israel is the homeland only of the Jews, which means expelling the Arabs, who form 20 percent of the citizens of the Jewish state. They also practice the most disgusting forms of racial discrimination against Arabs, in order to force the Arabs to leave their land.

Lacking Geographical Recognition of Israel

While the maps used in different Egyptian textbooks – including geography, social studies, history, and Arabic language – are not identical, they all consistently and deliberately avoid calling the state of Israel by its name, even if they display its contours. Most of the maps in the textbooks refer to Israel within the mandatory borders as “Palestine,” “occupied Palestine,” or “the occupied territories,” while few show the map without mentioning the names of the countries “Israel” or “Palestine” at all.

The denial of Israel as a geographical reality has no exceptions or nuances, regardless of historical accuracy or changing political circumstances in different historical periods. Israel does not appear by name on any kind of map, neither political nor geological. The maps do not include Israel within the internationally recognized pre-1967 borders, nor do they refer to the Green Line.

A very slight improvement is evident in the recently published 2022-23 social studies textbook for Grade 5. Unlike the previous 2021-22 textbook, which showed “Palestine” as the northern neighbor of Egypt instead of Israel, the current map of “mineral resource distribution” does not refer to any of Egypt’s neighboring countries by name.

Israel is illustrated in several maps as part of the Arab homeland. Additionally, specific places in Israel, such as the politically disputed Dome of the Rock in East Jerusalem but also the


261 Social Studies: Natural Phenomena and Egyptian Civilization, Grade 7, Vol. 1, 2022-23, pp. 50-51, 56.
undisputed gulf of Eilat, are all portrayed as part of “Palestine.”

In the following example, removed in September 2021, Israel was regarded as “Occupied Palestine” in a lesson on Egypt’s geopolitical borders. The map ignores the demarcation lines of the West Bank, and labels the entirety of Israel as “Occupied Palestine.” At this moment, it is impossible to assess the significance of this content removal. Nonetheless, more than forty years after the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, Egyptian students were evidently still learning that Israel is Occupied Palestine.

In a geography class for the tenth grade on Egypt’s land and sea boundaries, Egyptian students learn that the northeastern area of their country borders “occupied Palestine,” rather than Israel. The other borders of Egypt are accurately depicted as the Mediterranean and the Red seas, Aqaba Bay, Sudan, and Libya.

One map that portrays Egypt and its surrounding states replaces Israel with Palestine, while ignoring any recognition of the Jewish state even within the pre–June 1967 borders. A more detailed description repeats the claim that Egypt borders “Palestine,” while adding that its Eastern border had previously been threatened by “Zionist occupation.”

263 Geography of Egypt, Grade 10, 2022-23, p. 19.
264 Ibid., p. 20.
Eastern borders:
In the east, Egypt has a maritime border along the shores of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba, as well as a land border that stretches along northeastern Egypt, between Egypt in the West and Palestine in the East. (The border between Egypt and Palestine) stretches from the Gulf of Aqaba, East of Taba, in the direction of the Mediterranean Sea, one kilometer east of Rafah. This is the shortest land border in Egypt. The Zionist occupation affected the strategic sensitivity and the security risk attributed to these borders.

Additional information:
[...] The tip of the Gulf of Aqaba is divided between the states of Egypt, Palestine, and Jordan.

The below textbook was in use until 2022, and was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year with a new textbook. In a lesson entitled “the love of the homeland,” Israel appeared on the map of Egypt and its surroundings as “Palestine.”

Again, the below textbook was in use until 2022, and was replaced in the 2022-23 academic year with a new textbook. The textbook included a map of mineral resources in Egypt, which named the territory of Israel as “Palestine.” Although Israel was ignored, Jordan, Libya and Saudi Arabia are mentioned by name.

Map 1: The dispersion of some mineral resources within the Arab Republic of Egypt (ignoring Israel, while naming the whole area “Palestine”).
In another example, it is claimed that Jesus was born in “Palestine,” even though it was not yet the name of the land at that point in history. The name of the country was Judea, as after the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel around 720 BCE, the Kingdom of Judah remained intact. The name ‘Land of Israel’ continued to be in use: as the official name evolved from the “Kingdom of Judah” to “Yehud” during Babylonian and Persian rule, followed by the Hasmonean Kingdom of Judea, Herodian Judea during the time of Jesus, then Roman Judea, which was changed in the second century to Syria Palaestina.

Conversely, a Christian Religious Education textbook refers to Judea as bilād al-yahūdiyya, (Land of Judea [verbatim “Land of Judaism” or “The Jewish Land.”]) In the lesson “The Holy Virgin Mary,” students learn in detail about the life of the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus. It is explained that when the family members were in Egypt, the angel of God appeared to them and said that King Herod was dead, and that they could return to the “Land of Judaism.” A glance at the corresponding verse of the Coptic-Church Arabic that appears in the New Testament, reveals that the name which appears is “Land of Israel” (ard isrā’i’l).

Unlike the 2021-22 textbook, which showed “Palestine” instead of Israel as the northern neighbor bordering Egypt, a map of “mineral resource distribution” in the 2022-23 social studies textbook for Grade 5 does not refer by name to any of the neighboring countries of Egypt.
In a map of the agricultural environment of Egypt, the territory of the state of Israel appears as “Palestine.”

In a map that describes the deserts of Egypt, the territory of Israel appears as “Palestine.” Furthermore, the textbook refers only to the Egyptian-Palestinian borders of the Sinai Peninsula.

The next example shows a map of Arab agriculture, while the territory of Israel is featured as a part of the “Arab homeland.” A similar map also appears in the workbook.265

265 See also Social Studies: Our Arab Homeland – Geographical Phenomena and Islamic Civilization (Activities and Exercises), Grade 8, Vol. 2, 2022-23, p. 12.
Conclusion

Over the past decade, Egypt has experienced political, social, and educational transformations, which manifested in its textbooks. The reformed curriculum shows significant and positive change, and newly introduced textbooks are void of incitement to violence, extremism, and hatred. Yet, the content of unrevised textbooks for grades 6-12 not yet included in ongoing reforms is largely problematic, with a negative or contradictory approach to many issues, including democracy, the status of women, the West, war and peace, and Jews and Israel. There is little effort to mitigate the problematic elements of the unrevised textbooks while a more root-and-branch reform is in process.

Reformed textbooks generally promote peace and tolerance, introducing new, positive content on common values shared by monotheistic religions and principles of dialogue, ethics, justice, equality, tolerance, human rights, and coexistence. A newly introduced set of textbooks titled “Values and Respect for the Other” emphasize respect for the other and religious freedoms, rejection of intolerance and violence in society, ethical behavior and personal accountability, and engagement with the world.

A love for peace (although mostly an abstract one) is mentioned in the textbooks as a national ethos that characterizes Egypt and its policymakers from ancient times to this day, and as an Islamic value that is supported by Qur’anic verses, traditions, and the common Muslim greeting of “salam ‘aleykum” (peace be upon you). Egyptian students are encouraged to strive for world and regional peace, as well as internal peace between the different segments of Egyptian society. Islamic rulings on jihad and martyrdom are also discussed, while clarifying the Islamic view of war as a last resort.

That said, there is mixed and contradictory messaging on a host of issues, with negative examples and prejudices remaining in unrevised higher grade textbook editions reprinted for the current 2022-23 school year. The vast majority of content, some of which does not meet UNESCO standards, stays as is in the reprinted editions.

The Egyptian army is held in high regard, and its sacrifices lauded. Islamic concepts of war are discussed – including the notion that engaging in jihad against an invading enemy of a Muslim land is considered a personal duty – along with non-violent interpretations of jihad. Students are taught the Islamic position that war is a last resort, as well as its preference for moderation and compassion.

The Egyptian revolutions of January 2011 and June 2013 are portrayed in the textbooks in a positive manner, praising democracy and liberal values. At the same time, political protests are discouraged, and social and economic human rights are prioritized over political ones. Thus, the current Egyptian regime is introduced to the students as an outcome of popular sovereignty, while some of its authoritarian practices are also implicitly justified. The textbooks emphasize the crucial role of the army in maintaining stability and in determining the outcome of the 2011-13 upheaval, while adhering to its mission as protector and ally of the Egyptian people.
As for foreign affairs, contemporary Egyptian foreign policy is presented to the students as friendly and cooperative toward most world actors from East to the West, particularly in the economic sphere. Textbooks carry mixed messages about Western capitalism as an economic model: while some criticize globalization and the domination of the current world economy by Western powers, others present it as a role model for the Egyptian economy.

The legacy of the struggle against colonialism is still very much evident in Egyptian textbooks. Students learn that the sovereignty of their country has taken shape through centuries of struggle against foreign powers, starting with the Roman Empire (30 BC–641 AD), through Ottoman rule (1517–1798, 1801–1867) to the French occupation (1798–1801), and British rule and interference (1882–1956). The textbooks fashion an Egyptian national narrative centered on oppressive external enemies, who are confronted by local Egyptian defenders of the homeland. At times, elements of these descriptions could be regarded as historically inaccurate.

The overall representation of women is positive in terms of fostering gender equality and respect toward girls and women. By and large, the attitude toward women’s participation in public life, and the commitment to their independence and free will, is a strength of this curriculum. Egyptian textbooks encourage equality between boys and girls, men and women; explicitly oppose discrimination or oppression based on gender; and, on the whole, delegitimize female genital mutilation. According to numerous textbooks, women are entitled to access lower and higher education as much as men, to achieve financial independence, and to occupy equal roles in the labor market across many industries. The curriculum presents role models of prominent and successful women.

However, alongside modern and progressive conceptions of women’s rights, there are exceptions: these include discrimination of women on religious issues and property rights, calls for women to obey their husbands and dress modestly, and stereotypical perceptions of the so-called “female characteristics.” Islamic education textbooks, while distancing religion from female “circumcision,” could be more direct in their condemnation of female genital mutilation rituals.

Two major domestic challenges are addressed in the textbooks, the first being demography. As a country with a population of over 100 million people, with an annual growth rate of 1.9%, the textbooks promote awareness of demographic issues, and educate students to embrace sound and sustainable economic behavior. For this purpose, students learn about the negative social consequences of the demographic challenge, such as poverty, population density, and unemployment. Students are also encouraged to seek solutions such as reducing high birth rates, planning smaller families, and using birth control measures. These solutions are not portrayed only as a societal need, but also as permitted under religious law.

A second major challenge for Egypt is climate change. Egyptian textbooks extensively address the preservation of the environment for

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266 Wolny-Abouelwafa, “Teaching of the Islamic Religion in Egyptian Governmental Primary Schools.”
future generations by referring to environmental protection as a core national goal, one which serves the country’s need for sustainable growth, and its commitment to international laws and conventions. Moreover, students learn that Egypt is a leading regional and global actor in addressing climate change and environmental issues. According to the textbooks, top Egyptian environmental priorities are saving water; preservation of the Nile River; tackling desertification; planting trees; protecting the shores of the Mediterranean and the Red seas; reducing air, soil and water pollution; producing clean energies; and the recycling of waste.

There is slow improvement in attitudes toward Jews. Promisingly, elementary school textbooks rewritten since 2021 do not include traditional, harmful antisemitic stereotypes such as attributing evil deeds and negative traits like disloyalty, fraud, greediness, and violation of contracts to Jewish people. These were replaced with values of tolerance and coexistence between Islam and Judaism, highlighting common ground such as Islam’s recognition of the Torah, and permission for Muslims to eat Kosher food.

However, in the majority of textbooks, attitudes toward Jews remain ambivalent and, at times, contradictory. Students are exposed to antisemitic prejudices in both religious and historical contexts in higher grade textbook editions. This includes blaming Jews for causing antisemitism in Europe; describing them pejoratively as being engaged in finance; and their harboring a Jewish collective hatred of Muslims. The curriculum adheres to the false myth that ‘Umar did not allow Jews to live in Jerusalem (instead of teaching that the Muslim conqueror of Jerusalem, in a historical move, invited them to resettle in the city.) It is notable that in one case, antisemitic tropes featured in a multiple-choice exercise about the reason why Jews were not allowed to live in Jerusalem after it was conquered by ‘Umar, including as options their love of money, their treachery, and betrayal, were removed.

Considering the close and rich relations between Egyptian majorities in different periods, and that of Hebrews, Jews, Israeliites, and Israelis throughout the last four millennia, the curriculum is lacking in sufficient information about Jewish history in general, and Jews as Egyptians particularly. Omissions are the Holocaust; the place of Jerusalem in the Jewish belief system and history; the fate of Jewish communities in Egypt and the Arab world; mutual contributions with Arab Muslim majorities during the golden ages; and a future vision for the Jews of Egypt and the region. An encouraging exception is the depiction of Moses, but a partial list of personalities left out of the curriculum would range from Philo to Maimonides, Abu Naddara to Dauod Hosni, and Leila Mourad to the Frenkel Brothers.

The Christian “Other” and Christianity are depicted positively, with the latter portrayed as a religion that represents noble values such as justice, equality, compassion, tolerance, sympathy, asceticism, altruism, and love. The protection of Christian freedom of worship is cherished in the textbooks as part of the heritage of Islam in general, and of Egypt in particular. Textbooks also emphasize social unity and solidarity among Christians and Muslims during the recent revolutions of 2011 and 2013. New elementary school Christian Education textbooks acknowledge Jewish religious connection to the historical land of Israel, and the existence of a Jewish temple built
by King Solomon in Jerusalem, referred to explicitly by the names “Israel” and “Urshalim” (Jerusalem, as opposed to the Islamic name “al-Quds” or “Bayt al-Maqdis) is acknowledged. Yet, the same new textbooks state that the Jews crucified Jesus. The larger trend to acknowledgment, however, began with the election of Pope Theodore II in November 2012. Since this point improvements in openness towards Israeli visits have been notable, as well as the policy of the Coptic Church in relation and the Egyptian state recognizing the pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the purpose of a paid vacation like the Hajj to Mecca.267

Upper year textbooks also feature positive examples of Jews and Christians, emphasizing peace, tolerance, and respect. Judaism and Christianity, alongside Islam, are described as the main source of human rights; students are taught that marriage between Muslim men and Christian or Jewish women is the “greatest form” of co-existence with the “Other”; and the Jewish Ten Commandments are seen as “clear evidence of human rights and freedoms.” Some textbooks mention Jews as “the People of the Book,” who deserve legal protection within the Islamic land. The textbooks also delve into the Constitution of Medina, a document that set forth the rights and duties of the city’s inhabitants, including some of its Jewish tribes. Textbooks likewise highlight different aspects of the common ground between Islam and Judaism. One example of this is Moses, who stands out as a positive figure associated with the Jews, but is also recognized as a Prophet by Muslims and Christians.

Egyptian textbooks’ approach toward Israel is contradictory, a reflection of the wider ambivalence that characterizes the “cold peace” between the two countries. On the one hand, Israel is at times presented as legitimate: Egyptian students learn about the benefits of the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement in particular, and of peacemaking in general, with significant positive changes made compared to textbooks from the Mubarak era. A greater emphasis is now put on the legitimacy of Israel as a peace partner, and the economic value of peace. These benefits include the ability to direct energy into domestic development, strengthening internal stability, attracting foreign investment, and encouraging tourism. President Anwar Sadat is positively portrayed as “the hero of war and peace,” and as the driving force behind the historical shift from the alleged victory of the Egyptian army in the 1973 war toward a historical political settlement between Egypt and Israel.

That said, Israel is labeled “the Zionist enemy,” inspired by the traces of deep-rooted ideologies such as Pan-Arabism and Islamism, and presented as an illegitimate entity, founded on historical sin, supported by Western colonialist forces, and driven by the ongoing ambition to expand at the expense of the Palestinians and the Arabs. Palestine and Jerusalem are described as an Arab land rather than a territory disputed by two national movements, and their liberation from Israeli occupation is presented.

not only as a political goal, but rather as an Islamic duty.

The denial of Israel as a legitimate political reality is also conveyed in the textbooks through inaccurate maps, which consistently avoid calling the State of Israel by its name. Some maps refer to its current territory as “Palestine,” “occupied Palestine,” or “the occupied territories,” while other maps show the land without mentioning any name at all. Additionally, specific places in Israel, such as the politically disputed Dome of the Rock in East Jerusalem but also the undisputed Gulf of Elat, are described in the textbooks as part of the territory of Palestine. Plots and conspiracies are attributed to Israel, starting from the manipulation of American politics, and ending with the allegedly deliberate mass killings of Palestinian populations.

The issue of normalization with Israel is barely discussed in the textbooks, and direct cooperation with Israel is not highlighted as one of the main expected benefits of peace. This is demonstrated in the Egyptian-American context, as students learn about the Qualifying Industrial Zones agreement (QIZ), i.e., Egyptian industrial zones that are exempt from US customs duty, subject to certain Israeli contributions to the products. However, the third party to the QIZ agreement, namely Israel, is not mentioned, and its concrete positive economic contribution remains unknown to students.

The depiction of past Pharaonic glory is relevant to international relations, and to a vision of future prosperity. In both cases, the focus is entirely on Egypt itself. Unlike some other Middle Eastern countries, there is no nostalgia for past conquests and empires, but for the sophistication, morality and finesse of their ancestors. Indeed, ancient Egypt provides a unique moral and spiritual philosophy to the students who read these textbooks on the banks of the Nile. Maps—old and new—portray Egypt within its own borders, and the attachment to the Arab and Muslim worlds is not one of hegemony and leadership, but rather of cooperation. Africa is depicted as a continent with strategic political, economic, geographical, and military advantages for Egypt.

In conclusion, holistically reviewing the Egyptian curriculum through the lens of IMPACT-se’s UNESCO-derived standards, most notable in our opinion is the curriculum’s approach to SOUND PROSPERITY and COOPERATION. The significance of this standard lies in the reflection of the vision of a nation looking toward its future. While conflicts and inconsistencies always exist, this vision is what unites the nation, and tells us most about its destiny. The curriculum educates for a clear commitment to sound, sustainable, peaceful economic growth that is based on the preservation of the environment in the context of regional and local cooperation. While democracy is not part of our standards, GENDER equality and enhancement of women’s rights, typically an indicator of a peaceful and free society, scored highly in our study of Egyptian textbooks. Some problems remain, such as the perfunctory exploration of female genital mutilation rituals and other issues in Islamic Education textbooks. There is always more to be done; nevertheless, the overall picture regarding women’s issues is outstanding. In terms of SEXUAL ORIENTATION, the Egyptian curriculum is largely free of language, content, and imagery that promulgates violence or discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.
Generally speaking, with the exception of Israel and the Jews, the Egyptian curriculum meets the standard of NO HATE, the curriculum as a whole contains NO INCITEMENT, and is fully committed to PEACEMAKING – both of which are important standards for peace and tolerance.

In relation to Israel and the Jews, Egyptian students are exposed to prejudices, misconceptions, stereotypes, misunderstandings, mistrust, national hatred, biased information, and incitement. The Egyptian curriculum struggles, particularly regarding Israel and the Jews, with the following three standards: displaying RESPECT toward the “Other,” his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life; teaching about INDIVIDUAL OTHERS to foster personal attachment toward the “Other“ as an individual, his or her desire to be individualized, loved and appreciated; and imparting UNBIASED INFORMATION about conflicts and rivals, which is typically an extremely challenging task.

Our impression is that the reformed curriculum exhibits significant and positive changes in all IMPACT-se standards, despite the fact that unrevised higher grade textbooks still contain problematic material and mixed messaging. However, it is hard to predict how things will unfold in the coming years based on the available information. We are most encouraged by Egypt’s vision of peace and prosperity for the future, as is reflected in the textbooks, and its sincere effort to advance the status of women.

***

Egypt perceives its curriculum as an important means through which to prepare its younger generation for what President El-Sisi calls “the new republic,” which will enjoy stability, prosperity, and excellence. Students are taught to be justifiably proud of the glorious heritage of their homeland, but also to deal with its challenges in a constructive manner. They are encouraged to foster peace in and outside of Egypt, and to make their country a leading regional and global actor in the quest to acquire economic development, protect the environment, and combat terrorism. The more Egypt succeeds in re-evaluating some of the mixed messages in its textbooks, the smoother its journey toward the future will be.
Dr. Ofir Winter is a Senior Researcher at INSS and a lecturer at the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Tel Aviv University. He holds a PhD from the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University and was selected as an Alice and Paul Baker Senior Researcher at the INSS. His doctoral research focused on Egypt and Jordan’s quest to legitimize their peace treaties with Israel between the years 1973-2001.

He is the author of two books: Zionism in Arab Discourses (Manchester University Press, 2016, with Uriya Shavit); and the recently published, Peace in the Name of Allah: Islamic Discourses on Treaties with Israel (De Gruyter, 2022). He is also the author of several articles on the politics of Egypt, the Arab-Israeli conflict, church and state in the Arab world, and contemporary Muslim law.
Methodology

IMPACT-se applies methodological standards which are based on UNESCO and UN declarations, and international recommendations and documents on education for peace and tolerance (see notes). Our methodology is designed to consider every detail within the textbooks; it does not paraphrase, rely on interpretations, or attempt to illustrate preconceived notions.

The following is an updated, condensed version of the IMPACT-se UNESCO-derived standards for peace and tolerance in school education:

1. **RESPECT**

   The curriculum should promote tolerance, understanding and respect toward the “Other,” his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life.268

2. **INDIVIDUAL OTHER**

   The curriculum should foster personal attachment toward the “Other” as an individual, his or her desire to be familiar, loved and appreciated.269

3. **NO HATE**

   The curriculum should be free of wording, imagery and ideologies likely to create prejudices, misconceptions, stereotypes, misunderstandings, mistrust, racial hatred, religious bigotry and national hatred, as well as any other form of hatred or contempt for other groups or peoples.270

4. **NO INCITEMENT**

   The curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that disseminate ideas or theories which justify or promote acts and expressions of violence, incitement to violence, hostility, harm and hatred toward other national, ethnic, racial or religious groups.271

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268 As defined in the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance Proclaimed and signed by Member States of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Articles 1, 4.2. See also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding Between Peoples (1965), Principles I, III. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

269 The goal of education for peace is the development of universally recognized values in an individual, regardless of different socio-cultural contexts. See *ibid.*, Article 6. See also, on exchanges between youth, the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principles IV, V.


The curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace.\textsuperscript{272}

Educational materials (textbooks, workbooks, teachers’ guides, maps, illustrations, aids) should be up-to-date, accurate, complete, balanced and unprejudiced, and use equal standards to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.\textsuperscript{273}


Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Article V.14.

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

Based on Resolutions 32/2 (adopted June 30, 2016) and 17/19 (adopted July 14, 2011) of the UN Human Rights Council, and numerous UN General Assembly resolutions expressing concern and condemnation of laws and practices around the world which target individuals based on their gender identity and/or sexual orientation for discrimination, violence, and even extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions—all of which contradict the most basic principles of the UN and have no place in education.

Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Articles III.6, and IV.7. On the imperative for developing “systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance,” see the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 4.2. On education for international cooperation, see
List of Textbooks

The following 271 curriculum textbooks were analyzed for the research in this study. The titles both here and referenced in the text have been translated into English to aid the reader. IMPACT-se typically researches all available textbooks used in a curriculum. If new textbooks or previously unavailable books become available after a report’s publication, every effort will be made to update reports to include any relevant material. We welcome any comments related to the acquisition of any omitted materials (http://www.impact-se.org/about-us/contact-us/).

Grade 1

1. Arabic Language, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2018-19
2. Arabic Language, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2020-21
3. Arabic Language, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2021-22
4. Arabic Language, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2022-23
5. Arabic Language, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2020-21
6. Arabic Language, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2021-22
7. Arabic Language, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2022-23
14. Connect, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2022-23
15. Discover (English), Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2022-23
17. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2020-21
18. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2021-22
20. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2020-21
22. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2022-23
23. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2021-22
24. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2022-23
25. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2021-22
26. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2022-23

Grade 2

27. Arabic Language, Grade 2, Vol. 1, 2020-21
31. Arabic Language, Grade 2, Vol. 2, 2020-21
32. Arabic Language, Grade 2, Vol. 2, 2021-22
33. Arabic Language, Grade 2, Vol. 2, 2022-23

also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principle II.
39. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 2, 2018-19
40. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 2, Vol. 1, 2021-22
41. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 2, Vol. 1, 2022-23
42. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 2, Vol. 2, 2020-21
44. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 2, Vol. 2, 2022-23
45. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 2, Vol. 1, 2021-22
46. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 2, Vol. 2, 2022-23
47. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 2, Vol. 2, 2021-22
48. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 2, Vol. 2, 2022-23

Grade 3
49. Arabic Language, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2018-19
50. Arabic Language, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2020-21
51. Arabic Language, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2021-22
52. Arabic Language, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2022-23
54. Arabic Language, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2020-21
63. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 3, 2018-19
64. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2020-21
70. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2020-21
71. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2021-22
72. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2022-23
73. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2020-21
74. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2021-22
75. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2022-23

Grade 4
76. Arabic Language, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2018-19
77. Arabic Language, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2020-21
78. Arabic Language, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2021-22
79. Arabic Language, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2022-23
80. Arabic Language, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2020-21
82. Arabic Language, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2022-23
87. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 4, 2018-19
88. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 4, 2020-21
89. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2021-22
90. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2022-23
93. Social Studies: My Country Egypt, Grade 4, 2018-19
94. Social Studies: My Country Egypt, Grade 4, 2020-21
95. Social Studies: Resources and Heritage of My Country, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2021-22
96. Social Studies: Resources and Heritage of My Country, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2022-23
99. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2021-22
100. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2022-23
101. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2021-22
102. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2022-23

Grade 5

103. Arabic Language, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2018-19
104. Arabic Language, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2020-21
105. Arabic Language, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2021-22
106. Arabic Language, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2022-23
108. Arabic Language, Grade 5, Vol. 2, 2020-21
111. Christian Religious Education, Grade 5, 2018-19
112. Christian Religious Education, Grade 5, 2020-21
113. Christian Religious Education, Grade 5, 2021-22
116. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 5, 2018-19
117. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 5, 2020-21
118. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 5, 2021-22
119. Islamic Religious Education (Teacher Guide), Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2022-23
120. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2022-23
122. Social Studies, Grade 5, 2018-19
123. Social Studies, Grade 5, 2020-21
124. Social Studies, Grade 5, 2021-22
125. Social Studies: My Homeland Egypt, Land and Civilization, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2022-23
127. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 5, Vol. 1, 2022-23
128. Values and Respect for the Other, Grade 5, Vol. 2, 2021-22

Grade 6

129. Arabic Language, Grade 6, Vol. 1, 2018-19
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135. Arabic Language, Grade 6, Vol. 2, 2021-22
137. Christian Religious Education, Grade 6, 2018-19
138. Christian Religious Education, Grade 6, 2020-21
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142. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 6, 2020-21
143. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 6, 2021-22
144. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 6, 2022-23
146. Social Studies: Egypt – Our Environment and Modern History, Grade 6, Vol. 1, 2020-21
147. Social Studies: Egypt – Our Environment and Modern History, Grade 6, Vol. 1, 2021-22
150. Social Studies: Egypt – Our Environment and Modern History, Grade 6, Vol. 2, 2020-21

Grade 7

153. Arabic Language, Grade 7, Vol. 1, 2018-19
154. Arabic Language, Grade 7, Vol. 1, 2020-21
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Grade 9

198. Arabic Language, Grade 9, Vol. 1, 2018-19
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Grade 10

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214. Social Studies: World Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Egypt, Grade 9, Vol. 1, 2020-21
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218. Social Studies: World Geography and Modern History of Egypt, Grade 9, Vol. 2, 2020-21
221. Arabic Language, Grade 10, Vol. 1, 2018-19
222. Arabic Language, Grade 10, Vol. 1, 2019-20
225. Building National Character, Grade 10, 2020-21
226. Christian Religious Education, Grade 10, 2018-19
228. Egypt of Civilization: Egyptian Civilization and the Ancient World, Grade 10, 2018-19
229. Egypt of Civilization: Egyptian Civilization and the Ancient World, Grade 10, 2020-21
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236. National Education (I, Egyptian), Grade 10, 2018-19
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Grade 11

238. Arabic Language, Grade 11, Vol. 1, 2018-19
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245. Egypt and Islamic Civilization, Grade 11, 2018-19
246. Egypt and Islamic Civilization, Grade 11, 2020-21
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248. Geography of Growth: Global Models and Arab Applications, Grade 11, 2018-19
249. Geography of Growth: Global Models and Arab Applications, Grade 11, 2020-21
250. Geography of Growth: Global Models and Arab Applications, Grade 11, 2022-23
251. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 11, 2018-19
252. Islamic Religious Education, Grade 11, 2019-20
253. Philosophy and Life, Grade 11, 2018-19
254. Philosophy and Life, Grade 11, 2019-20

Grade 12

255. Arabic Language, Grade 12, 2018-19
256. Arabic Language, Grade 12, 2019-20
257. Christian Religious Education, Grade 12, 2018-19
258. Christian Religious Education, Grade 12, 2019-20
259. Egypt and Arab Modern History, Grade 12, 2018-19
260. *Egypt and Arab Modern and Contemporary History*, Grade 12, 2020-21
261. *Egypt and Arab Modern and Contemporary History*, Grade 12, 2022-23
262. *Islamic Religious Education*, Grade 12, 2018-19
263. *Islamic Religious Education*, Grade 12, 2019-20
264. *National Education: Political Participation in Egyptian Society*, Grade 12, 2018-19
265. *National Education: Political Participation in Egyptian Society*, Grade 12, 2019-20
266. *Philosophy and Contemporary Issues*, Grade 12, 2019-20
267. *Political Geography*, Grade 12, 2018-19
268. *Political Geography*, Grade 12, 2020-21
269. *Political Geography*, Grade 12, 2022-23
270. *Selections from Dialogue Literature in Islam*, Grade 12, 2018-19
271. *Selections from Dialogue Literature in Islam*, Grade 12, 2020-21