IMPACT-se

PALESTINIAN CURRICULUM PUT TO THE TEST

The General Certificate of High School Examination in Palestine (Tawjihi)

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Executive Summary

This report studies the twenty-six tests comprising the Palestinian 2019 matriculation exam, known as The General Certificate of High School Examination in Palestine (*Tawjihi* or *Injaz*).

The questions test grade 12 material from the Palestinian curriculum. Overall this exam, given to twelfth-grade Palestinian students, is perhaps the most important in the lives of each graduate.

The tests are good indicators of the importance placed on the curriculum's core content: they require an arduous process of learning and memorization.

For this report, the exam was analyzed according to IMPACT-se's UNESCO-derived standards to research peace and tolerance in school education. We compared the relevant textbooks with the content that was memorized and tested in the exam.

To help us fully understand the expected correct answers, we also reviewed teaching presentations from official Ministry websites.

Our findings show that the Tawjihi exam is devised so that students must absorb and memorize the problematic content[1] of the current Palestinian curriculum. While the most troubling material includes only twenty-three percent of the total subject matter tested by students, three-quarters (75%) or six of the eight humanities and language tests contains such material.

Interestingly, science tests are free of problematic content. This is noteworthy because almost three-fourths (73%) of science and math textbooks in the PA curriculum include inciteful messaging.[2]

Problematic content students must memorize and are tested on includes:

- Radical narratives and conspiracy theories (WWI; WWII; **Arab Spring was plot by "US-British"** alliance to destroy Arab countries).
- Violent resistance/armed struggle: **"liberation** of the homeland can be done **only through resistance with arms."**
- Self-sacrifice "whatever the price." ***Jihad/ribat* to "sacrifice one's life** for Allah."
- "Return" to Israel-proper in a violent context. **"What was taken by force can only be recovered by force."**
- Praise of Saladin for his long-term strategy to reconquer "Palestine" through *jihad.*
- **Israel is the "Zionist Occupation,"** a child-murdering being, so evil that one should never call it by name. It **will disappear as the fog over the sea.**

[1] Problematic Content includes violence or incitement to violence; hatred of the Other; and radical, inappropriate or disturbing material.

[2] The Palestinian Curriculum: By The Numbers A Quantitative Analysis of the Current Palestinian Ministry of Education Curriculum, IMPACT-se, September 2019, p. 15, https://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/By-the-Numbers-Quantative-Analysis-on-PA-Curriculum.pdf.

Preface

The Tawjihi Matriculation Exam given to twelfth-grade Palestinian students provides graduates who do well on the tests with opportunities for further education in universities or employment options. Why, one might ask, do we need to research an exam based on a curriculum we have already researched, analyzed and published?

IMPACT-se research is conducted in the context of researching a curriculum and the textbooks it uses. This analysis was undertaken with the expectation to evaluate the exam questions and process on their own merits, without any preconceptions.

In comparing the exam with the curriculum, it became clear that the majority of tests comprising the humanities and language portion of the Tawjihi incorporate questions dedicated to reinforcing themes which promote violence, incitement, and hatred of the Other. Such content largely serves to continue reinforcing the twelve years of extremist education contained in the curriculum leading to radicalization of Palestinian graduates.

While the tests cover only twelfth-grade textbooks and not the even more problematic content[3] of the lower grades,[4] our findings have shown that the material as taught in the curriculum is cumulative, with concurrent grades building on previously taught troubling material, which is then absorbed into the Tawjihi.

Despite the inclusion of such problematic material, we could not quantify the extent to which it was absorbed by students in terms of actual activities or employment awaiting them following graduation. Such data would be useful to determine the lasting effect of the curriculum and final exam. To be sure, however, the memorization and reinforcement of such toxic content, already inculcated into the vulnerable minds of children through twelve years of education is certain to have a negative lasting effect on a percentage of students.

The situation with science tests is different. While seventy-three percent of science and math textbooks in the curriculum include pernicious subliminal hate messaging, the science portion of the Tawjihi is free of questions that include this type of messaging.[5] We have no explanation for this, but nevertheless are encouraged by the authors of the Palestinian science tests.

Hateful content embodied in the humanities exams is not simply propaganda accompanying the main study. It represents the core worldview embodied in the required and strictly tested study material for all Palestinian students. Thus, the need for an urgent and determined intervention in

[3] Problematic Content includes violence or incitement to violence; hatred of the Other; and radical, inappropriate or disturbing material.
[4] Violence in the curriculum peaks in grade 7 (ages 12–13); By the Numbers, p. 11.
[5] By the Numbers, p. 15.

the Palestinian curriculum for the sake of both Palestinians and their neighbors remains paramount.

IMPACT-se will continue to do its part. Our thanks to Nachman Keren for his help with translation and research and especially to COO Arik Agassi, who initiated and coordinated this report.

Dr. Eldad Pardo
Director of Research
IMPACT-se

Palestinian Ministry of Education: Tawjihi Exam (Industrial Science)

Introduction

The month of June for decades has been a time when thousands of Palestinian students take the Tawjihi (*Injaz)* exams. The General Certificate of High School Examination in Palestine has been for many years one of the most important days in the Palestinian calendar. A positive academic assessment provided by the exam is considered essential for the future success of high school graduates. Extended families hold vigils while awaiting results with much anxiety. Students, expected to pass the exams with high grades, prepare themselves with much effort and focus. The announcement of students receiving the highest grades is a source of pride for families, accompanied by fanfare and celebration.

> Once the results are announced, fireworks and ululation would be heard, and sometimes bullets would be shot in celebration, despite the warning of security forces and community leaders. Tawjihi has always its place among Palestinians; it determined our future in many different ways.[6]

The Tawjihi examinations are based on the Jordanian model and constitute the last stage of the 12-year Palestinian education system. The exams cover the material taught in twelfth-grade Palestinian curriculum textbooks and reflect what parts of the curriculum deserve special attention. They chart the fundamental goals of the curriculum and the toolbox imparted to students in term of learning, worldview and identity. Realistically, however, the exams cannot be considered purely academic in nature.

Because the Tawjihi exams reflect the PA's educational policy and future outlook, they merit close scrutiny.

[6]Yousef M. Aljamal, "High School Results Out in Palestine: Ululation, Fireworks, and Memories." Just World Educational, July 22, 2019, https://justworldeducational.org/2019/07/high-school-results-out-in-palestine-ululation-fireworks-and-memories/.

Qualitative Overview

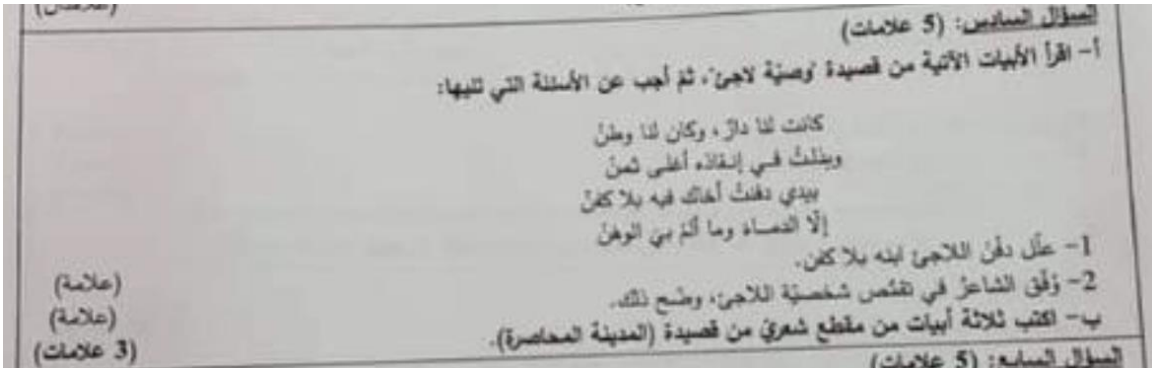
Following are a few examples that explain the process necessary to evaluate questions in the Tawjihi exam. In order to fully understand the meaning of the questions taken from the curriculum, the relevant textbooks must be examined as well as other teaching tools (such as official websites) used to prepare the test.

For example, in the history final exam, students are asked to explain the topic of national identity, as part of the "required questions" section.

> Define national identity and how it is considered an essential part of the Palestinian people's struggle?[7]

A short excerpt from the answer found in the relevant textbook teaches values such as sacrifice (including one's life), "whatever the price" and placing the Oslo process in the framework of "battle with the Zionist Occupation." The reinforcement of the text question with that already learned from the relevant textbook inculcates these values in students as they graduate to become young adults.[8]

Another example, from the Arabic test, is the following:



السؤال السادس: (5 علامات)

أ- اقرأ الأبيات الآتية من قصيدة "وصية لاجئ"، ثم أجب عن الأسئلة التي تليها:

كانت لنا دارٌ، وكان لنا وطنْ
وبذلتُ في إنقاذه أغلى ثمنْ
بيدي دفنتُ أخاكَ فيه بلا كفنْ
إلّا الدماء وما ألمّ بي الوهنْ

1- علّل دفن اللاجئ ابنه بلا كفن. (علامة)
2- وفّق الشاعرُ في تقمّص شخصيّة اللاجئ، وضّح ذلك. (علامة)

ب- اكتب ثلاثة أبيات من مقطع شعري من قصيدة (المدينة المحاصرة). (3 علامات)

السؤال السابع: (5 علامات)

Read the following lines for the poem "The Refugee's Will," and answer the questions.

We had a house, and we had a homeland
And I invested the most expensive price in its rescue
With my hand I buried your brother in it with no shroud
Only blood and the weakness did not overwhelm me.

1. Explain the refugee burying his son with no shroud.[9]

[7] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: History, Literary and Religious Branches, Part 1 (required questions), Question 2, Art. 4, June 2019, p. 3.
[8] *Historical Studies*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 106.
[9] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: including Arabic, Scientific, Literary, Religious Branches, Part 3 (required questions, poetry), Question 6, Subquestion A, A1, June 2019, p. 3.

Clearly, the lines provided in the exam heighten the myth of "return," typically understood as mass immigration into Israel-proper. But this goes deeper.

Regarding this particular question, it is useful to examine the entire poem within the context of the textbook to fully understand how it is taught as part of the curriculum. The poem "A Refugee's Will" emphasizes hope for armed return to the land from which one was expelled, or - Israel proper (described in one verse as: "the moan of Haifa"). The return is not peaceful, but armed; weapon in hand, "healing yesterday's wounds" of the "violated" homeland, taking it all: "Rising as the morning across the land."

> Behind you is the earth that fed your childhood
> And wishes to see you one day in your youth
> Never let the horrors of the injured make you forget her
> She looks, but her gaze is full of reproach.
>
> If you come one day, weapon in your hand
> Rising as the morning across the land
> Shout: hear no more the cry of hills and valleys
> I am yesterday who healed the wounds
> At your command dear violated homeland.[10]

How are students expected to interpret the poem? A likely answer can be found in an e-learning slide presentation published by the Palestinian Ministry of Education.[11] The author, Abdallah Jamal Al-Astal, provides answers for the verses above (and the three lines that follow):

> The poet states that the liberation of the homeland can be done **only through resistance with arms** (p. 11). [Bold added]
>
> 'Weapon in your hand': A metaphor for *jihad* and resistance. (p. 15).
>
> 'Weapon in your hand': The above expression signifies that **what was taken by force can only be recovered by force** (p. 18). [Bold added]

Again, these particular lines do not feature in the exam, but they must be studied because the student cannot tell which lines will be included. Also, the textbook's version of the poem does not include a strong stanza warning the refugee's son that peace offers describing any potential agreement are a ruse. Although the complete version of the poem is not included in textbooks, it is available on a number of websites from which the full version with added radical material may be taught to students.[12]

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[10] *Arabic Language (1): Reading, Grammar, Presentations and Expression, Grade 12*, 2018, p. 85.

[11] Abdallah Jamal Al-Astal and Ahmad Khalil Mahmoud Nassar (supervisor), "Lesson's Title: 'The Refugee's Will,' Arabic, Grade 12, 2018–19." Rawafed Educational Portal, accredited by the PA Ministry of Education and the Ministry's Directorate General for Educational Supervision and Cultural Qualifications), http://rawafed.edu.ps/portal/elearning/uploads/file/67b96fd48ffcc2fc09b45277e848537d.pdf.

[12] For a dramatic Arabic rendering of the power of this poem: "A Refugee's Will," High Tech Teach, April 16, 2011,

The exam's question for this poem (question 5 sub-question A) also requires students (question 5 sub-question B) to write from memory three lines of Muin Bseiso's poem, "The Besieged City." The leitmotif is similar for both poems: violent march into Israel. [13]

http://hightechhighteach.blogspot.com/2011/04/blog-post_16.html.
!!! أنت تسأل والتكنولوجيا تجيب
السبت، 16 أبريل 2011
وصـــــــية لاجيء
سيحدثونك يا بُنيَّ عن الســـــلام
إياك أن تصغي إلى هذا الكـــلام
كالطفل يخدع بالمنى حتى ينـــام
لا سِلمَ أو يجلو عن الوجه الرغام
صدقتهم يوما فآوتني الخيـــــام

[13] *Arabic Language (1): Reading, Grammar, Presentations and Expressio*n, Grade 12, 2018, p. 73.

Quantitative Analysis

There are some positive features to report. A clear distinction exists between the troubling material taken from language and humanities textbooks and that represented in the exam from science books. While the humanities are rife with problematic material of the type already described (see Examples section for more), the science portion of the exam does not include any similar disturbing examples from the textbooks. This stands in sharp contrast with IMPACT-se's findings for the textbooks and the curriculum itself. In the textbooks, the percentage of harmful material is higher for the humanities, but science textbooks include dramatic subliminal messages of hate and violence. Seventy-four percent of all PA science textbooks include this type of messaging.[14]

In total, this research includes twenty-six Tawjihi exams for the 2018–19 academic year. In the humanities, three quarters of the exam questions (six of eight—75%) include problematic content.[15] Of the exams with problematic questions, eight are part of the humanities curriculum (including Arabic studies, history, geography, English studies and Islamic education).

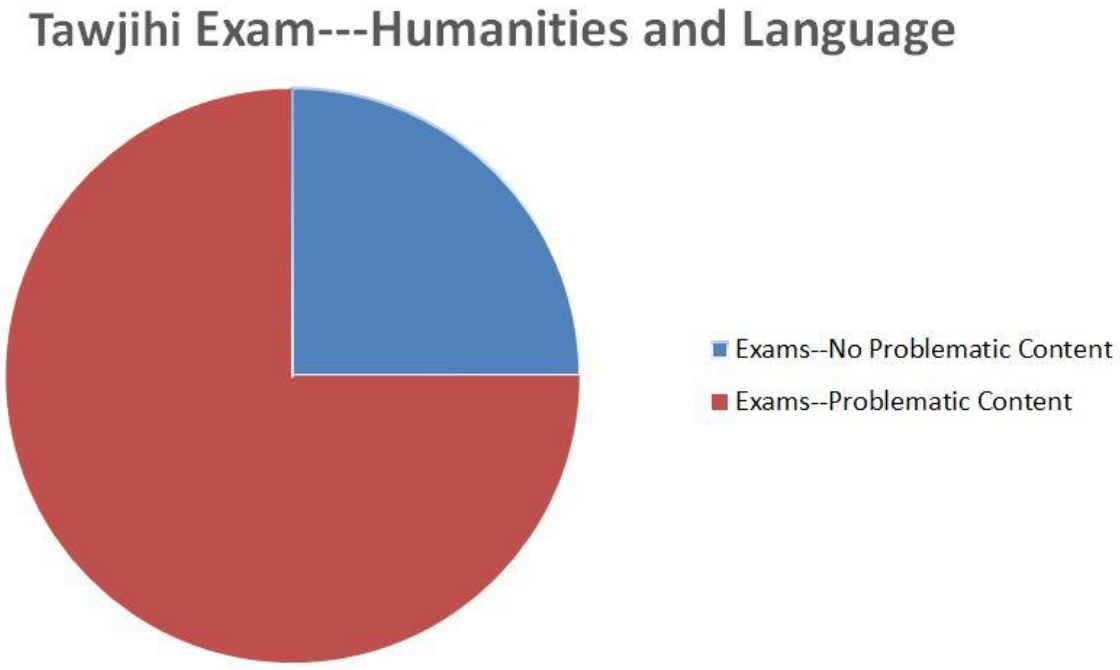
This extremely high percentage requires every Palestinian student hoping for a decent grade to study, memorize and have complete knowledge and understanding of all the inciting material. As the examples suggest, the questions include details and memorized lines of poetry. The questions are compulsory; students uninterested in hate cannot choose other questions.

None of the exams comprising the science subjects (eighteen) have problematic content. Given the pervasive problematic content in the humanities exams, we have no clear explanation for why the harmful science messaging found in the textbooks is not in the science exams.

[14] See: "The New Palestinian Curriculum By the Numbers: Quantitative Analysis of the Current Palestinian Ministry of Education Curriculum," IMPACT-se, September 2019, https://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/By-the-Numbers-Quantative-Analysis-on-PA-Curriculum.pdf

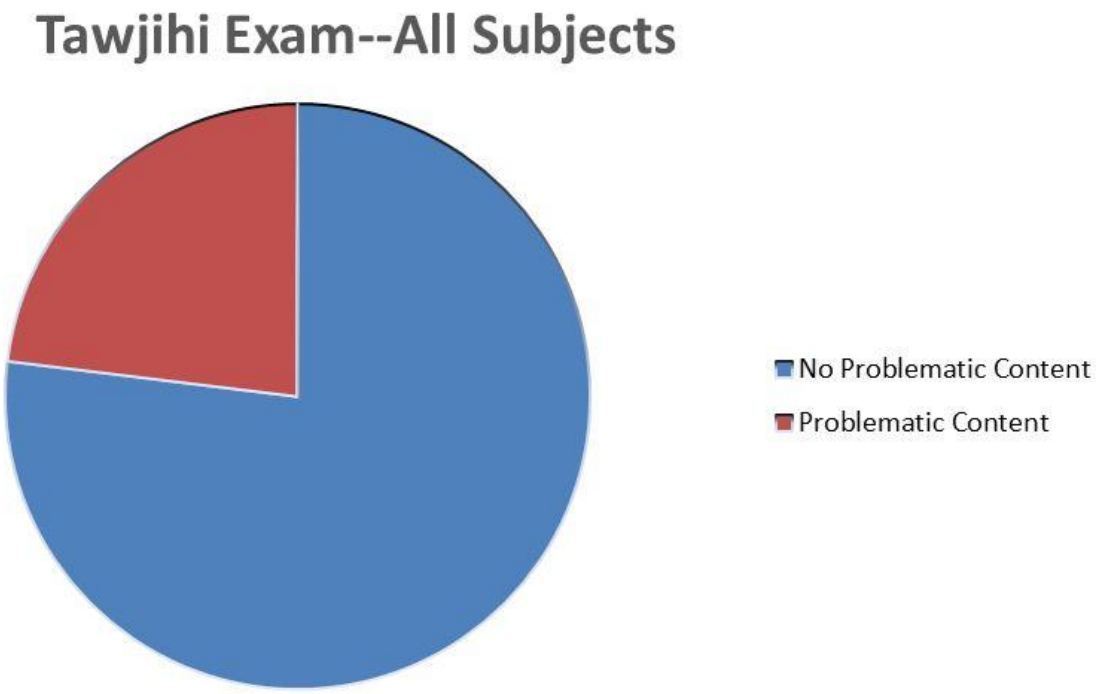
[15] Problematic content includes violence or incitement to violence; hatred of the Other; and radical, inappropriate or disturbing content.

Figure 1:



Six exams (75%) include problematic material

Figure 2:



Total of 23.07% (six of twenty-six) include problematic material

Examples

Geography

Example 1:

Geography studies in the PA curriculum deny Israel as an existent country in the region with a distinct history, space, people and culture. Hence, there is the paradox of Israel demonized, yet existing as the "Zionist Occupation," while geographically, not existing at all. This worldview must also be memorized because specific questions are featured in the final exams.

Which countries share the Jordan River basin?

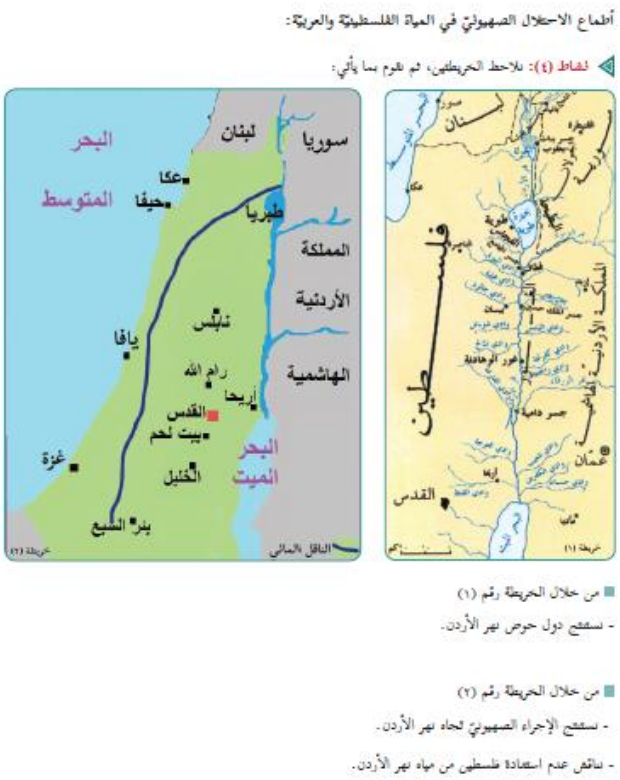
A) Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and Jordan.
B) Syria, Egypt, Jordan and Palestine.
C) Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon.
D) Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Lebanon. [16]

17) ما الدول المشتركة في حوض نهر الأردن؟

أ) سوريا وفلسطين ولبنان والأردن.
ب) سوريا والعراق والأردن ولبنان.
ج) سوريا ومصر والأردن وفلسطين.
د) سوريا والعراق ومصر ولبنان.

Israel is ignored in the answers.

[16] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: Geography, Literary Branches, Version A, Part 1 (required questions), Question 1, Subquestion 17, June 2019, p. 2.



The Greediness of the Zionist Occupation [Israel] toward Palestinian and Arab Water

Activity 4: We observe the two maps below and will do the following:

Map #1:

-Determine the countries of the Jordan River Basin. [Names on map include Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and Jordan]

Map #2:

-Determine the Zionist action toward the Jordan River.
-Discuss Palestine not benefitting from the waters of the Jordan River.

***Geography*, Grade 12**, Vol. 1, 2018, p. 154.

This example is instructive. It enables one to understand the full meaning of a Tawjihi question against the background of the tested textbook. A map describes the National Water Carrier of Israel (*HaMovil HaArtzi*, without describing it as Israeli), without explaining the borders and political realities of the 1950s when it was created. The venture is described as "greediness," rather than a legitimate water project developed by a newborn state facing an enormous wave of refugees from the Arab world and Europe (tripling the population). This water project was created within Israeli territory and while the West Bank was part of Jordan. Ignored is the reality

of the currently existing Israeli-Jordanian-Palestinian water cooperation and its future potential.[17] Instead, resentment, frustration and hate instilled during twelve years of school are strictly tested and reinforced in the most important exam in the life of young Palestinians.

Arabic Language

Example 2:

تابع السؤال الخامس (أ):
3- ما المقصود بالمطر في (مطر على الأقصى)؟
أ- المطر الحقيقي. ب- الرصاص الكثيف. ج- الدموع الغزيرة. د- الدماء المسفوكة.

3-What is intended by the rain in "Rain on Al-Aqsa"?

A) Actual rain B) Heavy shooting C) Heavy tears D) Spilled blood[18]

The curriculum chapter covered by this question includes the poem Ramallah by Egyptian poet Ahmed Bakhit.

In the introduction to the poem, the textbook's authors radicalize the original by insinuating that Israel routinely and characteristically murders children—with the apparent intention to create a constant state of fear and panic. It also focuses on the "return" motif as a central theme in the Palestinian identity.

[17] While conflicts over water occurred, the 1955 Jordan Valley Unified Water Plan known as the Johnston Plan was accepted by the technical committees of both Israel and the Arab League. It was not ratified by the Arab League Council and yet Jordan and Israel undertook to operate within their allocation limits. Water cooperation among Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians continues. Isabel Kershner, "A Rare Middle East Agreement on Water," *The New York Times,* December 9, 2013, https://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/10/world/middleeast/israel-jordan-and-palestinians-sign-water-project-deal.html.

[18] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: including Arabic, Scientific, Literary, Religious Branches, Part 3 (required questions, poetry), Question 5, Subquestion A3, June 2019, p. 3.

يدور هذا النّصّ حَوْل التّمسّك بالأرض، وقَسْوَة الاغتراب ومَرارة اللجوء، والحنين إلى الوطن، ومُعاناة الأطفال جَرّاء العُدوان، وفيه تأكيدٌ على أنّ دِماء الأطْفالِ دليلٌ على ما جُبِل عليه الاحتلال مِنْ جُبْنٍ وفَزَع.

This text revolves around the harshness of exile and the bitterness of being a refugee, homesickness, and the suffering of children as a result of aggression. It is an affirmation that the blood of children serves as a proof of the Occupation's [Israel's] disposition[19] for cowardice and panic. [20]

The poem itself includes the following lines:

(٣)

ضَـوْءٌ على كَتِـفِ المـلاكِ وَدَمْعـةٌ وَبِـلا مُدَرَّعـةٍ وقائـدِ حَمْلـةْ
لـمْ يَنْتَصِـرْ كَذِبـاً ولـمْ يُهـزَمْ ولـمْ يُفطَـمْ على البـارودِ طفـلٌ قَبْلَـهْ
لِدمـاءِ طفـلٍ فـي شـوارعِ غـزَّةٍ أَقِـمِ الصَّـلاةَ فَـكُلُّ طفـلٍ قِبْلَـةْ

Light on the angel's shoulder, and a tear
With neither an armored vehicle, nor an assault commander
He did not win by deceit, nor was he defeated
Never before him was a child weaned off gunpowder,
For the blood of a child in the streets of Gaza
Give a prayer, since every child is a *qibla*.[21]

The poem obsesses on the theme of Israel killing children. Once again, the Ministry of Education provides the approved interpretation.[22]

[19] According to the Hans Wehr dictionary, the Arabic *jubila ala* means "to be born for, to be naturally disposed to, or have a propensity for." We translated it here as disposition.
[20] *Arabic Language (1): Reading, Grammar, Presentations and Expression*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 41.
[21] Ibid., p. 42; *Qibla* is the direction to pray toward Mecca.

■ الانتصار الذي يدعيه العدو هو الانتصار على الأطفال، بيّن ذلك.

يؤكد الشاعر أن النصر الذي يدّعيه الاحتلال هو نصر صنعه على دماء الأطفال، فهم لم يركبوا دبابةً ولا مدرّعةً، ولم يُعهَدْ عنهم إلاّ البراءة والطفولة الجميلة، وهذا مظهر من مظاهر فزع الاحتلال، فهم ليسوا في ساحة معركة حتى نقول: إنهم انتصروا أو هُزِموا، ولكنهم يفطمون عن البارود؛ بسبب المعاناة التي يعيشونها، في حين أن أطفال العالم يفطمون عن حليب أمهاتهم، وكأن الطفل الفلسطيني كان يرضع البارود رَضاعةً.

*__The victory claimed by the enemy is the victory against the children. Explain__.

The poet emphasizes that the victory that the Occupation [Israel] claims [to have secured] is a victory on children's blood. The [children] did not ride a tank or an armored vehicle. They do not have but their innocence and beautiful childhood. And this is a manifestation of the Occupation's [Israel's] panic. The [children] not in the battlefield so we cannot say that they triumphed or were defeated, but they weaned off gunpowder because of the suffering they endure. This is in contrast to the children of the world who wean off the milk of their mothers. It is as if the Palestinian children were having gunpowder for breastfeeding.[23]

To pass the final exams, all PA students must memorize that Israel is a child-murdering panic-stricken being, so evil that one should never call it by name.

Example 3:

The following question seems to be without any context. It asks for the meaning of the metaphor "night" in a poem, unnamed in the question. The poem is Muin Bseiso's "The Besieged City."[24] The city is Gaza. But the poem is not only about Gaza, but about the Palestinian cause from the perspective of resistance and armed struggle.[25] It presents Israel as an enemy occupying the "fertile valley," the destination of a future invasion. Alternately described as the night, ephemeral fog over the sea, and fearful enemy, Israel will disappear when the morning comes. As

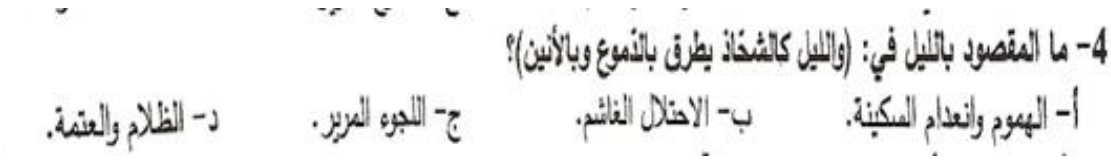
[22] Ahmad Khalil Mahmoud Nassar, "Lesson's Title: Ramallah, Arabic Grade 12, 2018–19." Rawafed Educational Portal, The State of Palestine, Ministry of Education, the Directorate General for Educational Supervision and Cultural Qualifications, http://rawafed.edu.ps/portal/elearning/uploads/file/df41979a9048fa3e4c272bb42c66098f.pdf.

[23] Ibid., p. 10.

[24] *Arabic Language (1): Reading, Grammar, Presentations and Expression*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 73.

[25] "Experimental Baccalaureate Exam in Arabic Literature, May 2017," People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Ministry of National Education, SALIM Private Education Institution, p.3, http://www.ets-salim.com/salim/Examen20162017/examen%20lyc%C3%A9e/T3/3ASS/examen%20blanc%20et%20corrige%20arabe%203ASS%202e%20sujet.pdf.

confirmed by interpretations from teachers,[26] this poem is not about peace and trust building, but rather fighting and victory.


4- ما المقصود بالليل في: (والليل كالشحاذ يطرق بالدموع وبالأنين)؟

أ- الهموم وانعدام السكينة. ب- الاحتلال الغاشم. ج- اللجوء المرير. د- الظلام والعتمة.

What is the intended meaning of night in: "And night like a beggar knocks with tears and moaning"?

A) Worries and lack of tranquility.
B) The brute Occupation [Israel].
C) The bitterness of being a refugee.
D) Darkness and blackness.[27]

The correct answer is Israel, described here as "the brute Occupation."[28]

Students are asked to write from memory three lines from this particular poem. The discussion includes excerpts from the textbook's introduction, the poem, and from teacher commentaries. The sources from the latter are Palestinian and Algerian ministries of education (in both educational systems [e.g., see notes 27, 28] this Palestinian poem is included in the final exam). The introduction to the textbook presents the poet as one whose poetry is a "weapon" showing the way toward "armed struggle" (generally understood as terrorism in the West).

وقد اتّخذ معين بسيسو من شعره سلاحاً يُعرّي به الظالم، ومصباحاً يضيء للمناضل العربيّ دروب الكفاح المسلّح، فهو أحد أركان شعر النّكبة الذي صوّر الويلات والمصائب التي صبّها الاستعمار على فلسطين عامّة، وعلى (غزّة هاشم) خاصّةً.

Muin Bseiso uses his poetry as a weapon to expose the oppressor, and as a lamp that illuminates the paths of the **armed struggle** for the Arab fighter. He is one of the pillars of the Nakba poetry . . . [Bold added]

***Arabic Language (1): Reading, Grammar, Presentations and Expression*, Grade 12**, 2018, p. 72.

The poem includes a call for crossing into Israel, the "homeland," a "fertile valley" where a "fearful enemy" is crawling.

[26] Taghrid Yunus Abu Sharif and Ahmad Khalil Mahmoud Nassar (supervision), "Lesson's Title: The Besieged City, Arabic, Grade 12, 2019–20," Rawafed Educational Portal, The State of Palestine, Ministry of Education, the Directorate General for Educational Supervision and Cultural Qualifications, p. 19, http://rawafed.edu.ps/portal/elearning/interactivevideo/view?id=589.

[27] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: including Arabic, Scientific, Literary, Religious Branches, Part 3 (required questions, poetry), Question 5, Subquestion A4, June 2019, p. 3.

[28] Abu Sharif Rawafed, p. 10; Experimental, p. 3.

وعلى جوانبها تدبُّ خُطا العدوِّ المُستريبْ
ماذا يقول الفجرُ هل فُتِحَت إلى الوطن الدّروبْ
فنودّع الصحراءَ حين نسير للوادي الخصيبْ؟

And around her [Gaza], the steps of the fearful enemy crawling
What does dawn say? Were the roads into the homeland opened?
So we leave the desert walking into the fertile valley?
***Arabic Language (1): Reading, Grammar, Presentations and Expression*, Grade 12**, 2018, p. 73.

It continues, fomenting anger and hate against Israel:

ما بين جوعى في الخيامِ وبين عَطشى في القبورْ
ومُعذّبٌ يقتاتُ من دمه ويعتصرُ الجذورْ
صُوَرٌ من الإذلال فاغضبْ أيها الشعبُ الأسيرْ
فسياطُهم كتبتْ مصائرَنا على تلك الظّهورْ

[Gaza] Between being hungry in the tents and thirsty in the graves
A tormented feeds on his blood and squeezes the roots
Images of humiliation so be angry oh captive people
Their whips wrote our destinies on those backs
***Arabic Language (1): Reading, Grammar, Presentations and Expression*, Grade 12**, 2018, p. 73.

Finally, the poem reassures the young students that Israel is weak, so it can be confronted violently. The textbook and official interpretations of teachers explain that the poem calls for armed struggle, revolution and "resistance"[29] promising that Israel is weak and ephemeral. Thus, the second stanza explains that "night" represents the Occupation [Israel], which while still powerful—"having youth" [*mawfur al-shabab*], will inevitably dissolve just as the fog (*dhabab*) over that sea. The students are directed to sentences warning them not to eschew violence: "Fear chained your forearms and you were happy to avoid conflict."[30] Instead, "the poet calls on his people, in the last lines, to remove the bonds of injustice and aggression and confront the occupier. This should occur only by revolution and resistance, as is evident in the verse: 'Sing the songs of struggle . . .'"[31]

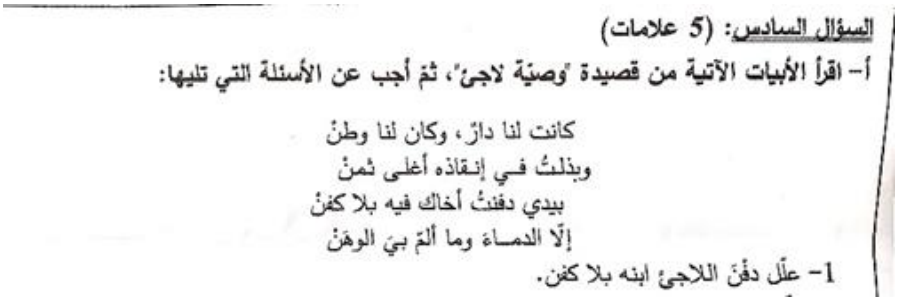
This exam question requires PA students to memorize a poem that encourages them to cross into Israel where a fearful ephemeral enemy compared to the night and the fog exists; it incites them

[29] *Arabic Language (1): Reading, Grammar, Presentations and Expression*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 72; Abu Sharif Rawafed, p. 19; Experimental, p. 3.
[30] Arabic: Al-khawfu kabbala sa'idayka faruhta tajtanibu as-sira'
[31] Experimental, p. 3.

to become angry and hateful and taught to welcome violence while calling for resistance and armed struggle. Such expressions encourage students to fight an all-out guerilla or terrorism war in which all means are allowed and the end is the complete destruction of Israel.[32] In terms of international standards of peace and tolerance, this poem, as part of the final exams, represents the complete failure of the Palestinian educational system to meet such standards.

Example 4:

Here we find similar ideas, namely, hate mongering, "return" to Israel (Palestine) and a call for violent struggle. These represent messages that the new Palestinian generation must commit to memory in perhaps the most important exam of their lifetime.



السؤال السادس: (5 علامات)

أ- اقرأ الأبيات الآتية من قصيدة "وصيّة لاجئ"، ثمّ أجب عن الأسئلة التي تليها:

كانت لنا دارٌ، وكان لنا وطنْ
وبذلتُ في إنقاذه أغلى ثمنْ
بيدي دفنتُ أخاك فيه بلا كفنْ
إلّا الدماءَ وما ألمّ بيَ الوهَنْ

1- علّل دفْنَ اللاجئ ابنه بلا كفن.

Question 6 (five points)

A - Read the following lines for the poem "The Refugee's Will," and answer the questions.

We had a house, and we had a homeland
And I invested the most expensive price in its rescue
With my hand I buried your brother in it with no shroud
Only blood, and the weakness did not overwhelm me

1 - Explain the refugee burying his son with no shroud.[33]

To fully understand the context of the above passage, it is necessary to examine the poem as presented in the curriculum. The poem, "A Refugee's Will" includes hope for armed return from exile. The return is not peaceful, but an armed act of revenge; weapon in hand, "healing yesterday's wounds" of the "violated" homeland, taking it all and "rising as the morning across

[32] Michael Milstein, "The Challenge of al-Muqawama (Resistance) to Israel," *Strategic Assessment* 12, no. 4 (Feb. 2010): pp. 57–71; Ehud Yaari, "The Muqawama Doctrine," *Jerusalem Report*, November 13, 2006, https://ar-ar.facebook.com/fatehal3sfh;
Joel S. Fishman, "Ten Years since Oslo: The PLO's 'People's War' Strategy and Israel's Inadequate Response." *JCPA*, no. 503 (September 2003): http://www.jcpa.org/JCPA/Templates/ShowPage.asp?DBID=1&LNGID=1&TMID=111&FID=375&PID=1843&IID=947.

[33] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: including Arabic, Scientific, Literary, Religious Branches, Part 3 (required questions; poetry), Question 6, Subquestion A, A1, June 2019, p. 3.

the land." As seen in the preceding example, the "morning" theme points to the end of Israel and the return of the entirety of "Palestine" into Arab hands.

فَـوَراءَك الأرضُ الّتـي غَـذّتْ صِبـاكْ
وتـوَدُّ يومـاً فـي شبابـكَ أنْ تـراكْ
لـمْ تُنْسِـها إيّـاكَ أهْـوالُ المُصـابْ
ترنـو ولكـنْ مـلءُ نظرتِهـا عِتـابْ

* * *

إنْ جئتَهـا يومـاً وفـي يـدك السّـلاحْ
وطَلعـتَ بيـن ربوعهـا مثـل الصّبـاحْ
فاهتـفْ: سَـلي سـمْعَ الرّوابـي والبِطـاحْ
إنّـي أنـا الأمـسُ الّـذي ضَمَـدَ الجـراحْ
لبّيـكَ يـا وطنـي العزيـزَ المُستَبـاحْ

Behind you is the earth that fed your childhood
And wishes to see you one day in your youth
Never let horrors of the injured make you forget her
She looks, but her gaze is full of reproach

If you come one day weapon in your hand
Rising as the morning across the land
Shout: hear no more the cry of hills and valleys
I am yesterday who healed the wounds
At your command dear violated homeland

***Arabic Language (1): Reading, Grammar, Presentations and Expression*, Grade 12**, 2018, p. 85.

The official Palestinian website for students uses the following expressions to clarify the poem's meaning: "liberation of the homeland can be done **only through resistance with arms**; "metaphor for *jihad* and resistance; **what was taken by force can be recovered only by force.**"[34] [Bold added]

The essential message of this example is to support incitement based on the words of the poem. The land reproaches the Palestinians for abandoning her. And an armed return into Israel is

[34] Abdallah Jamal Al-Astal and Ahmad Khalil Mahmoud Nassar (supervisor), "Lesson's Title: 'The Refugee's Will,' Arabic, Grade 12, 2018–19." Rawafed Educational Portal, accredited by the PA Ministry of Education and the Ministry's Directorate General for Educational Supervision and Cultural Qualifications, pp. 11, 15, 18, http://rawafed.edu.ps/portal/elearning/uploads/file/67b96fd48ffcc2fc09b45277e848537d.pdf.

envisaged to heal the wounds by taking revenge and restoring an imagined pre-Israel situation. "Liberation of the homeland [Israel] . . . only by force" can have one meaning based on what is taught within the curriculum: generations of Palestinians must be ready to launch a war aimed at conquering Israel. They are all tested on this idea in the final exams.

Example 5:

In another poem, an Israeli city, Haifa (including Mt. Carmel and Acre) takes center stage in the struggle for Palestinian liberation. The poet is Haifa-born Hasan al-Buhairi (1921–98), who wrote it while in Acre prison. The poem, "Oh Singer," was authored in prison under British Mandatory Palestine but the context and the new picture of current-day Haifa makes it relevant.

Unlike the former examples, there is no direct call for violent struggle. However, the poem is illustrative of how the curriculum avoids discussions of peace and reconciliation in favor of themes of prisons, liberation and struggle. Because of the memorization required by the exam it serves to inculcate the idea in students' minds that the land of Israel is in fact the Palestinian homeland to be liberated. There is no discussion within the curriculum regarding Israel's legitimate existence, or that peace entails recognition of, and reconciliation with, the Other.

أ-اقرأ النص الشعري الآتي من قصيدة (أيها الشادي)، ثم أجب عن الأسئلة التي تليه:

أيها الشادي على الكرمل في غاب الصنوبر
فسوق وادٍ لؤلؤت أرجاءه ريشة عبقر
حيث لا تُرمى على الأيك ولا في الأفق تُؤسر
وأنا في سجن عكا عن فضائي الحرّ أحصر
وعلى دنياي ليل حالك الظلمة أغبر

1. وردت في الأبيات الكلمتان (الأيك، ليل) اكتب معنى الأولى، وإعراب الثانية. (علامتان)
2. ما الفرق بين حياة البلبل على الأغصان وحياة الشاعر في السجن؟ (علامتان)

Question 6

A. Read the following poetry text from the poem "Oh Singer," then answer the questions:

   Oh singer on the Carmel in the pine forest
   Over a valley colored by a genius' brush
   With bright beauty of dazzling splendor and purity
   In describing, the pen can only falter
   You are free to live liberated on your branch
   Where you will not from thicket be banished, nor in the horizon captured
   And I in Acre prison held back from my free space
   A deep dark night, as a layer of dust, covers my world

B. What is the difference between the life of the bird on the branches and that of the poet in prison?Write three verses you have memorized from the poem "Baghdad."[35]

[35] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: Arabic, Professional Branches, Part 3 (required questions, poetry), Question 6, Subquestions A and B, June 2019, p. 3.

The motifs of freedom and prison as expressed in the poem about Acre and Mount Carmel, all characterize the Palestinian curriculum as taught and tested. Subquestion B was added to show that students are expected to memorize poems and have a thorough understanding of the Ministry's intended meaning.

أَيُّها الشّادي

(حسَن البحيري/ فلسطين)

Haifa (Israel), portrayed as an object of longing and struggle

***Arabic, Professional Path*, Grade 12**, 2018, p. 108.

The text attached to the above image includes the following paragraph:

وقصيدةُ (أَيّها الشّادي) مِن ديوانهِ (لِعيْنَيْ بِلادي)، كتبَها في بَواكيرِ شَبابهِ حينَ أُودِعَ سجنَ عكا؛ بِسببِ قصيدةٍ وطنيّة عثرَ عليها جنودُ الانتداب أثناءَ تفتيش منزِله، والشّاعر يُناجي مِن زنزانته بُلبُلاً يتمتّعُ بحرِّيّتِهِ، بينما يُعاني هو وَحشةَ السّجن، ورغمَ ذلك تبقى إرادَتُهُ المُتجذِّرةُ أقوى مِن عتمةِ الليلِ وعَنجهيّةِ السّجّان.

He authored the poem "O Singer," from his collection "My Homeland to my Eye" in his early youth when he was detained in Acre prison, after [British] mandate soldiers discovered a nationalistic poem while searching his home. The poet meditates in his cell, visualizing a bird enjoying its freedom, while he suffers from the barbarian prison. Nevertheless, his rooted resolve is stronger than the darkness of the night and the arrogance of the jailer.

***Arabic, Professional Path*, Grade 12**, 2018, p. 108.

Islamic Studies

Example 6:

This example includes two exam questions covering the topics of *ribat* (frontier conflict) and *jihad*; both encourage students to participate in conflict and struggle as a religious duty. *Ribat* is a subdivision of *jihad*. In the context of the Palestinian textbooks, the term's meaning ranges from major battles of Muslims against the infidels to clashes with the Israelis. The classic Islamic meaning of the term covers moving into fighting positions or frontier skirmishes where borders have existed between Islamic and Christian cultures. In one of the exam questions, clashes with Israeli police in Jerusalem are described as *ribat* and eulogized. The *ribat* people (*murabitun*) "blew up a Jerusalem uprising (*habba*) that spread throughout Palestine as if it were a wildfire."[36]

Thus, the most problematic messages of the curriculum—religiously-sanctioned violence—are memorized and tested. Anyone who remains non-violent is considered to be impious.

31. لم كان الرباط أفضل الأعمال التي يبقى ثوابها بعد الموت؟
أ) لأن أعمال البر لا يتمكن منها إلا بحراسة الثغور.
ب) لأن المرابط ضحى بنفسه في سبيل الله.
ج) لأنه سهر الليالي في قيام الليل.
د) لأنه أكثر من الربط بين القرآن والسنة.

Question 31.

Why was *ribat* [recognized as] the best of deeds, for which **rewards remain after one's death**?[37]

A) Because the acts of righteousness can only be performed by guarding the gaps [in the frontline between Islam and the infidels].

B) Because **the person doing the *ribat* sacrifices his life** for Allah.

C) Because he spent the nights awake in late night [prayers].

D) Because it strengthened the ties between the Qur'an and the tradition (*sunna*).[38] [Bold added]

The required answer is "B." The question and "appropriate" answer amount to encouraging death through violence by associating such death with rewards in the afterlife.

38. ما الذي لا يعدُّ من ضوابط الجهاد في الإسلام؟
أ) تحريم الخيانة والغدر.
ب) تحريم قتل الرهبان.
ج) تحريم التمثيل بالجثث.
د) سوء معاملة الأسرى.

Question 38

[36] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: Arabic, Professional Branches, Part 4 (required questions; grammar), Question 7, Subquestion 5A, June 2019, p. 4.
[37] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: Islamic Culture, all Branches (except Shar'i), Question 1 (choice three out of four), Subquestion 31, June 2019, p. 3.
[38] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: including Arabic, Scientific, Literary, Religious Branches, Part 3 (required questions, poetry), Question 5, Subquestion A4, June 2019, p. 3.

What does not form part of the *jihad* regulations in Islam?

A) Prohibition of treason and treachery.
B) Prohibition of the killing of monks.
C) Prohibition of mutilating [enemy's] corpses.
D) Abuse of prisoners.[39]

Research of the category: "*Jihad* Regulations" in the textbook shows that *jihad* means "warfare" and non-Muslims must choose between conversion to Islam, capitulation and payment of a humiliating poll tax (*jizya*), or war. The *jizya* was the tax paid by non-Muslim subjects (*dhimmi*) until the mid-nineteenth century.

* عدم بدء القتال قبل الإنذار، والتخيير بين الإسلام، أو الجزية أو الحرب.
* لا يقاتل إلا من اشترك في القتال سواء بحمل السلاح أو أعان على المسلمين بأي وسيلة كانت.

- Fighting should not begin without warning and giving the choice of either [adopting] Islam, paying the *jizya*, or war.
- Fighting is allowed only against those who participate in the battle either by carrying a weapon or helping against the Muslims in any way.

***Islamic Education*, Grade 12**, 2018, p. 100.

It is troubling that such medieval *jihad* studies are closely associated with the figure of Saladin, the leader of the Islamic Reconquista that took the Holy Land and Jerusalem back from the Crusaders. The students are asked in the exam about the exact date of "the liberation of Jerusalem from the Crusaders."[40]

11. متى كان تحرير القدس من الصليبيين؟
أ) 27 من رمضان سنة 583 هـ
ب) 27 من رجب سنة 583 هـ
ج) 25 من شعبان سنة 583 هـ
د) 25 من شوال 853 هـ

When did the liberation of Jerusalem from the Crusaders take place?

A glance into the *Islamic Education* textbook depicts a narrative of Saladin's *jihad* and paradigm to conquer Jerusalem (see below). The chapter is entitled "The Conqueror Leader Salah Al-Din Al-Ayyubi,"[41] and dedicates a large portion to his *jihad*.

دوره في الجهاد:

تعلق قلب صلاح الدين بالجهاد في سبيل الله، فنذر له حياته، وتلخصت مسيرة جهاده في ثلاث مراحل:

[39] Ibid.
[40] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: Islamic Culture, all Branches (except Shar'i), Question 1 (choice: three of four), Subquestion 11, June 2019, p. 2.
[41] *Islamic Education*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 89.

His [Saladin's] Role in the *Jihad*:

Saladin's heart was attached to the *jihad* for the sake of Allah, and he dedicated his life to *jihad*. His *jihad* journey could be summarized in three stages.
***Islamic Education*, Grade 12**, 2018, p. 90.

It is unusual that this historical chapter is presented in an Islamic education textbook typically dedicated to religion where most battles are described in the context of the Prophet's early wars. More interesting is that the textbook presents the *jihad* of Saladin in three stages.

The first stage is to create Islamic unity in the region; stage two represents fighting and recapturing Jerusalem; and the third is defending against any backlash.[42]

This paradigm has been the model for the Palestinian dream of an Islamic Reconquista designed to vanquish Israel once and for all.

History

Example 7:

The question of national identity stresses sacrifice and demonization of the Other rather than collaboration and friendship between national neighbors. The exam requires students to regurgitate this distorted notion of national identity.

4. عرِّف الهوية الوطنية، وكيف تُعدّ ضرورة نضالية للشعب الفلسطيني؟

Question 2 (20 points)

4. Define national identity and how it is considered a struggle of necessity for the Palestinian people? (4 points)[43]

Identity in the question's wording is associated with struggle (against Israel). The expected answers as featured in the textbook follow:

[42] Ibid., pp. 90–91.
[43] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: History, Literary and Religious Branches, Part 1 (required questions), Question 2, Subquestion 4, June 2019, p. 3.

نشاط (٢/ ب): نقرأ، ونستنتج، ثمّ نجيب:

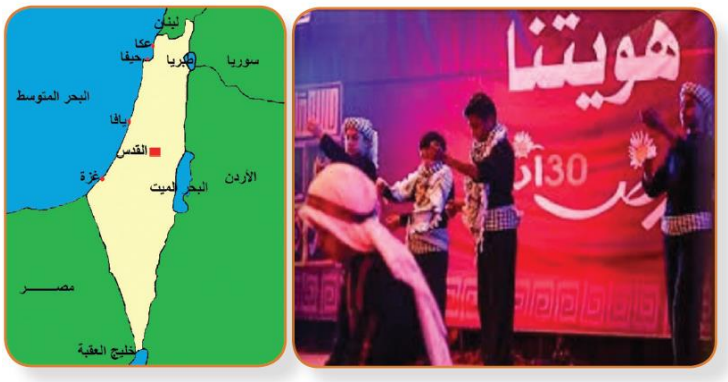
الهُويّة الوطنيّة: عبارة عن علاقة وجدانيّة توحّد بين الإنسان والأرض الّتي يرتبط بها، وتصبح الأرض جزءاً من الإنسان، فهو مستعدّ للتّضحية من أجلها، وخدمتها، مهما كان الثّمن. وكثيراً ما تترادف مع مصطلح الهُويّة، لذلك نقول: فِلَسطينيّ، أو أردنيّ.

وتُعدّ الهُويّة الوطنيّة الفِلَسطينيّة ضرورة نضاليّة؛ فالشّعب الفِلَسطينيّ أحوج ما يكون للحفاظ على هُويته الوطنيّة؛ لأنّها مستهدفة من عدوّ استيطانيّ إحلاليّ ادّعى أحقّيّة وجوده على هذه الأرض، رافعاً شعار (أرض بلا شعب لشعب بلا أرض)، ويصبح التّأكيد على الهُويّة الوطنيّة الفِلَسطينيّة وسيلة نضاليّة لمقاومة الاستعمار، ولتأكيد وجود الفِلَسطينيّ، والحفاظ على حقوقه.

لذلك فالشّعب الفِلَسطينيّ أحوج الشّعوب العربيّة إلى الانتماء القوميّ العربيّ؛ لتعزيز نضالاته، وتحقيق التّحرّر والاستقلال؛ بسبب صعوبة معركته مع الاحتلال الصّهيونيّ المدعوم من قوى الاستعمار، والهيمنة العالميّة.

> National identity is an affective relationship that unites the man and the land to which he is attached. The land becomes a part of the man. He is ready to **sacrifice for it** and serve it, **whatever the price**. . . . [Bold added]
> ***Historical Studies***, **Grade 12**, 2018, p. 106.

We know that the Zionist Occupation throughout this curriculum refers to Israel in its entirety, not a state of occupation of disputed territories to be resolved in peaceful negotiations as agreed by all concerned parties. For further clarity, the text provides a map of an imaginary Arab Palestine with no Israel at all.



- نَصِفُ ما نشاهده في الصّورتين.
- نستنتج عناصر الهُويّة الوطنيّة.

Historical Studies, Grade 12, 2018, p. 105.

The text accompanying the image—"we describe the components of national identity"—is meant to reinforce the idea in students that the map is of Palestine (not Israel). The correct answer in the final exam embraces a national identity for which the graduate's life should be sacrificed in an endless struggle, not for a vision of peace and reconciliation.

Another example of a one-sided narrative is the presentation of the West, mainly Britain[44] and the US as hopelessly imperialist and hegemonic. There is no reference of any aid given to help the Palestinians (particularly the PA).[45]

Example 8:

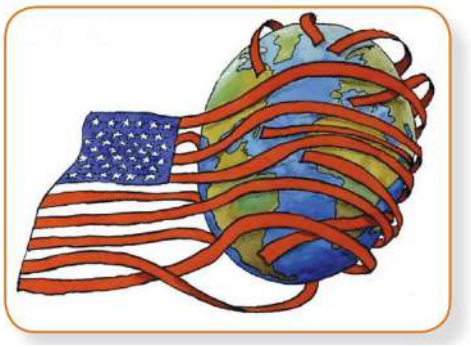
15. من أي أشكال الهيمنة يُعد انحياز الولايات المتحدة التام إلى جانب الاحتلال الصهيوني؟

أ) السياسية ب) التكنولوجية ج) الثقافية د) الاقتصادية

15. Which form of hegemony represents the complete bias of the United States toward the Zionist Occupation?

A) Political B) Technological C) Cultural D) Economic[46]

The corresponding chapter covers various aspects of hegemony (political, technological, cultural and economic) including the US and Israel (vilified as "The Zionist Occupation"). Palestinian students are expected to master this view of the West.



- نَصِفُ ما نشاهده في الصّورة.
- ما المصطلح المناسب الّذي يمكن أن يطلق على ما تمثله الصّورة؟

What is the appropriate term represented by the image?
Historical Studies, Grade 12, 2018, p. 97.

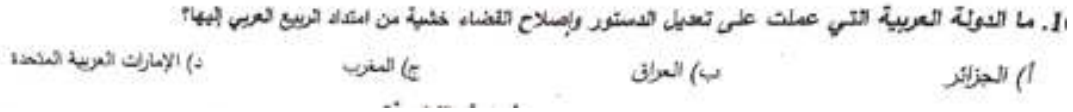
[44] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: History, Literary and Religious Branches, Part 1 (required questions), Question 1, Subquestion 14, June 2019, p. 2.
[45] Herb Keinon, "Cameron: Obama Was Most Pro-Palestinian and Pro-Arab US President Ever." *The Jerusalem Post*, September 24, 2019, https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Cameron-Obama-was-most-pro-Palestinian-and-pro-Arab-US-president-ever-602699.
[46] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: History, Literary and Religious Branches, Part 1 (required questions), Question 1, Subquestion 15, June 2019, p. 2.

١ **الهيمنة السّياسيّة:** تميّزت الولايات المتّحدة الأمريكيّة بهيمنتها على السّياسة الدّوليّة بشكل فعّال منذ نهاية الحرب الباردة، وتعزّزت تلك الهيمنة مع حرب الخليج الثّانية؛ إذ انفردت في السّيطرة على العالم في ظلّ نظام أحاديّ القطبيّة بعد تفكّك الاتّحاد السّوفيتيّ، وتأكّد دورها السّياسيّ في قضايا دوليّة عديدة، واحتكار إدارة أزمات دوليّة، كالانحياز التّامّ إلى جانب الاحتلال الصّهيونيّ، وحرب الخليج الثّانية سنة ١٩٩٠م، واحتلال العراق سنة ٢٠٠٣م، إضافة إلى التّدخّلات الأمريكيّة في الحَراك العربيّ منذ نهاية عام ٢٠١٠م.

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has actively dominated international politics . . . its political role was reinforced in many international issues, in monopolizing the management of international crises, such as its full alignment with the Zionist Occupation [Israel] . . .
Historical Studies, **Grade 12**, 2018, p. 98.

Example 9:

This example is not directly related to international standards. Still, it is worth noting that the PA curriculum does not look favorably at the Arab Spring uprising for various reasons. Mainly, the authoritarian PA regime seems to be troubled by the marginalization of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[47] Legitimate concerns over the dire consequences of the Arab Spring are also evident, with preemptive reforms also seen as a viable solution.



What is the Arab state that worked on transforming the constitution and reforming the judiciary for fear that the Arab Spring would spread into it?

A) Algeria B) Iraq C) Morocco D) The United Arab Emirates[48]

Yet the relevant chapter being tested also presents the Arab Spring movements as resulting from a Western-Israeli conspiracy aimed at destroying the Arab world. There is no evidence to support what this textbook is proposing. The tested curriculum maintains that the great "success" of Iraq's occupation whetted the "appetite" of the "US-British" alliance to destroy more Arab countries, resulting in the Arab Spring. In reality, many in the West were encouraged by the democratic and peaceful movements with which they sympathized and at times supported.

[47] *Historical Studies*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 68.
[48] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: History, Literary and Religious Branches, Part 1 (required questions), Question 1, Subquestion 10, June 2019, p. 2.

ترتبط الظّروف الخارجيّة بالولايات المتّحدة، وحلف شمال الأطلسيّ (NATO)، والاحتلال الصّهيونيّ، الّذين كان لهم رغبة واضحة بخلخلة الوضع العربيّ، وتمزيق وَحدة دوله، وإضعاف جيوشه، فمنذ الحرب الأمريكيّة البريطانيّة على العراق سنة ٢٠٠٣م، ونجاحهم في احتلاله، وحلّ جيشه الوطنيّ، وتمزيق وَحدة شعبه، ونشر الطائفيّة بين المسلمين (السّنّة والشّيعة)، والعرقيّة (العرب والأكرد)، انفتحت شهيّة المحتلّين على استنساخ التّجربة في بلدان عربيّة أخرى، خاصّة الدّول العربيّة ذات الأنظمة الجمهوريّة المناوئة للسّياسات الأمريكيّة، مستغلّين في ذلك قضايا الدّيمقراطيّة، وحقوق الإنسان.

- نوضّح أثر احتلال العراق على الحراك العربيّ.
- نقترح حلولاً لمشكلات التّنوّع الدّينيّ، والعرقي، والمذهبي لسكّان الوطن العربيّ.

The external circumstances [leading to the Arab Spring] are related to the United States, NATO and the Zionist Occupation [Israel]. All had a clear desire to disrupt the Arab situation, tear apart the unity of the Arab countries and weaken their armies. Since the US-British war on Iraq in 2003—their success in occupying it, disbanding its national army, destroying the [Iraqi]people's unity and their spread of sectarianism between Muslims (Sunnis and Shiites) and ethnicity (Arabs and Kurds)—opened the occupiers' appetite to copy this experience in other Arab countries. Taking advantage of the issues of democracy and human rights, [they targeted] especially Arab countries with republican regimes conducting anti-American policies.

- We clarify the impact of the occupation of Iraq on the Arab movement [the Arab Spring].
- We suggest solutions to the problems of religious, ethnic and sectarian diversity for the dwellers of the Arab Homeland.

***Historical Studies*, Grade 12**, 2018, p. 65.

In sum, the history portions of the Tawjihi exam requires students to painstakingly memorize a conspiratorial worldview which blames the West and Israel for changes (social movements, e.g., the Arab Spring) in the Arab world; is hostile to peace and reconciliation processes in the region; and distances itself from civil reforms and democracy.

Example 10:

Question five, is partially presented here; it includes three subquestions, two of which deal with conspiracies presumably created by the West. One of them is the establishment of new nation states in the Middle East post WWI; the other involves the US "imposing its hegemony on the world" by taking advantage of the September 11 attacks.

Clearly, such teaching as part of the worldview presented throughout the Palestinian curriculum fosters a cynical view of agreements and compromises.

لسؤال الخامس: (10 علامات)

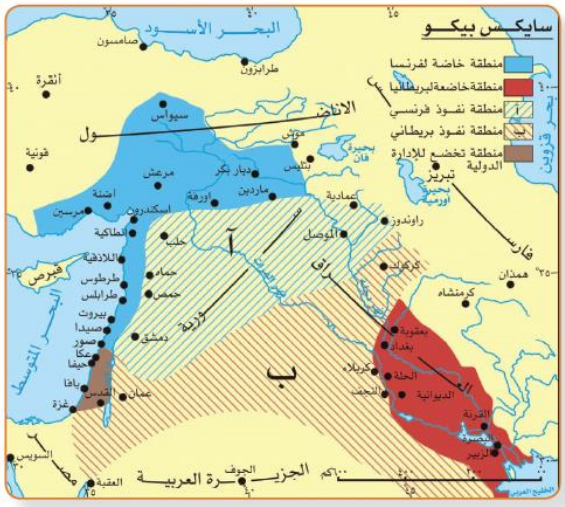
1. وضّح المؤامرات التي تعرض لها الوطن العربي خلال الحرب العالمية الأولى.

Question 5 (10 points)

1. Explain the conspiracies against the Arab Homeland during the First World War (3 points).[49]

The wording of the question is significant since it refers to conspiracies (*mu'amara*) against an Arab Homeland which did not exist during World War I. While the Arab nationalist movement was just budding at this time, the area was part of the Ottoman Islamic Empire. Arabs were Ottoman citizens represented in the parliament in Istanbul. Most of these Ottoman citizens remained loyal. The British held negotiations during the war with the Hashemites in the Hijaz leading to an anti-Ottoman Arab rebellion, arguably in the name of Arab nationalism. The text ignores the vast territories given to the Arabs, at the expense of Turks, Kurds and others.

The attitude presented by the textbooks suggests that if one side does not receive all of their demands, then there must be conspiracy or injustice; this means that only wars can solve problems. **The issue is not a question of dealing with conflicting narratives but with education for extreme radicalism** leading to war and rejecting compromise.



شهد الوطن العربيّ خلال فترة الحرب مجموعة من الأحداث المُهمّة، منها قيام بريطانيا بالزّجّ بعدد من أبنائه على جبهات القتال المختلِفة؛ ما أدّى إلى مقتل معظمهم، وشجّعت الشّريف حسين بن علي على القيام بالثّورة ضدّ الدّولة العثمانيّة عام ١٩١٦م، مقابل تأييدها إنشاء دولة عربيّة في الولايات العربيّة الآسيويّة، ولكنّها غدرت به، وتآمرت مع فرنسا على تقسيم المنطقة العربيّة، كما حدث في اتّفاقيّة سايكس- بيكو عام ١٩١٦م، وإصدارها وعد بلفور بتاريخ ٢/١١/ ١٩١٧م، الّذي تعهّدت فيه بإقامة وطن قوميّ لليهود الصّهاينة في فلسطين، إضافة إلى احتلال بريطانيا وفرنسا لأجزاء واسعة من الوطن العربيّ خلال الحرب، وتأكيده في مؤتمر سان ريمو عام ١٩٢٠م، ثمّ فرض الانتداب عليها، وهو ما أقرّته عصبة الأمم عام ١٩٢٢م.

- نوضّح المؤامرات الّتي تعرّض لها الوطن العربيّ خلال الحرب العالميّة الأولى.
- نحدّد على الخريطة التّقسيمات السّياسيّة الاستعمارية في الوطن العربيّ وَفق اتّفاقيّة سايكس- بيكو.

During the war, the Arab Homeland witnessed a number of important events, including the British casting a number of its [Arab] sons into the various fronts, leading to the death of most of them. . . . But it [Britain] betrayed him [Hussein bin Ali, Sharif and Emir of

[49] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: History, Literary and Religious Branches, Part 2 (choice questions), Question 5, Subquestion 1, June 2019, p. 3.

Mecca], and conspired with France to divide the Arab region, as happened in the Sykes-Picot Agreement in 1916, and the issuance of the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917.

We explain the conspiracies that the Arab world was exposed to during the First World War.

Historical Studies, **Grade 12,** 2018, p. 33.

Conclusion

The 2018-19 Palestinian Tawjihi exam reveals considerable interest in sensitive political content. IMPACT-se's finding is that the final exams are so designed that students must study problematic content that does not meet international standards for peace and tolerance. (We define problematic content to include violence or incitement to violence; hatred of the Other and radical, inappropriate or disturbing material.)

Specifically, six exams (of twenty-six) include problematic content. But the findings are more dramatic when one deals with the humanities, seventy-five percent of which include such troubling content.

Within this context, the PA educational system assures that all high school graduates absorb and memorize messages of hate, violence and inciteful poems regarding Israel including a commitment to fight against it until victory is achieved.

Interestingly, the widespread subliminal hate messaging in the curriculum's science textbooks are not represented in the science exams.

Ultimately, no Palestinian student can pass the Tawjihi without a proficiency in hate. Arabic, history, geography and Islamic studies are devised to take permanent residence in crowded young Palestinian minds, leaving little space for the Other.

Jihad and its variation, *ribat* are being taught and tested. The discussion of Saladin, who reconquered the Holy Land from the crusaders by applying a long-term strategy, is being taught as part of *jihad* war studies in the Islamic education curriculum. Saladin is dubbed "The Conqueror Leader Salah Al-Din Al-Ayyubi."[50]

The "proficiency" exam represents a revolutionary playbook. Students must regurgitate what they have learned in the curriculum: Sacrifice, "whatever the price" in the "battle with the 'Zionist Occupation' [Israel] that is supported by the forces of colonialism and world domination."[51] Memorized poems incite by recalling death, suffering and blood.[52] Students are expected to parrot the curriculum's hope of a continuous armed invasion to overtake Israel proper and remake it into Palestine. Students must repeat what they learned throughout their school

[50] *Islamic Education*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 89.
[51] *Historical Studies*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 106.
[52] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: including Arabic, Scientific, Literary, Religious Branches, Part 3 (required questions, poetry), Question 6, Subquestion A, A1, June 2019, p. 3.

years: "healing yesterday's wounds" of the "violated" homeland, taking it all; "rising as the morning across the land."[53]

Explanations are found at official online sites: "the poet states that the liberation of the homeland can be done only through resistance with arms." "Weapon in your hand" is a metaphor for *jihad* and resistance: "This expression signifies that what was taken by force can only be recovered by force."[54]

The tests with problematic content reinforce conspiracy theories taught throughout the curriculum.[55] Perhaps most importantly, the exam echoes the false narrative that the Palestinian National Identity derives from, and which leads to the view that Palestine should include all of the State of Israel.[56]

[53] *Arabic Language (1): Reading, Grammar, Presentations and Expression*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 85.
[54] Abdallah Jamal Al-Astal and Ahmad Khalil Mahmoud Nassar (supervisor), "Lesson's Title: 'The Refugee's Will,' Arabic, Grade 12, 2018–19," Rawafed Educational Portal, accredited by the PA Ministry of Education and the Ministry's Directorate General for Educational Supervision and Cultural Qualifications), http://rawafed.edu.ps/portal/elearning/uploads/file/67b96fd48ffcc2fc09b45277e848537d.pdf.
[55] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: History, Literary and Religious Branches, Part 2 (choice questions), Question 5, Subquestion 1, June 2019, p. 3; *Historical Studies*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 33; *Historical Studies*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 65.
[56] Injaz [Tawjihi] Exam: History, Literary and Religious Branches, Part 1 (required questions), Question 2, Subquestion 4, June 2019. p. 3; *Historical Studies*, Grade 12, 2018, p. 105.

Methodology

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

1. **RESPECT**: The curriculum should promote tolerance, understanding and respect toward the "Other," his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life.[57]

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.[58]

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.[59]

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.[60]

5. **PEACEMAKING**: The curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace.[61]

6. **UNBIASED INFORMATION**: Educational materials (textbooks, workbooks, teachers' guides, maps, illustrations, aids) should be up-to-date, accurate, complete, balanced and

[57] 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.

[58] 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.

[59] Based on Ibid., Articles III.6, IV.7 and VII.39; and on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 18.2.

[60] As defined in Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2106 (XX) on December 21, 1965. See also Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) on December 16, 1966.

[61] Based on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 9; and on the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 5.

unprejudiced, and use equal standards to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.[62]

7. **GENDER**: The curriculum should foster equality and mutual respect between women and men. It should refrain from stereotyped gender roles.[63]

8. **SOUND PROSPERITY and COOPERATION**: The curriculum should educate for sound and sustainable economic conduct and preservation of the environment for future generations. It should encourage regional and local cooperation to that effect.[64]

[62] 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.

[63] 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.

[64] Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Articles III.6, and IV.7. On the imperative for developing "systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance," see the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 4.2. On education for international cooperation, see also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principle II.

List of Researched Textbooks for Tawjihi Exam

The following Palestinian curriculum textbooks form the basis of the Tawjihi Palestinian Matriculation Exam and were analyzed for the research in this study. Please feel free to contact IMPACT-se for access to textbooks contained in our research (http://www.impact-se.org/about-us/contact-us/). The titles both here and referenced in the text have been translated into English to aid the reader. The Arabic test titles for the Tawjihi Exam have also been included.

Grade 12:

1. *Accounting,* Grade 12, 2019.
2. *Arabic Language (1): Reading, Grammar, Presentations and Expression*, Grade 12, 2019.
3. *Arabic Language* (2): Literature and Rhetoric, Grade 12, 2019.
4. *Arabic Language* (Vocational track), Grade 12, 2019.
5. *Chemistry*, Grade 12, 2019.
6. *Chemistry* (Home Economics), Grade 12, 2019.
7. *Communications and Electronics*, Grade 12, 2019.
8. *English*, Vol. 1, Grade 12, 2019.
9. *English*, Vol. 2, Grade 12, 2019.
10. *Entrepreneurship* (Technology), Grade 12, 2018.
11. *Geography*, Grade 12, 2019.
12. *History*, Grade 12, 2019.
13. *Islamic Education*, Grade 12, 2019.
14. *Life Sciences*, Grade 12, 2019.
15. *Management and Economics*, Grade 12, 2019.
16. *Mathematics* (Business, Hotel, Home Economics, Agriculture), Grade 12, 2019.
17. *Mathematics* (Literature and Sharia), Grade 12, 2019.
18. *Mathematics* (Science and Industrial), Grade 12, 2019.
19. *Mathematics* (Technology), Grade 12, 2019.
20. *Physics*, Grade 12, 2019.
21. *Programming and Automation*, Vol. 1, Grade 12, 2019.
22. *Programming and Automation*, Vol. 2, Grade 12, 2019.
23. *Scientific Education*, Grade 12, 2019.
24. *Small Businesses,* Grade 12, 2019.
25. *Technology* (All Branches), Grade 12, 2019.
26. *Technology* (Science and Industrial), Grade 12, 2019.

Tawjihi Exam: List of Tests

1. Ministerial Technology Exam for Scientific and Industrial Branch, 2019.
2. Information Technology Exam for all Science and Industrial Branches, 2019.
3. Programming and Pricing Exam for the Technology Branch, 2019.
4. Small Enterprises Exam for the Entrepreneurship Branch, 2019.
5. Scientific Culture Exam for the Literature and Technology Branch, 2019.
6. Qur'an and Its Sciences Exam/Second Version for the Forensic Branch, 2019.
7. Physics Exam for the Science Branch, 2019.
8. Mathematics Exam for the Entrepreneurship Branch, 2019.
9. Mathematics exam for the Technology Branch, 2019.
10. Mathematics Exam for the Scientific Branch, 2019.
11. Mathematics Exam for the Forensic Literature Branch, 2019.
12. Mathematics Exam for the Industrial Branch, 2019.
13. Management and Economics Exam for the Entrepreneurship and Business Branch, 2019.
14. Islamic Education Exam for all Forensic Branches, 2019.
15. History Exam for the Forensic Literature Branch, 2019.
16. Geography Exam for the Literary Faculty, Version 3, 2019.
17. Geography Exam for the Literary Faculty, Version 2, 2019.
18. Geography Exam for the Literary Faculty, Version 1, 2019.
19. Entrepreneurship Exam for the Technology Branch, 2019.
20. English Language Exam for the Literature Branch, 2019.
21. Communications and Technologies Exam for the Technology Branch, 2019.
22. Chemistry Exam for the Science Branch, 2019.
23. Biology Exam 3 for the Science Branch, 2019.
24. Biology Exam 1 for the Science Branch, 2019.
25. Arabic Language Exam for the Forensic Literature Branch, 2019.
26. Accounting Exam for the Entrepreneurship and Business Branch, 2019.

قائمة الامتحانات

١. امتحان تكنولوجيا الوزاري ٢٠١٩ للفرع العلمي والصناعي
٢. امتحان تكنولوجيا والمعلومات للجميع الفروع عدا العلمي الصناعي
٣. امتحان البرمجة والأثمنة للفرع التكنولوجي
٤.امتحان المشاريع الصغيرة للفرع الريادة والاعمال
٥. امتحان الثقافة العلمية للفرع الادبي والتكنولوجي
٦. امتحان القران الكريم وعلومه\ الورقة الثانية للفرع الشرعي
٧. امتحان الفيزياء للفرع العلمي
٨. امتحان الرياضيات للفرع الريادة والاعمال
٩. امتحان الرياضيات للفرع التكنولوجي
١٠. امتحان الرياضيات للفرع العلمي
١١. امتحان الرياضيات للفرع الادبي الشرعي
١٢. امتحان الرياضيات للفرع الصناعي
١٣. امتحان الإدارة والاقتصاد للفرع الريادة والاعمال
١٤. امتحان التربية الاسلامية لجميع الفروع ما عدا الشرعي
١٥. امتحان التاريخ للفرع الادبي الشرعي
١٦. امتحان الجغرافيا للفرع الادبي ٣
١٧. امتحان الجغرافيا للفرع الادبي ٢
١٨. امتحان الجغرافيا للفرع الادبي ١
١٩. امتحان الريادة في الاعمال للفرع التكنولوجي
٢٠. امتحان اللغة الإنجليزية للفرع الادبي
٢١. امتحان الاتصالات والتكنولوجيات للفرع التكنولوجي
٢٢. امتحان الكيمياء للفرع العلمي
٢٣.امتحان الاحياء ٣ للفرع العلمي
٢٤. امتحان الاحياء ١ للفرع العلمي
٢٥. امتحان اللغة العربية للفرع الادبي الشرعي
٢٦. امتحان المحاسبة للفرع الريادة والاعمال