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Executive Summary

- The Qatari curriculum appears to be in a phase of transformation. While somewhat less radical than previous versions, the process of moderation is in its infancy. Some particularly offensive material has been removed after decades of radical propaganda in Qatari schools but the curriculum does not meet international standards of peace and tolerance.

- Pan-Islamic and pan-Arab nationalism are evident as are elements of Salafism and the Muslim Brotherhood, which dominate the religious tenor of the curriculum.

- Prosperity is tightly linked to cultural and scientific interaction with the world. However, Qatar's involvement in world affairs includes the global spread of political Islam.

- Qatari education is heavily influenced by Western educators, but serious issues remain regarding peace and tolerance. In Islamic religious studies there is very little improvement. Jihad war, martyrdom and violent jihadi movements are praised. English language textbooks are the most moderate.

- Women are encouraged to be brave, serve their homeland and families, and have many children. Despite women's "empowerment," careers are not a priority.

- Christians are still seen as infidels (kafirun) and expected to go to hell. Some anti-Christian material has been removed.

- Jew hatred continues to be a central problem for this curriculum, while slightly less widespread than previous iterations. Israel is demonized. Textbooks teach Jews control and manipulate world powers and markets.

- Those GCC countries blockading Qatar are criticized with restraint; the siege is portrayed as an opportunity.

- Democracy and political participation are praised within the curriculum. Students are taught to have tolerance toward the expatriate community, in contrast to the often appalling treatment of immigrant workers throughout Qatar.

- The US, Britain, Turkey, Iran, China and Oman are considered friendly actors; the Ottoman Empire is fondly described as the "Islamic State."

National Identity

A fortunate discovery of fossil fuels in the late 1930s transformed one of world's poorest countries to one of the richest. Qatar aspires to become a regional and global hub with a highly visible profile, specializing in media, education, sports, the knowledge economy, transportation and diplomacy; yet it continues to face internal challenges, in part resulting from the limited ability of its minority citizenry to vote (only in local elections) and the untenable relationship it has with its almost 90 percent non-citizen population.
The curriculum emphasizes nationalist identity and encourages patriotic sentiment over tribal affiliations. Pan-Islamic and pan-Arab nationalism is also evident as are elements of Salafism and the Muslim Brotherhood. There is a slight movement away from radical jihadism but much still remains. Nevertheless, Qatar's curriculum is heavily influenced by Western educators—displaying the Qatari gift for embracing contradictions.

In previous curricula, students learned that democracy was incompatible with Islam; that befriending non-Muslims was a sin; that a Jewish world conspiracy aimed at taking over the world; that the Jews were treacherous by nature and were using women to sabotage Islam—and that the Church, Crusades, charities, missionary work, Middle Eastern studies and modern Western and Arab liberal thought had all been part of one grand scheme aimed at destroying Islam.

**Attitude toward Others**

The curriculum now praises democracy and encourages participation in school elections. It conveys an idyllic openness characterizing Medieval Islamic states, and recognizes the role of Christians, Jews and others in the translation movement during that period (former editions represented minorities as collaborating with the enemy). Some offensive material (such as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion) has been removed or replaced. But hatred and persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany is justified by blaming Jews for the downfall of post-WWI Germany and their control and manipulation of regimes and world markets.

While the Turks and Iranians—and even the British and Americans—are respected, Middle Eastern minorities (such as Amazig, Yazidis, Kurds and Maronites) are largely ignored. Demonization of Israel remains part of Qatar's Arab and Islamic identity in what they consider to be support for the Palestinian cause.

With respect to gender, the Salafi voice remains intact. Instead of jihad war, women are expected to go on the [pilgrimage of] the hajj or the umrah. They are encouraged to be brave, serving homes and homeland, loving their husbands while having many children. Students learn about the empowerment of women from their supporting roles during the early stages of Islam; in Qatar, empowerment should not supersede traditionalist beliefs, nor should it upset the economic balance of the country. The curriculum rejects non-traditional gender roles (including actors playing opposite-gender roles).

Changes are slow and not fully consistent. Prosperity is tightly linked to opening education and cultural interaction with the world. However, such behavior is new. Until very recently one could see vicious attacks against Western civilization. Islamic Education textbooks have been fashioned by Muslim Brotherhood affiliates targeting Jews, Crusaders, missionaries, secular-

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3. Ibid., p. 57.
modernists and secular Arabs. Democracy—a Western innovation—was seen as contradicting Islam. Modern ways were thought to encourage debauchery and extinguish Arab identity. Projects such as hosting the FIFA World Cup and funding the first mosque and Islamic center in Denmark are praised. The curriculum maintains that the Copenhagen mosque is "disseminating the culture of peace" and correcting "the distorted image of Islam." However, it omits Qatar's controversial treatment of local workers building World Cup venues, or the opposition of Danish citizens regarding the activities of the Grand Mosque.

Some anti-Christian material has been removed. But Christians, along with Jews as "People of the Book" are blamed for causing divisions among Muslims. The curriculum appears to respect Western scientists and scholars. Britain, the US, Turkey Iran, China and Oman are viewed as friendly actors. But China's abuse of its Muslim minority is criticized as is India; jihadism in Kashmir is applauded. Textbooks stress that European governments strive to assimilate their Muslim populations and that Muslim minorities are persecuted in many countries. The curriculum acknowledges the centrality of Britain in securing Qatar's independence and the struggle against the slave trade. The Ottoman Empire is referred to as an "Islamic State."

Some antisemitic myths were removed from at least one textbook, as was the description of Zionism as a racist movement. The curriculum labels the Jewish national movement as a "colonial-settler enterprise."

There is no anti-Shiite material, perhaps in deference to the large Shiite population and the current close relations with Iran. Criticism of the Arab siege countries is restrained, leaving open avenues for dialogue. The siege of Qatar is viewed somewhat positively, strengthening patriotic sentiment and allowing Qatari leaders to display magnanimity toward their rivals.

**The Expatriate Community**

Finally, the curriculum teaches students to show tolerance to the expatriate community. It encourages students to respect all members of the Qatari population and cautiously fosters the idea that democracy represents the future. Yet, numerous reports including those of Amnesty

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5 *Social Studies*, Grade 10, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 159.
9 *Social Studies*, Grade 8, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 113.
International and major news organizations have documented the abuse of workers by various companies—with the implicit cooperation of Qatari authorities.\textsuperscript{11}

The Qatari curriculum \textit{appears} to be in a phase of transformation. Qatar's involvement in world affairs includes the global spread of political Islam. As one might expect, there are many contradictory signals attending such outreach.

Such international preoccupation tends to muddy the foremost problem faced by Qatar's regime: namely, the expatriates living and working in the peninsula. A more serious attitude toward improving conditions for the majority of its population may or may not be in the works. However, such changes, if real, could help Qatari leaders to channel their global ambitions into more meaningful and beneficial arenas, ultimately manifested in an improved curriculum.

There is much to be concerned about in the Qatari curriculum. Most troubling is the realization that the leaders of this proud and unique country have allowed their children to be exposed for years to one of the most radical jihadi educations in the world. It is hard to conceive that there are still countries on this planet in which more than 95 percent of the workforce have no citizen rights and can be deported in a moment. Some have been treated no better than slaves. More worrying, for many, this has been until very recently, internationally legal and "acceptable."

The report fairly settles the debate about the motivation behind Qatar's support for radicals and the resources it invests to undermine fellow Arab countries, while aggressively interfering in Europe, the US and elsewhere. They supported radicals because they were radicals. One does not expose the souls of one's young children to a radical curriculum written by radical individuals unless one is a radical.

But the Qatari enigma remains. It revolves around the mystery of why such a small and dynamic country ends up using its endless resources and great talent to create havoc around the world. The most conspicuous example is perhaps that of Al Jazeera, which initially seemed to revolutionize Arab media but has long since lost its image as a balanced news outlet. Both the English and Arabic versions of Al Jazeera are now seen by many as a harmful and manipulative "useful tool for its Qatari political masters" (Guardian July 1, 2009) spreading antisemitic and anti-Western radicalism.

So, what can the textbooks teach us about this Qatari enigma? The curriculum appears to be in a change-mode, moving in a direction from jihadi radicalism toward open engagement with the world. To its credit, and with the exception of antisemitism and the Jewish/Israeli Other, the textbooks bravely touch upon the most sensitive issues: citizens and non-citizens, mosques in the West, slavery in the Gulf, Islam as a civilization which learned from others, tribal affiliation, enemies that are brothers, non-Arabs that helped build Islamic civilization, and discussions of democracy in a country that is, objectively, little more than a privately owned family business.

Most astounding is the open recognition of Britain's role in securing Qatar's existence, the presentation of Britain as saving Arab tribes from fighting against each other, Ottoman intervention, insecurity on the seas, arms trafficking and the slave trade. All this flies in the face of the pro forma anti-colonialist declarations one hears so often in the Middle East; in truth it persists even in some parts of this curriculum.

The narrative from a tenth-grade Social Studies textbook, tells us that the Al-Thani family emigrated from Najd in what is currently Saudi Arabia, and quickly gained prominence in the
Qatari Peninsula. The Gulf was only just awakening after centuries of tribal infighting and colonial competition. The Al-Thanis made a small fortune in the pearl trade, which provided them with comfort and status while giving them the resources necessary to bring together the indigenous tribes. Their tools of choice were wisdom, education, poetry, religious and cultural proficiency, business savvy and political skill. Security and prosperity were accomplished by putting such skills to use—cooperating with both the Ottomans and the British, respecting both, but at times pitting one against the other in order to secure Qatar's independence, well-being and ambitions.

A hallmark of the Qatari conduct tends to look favorably at foreign powers securing the peace in the Gulf, allowing Qataris to focus on their own interests. Much attention in this curriculum is given to the composition of Qatari national identity: Islamic, Arab and global. The peninsula seems committed to having a finger in every pie while advancing Qatari-Arab and Islamic culture worldwide. And after decades of radical Islamist teaching, Qatari students now learn the first article of the constitution includes the idea of democracy.

Qatar is a sovereign independent Arab state. Its religion is Islam and Islamic Sharia is a major source of its legislation; its regime is democratic, its official language is the Arabic language and the people of Qatar are from the Arab nation. [Social Studies, Grade 10, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 90]

Thus, Islamic Sharia is a major source for legislation but not the only one. The constitution declares: Qatar's "regime is democratic" And though the world (and students) know Qatar is far from democratic, its vision, as taught in school textbooks, includes democracy. But democracy, throughout history has taken many forms. Will this vision of democracy follow Western models of citizen states? Or will it seek the ancient Greek or Islamic-Medieval model of an unequal but moderate and culturally open society that includes slaves, "protected people" (dihimmis) and women who are second class citizens? One hopeful sign: The incompatibility between democracy and Islam seen in the text two years ago is no longer there.

Qatar will likely continue on its determined course to engage the world. And while the current changes seen in the curriculum point to a process of reassessment, they are partial and reversible.

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Research for this report has not been without difficulties. The apparent unavailability of some of the curriculum’s current textbooks necessitated the interim nature of the overall findings. Seen from another perspective, this represents an opportunity for IMPACT-se to be laser-focused on prospective changes we hope to see in future Qatari curriculum development toward meeting international standards of peace and tolerance—required of a nation with such global ambitions.
Our appreciation to IMPACT-se team members, including Asher Spekterman, Dina Tsamir and Jordan Kastrinsky for their Arabic translations and extensive textbook research and to Tomer Amrani, Maayan Gal, Shahar Goldshtein, Alon Gur, Shir Kremer, Sharon Mor, Stav Nacson, Matan Peer, Rotem Sar Shalom, Oded Schurr and Amos Taron for their valuable research efforts. Thanks to COO Arik Agassi, whose unending efforts to find textbooks—along with a relentless pursuit of perfection—made this interim report a possibility. Finally, our thanks to IMPACT’s CEO Marcus Sheff, for his editing and insights on the continuing enigma that is Qatar.

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Introduction

This interim report focuses on Qatar's school curriculum for grades 1–12. IMPACT-se's goal is to provide an assessment by analyzing as many textbooks as possible using international standards based on UNESCO and UN declarations and other recommendations and documents on education for peace and tolerance. Our qualified review of 238 textbooks for the calendar years 2016–20, determined that the Qatari curriculum does not yet meet international standards. It should be noted that the final assessment will ultimately depend on numerous changes unfolding throughout the curriculum and the emirate.

Beyond compliance with international standards, our reports strive to attain some understanding as regards the significance of our findings. Curricula often reveal the contours of how a given nation sees itself, the Other, and, hopefully, a future direction for the society. Thus, a curriculum translates into a national project—a survey of sorts—that may reflect the intentions of a nation, but hopefully goes far beyond. In Qatar the ultimate authority rests with an Emir. Nevertheless, tribal, constitutional and Islamic traditions require the consultation (shura) of others. Such consultative values extend to Qatar's curriculum where certain democratic values are explicitly described and inculcated in the textbooks. The researched corpus clearly reflects input emanating from a plethora of groups and individuals within the citizenry, expatriate community and also foreign advisors and participants from the Arab and Western worlds.

The scope of the curriculum's stakeholders ranges from the RAND Corporation to a host of authors affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood and the Qatar-based Egyptian Islamist Sheikh Yusuf Al Qaradawi, for many years assigned to construct the Islamic Education textbooks. Their combined efforts have influenced the curriculum and the minds of the Qatari community.

Although the report notes the curriculum's many positive changes in recent years, some are not conclusive; there are certainly problematic directions as well. Moreover, the cumulative incitement of past years may have left an indelible effect on Qatari hearts and minds. As an

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illustration, the percentage of Holocaust denial in Qatar is among the highest in the world (79 percent).\(^\text{15}\)

And while the Weill Cornell Medical College in Doha hosts the Oxford University Press journal: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, it is doubtful whether this has any impact on the general public.\(^\text{16}\) More likely to be read is the Arabic version of the antisemitic: *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* found in Qatar's National Library.

Until recently, the curriculum was rife with *jihadism* and contained numerous antisemitic and anti-Christian tropes. The current edition appears to demonstrate a desire to move from isolationist and xenophobic attitudes to a more culturally interactive view. This is perhaps predicated on Qatar's 2030 Vision, its efforts to secure a knowledge-based economy, and the branding of the Qatari mini-state in ways to permit an active and continuous role in world affairs.\(^\text{17}\)

And despite positive changes, our analysis of the curriculum does not offer a clear path to decipher the Qatar enigma. In any discussion of Qatar one is likely to touch on the question of whether support for Islamist movements around the world reflects a genuine inclination to Islamism or just stems from the pragmatic security needs of a small country surrounded by real or imagined enemies. To what extent does Qatar's participation in destabilizing a host of Arab countries and supporting anti-Israeli terror groups an ideological consideration, or purely pragmatic or opportunistic gamesmanship that should be seen in a wider context?

Some analysts believe these policies emanate from such realpolitik considerations.\(^\text{18}\) Yet, for many years Qatari children were taught a curriculum largely authored by the radical Muslim


\(^{16}\) Ibid.


Brotherhood. This should be evident when considering Qatar's motivation in supporting a host of radical Islamic groups in the region and throughout the world. Delegating the education of the country's children to radicals demonstrates that radicalism is—or at least was—for many years at the core of Qatar's worldview. It is also true that the official Islam recognized in Qatar is the Wahhabist creed of Salafism, although the curriculum follows more orthodox Salafi tenets.¹⁹

Unlike Saudi Arabia, the Ministry of Education in Qatar controls all state schools, possibly because there is no powerful class of local religious scholars (ulama).²⁰ The Ministry allows Muslim Brotherhood-inspired education in the school system.²¹ The numbers of Qatari teachers in the Religious Institute, a secondary government supported school founded by Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, skyrocketed from zero to 40 percent.²²

In previous years, students learned that democracy was against Islam; that befriending non-Muslims was a sin; that there was a Jewish world conspiracy in place aimed at taking over the world; that the Jews were treacherous by nature and have always been so; and that the Church, Crusades, charities, missionary work and Middle Eastern studies and modern Western and Arab liberal thought—had all been part of one grand scheme aimed at destroying Islam. Minorities were described as unreliable and believed to collaborate with the "enemy." The attitude toward Israel was radical and verged on an eliminationist approach. Gender relations left much to be desired in past editions; current textbooks range between women's empowerment and strict traditionalism.

But there is much positive material in the current 2019 textbooks. The Qatari curriculum is mindful of contributions toward its independence and sovereignty by various nations (the Ottomans, UK, US) and their efforts to maintain peace in the Gulf. It avoids spewing hate against problematic neighbors, even the current GCC "siege coalition." Democracy is hailed and revered.²³ Schools have elections and citizens vote in local elections.²⁴ Global cultural interactions and openness are emphasized. Much attention is given to the non-Muslim members of the eighth-century translation movement, which was mainly Graeco-Arabic but also included material from Sanskrit, Persian and Syriac. Modern Western scholars are praised. The Two-State solution is acknowledged, despite reservations, as a blueprint for future relations between Israelis and Palestinians.

²³ *Social Studies*, Grade 7, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 139.
²⁴ *Arabic Language*, Grade 2, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 16.
The curriculum also warns against tribal and national chauvinism, as it emphasizes Qatari patriotism, loyalty and participation in local elections. English and science textbooks offer much content about the culture of peace and the need for prosperity and scientific collaboration. Yet, in an educational system that now appears to teach tolerance, among the population there has been serious maltreatment of the majority expatriate community; they remain without a path to citizenship. And while there seems to be no thinking of equal rights for all in Qatar at the moment, the curriculum, at least, seems sensitive to this huge social problem facing Qatar in the long term.

A brief introduction to Qatar's background is germane to the curriculum and may help readers identify nuances in the excerpts provided. Some general information about Qatari education is also included to compliment the reader's perspective of the curriculum.

**Historical Background**

On a peninsula of less than 4,471 square miles jutting into the Persian Gulf, with a population under three million (of which only 10.5 percent are citizens),

and a tiny army with approximately 12,000 active personnel, Qatar is not only prospering but has become a global actor. The percentage of Qatari citizens is steadily shrinking, expat residents now comprise 95 percent of the workforce, a constant source of uneasiness for the ruling regime. As the world's 158th smallest nation, comprising, arguably, little more than a family business with a seemingly endless income stream, Qatar's impact in the region and beyond is considerable.

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25 The remaining 89.5% are expats. Numbers for Qatar's ethnic and religious composition vary. According to Priya D'Souza's website Qatar's population by nationality in 2019 included 333,000 Qatari nationals (10.5%). Among the expats the largest in quantity are: 700,000 Indians (1.8%); 400,000 Bangladeshis (12.5%); 400,000 Nepalis (12.5%); 300,000 Egyptians (9.35%); 236,000 Filipinos (7.35%); 150,000 Pakistanis (4.7%); and 140,000 Sri Lankans (4.35%). The rest (less than 2%) come from around 80 other countries. These include 60,000 Sudanese; 51,000 Jordanians; 40,000 Lebanese; 40,000 Americans; and 30,000 Iranians; Jur Snoj, "Population of Qatar by Nationality—2019 Report," Priya D'Souza Communications, August 15, 2019, https://priyadsouza.com/population-of-qatar-by-nationality-in-2017/; By religion, the population is divided into Muslim, 67.7% (80% Sunni, 20% Shiite); Christian, 13.8%; Hindu, 13.8%; Buddhist, 3.1%; Other religion, 2%;
https://armedforces.eu/Qatar.

26 Qatar's annual military budget is $19.3 billion for 11,800 active personnel,
https://armedforces.eu/Qatar.

27 From 40% in 1970, to 24% percent in 2004 to 10.5% in 2019; Snoj, "Population."

28 Pete Pattisson and Naveen Nair, "Asian Town, Qatar's Mall for Migrants: 'You Can't Ignore the Racial Undertones,'" *The Guardian*, October 9, 2018,
Qatar’s economic success derives from the late 1930s discovery of petroleum and natural gas, which the peninsula began producing in 1949. With oil and gas exports, Qatar's citizens soon achieved one of the world's highest per capita incomes. Before discovering the oil and gas fields, Qatar's income depended on fishing and pearl-diving; Japanese cultured pearls, introduced amidst a world depression, drove many poverty-stricken Qatars out of the peninsula.

As outlined in the national school textbooks, Qatar's existence as a political entity owes much to nineteenth century British policies which led to freeing the Gulf dwellers from Ottoman control. British and later American policies aimed at the region had a dramatic role in creating Qatar and making it "the richest country in the world . . .".

There have been consequences from this dramatic transformation. The change from the poorest to the richest nation—but with a weak military—has created a structural schism in the face of powerful neighbors not always harboring the best of intentions.

At home, stability is a consideration. The citizen population is heterogeneous with certain rights but not necessarily with access to political power. Yet, the return to aspects of tribal identity has apparently served as a source of pride and family-channeled political clout for the non-ruling citizenship. The bond of tribal belonging, (asabiya in sociology), has surprisingly reasserted

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32 Asabiya is a term coined by famous Arab social scientist Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406).
itself even in urban settings in Qatar.\(^{33}\) One explanation offers seven components of Qatari citizenry.

First, in no particular order, there is the Al Thani family, a family that traces its lineage back to the Najd of the central Arabian Peninsula. Second, there is the component of the citizenry who trace their lineage to one of the two Bedouin tribes indigenous to the Qatari Peninsula (Al Murrah and Bani Hajr). Third, there are those Bedouin tribes who trace their lineage to other tribes not indigenous to the Qatari Peninsula, many of whom arrived to serve and protect the ruling family and state in various political conflicts in the past. Fourth, there are various families and clans originally from Bahrain—pearling and merchant families who settled the northern peninsula. Fifth and sixth, there is the portion of the citizenry who trace their roots to Persia in some manner or another—those who claim Arab ethnicity, as well as those who do not. Seventh, there are several clans from Yemen who have a longstanding presence in Qatar. To this list, one might be tempted to add the descendants of the slave population brought to Qatar from Africa, but they are already integrated into the genealogical social structures described above.\(^{34}\)

Some experts argue that conflict between the Saudis and Qatar is tribal in nature, the Saudi royal family being part of the Anza tribes, while the Qatari Al Thani family belongs to the regional Banu Tamims. Qatar therefore supports clans belonging to Banu Tamim—Sunni and Shiite alike—inside Saudi Arabia. These ancient tribal conflicts, originating from struggles in the heart of the Arabian Peninsula, hover over the current conflict between Qatar and its Arab neighbors in the Persian Gulf.\(^{35}\)

An echo of this complexity reverberates in the country’s textbooks. Students are warned against highlighting their status and tribal affiliation. The GCC conflict is extensively covered.

Although Qatars are predominantly Sunni Muslims, the large Shiite population has developed unique and accepted forms of expression.\(^{36}\) Other groups may be categorized in various circumstances: from Bedouins to city dwellers and Persians to ethnic Arabs. But the dilemma


\(^{34}\) Ibid., p. 57.


most critical for Qatar, stems from the majority population of non-Arab, non-Muslim residents forming a perpetual citizenless majority.

One should consider the geopolitical position of life on a peninsula in the Gulf between a powerful rival on land and an even more powerful one just beyond the Gulf. Arguably, the vulnerability of living on a peninsula may have led Qatar to a proactive—even aggressive—mentality in dealing with the region and world.

**School Education**

Qatar's public school system has three components: six years of primary school; three years of junior high school (preparatory); followed by a three-year high school course.

The modern public school system emerged in the 1950s. Previously, there had been no formal education in the peninsula except for a few low-level kuttab (religious schools for young children). Girls' schools also started in the mid-1950s. Following the British pullout from the Gulf in 1971, Qatar decided not to merge with the UAE and hence became an independent country with a distinct educational system.

Schools in Qatar are regulated by the Ministry of Education and the Supreme Education Council. The 1980s saw approximately forty-six thousand students in a few hundred public schools. This led Emir Sheikh Hamad, in the mid-1990s, to develop an educational curriculum for the entire population. The Qatars eventually sought help from RAND Corporation, which in 2001 proposed *Education for a New Era*, a K-12 reform.

The results were significant, but problems lingered. International test scores were initially unimpressive. There were concerns that too many studies were offered in English at the expense of local language and culture. Since 2014 however, education quality improved dramatically at all levels with the development of school-wide learning portals (K-Net) and e-governance services (Hukoomi)38 Qatar ranks number one in the Arab world and fourth in the world according to the World Economic Forum's January 2019 Education Quality Index.39 While much help was received from a variety of sources, there remain serious issues in the curriculum regarding peace and tolerance.40

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40 RAND's summary of the first years of the *Education for a New Era* Reform, Brewer et al., *Education for a New Era*, pp. 153–68.
The disparity of cultures and even language among teachers and students creates its own problems. Only one-quarter of the teachers in grades 1–12 are Qatari nationals. Teachers have a fairly low social status and non-citizen teachers can be deported at any time. Most of the foreign teachers are Arabs, but not from the Gulf, so they don't speak the *khaliiji* (Gulf Arabic) dialect. This means that in some classes there are several versions of Arabic heard in addition to English. Fortunately, textbooks are written in standard modern Arabic, which serves as a common denominator. Most of the students come from a Salafi orthodox background and adhere to Bedouin traditions. Boys and girls study separately.

Qatar has become a vibrant international hub for education. Apart from 312 government public schools teaching the Qatari curriculum for citizens, there are 450 international curriculum schools, forty-seven Arab private schools and seventy foreign community schools serving the large expatriate and foreign student communities. Only government schools are free. The state curriculum is supervised by the Ministry of Education, and includes the Religious Institute which teaches the national curriculum with added religious studies.

State schools are considered "independent"; while they must meet curriculum standards, they are free to write their own syllabi and create their own textbooks.

Along with matters of security, US influence in education is also significant, even as large parts of the curriculum contradict American values. Qatar hosts branches of Western universities in Doha's Education City; many are American, which confirms the influence of Western values in Qatari society. With their large enrollments of international students, these transplanted universities are meant to supply the framework for Qatar's future knowledge-based economy. However, there is an apparent wide gap in such Western values education between the state colleges and universities and the education available in Doha's Education City.

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42 *Al Sharq*, "Abdullah Al-Nuaimi."  
[Professor] Leo Lefebure describes his class of Problem of God, at Georgetown University in Qatar: 'One student commented that in her earlier schools she had absorbed extremely negative attitudes toward all other religions from her teachers. Georgetown offered her the first opportunity to learn more about other traditions in a more open-minded atmosphere, and her attitude today is much more positive.'

While this educational gap in Western values still lingers on the tertiary level, the current primary and secondary curriculum textbooks have shown themselves to be somewhat more open-minded.

Qatari education should be seen as part of the state's effort to gain worldwide visibility in what appears to be a concerted effort to make it a hub of education, knowledge education, media and diplomacy; using "subtle power" to attain a "tiny giant" effect is the goal. For example, since there is no Nobel Prize for education, in 2011, the Qatars launched their own equivalent prize, the WISE, worth $500 thousand. In another area garnering wide attention, sports, investments include the purchase of the Paris Saint-Germain Football Club (PSG) and Qatar's hosting of the 2022 FIFA World Cup (with much unintended bad publicity over the exploitation of foreign workers).

As the following report will suggest, the tolerance for peace in Qatari education for grades 1–12 has, for years, remained abysmally low. While some adjustments are being made, at the time of this research, they appear incremental at best.

45 Leo D. Lefebure is a Professor of Theology at Georgetown University in Washington, DC, and a Berkley Center faculty fellow. Quotations in: Magdalena Rostron, "Liberal Arts Education in Qatar: Intercultural Perspectives," Intercultural Education, 20, no. 3 (2009), see endnote 14, p. 228.
Islam and Jihadism

Islam is a mainstay of the Qatari worldview and way of life. As such, it also encompasses Qatar’s essential political ideology. Both elements are abundantly present in the curriculum, which teaches a mixed Salafi–Muslim Brotherhood version of Islam.


Jihad is considered a masculine duty. The following text strives to show equality between the sexes in religious duties. While jihad war remains the male’s prerogative, the jihad expected of women, for the most part, is to make pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj). Note that in other curricula, such as the Iranian and the Palestinian, the idea of female martyrdom in jihad wars is now acceptable. This doesn't appear to be the case with the Qatari curriculum.
C– Equality of Legal Responsibilities and Moral Obligations

Keeping the religious observances such as prayer, fasting and charity is equally required of men and women. However, Allah lessened her burden compared to what He had imposed on the men. Example: With jihad, He set woman's jihad as [pilgrimage of] the hajj or the 'umrah. He maintained her health in mental, menstrual and labor conditions, and eliminated her prayer and fasting. In addition, Islam created equality between men and women in morals and the rules of conduct, such as faith, modesty and integrity, which are demanded of women as they are of men.


Even if women are not required to perform jihad war, their roles include raising children to perform jihad and die as martyrs. This concept is taught in a chapter about 'Umm 'Umarah Nusaybah bint Ka'ab—shown praising her three children who "died as martyrs for the sake of Allah."

أم عمارة قدوة للنساء في تربية الأبناء:

المرأة المسلمة- أيها كان دورها في المجتمع- فإنها لا يمكن أن تغفل عن ذؤبها الأساسي في الحياة، وهو تربية أولادها. وقد قامت سنة بنت كعب الأنوارية بدورها على أفضله وجه، حيث ربت أولادها على حب الإسلام، وحب الجهاد لإعلاء كلمة لا إله إلا الله، وبذل العالي والرخيص في سبيل نشر كلمة التوحيد. وكتب السيرة تخبرنا أن أولادها الثلاثة ماتوا شهداء في سبيل الله تعالى.

'Umm 'Umarah—A Role Model to Women in Raising the Sons:

The Muslim woman—whatever role in society she may have—cannot neglect her fundamental role in life, which is raising her children. Nusaybah bint Ka'ab performed her role perfectly; she raised her children to love Islam and to love jihad in order to elevate the words: 'there is no deity but Allah'; she invested extensive efforts to spread the

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49 Hajj is an annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca performed on a fixed date with millions of pilgrims attending. Umrah can be accomplished at any time of the year. The Hajj celebrations are more elaborate.
word of Tawhid [oneness (of Allah)] and the books of the Seerah [Prophetic biography] teach us that her three children died as martyrs for the sake of Allah.


The curriculum also includes the story the first nurse and physician in Islam, Rufaida Al-Aslamia, "who treated the wounds of the Muslims in the raids commanded by the Prophet to spread Islam." The text notes that she participated in such raids of the Prophet as the Battle of the Trench and Khaybar.50

While recognizing that *jihad* war remains a masculine duty, the curriculum authors removed a large section on *jihad* war from the recent 2019 edition of *Islamic Education* textbooks. This is definitely a welcome step, although much content encouraging militant *jihad* still remains.

One removed section from the tenth-grade 2018 edition of *Islamic Education* narrates the heroic acts of the martyr (*shahid*) Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah (583–639 CE) and why he is considered a martyr in the Way of Allah, even though he died from the plague in the Levant, during the Muslim conquest (p. 92). In the same 2018 textbook, a hadith is quoted, "Fight the polytheists with your wealth, lives and tongues" (p. 131). These examples of *jihad* war are not defensive, but relate to the spread of the faith (classic *jihad* wars). Another hadith, attributed to Zaid bin Khalid, points directly to the *jihad* fighter, as *ghazi*, one who participates in a *ghazwa* (military expedition or raid) within a *jihad* war (p. 132). In other words, material relating to the *jihad* war (later removed) included offensive *jihad*, aimed at spreading Islam.51 Similar material still exists elsewhere in the curriculum.

To be fair, the hadith rendered by Zaid bin Khalid offers options how to support the war effort without necessarily participating in it. In other words, it does not convey the radical interpretation of *jihad* as a personal duty for all to: "go kill an infidel now." Moreover, Zaid bin Khalid himself—portrayed as a role model—lived a long life and authored many hadith traditions while serving as an example of a devout Muslim who was not a martyr.

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From Zaid bin Khalid:

Allah's Messenger said, 'He who prepares a ghazi [jihadi raider] going in Allah's Cause is given a reward equal to that of a ghazi; and he who looks after properly the dependents of a ghazi going in Allah's Cause is (given reward equal to that of a) ghazi'[52] [agreed upon].53


Jihad war is compared to a transaction, which secures a ticket for paradise.

C – Entrance to Paradise:

Allah said: 'Indeed, Allah has purchased from the believers their lives and their properties [in exchange] for which they will have Paradise'54 [Al-Tawbah 9: 111].


In sum, the obligation of jihad war was instilled for many years in the hearts of Qatari students—both as defensive and offensive; protecting the homeland and spreading Islam; participating directly or in supporting roles—ultimately representing a transaction of martyrdom for a place in heaven.

Education for jihad war remains in other textbooks. A self-evaluation exercise from 2019, asks male students to envision themselves performing jihad. The exercise follows an anecdote from the battle of the Trench. There were no slaves available and the Muslims had to work hard digging the trench themselves.

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53 "Agreed upon" is a technical term representing those traditions (hadith) with the highest level of reliability.
Self-Evaluation:

To what degree do I implement the moral skills and values that appeared in the field of Prophetic biography?

- I follow the example of the Messenger of Allah in his steadfastness and Jihad—Always/Sometimes/Rarely.
- I will defend the truth [i.e., Islam] with all the power I have—Always/Sometimes/Rarely.

_Islamic Education, Grade 7_, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 84.

Death is inevitable. Therefore, during *jihad* war one should follow the principle of death or victory. This is a poem by Abd Allah ibn Rawahah in the battle of Mu'ta, encouraging the Muslims to follow two commanders who died as martyrs early in the battle.

I will examine what was said by the great Companion Abdallah ibn Rawahah, and then I will answer:

- O my soul, if you are not killed, you will die anyway
- Here is the death you prayed for
- What you wished, you now receive
- If you follow the two [commanders], you will be rightly guided [to Paradise]
- And if you hesitate, you will suffer [in hell]

_Islamic Education, Grade 8_, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 76.
Then the words of Abdallah ibn Rawahah resolved the situation: 'Oh people, we do not fight people with our numbers or force; we fight for one of the two rewards: victory or martyrdom.'

**Islamic Education, Grade 8, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 78.**

The value of sacrificing one's soul (martyrdom) for the sake of Islam is taught as a central lesson from a chapter about the historical Islamic figure Ali bin Abi Talib. Ali is known for his military prowess and heroism. In the following excerpt he is glorified for killing polytheist warriors including a well-known Jewish horseman in the battlefield.

3. **His bravery:**

Ali was a role model of bravery, sacrifice and courage, as witnessed by everyone who knew him. He participated in all the battles besides the Battle of Tabuk, by orders of the Prophet, and he faced many polytheist horsemen and killed them all, such as Amr ibn Abd al-Wud in the Battle of the Trench, and Jewish horseman Marhab in the Battle of Khaybar.

**Islamic Education, Grade 6, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 133.**

**الدروس المستفادة**

1. فضل النباس على الحق.
2. ضرورة التحلل بالأخلاق الرفيعة: مثل: التواضع، والشجاعة.
3. التضحية بالنفس في سبيل الدفاع عن الدين.
Usable Lessons:

1. The merit of steadfastness for the truth.
2. Necessity of elevated values such as modesty and courage.

*Islamic Education, Grade 6, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 134.*

A chapter on *jihad* explains that participation in fighting is "the highest type of jihad." The text glorifies martyrdom and discusses the many rewards and blessings martyrs receive upon dying, which include entrance to "the highest level of Heaven." On the other hand, the text also qualifies participation in *jihad* to cases "performed under the ruler's mobilization."

**Types of Jihad:**

*Jihad* is divided to two types regarding their means, among them:

1. *Jihad* with the soul [full commitment]: It is the act of investing one’s soul in active participation in fighting. This is the highest type of *jihad*, which, as we pointed out, can only be performed under the ruler’s mobilization to go out and fight the aggressors.
Martyrdom:

The Grace of Martyrdom:
Allah prepares for those who offer their soul in defending the worshippers, the country and religion, for great grace and extreme reward.

This grace includes:

1 - The martyr will be in the highest level of Heaven. The Almighty said: 'And whoever obeys Allah and the Messenger—those will be with the ones upon whom Allah has bestowed favor of the prophets, the steadfast affirmers of truth, the martyrs and the righteous. And excellent are those as companions' [An-Nisa, 69].

2 - Allah will satisfy the martyr with a good life in Paradise and will provide him a good livelihood from it. The Almighty said: 'And never think of those who have been killed in the cause of Allah as dead. Rather, they are alive with their Lord, receiving provision' [Ali Imarn, 169].

Martyr's Rules:
He [His body] will not be washed, he will not be wrapped in shrouds, and no one will pray for him, as a token of respect and honor of his martyrdom for the sake of Allah.

Proof of this is what Jabir reported, in which the Prophet 'ordered that the martyrs of Uhud be buried with their blood, without washing them or praying for them.' He [the Prophet] said: 'Wrap them up with their blood, for there is no wound incurred for the sake of Allah, but He will come on the Day of Resurrection bleeding with the color of blood, but its fragrance will be that of musk' (Narrated by Al-Nisa'i and Ahmad).

Fourth-graders learn to fear the fire of hell:

The Proof of the Judgment of Creatures on the Day of Resurrection:
The Qur'an has many verses that teach us Allah judges everyone on the Day of Resurrection and that loyal believers are rewarded with heaven and the punishment of wicked infidels is the fire of hell.


While Muslims will be tranquil and serene upon death, the non-believer (non-Muslim) will suffer anguish and pain at the hands of Allah in death.

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55 Quran.com
56 Quran.com
Situations of People in Death:
People Have Two Death Situations (Ways to Meet Death):

**First: The Situation of the Believer in Death:**
Reassurance and tranquility will surround him [the believer] and make good his soul, and the angels will preach, just like He said: "Indeed, those who have said, 'Our Lord is Allah' and then remained on a right course—the angels will descend upon them, [saying], 'Do not fear and do not grieve but receive good tidings of Paradise, which you were promised'" [Fussialt 41:30].

**Second: The Situation of the Infidel in Death**
Anxiety and fear will surround him [the infidel] and malign his soul, and the angels will pull out his soul with reprimands and threats, as Allah said "And who is more unjust than one who invents a lie about Allah or says, 'It has been inspired to me, while nothing has been inspired to him,' and one who says, 'I will reveal [something] like what Allah revealed.' And if you could but see when the wrongdoers are in the overwhelming pangs
of death while the angels extend their hands, [saying], 'Discharge your souls!' Today you will be awarded the punishment of [extreme] humiliation for what you used to say against Allah other than the truth and [that] you were being arrogant toward His verses" [Al-An'am 6:93].

**Believers:** Reassurance and Tranquility; Happy Soul; Enjoying Heaven

**Infidels:** Fear and Anxiety; Evil within the Soul; Threat of Fire


**Jihad: Vehicle to Spread the Faith**

The notion of spreading Islam by the sword is alive in the Qatari curriculum. A newly introduced text about a female nurse and physician who participated in Islam's early wars, points to "the raids commanded by the Prophet to spread Islam." This early Islamic message conveys that *jihad* war for the spread of Islam is the right thing to do as long as it serves the interests of Islam and chances to win are good. Peace in that context of the classic division between The House of Islam (*dar al-islam*) and the House of War (*dar al-harb*) is reserved for the world of Islam, not the rest of the world.

In recent years, a new concept emerged: *Fiqh Al-Aqaliyyat* (the Jurisprudence of Minorities) was developed, which calls for replacing *jihad* war—at least temporarily—with peaceful ways of spreading the faith (*da'wa*). The reason for this new view, held by the Muslim Brotherhood and largely developed by the Qatar-based Yusuf al-Qaradawi, is that Muslims are now allowed to live in the lands of Christendom and spread the faith peacefully.

But the classic paradigm regarding *jihad* continues to be taught in Qatar. Peace for the sake of peace is not enough. If a country refuses to allow "the call to Islam" (*da'wa*), it should be fought. One way the curriculum tries to instill this in students is in the study of various events throughout Islam's history, ranging from early Islamic raids to medieval and pre-modern Islamic empires to contemporary examples.

In the following example from early Islamic battles, Islam and other religions are at war. But the lesson remains the same when teaching ancient history or when applied to the present.

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graders learn in these passages that Allah loves *jihad* warriors who fight in His Way, and that Allah defends Islam against the infidels who unite against it.

'Indeed, Allah loves those who fight in His cause in a row [battle array] as though they are a [single] structure joined firmly’ [As-Saff 61:4].⁶¹

- **What is the wisdom behind comparing those who fight in the Way of Allah to a firmly joined structure?**

After the Exalted warned those who say what they do not do, He followed by explaining who He loves—those who fight for the sake of elevating His religion. So much so that in their firmness, unity of the word and sincere truth constitute a structure whose parts are firmly joined together, so no one can undermine or destroy it.

**Usable Lessons from the Noble Ayahs** [examples]:

3. The love of Allah towards those who wage *jihad* in His Way.
6. Allah defends His religion, even if the forces of infidelity unite against it.

Surah As-Saff is a Medinan Surah, and it consists of 14 Ayahs. It emphasizes the victory that Allah Almighty will grant to the religion of Islam over the others. It also encourages people to adopt means for securing victory, as it warns the believers from breaking the promise, and motivates them to stand up for the religion of Allah to perform *jihad* in His Way.

The earlier noble Ayahs emphasize the victory that Allah will grant to the religion of Islam over the others. It also comes to encourage people to adopt means to secure the victory, as it warns the believers from breaking the promise, and motivates them to stand up for the religion of Allah and to fight in His way.

**Islamic Education, Grade 8**, Vol. 1, 2019, pp. 22, 25, 28, 103.

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⁶¹ Quran.com
https://quran.com/61/4
The following section from 2017—currently removed—extols the high moral ground of *jihad* war and Islamic conquests. The context is the conquest of Jerusalem.

When the Muslims conquered Jerusalem, they did not kill anyone in the city. They did not harm holy places, churches and places of worship.

When the Crusaders entered Jerusalem, they killed over 80,000 of its inhabitants, completely destroyed the city and ran rivers of blood in its streets!\(^2\)

**What is the difference between those who fight *jihad* in the Way of Allah and those who fight for other purposes?**


The current textbooks glorify martyrdom for the sake of Islamic victory during the period of Ottoman rule. In his will, Sultan Murad I asks Allah to let him "drink from the cup of martyrdom" in exchange for a victory for Islam.

**From the Will of Sultan Murad:**

'I asked Allah to let me drink from the cup of martyrdom, if this means that Islam will be victorious by my martyrdom. Allah answered my prayer, praise be to Him and thanks to Him . . . .'

- **What are the most important qualities characterizing Murad I?**


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The following map and chart below, describes the much revered Ottoman Empire in its golden age, showing the spread of the Empire "at its widest" in Europe, Asia and Africa. Through the map, the curriculum demonstrates how the Ottoman State (caliphate) spreads the faith of Islam. In the following chart, "the weakness of the Byzantine State" is contrasted with the "Strong Ottoman Sultans."

Observe the chart to know the factors that helped the Ottoman State to spread:

**The Ottoman State's Expansion and Development**
- The desire to spread Islam.
- Existence of strong Sultans
- The Weakness of the Byzantine State
- Material and moral potential
- Political and military organization
- The strength of the Janissary army

That is how the strong Sultans of the Ottoman State could expand in Europe, Asia and Africa.

The term *jihad* is also used in the context of modern conflict. A 2017 *Social Studies* textbook explores *jihad* wars in Kashmir where, "the *jihadi* warriors were able to kill more than 26 thousand Indian soldiers."63 Izz ad-Din al-Qassam, who "founded the *jihadi* movement in Palestine," aimed at practicing *jihad* and *resistance* against the British and Jews. He is lauded as a symbol of "determination, courage and martyrdom" while his death is glorified as one that "ignited the ember of *jihad*" and "kindled the spirit of self-sacrifice."


The foundation for Qatar's *jihadi* education derives from a compendium of fundamentalist Islam from Wahhabism Salafism and the Muslim Brotherhood. The curriculum provides orthodox descriptions of believers and infidels (*kafirun*) and sinners versus those who are pious on the Day of Judgment. Fear from the eternal fire of hell is instrumental in such religious education and descriptions are meant to be taken seriously rather than metaphorically.64

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Toward Democracy?

All power in Qatar is hereditary and held by the emir and his family. While the majority of people living in Qatar are not citizens, the curriculum, paradoxically, applies democratic methods to educate.

Such contradiction between attention to democratic virtues in the curriculum and Qatar's actual environment is perhaps seen most in the centrality of its hereditary family. All authority rests in the emir, here shown winning rights to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup.

His highness assumed the rule in 1995 and accomplished many achievements. During his rule Qatar advanced in all spheres, and won [the rights to] organize the Football World Cup for 2022.


Despite the absence of an active national parliament or other such democratic institutions, schools are organized according to democratic practices.

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65 Qatar is ruled by an Emir from the Al Thani tribe which immigrated to Qatar in the eighteenth century from Najd (in what is now Saudi Arabia), Weber, "Education," pp. 63–64.
Values I Learn

Political participation is a national right and duty; so I make sure to participate in the school elections.

*Social Studies, Grade 7*, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 139.

Notions of democracy can be seen in the 2003 referendum over the Qatari constitution, which formed the basis for a Consultative Council. Another way to demonstrate democratic spirit is to describe local elections that actually occur in Qatar. This manner of education seems to allow for the appearance of democracy while authorities strive to adjust to the impending structural challenges facing the nation.

- The referendum over the Qatari constitution is considered one of the most important forms of political participation.

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66 The emir holds veto powers over the Consultative Council, which was created in the 2003 constitution. The council will eventually include forty-five members (thirty elected and fifteen appointed). The first elections are scheduled for 2021. "The Qatari Shura Council: A Historic Decision by the Prince to Elect Representatives," *Alkhaleej-Online*, November 5, 2009, [https://alkhaleejonline.net/](https://alkhaleejonline.net/).
The referendum on the permanent constitution was held on April 29, 2003. The turnout was high. This reflects the response of the citizens. The result of the referendum was 96.6% of the vote [in favor of the constitution].

- Participation in the municipal council elections is one of the most important forms of civil participation. The state of Qatar has announced its intention to move forward on the path of democracy in a gradual and careful manner that derives from the special characteristics of Qatari society. This will secure the elements of success along the road leading to the implementation of full democracy.

The Qatari citizen plays his role as a voter, candidate, and participant within the Central Municipal Council. The elections for the first session of the members of the Central Municipal Council were organized in 1999, so that the sessions would follow every four years.

_Social Studies, Grade 7_, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 139.

Participation in elections seems important for the curriculum's authors. The textbooks inculcate this message early in primary school. Note the mosque in the background (while the child exercises his democratic right to vote).

_I Color and Enjoy_

_Arabic Language, Grade 2_, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 16.
A previous 2017 textbook featured a direct attack on democracy and concluded that Islam and democracy are incompatible. Qatar's parliament—yet to be convened—is called the Consultative Council (majlis al-shura), which as suggested here, may give counsel, but lacks sovereignty.

In this sense, the Shura [consultation in Islam] stands in contradiction to democracy, which means: The rule of the people, by the people, which means the rule of the majority of the people who make the laws and legislation, even if they contradict the provisions of the official religion in the state.


In the 2019 curriculum, The Islamic Sharia is "a major source for legislation," (it is not the law of the land). The constitution declares: Qatar's "regime is democratic." Qatari students learn in the first article of the constitution that Sharia is a major source of its legislation.

The first article of the Qatari constitution states that:
Qatar is a sovereign independent Arab state. Its religion is Islam and Islamic Sharia is a major source of its legislation; its regime is democratic, its official language is the Arabic language and the people of Qatar are from the Arab nation.

What are the components of the Qatari identity in light of the Qatari constitution?

Social Studies, Grade 10, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 90.

Studying the history of the caliphates helps students conceptualize that a society can and should be tolerant and accepting to all. Well-defined classes and groups, based on ethnic origin and faith should be accepted, "without discrimination." Note that the description includes a box that connects the historical situation to the current timeline.

Aspects of Social and Cultural Civilization in the Abbasid State

In the first lesson, you learned about the political and economic aspects of civilization in the Abbasid state. In this lesson the social, cultural and scientific aspects are added.

First, Social Life:

Society in the Abbasid era consisted of Arab elements, and they formed the majority of society, and non-Arab elements such as the Persians and Turks. The groups and elements of society merged, and the dhimmis [protected non-Muslims] lived in the shadow of what had been guaranteed by the values of justice, mercy, equality and coexistence without discrimination.

Discuss with your teacher how the Abbasid state succeeded in establishing a thriving Islamic civilization, despite the diversity of the elements of society from Arabs, Persians, Turks, Dhimmis . . . and others.

Values I Learn

Be very careful to embrace tolerance and non-discrimination among your colleagues


An eleventh-grade Arabic textbook provides much more information on the translation movement during the Abbasid era. The textbook emphasizes the necessity of cultural openness with special attention given to the role of Persians, Christians and Jews.
Second: A Generation of Competent Translators is Available

A group of skilled translators and exquisite interpreters accomplished this civilized duty. The [translation] movement relied on their shoulders, and gave its fruits thanks to their efforts. These people belonged to different religions and races. So they were Muslim, Christian and Jewish, as well as Arab, Persian and Indian, even if they differed in the degree of their proficiency, levels of knowledge, and mastery of languages. Hunayn ibn Ishaq al-Ibadi is the most famous translator of that era.

Arabic Language, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 34.

Cultural interaction is extended to the modern era. Following is an infographic in an English language textbook depicting a number of non-Islamic (Western and Russian) scientific achievements. Another page describes a Muslim traveler and explorer, Ibn Battuta (1304–69).  


English textbooks seem to serve as an opportunity to open the gates to a more global mentality.

An Arabic language textbook warns against playing games too much on the computer because it harms students' eyes.
Students are thus taught to be aware that changes are coming in a variety of fields. Here is an excerpt dealing with demographic changes in contemporary Qatar:

2 Demographic (Population) Factor:
Qatari society has transformed in a short period of time from a simple society formed from several tribes inhabiting coastal villages, to a civilized society of city dwellers. The population composition has changed due to the influx of large numbers of expatriates in order to work in different economic activities. What resulted was a change and variety in lifestyles.


Oriental Studies (Orientalism)

There are hints of a gradual movement toward more cultural openness and away from culturally motivated hate-mongering, although there is still considerable problematic material, including some newly added disturbing content. Qatar’s investment in university education has included establishing branches of leading Western academic institutions in Qatar. The strong Qatari relation with the West and its huge investment in education, sports and economic enterprises are well known.

However, an examination of material that was removed from the 2017 Islamic Education textbook represents at least part of the education received by many Qatari adults. The textbook taught that the West intentionally launched a cultural attack against the world of Islam. This concerted effort of Westernization began following the fall of Constantinople in the fifteenth century, culminating with the Islamic reform movement in nineteenth-century Egypt "by the British" and the later rise of Kemalism in Turkey.69 The goal of this Western concerted effort has been to drive the Muslims away from Islam.

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The Goals of Westernization

Westernization has a number of goals, including:
1. The removal of Muslims from the religion of Islam.
2. Encouraging debauchery to avoid Islamic Sharia law.
3. Blind imitation of the West in everything without distinguishing between what is allowed and prohibited.
4. Extinguishing Arab identity and lauding everything Western.


Previous textbooks also criticized some of the greatest Arab minds such as Rifa'a al-Tahtawi, Qasim Amin and Taha Hussein for their secularism. It blamed a Jewish world conspiracy—based on the Protocols of the Elders of Zion—intent on influencing Muslim women to destroy Islam. Westerners were accused of spreading alcohol and corrupting music which led to infatuating "materialism and desires." Movies, night clubs and fashion formed part of these horrors. The textbook openly attacked the movements for women's rights, both in the West and Arab world.70

Until very recently, Qatari education incited against the West, Christians, Jews and minorities across the region. Students learned of Ibn Taymiyyah (1263–1328) against the background of the Mongols' invasions into the Islamic world. Ibn Taymiyyah was an anti-Mongol anti-Crusader religious scholar who continues to serve as a main source of inspiration for combative Sunni radicals In this context, the textbook taught that the minorities collaborated with Islam's enemies and played an important role in turning them against Muslims, in addition to facilitating the incursions by the Mongols.

70 Ibid., pp. 72–73, 154–56.
Likewise, minorities in Islamic society had an important role in inciting the enemies, helping them against Muslims. They facilitated their entry into the Muslim lands; all this leading to the emergence of disputes against which Ibn Taymiyyah came out.


The removed text concludes with a straightforward attack on democracy itself. However, science and English subjects often include messaging which lauds Western lifestyles. Western sports illustrate an example of such preferences supplanting the traditional. Healthy Western lifestyles are also much admired. But as we will subsequently see, attacks on this Western culture also exist.

Of particular interest is a chapter on Oriental Studies from a 2016 textbook, or the academic study of the East and Islam. This was presented as part of a renewed attack on Islam by Western academics and Christian missionaries and a continuation of a supposed Jewish struggle with early Islam as well as the Crusades.

Since the beginning of the call to Islam (al-da’wa al-ilamiyya) in the Arabian Peninsula, there was the cry for religious unification (sayhat al-tawhid), liberating man from all

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71 Ibid., p. 85.
kinds of slavery to other than Allah, proclaiming that all people are equal and achieving equality between humans.

Since those days there has been a struggle between the righteous path and straying from it, between truth and falsehood. The flag of falsehood was carried by the polytheists and their Jewish supporters. All the enemies of the [Islamic] nation allied with them. And so it went until the Crusader armies attacked the Muslim lands, driven by blind fanaticism aroused by the clergy of the Church among the European peoples by inventing the ugliest lies on the Muslims.

And Allah willed that these campaigns be defeated, so the enmity [of the Christians] continued under other banners infiltrating without the [Islamic] nation understanding what was happening. And so began the intellectual invasion through which the enemies raided the Islamic nation with hidden weapons and a variety of methods in order to destroy its culture and drive it out of its religion. It aimed at weakening the nation's inner powers and resolve while destabilizing its foundational principles and essential elements.

This invasion had several manifestations, the most prominent, strongest, and the most pernicious: Orientalism and Christianization. Islamic Education, Grade 11, Vol. 1, 2016, p. 162.

This distorted version of Orientalism as an offshoot of the Church, and part of a Western attack using local minorities to support enemies is now removed.^{72} The new 2019 eleventh-grade Arabic language textbook presents a completely different perspective, depicting Western scholars fascinated with Islam—a mirror image of Middle Easterners learning from the West.

التواصل بين الغرب والشرق:

لم يعرف المسلمون وحدهم في هذا المضارع; وإنما كان للحضارة الغربية أثر ملحوظ في احترام عقول الأخرين. فما إن بدأ الفكر الغربي يتعدى عن العصوب المذهوم الذي وصم به خلال العصور الوسطى، وتصغي لما أسهمته الحضارات الأخرى، وخاصة الحضارة الإسلامية، حتى وجدنا قنوات الاتصال تتزايد بين الغرب والشرق; إذ اعترف كبار الفلاسفة والتلفيقاء الغربيين بما للحضارة الإسلامية من فضل، فقبلوا من علومها; مما كان له عظيم الأثر في إحداث النهضة الأوروبية الحديثة، التي شملت جميع المجالات.

^{72} Susannah Heschel and Umar Ryad, eds. The Muslim Reception of European Orientalism (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 1–2. “... Oriental Studies [or Orientalism], the academic study of Islam was not simply the product of European scholars, but a joint enterprise that engaged Muslim, Christian, and Jewish scholars, from Western and Eastern Europe and North Africa, the Levant, Iran, India, Russia, and China. ... What emerged in their discussions was an "Islam" both elevated as a paragon of progressive, liberal religion and denigrated as a retrograde religious system impermeable to modernity. This conflicting discourse has shaped our politics, scholarship, and cultures ever since.”
Communication between the West and the East:

5. The Muslims were not alone in this regard. Western civilization had a tangible impact toward respecting the minds of others. [This occurred] as soon as Western thought began to move away from the despicable fanaticism stigmatizing it during Medieval times, and listened to what other civilizations contributed, especially Islamic civilization. Thus we find channels of communication increasing between the West and the East; as the leading Western thinkers and philosophers recognized the merits of Islamic civilization. They learned from its sciences and this had a great impact on the modern European renaissance covering all fields.

6. These testimonies suggest the respect and appreciation of Western scholars for Arab and Muslim scholars, which makes the spirit of communication between the two civilizations great. It shows that life is cooperation, not opposition, complementarity not incompatibility, a give and take. The first [scholar] contributes and the follower [another scholar] continues so that the life cycle can proceed in harmony encompassing coexistence, enveloped by respect, and the wings of peace flapping up above.


The above examples show marked progress from previous years. However, after years of anti-Western, anti-Democratic, antisemitic and anti-minority education, the challenge facing Qatari educators cannot be underestimated.
National Identity

Qatari nationalism seems to be an ideological cornerstone of the curriculum. A number of examples suggest that neutral or pan-Arab material was replaced by nationalistic content in 2019. The toning down of some radical material on the surface implies a reduced commitment to radical Islamism. Time will demonstrate the depth of Qatar's commitment.

Main Symbols

Many textbooks, particularly Arabic, begin with the triple national symbols of the Prince, the national anthem and the flag. The national anthem of Qatar is the Al-Salam Al-Amiri (Peace to the Prince). Instead of Al-Salam Al-Amiri, the title is "The National Anthem."

His Highness Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani
Emir of the State of Qatar

The National Anthem

I Swear, I Swear
Swearing by the one who raised the sky
Swearing by the one who spread the light
Qatar will always be free
By the spirit of the loyal
Travel the high road
Travel by the guiding light of the Prophets
In my heart, Qatar is a way that respects the achievements of our forefathers
Qatar is the land of the foremost men
Who protect us in time of distress,
Doves they can be at times of peace,
Birds of prey they are at times of sacrifice\textsuperscript{73}

*Arabic Language, Grade 10,* Vol. 1, 2019, p. 4.

Note that the national anthem is mostly nationalistic with no reference to Arabism and only touching on the divine in general terms. Independence and loyalty to the homeland are stressed.

**The Arabian Oryx—Qatar's National Animal**

The Arabian Oryx—Qatar's National Animal\textsuperscript{74}—is depicted throughout the curriculum, painted with the colors of the Qatari flag.

*Science, Grade 2,* Vol 1, (Part 1), Cambridge University Press, 2019, p.1]

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Qatar Society and International Reach

The curriculum tries to project a well-calibrated balance between the various components of Qatari society. Above all, it teaches students to have an unshakeable commitment to the Al-Thani family as uncontested leaders of Qatar. Yet, it also stresses a commitment to democracy, and civil rights. What is conveyed is that citizens should feel at home in a Qatar that has begun to feature elections. Qatari citizens include various tribes and other Arabs. Limited permanent residency has been offered to a select few. But the inequities experienced by the huge majority of expatriate workers are perhaps only now starting to be addressed after enormous international pressure.

Qatar's extensive foreign policy efforts, including good relations with Iran, Turkey, the United States and Britain—and most especially the blockade on Qatar—appears to have energized the public. The Sunni majority and others receive the message that the government has a host of foreign friends. Remarkably this "majority" is a de facto minority in a country packed with immigrants and a large Shiite population. All these messages are nuanced throughout the curriculum.

The Gulf Crisis

The blockade by Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and the UAE, is viewed by Qatar as an opportunity to bolster the country's national identity (implicitly at the expense of Arab and Islamic identities—see national anthem). The four Sunni countries severed their relations with Doha in June 2017, "citing Qatar's alleged support for terrorism and its close relationship with Iran." Among other things, they demanded that Qatar shut down its Al Jazeera news network and stop supporting the Muslim Brotherhood. The textbooks treat the blockade as a blessing in disguise focusing on the effective and beneficial counter-measures taken by the Qatar; hence, indirectly bolstering a spirit of nationalism.

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76 ITUC, October 16, 2019, https://www.ituc-csi.org/qatar-dismantles-kafala
The Effects of the Gulf Crisis (Blockade on the State of Qatar)

Despite the bitterness unleashed by these steps, the common wisdom found in the Qatari society these days is: 'Blessing in Disguise,' a saying commensurate with the verse: ‘But perhaps you hate a thing and it is good for you’ [Al-Baqra:216].\(^78\) This crisis motivated the Qatari society to explore its hidden sources of strength in its unity, will power and determination.


Regional countries that are not members of the siege coalition seem to receive more attention, particularly in English textbooks. Blockading countries are excluded.\(^79\)

While the criticism of the "siege countries" is moderate, the quoted verse has jihadi connotations: "Fighting has been enjoined upon you while it is hateful to you. But perhaps you hate a thing and it is good for you; and perhaps you love a thing and it is bad for you. And Allah Knows, while you know not" [Al-Baqara, 2: 216].\(^80\)

The Positive Effects of the Siege on the State of Qatar:

The Gulf crisis (the siege on the State of Qatar) has revealed many benefits, mainly:

1. Increase of the societal-political awareness and participation in crisis management.

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\(^78\) The context of the full verse is jihad war. "Fighting has been enjoined upon you while it is hateful to you. But perhaps you hate a thing and it is good for you; and perhaps you love a thing and it is bad for you. And Allah Knows, while you know not." (Al-Baqarah 2:216). Sahih International, https://quran.com/2/216.

\(^79\) See English, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 57.

2. Emphasizing the cohesion of the Qatari people and gathering around its calm wise leadership for the interest of the homeland.
3. The state has taken major steps toward self-sufficiency of food supply.
4. Adopting an economic strategy in which opening the Hamad port helped to increase trade services and facilitate import and export traffic.
5. The development of local manufacturing, especially the food and pharmaceutical industries. Rise in the number of companies carrying the slogan 'Made in Qatar.'
6. The emergence of a new spirit of motivation among the citizens and residents to actively participate in building the homeland.
7. The Qatari people gain respect from all the countries for its faithfulness to its values and morals.

*Social Studies, Grade 10, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 93.*

A 2019 *Islamic Education* textbook added a warning against tribal vendettas. Such warnings are in line with the downplaying in the curriculum of tribal affiliation while it enhances Qatari national identity.

**Taming of the Tribe**

- نشاط: ناقش مجموعتك في أخطار عادة التأثّر على الفرد والمجتمع.

**Activity: Discuss with your group the dangers of the custom of revenge to individual and society.**


A chapter explaining the dangers of extremism—removed from the 2019 edition—specifies tribal violence as a danger.

- بعض العادات والتقاليد المحترزّة على العنف وتبذّ اللاأخر، مثل التعصب الفئلي أو الطائفي.

7. A number of customs and traditions inciting for violence and the rejection of the other, such as tribal or communal fanaticism.

*Social Studies, Grade 10, Vol. 2, 2018, p. 156.*

4. Renouncing tribal intolerance and strengthening national cohesion, as the country is the homeland.

*Social Studies, Grade 7, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 147.*
An Islamic textbook is thus used to curb tribal impulses, while indirectly helping to bolster a Qatari sense of belonging.

But the tribes remain problematic to the regime. A historical review of the birth of the Emirate of Qatar reveals much about the thinking of the curriculum's authors. On the one hand, the pre-emirate Gulf tribes are cast negatively, fighting with each other amid Western meddling. But the Al Thani tribe is shown to be a deliverer from the conflict. Coming from without, they are shown to have ushered in a new era. The text is straightforward regarding the affiliation of the Al Thanis with the large regional Banu Tamim tribe, as well as their origin in the Najd area, of (current) Saudi Arabia. While emphasis on tribal origins (nisba) are generally not encouraged, they are openly highlighted with respect to the ruling Al Thani tribe. The textbooks also explain that local Arab tradition requires each tribe to be ruled by a sheik or an emir as the sole decision-maker. Hence, the tribal tradition also lends legitimacy to the Qatari political system, in which the final word rests with the emir.

The textbooks seem to implicitly advance the notion that the Al Thani tribe is powerful because of their regional network. While not indigenous and definitely not the largest tribe in Qatar, they belong to the strongest regional tribal force. The moral argument seems to be that these "outsiders" brought peace to the locals, because they were outsiders.
Before the establishment of the emirate, Qatar was subject to tribal immigration. The textbook explains: "... a tribal regime prevailed in most of the Arabian Peninsula. Each tribe represented a group led by a Sheikh. The tribes did not unite under a political regime."81

Sheikh Mohammed bin Thani and the Birth of the Emirate of Qatar

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Arab Gulf region was subject to conflict and competition among the European powers in the region, aimed at controlling and colonizing it. The influence of these powers then disappeared, except for Britain, which succeeded in signing protectorate agreements with the emirates of the Arab Gulf.

The region was also subject to tribal conflicts as each tribe tried to impose its control over the rest of the tribes.

Social Studies, Grade 10, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 56.

The immigration of the Al Thani family is seen as turning point in the history of Qatar.

81 Social Studies, Grade 10, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 56.
In his great wisdom, Sheikh Mohammed bin Thani succeeded in uniting the Qatari tribes after a period of disturbance in the country. He was able to establish his position in Qatar, internationally and regionally.

**Social Studies, Grade 10.** Vol. 1, 2019, p. 59.

**Patriotic Spirit**

In the following example, a new edition of the *Arabic Language* textbook replaced an Islamic religious text with a nationalistic one focusing on liberty and freedom. The example for the same content in the earlier 2018 version\(^{82}\) revolves around Islamic-style sentences taken from hadith.

\[(A)\]
- لا حريَّة دون مُتَلَّقٍ يَا
- لا مستبَّدين محبوبون.
- لا كريمات مهانات.

\[(B)\]
- لا طالب حتَّى مذموم.
- لا ناصِّي قضَيَّة طواعهما النسيان.
- لا خاني أوطان سالمون من الغار.

**A**
- No **freedom** without pursuer.
- No **tyrans** loved.
- No **noble women** humiliated.

**B**
- No **justice seeker** disgraced.
- No **defenders of causes** forgotten.
- No **homeland traitors** exonerated.

*Arabic Language, Grade 10, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 64.*

In the same textbook another Islamic-related text was replaced with one discussing the environment.\(^{83}\) Similarly, *Arabic Language* for the ninth grade also includes a number of

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\(^{82}\) *Arabic Language, Grade 10, Vol. 1, 2018, p. 70.*

\(^{83}\) Ibid., p. 132; *Arabic Language, Grade 10, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 114.*
changes suggesting greater stress on patriotic themes within the context of a slightly more secular identity.\(^{84}\)

Some of these changes are noteworthy, such as the inclusion of a segment on Nelson Mandela to replace part of the discussion on Omar al-Mukhtar (1858–1931), the Libyan anti-colonialist leader from the Senussi Order known as Shaikh al-Shuhada (Sheikh of the Martyrs).

The curriculum portrays the struggle of Nelson Mandela in South Africa as one of equal rights for its entire population. This seems particularly significant for Qatar, where almost 90 percent of the population are ethnically different and have no citizenship. If such changes imply serious consideration toward an egalitarian society, the discussion carries even more meaning. The new text asks the question of whether freedoms can be granted gradually, in installments, or is it necessary to opt for an immediate change. On the surface, these are questions one expects to see in democratic or democratic-seeking environments.

\[\text{5- Which of the following questions fits what Nelson Mandela said in the text you heard? [in audio presentation]}\]

\[\text{A. How can we implement freedom in portions?}\]
\[\text{B. Can freedom be granted in portions?}\]
\[\text{C. Who is responsible for dividing freedom into portions?}\]
\[\text{D. What are the situations in which we should have portions of freedom?}\]

\textit{Arabic Language, Grade 9, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 63.}\n
In the same textbook a poem about Qatar’s beauty replaces one on childhood. An item about the patriotic (or national) poetry in Qatar with an image of the city replaces a poem about the perceived sorry state of Jerusalem and dreams to liberate it. In contrast, an ornate poem on Qatar, is replaced with a section on the new Hamad port and economy, including Qatar’s Vision 2030. Another section replaces a grammar discussion with a patriotic text about the role of the citizen.\(^{85}\)

\(^{84}\textit{Arabic Language, Grade 9, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 63.}\)
\(^{85}\textit{Ibid., pp. 108–59.}\)
Global Ambition: A New Attitude?

Qatari policies for some decades now strive to engage aggressively in regional and world affairs, using its financial clout to lure and deter other actors. Both sticks and carrots are used, often with the same actors; arguably one can find support from some actors over others. The curriculum openly reports Qatari engagement in regional and world affairs, even supporting confrontation when appropriate.
Islamic Outreach in the Name of Peace

It is hard to develop a firm opinion about Qatar's global intentions. Doha's policies often seem contradictory. Most importantly, what effect do such policies and attitudes have on students?

From a peace and tolerance perspective, one must examine carefully the efforts to impart a culture of peace to young generations. A Social-Studies textbook, for example, devotes a unit to the value of peace. At the beginning of the lesson, a quote from the Qur'an is read that supports peacemaking as long as both sides are inclined to peace. The book's authors underscore Islam's role in clarifying issues of peace, a necessary condition for the security of the state and its continued existence.

Students learn that Islam should be seen as representing the peace culture. One should combat the "distorted image" of the faith, encourage dialogue of civilizations and be aware that Islam is a religion of peace. Qatar will continue to support Islamic activities in the world.

The textbooks stress the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries, but also point to the importance of safeguarding human rights and freedoms in a culture of peace. It is not fully clear to what extent "safeguarding human rights and freedoms" should be applied.

Third: Areas of Implementation of Peace Culture:
1–The Political Field:
This means complete respect for the sovereignty and independence of states, non-interference in their domestic affairs, together with guaranteeing human rights and freedoms, peaceful conflicts resolution, and the dissemination of the culture of dialogue; locally and internationally.


The curriculum presents Islam as a religion of peace whose image has been distorted. Qatar is shown to fund peaceful Islamic activities such as mosques and intercultural centers in the West. The first Islamic Cultural Center and first mosque in Denmark, established by Qatar in 2014, is a quintessential example of the curriculum's presentation of Islam spreading peace and tolerance.

The text does not mention that this mosque was established after years of struggle by local people for a variety of reasons. Leading Danish politicians stayed away from the opening ceremony due to tensions between Danish Christians and the Muslim minority, over the controversial Prophet Muhammad cartoons, and other scandals associated with Qatar.

This background is not seen in the textbooks. Rather, the aim of the new center is "to correct the distorted image of Islam, to repudiate violence and hatred and spread tolerance."

The Efforts of the State of Qatar to Spread the Culture of Peace

Qatar is committed to strengthening and disseminating the culture of peace. It endeavored to establish national institutions for spreading the culture of peace, accepting the other, fighting extremism and repudiating national, regional and international violence. Among these institutions: 'Doha International Center for Interfaith Dialogue,' and the establishment of 'Hamad Bin Khalifa Civilization Center,' in Copenhagen, Denmark, whose goal is to support international efforts to strengthen peaceful coexistence between religions.

Add to your information:

Hamad Bin Khalifa Civilization Center in Copenhagen, Denmark, opened on June 21, 2014, and is considered the first Islamic Cultural Center and first mosque in Denmark. The center strives to correct the distorted image of Islam, to repudiate violence and hatred and spread tolerance.

Social Studies, Grade 10, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 159.


While this report was being prepared, the Danish newspaper *Berlingske* described Qatar’s recent financial takeover of the mosque as a Trojan Horse. The mosque's imam, Abu Bilal Ismail, according to the paper, is an extremist who in the past called for women to be stoned to death and for all the Jews of Israel to be killed ("Oh Allah, destroy the Zionist Jews. They are no challenge for you. Count them and kill them to the very last one. Don’t spare a single one of them").

Supporting radical imams is incompatible with the textbook's explanation that the mosque is dedicated to "strengthen peaceful coexistence between religions."

**Qatar's Role in the Islamic Nation**

A central theme from an eleventh-grade 2017 *Social Studies* textbook focuses on Qatar's worldwide Islamic mission: that Muslims are persecuted everywhere and Qatar as a member of the Muslim Nation (Ummah) should be there to help. Instead of coexistence between religions, the textbook presents an overview of Muslims confronting non-Muslims. We can only surmise that this remains the current view since we could not find an updated version of this particular textbook to contradict our finding.

With respect to the establishment of Israel, the Qatari viewpoint endeavors to have a global perspective rather than seeing a limited conflict between two peoples over a tiny slice of land. Thus, what would normally be a local dispute is now an injury cutting through the entirety of the Muslim and Arab Nation. The Islamic nation is thus fashioned as one pan-Arabic entity that should act as one body. The world can thus only be divided into Muslims and non-Muslims. The "Zionist gangs" were supported by the big powers that enabled them to conquer, deport and inflict untold suffering on a [Muslim] people.

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90 Originally refers to pre-IDF- military organizations, such as Haganah and Irgun; still used against Israel as a pejorative for all Jews living there.
The Palestinian Question until 1948

Palestine is a deep wound in the body of the Arab and Islamic nation, and the matter is related to the people whose country was robbed and deported from their own land, and the sanctity of its holy places was desecrated by the Zionist gangs. The global superpowers allowed them to occupy Palestine and provided them with all the material or moral assistance. Let's study together the Palestinian issue from the beginning:

'Palestine at the Heart of the Muslim World'

Palestine is shown in the above map as the center of the Islamic-Arab world. The textbook asks whether the question of Palestine is a matter for the people who live there, for all Arabs, or for the entire Islamic world.\(^1\) Israel, for its part, "occupying" the same center is perceived as an impediment to the unity of the Arab-Islamic world. Thus, the Palestinian cause becomes a clarion call to rally all Muslims against Israel. With the world divided between Muslims and non-Muslims, the superpowers—evidently non-Muslim—support the "gangs" occupying the land of Palestine.

One way Qatar has opted to facilitate such hoped-for realignment within the "Arab-Muslim Nation" is by supporting Hamas. Indeed, referring to the 2014 conflagration between Israel and Hamas as "the most brutal aggression," Qatar contributed $1 billion to rebuild Gaza. Students are falsely taught that Israel prevents medical supplies, food, and fuel from entering the Gaza Strip.\(^2\)

Within a discussion of the economic conditions in the Islamic world, the 2017 Social Studies textbook describes the non-Muslim world as anti-Muslim, with heavy-handed policies toward Muslim minorities.\(^3\)

Areas of concern in this particular textbook include restrictions on using the Arabic language (in China and India); stripping Muslims of basic rights (e.g., name-changing in India); a slaughter ban on Halal meat in Bulgaria; land confiscation and a ban on mosques in Myanmar; Christian proselytizing; genocide of Muslim populations (Bosnia and Herzegovina, India and Myanmar); and forced demographic changes through deportations (Russia, China, Thailand and Myanmar). The textbook enthusiastically reports on jihad wars in Kashmir: "the jihadi warriors were able to kill more than 26 thousand Indian soldiers." It also discusses challenges facing Muslims in the Philippines from persecution by a "Christian" government. In sections on China the Uyghurs of Turkestan occupy much space. The text reminds students that this region of China was part of

\(^{1}\) Social Studies, Grade 11, Vol. 2 (Advanced), 2017, p. 11.
\(^{2}\) Ibid., p. 30, 32–33.
\(^{3}\) Ibid., pp. 39–82, 85–104.
the Islamic Caliphate. Following the collapse of the USSR, however, students are taught that Russia witnessed an Islamic "blossoming"; Muslims could now build mosques and open institutes of Islamic education and hold conferences about.\textsuperscript{94}

\textit{The Persecution of Muslims in China'}

\textbf{Social Studies, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2017 (Advanced), p. 95.}

This textbook sees the Muslim presence in Europe as a continuum, beginning with the conquests of Constantinople and Spain, leading to the current wave of immigration particularly into Britain, France and Germany. European countries are accused of trying to integrate Muslims into their societies.

\textbf{Enrichment Information}

A special European American study demonstrates that the Muslims will form 20 percent of European population by the middle of the century. That is why all European governments strive in all ways to integrate the Muslim minorities and assimilate them within the European societies.

\textbf{Social Studies, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2017 (Advanced), p. 87.}

\textsuperscript{94} Ibid., pp. 85–99.
The chapter on atrocities in Myanmar is particularly large with graphic images of Muslims being persecuted.

'Acts of Violence against Burma's Muslims'

'Buddhists Burn Muslim Homes and Villages'
The textbook provides an overview of the activities of Qatar in "Muslim causes" around the world. These include the Palestinian issue, Lebanon and Somalia where Qatar is deeply involved in sending medical teams and supplies and building refugee camps, while engaging in the local political conflict.\textsuperscript{95} Qatar's outreach is mainly "peaceful" and focused on protecting and defending Muslim minorities worldwide. This includes repelling the "fierce campaign against the Islamic world" post 9/11; helping Bosnia, Myanmar, and the Comoros Islands;\textsuperscript{96} and financial support for a host of international and Islamic organizations.

Although this textbook was originally created for the 2017 curriculum, we have found no evidence of any changes in the Qatari ideological commitment to Islamist and pan-Islamic causes across the world. An us-versus-them mentality is taught to confront non-Muslims worldwide; the apparent goal is to destroy Israel and support Muslim victims of oppression, negative campaigns, displacement, genocide and even "benign" efforts by Europe to integrate them into society at large. Attention is given to areas formerly under Islamic rule such as Spain, Israel and Xinjiang province in China.

While students in eleventh grade learn about Qatar's Islamic outreach, twelfth-graders are taught about Qatar's international investment, including the controversial Qatar Investment Authority (QIA), a state-owned fund that is used to expand investments around the world. The section presents an extremely long list of non-Qatari companies and organizations with which QIA is involved.\textsuperscript{97}

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., p. 107–08.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., p. 108.
Britain, the US and China

The interpretation of Islam in the Qatari curriculum is orthodox and literal. Christians are seen as infidels (*kafirun*) expected to go to hell. Paradoxically, education for tolerance and peaceful cultural interaction is evident. Yet, the call for interacting with other cultures and for peace appears genuine and instrumental. Realistically, the curriculum acknowledges that to gain power, Islam—and particularly Qatar—must deal with others on business and cultural levels.

The United Kingdom

The curriculum includes criticism of European colonialism, particularly as the textbooks adopt the Palestinian narrative against Israel, and also of past colonial activities in the Gulf; but the attitude toward Britain is mainly positive. Qatar is seen to have good relations with both Arab and other countries.

Relations with Arab and Foreign Countries:

Qatar has succeeded during the period in office of Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad Al Thani [1972–95] in building a relationship with Arab, Muslim and friendly states, based on mutual respect and cooperation in economic and political fields. The Palestinian cause was the priority Arab issue to receive assistance and support from the Khalifa Ben Hamad Al Thani House and the State of Qatar from the moment he took power.

In addition, Qatar has gained respect and esteem from all countries of the world and many national leaders, including Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom who visited the State of Qatar in February 1979. Sheikh Khalifa also welcomed United Nations Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim in 1979.


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British children are featured alongside Qatari children in some textbooks imparting an emotional bond with the UK. Note the flag in the first image.

Harry from the UK, Carlos from Columbia and Salim from Qatar are shown in a fourth grade textbook:

Historically, the role of Great Britain in the Gulf is represented fairly. Britons remained in the region as a colonial power to serve various interests, but the overall picture is nuanced. The following textbook example mentions Britain's ban of the slave trade:
**Strengthening British Hegemony:**

Britain has consolidated its hegemony over the Arabian Gulf through more agreements, giving it new advantages, whenever its interests so required. It signed agreements with the rulers of the region, in which it imposed a ban on arms and the slave trade. Other such agreements covered telegraph installations and diving issues.


The textbooks recognize Qatar's debt toward Britain for its creation as a political unit and later as a state. The text covers the 1820 Maritime Peace Treaty between Britain and the Gulf sheikhdoms. While Britain retains the rights to supervise trade in the Gulf, its interests are shown to be legitimate and not-harmful: "Provide safety for their operating ships, and ensure unimpeded trade between England and India in the Arab Gulf and the Indian Ocean.”

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*Battle of Ras al-Khaimah, 1819*


In 1868, Sheikh Mohammed Bin Thani, representing the peninsula's population and Lewis Pelly, of the British government, signed an agreement establishing Qatar as a country under British protection; in the textbook's language, an "independent sovereignty."

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The text discusses how Qatar attained sovereignty in 1868. It explains how the British intervened as a result of a great "many conflicts and disputes between the sheikh of Qatar and the sheikhs of the Arab tribes in the Arab Gulf." The goal of British intervention was to establish security. The treaty with the British secured peace for the country and the Gulf. Historically, this event represents the beginning of Qatar's independence. The blue box gives credit to Colonel Lewis Pelley (and the British) for Qatar's independence.

Sir Pelley:
Sir Lewis Pelly is considered a key figure in the history of the Gulf. He was the most important British official in his capacity as the Gulf Resident during the period 1862–1873. He is extremely important for the State of Qatar because he recognized its independent sovereignty in 1868.

The language of the historical description is nuanced, but as clearly expressed in the box: Qatar became officially independent from the Ottomans and self-rulled by the Al-Thani family since 1913, as a result of British insistence.
The British-Ottoman Conflict:

Before the end of the nineteenth century, a conflict arose between the Ottoman Empire and Britain in the Gulf region, as the Ottomans tried to consolidate their control over the Gulf. The British authorities strongly opposed this attempt. They imposed protection agreements for the Gulf region to sign, obliging these countries not to deal with any country other than Britain in exchange for a pledge to protect them.

There were also long negotiations between Britain and the Ottoman Empire that lasted from 1911–1913, with Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar eventually resulting in the signing of the 1913 agreement, which included the following:

1. The Ottoman Empire renounces sovereignty over Qatar.
2. Kuwait remains under Ottoman sovereignty.

Add to your information:

Article 4 of the draft Ottoman-English Agreement on the Gulf over the future of Qatar states as follows:

The Ottoman State permanently renounces every claim it has over the Qatar Peninsula, so that the Al-Thanis will govern the Peninsula as hereditary rulers.


The curriculum includes anti-colonialist, anti-European discourse and again displays the Qatari gift for embracing contradictions. Lesson Two in the same textbook describes various European (i.e., British, French and Italian) "occupations"—and Arab resistance movements—in the pre-WWI era. The lesson is entitled, "The Arabs before WWI: Between European Occupation, Resistance and Promises of Independence."101 What follows is an image of the Sudanese Mahdist Revolt, provided in the context of the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 and the Sudan:

101 *History, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 36; See also Social Studies, Grade 9, Vol. 2, 2019, pp. 120–35.*
The United States

Unlike many other Middle Eastern curricula, Qatar's curriculum offers a moderate—even positive—description of the United States.

An eleventh-grade geography textbook relegates issues of slavery and clashes with native Americans to discussions of South America rather than in the North as one would expect. Likewise, environmental concerns are more pronounced in the material on South America.

North America is portrayed as a good example of population diversity and is praised as a "melting pot" of cultures.
Diversity and difference are generally considered one of Allah’s customs in the universe and one of His blessings for increasing mutual acquaintance and affection among
humans, as they populate and develop the universe. The population of the North American continent is characterized by ethnic and national diversity. It has become, therefore, the largest community in which so many different races and human groups have been melted. Some have even dubbed it 'the continent of population variations.'


The curriculum follows the scientific narrative of indigenous peoples (the "red Indians" [al-humud al-humr]) who arrived from the Asian continent thousands of years ago after crossing the Bering Strait to North America.102

Qatar's cultural circumstance is compared in the discussion of diversity in North America, suggesting a similarity (despite the lack of citizenship and rights offered the expatriate population).

> 'People of all nationalities and various ethnicities and races live on the soil of the State of Qatar.' In light of this phrase:

– Monitor the most important aspects of accepting diversity and difference and its role in enriching and advancing Qatari society.


The same textbook describes the "Migration of the Minds," how North America attracts talented people from around the world, through granting scholarships and providing excellent jobs and living standards. Economic ties between Qatar and North America are communicated in detail as a very positive reality.103

But immigration to South America, as illustrated by the current curriculum has been traumatic and disastrous, in its early history leading to thousands of natives killed in wars with the colonists. Europeans who immigrated to South America brought millions of Black Africans as cheap labor. Economic ties with South America have been helpful for Qatar during the current blockade; the destruction of the rain forest in the Amazon is singled out.104

Descriptions of US policy during and after WWI are favorable. American help to suffering Europeans and efforts to make the world safe and democratic are lauded.105 For his efforts to

103 Ibid., pp. 39, 67.
104 Ibid., pp. 89–138.
promote the League of Nations, US President Woodrow Wilson is described as "the perfect man in the peace conference." The textbook also includes many examples of German war crimes and targeting of civilians.106

**China**

China is seen as a positive force, economically and culturally. The following example about China is taken from an English textbook, taught as a second language.

*English, Grade 5,* Vol. 2, 2019, p. 87.

In a traditional story about a Chinese emperor, the characters are classic and typical.107


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106 Ibid., pp. 105–52.
107 See also an image of classic China positioned next to ancient Greece and the Incas: *English,* Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2018, p. 132.
The curriculum treats Qatar's relationship with both the US and China equally. Dealings with both nations are considered friendly. Here the delicious food is shown to be a unifier of cultures.

Muslim Minority Persecuted in China

While the general image of China is positive, the 2017 textbook which highlights persecution of Muslim minorities worldwide counts China as one of the worst offenders. Students are taught that Muslims suffer politically, socially, economically and religiously. Islamic education is prohibited, as are mosques, Islamic newspapers and books in Turkestan; even writing in Arabic is forbidden. Although Muslims have attempted to rebel against such oppressive acts as outlined in the text, China continues to conceal its maltreatment of Muslim minorities.\footnote{\textit{Social Studies}, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2017 (Advanced), pp. 95–96.}
The following map depicts East Turkestan as separate from China. The text reports that Turkestan comprises approximately one-sixth of China's total territory.

The Geographic Location of East Turkestan Province

**Islamic Nation and Arab World**

Much space in the curriculum is dedicated to the conflict with Qatar's neighbors and the siege imposed by Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain and Egypt. Note that these countries are still described as "sister states" [*duwāl shaqīqa*] and their complete names are mentioned respectfully. Previous Qatari support of Egypt (against Israel) is noted elsewhere in the referenced textbook (p. 65—see below).
Second: Gulf Crisis and State of Qatar's Blockade:

The State of Qatar was subjected on June 5, 2017 to a blockade and severed relations with four sister states, namely: the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; the United Arab Emirates; the Kingdom of Bahrain; and the Arab Republic of Egypt. The blockade of the State of Qatar went through a chain of events as follows:

1. Hacking of the Qatar News Agency (QNA) and the broadcasting of statements attributed to His Highness the Emir of the State of Qatar, Sheikh Tamim Hamad Al Thani.
2. The four Arab states announced measures that included closing air, land and sea ports with Qatar.

Gather information indicating the lack of legality of the measures taken by the siege states against the State of Qatar. 

*Social Studies, Grade 10, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 92.*

The school textbooks challenge the legality of the siege, do not relate directly to accusations about supporting terrorist organizations and keep demonization of "sister states" at a minimum, as seen in the above passage. Simultaneously, students are taught about effective and beneficial counter-measures taken by the State of Qatar, indirectly bolstering a spirit of nationalism before a focus on Arab and Islamic identities.¹⁰⁹

Regional countries not participating in the blockade receive more friendly attention, particularly in English textbooks. Egypt is somewhat an exception because of its historical and cultural weight.¹¹⁰ First-graders thus learn about the Omani flag, showing exchanges between Ali from Qatar and Jassim from Oman, which is not participating in the blockade against Qatar.

¹⁰⁹ *Social Studies, Grade 10, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 91.*
¹¹⁰ *English, Grade 8, Vol. 2 (Workbook), 2019, p. 121.*
Similarly, in third-grade English, Oman, a friendly Gulf country, is present in a series of examples throughout the textbook. The blockading countries are excluded.

Other Arab countries in examples given favorable status by the curriculum, are Morocco and Jordan. In Jordan, the Dead Sea is often mentioned as Jordanian without reference to Israel or the Palestinians.\textsuperscript{111}

**Iran and Turkey**

**Iran**

The attitude toward \textbf{Iran} is largely positive. The curriculum points to cultural and economic considerations, past and present. There are common denominators between both individuals the two states. For example, society in the Abbasid period included Arabs and non-Arabs (such as the Persians and Turks). Altogether, the Abbasid state established a thriving Islamic civilization, despite the diversity of society.\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{111} \textit{Science}, Grade 6, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{112} \textit{Social Studies}, Grade 7, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 57.
Persian art and culture are recognized.

Three: Architecture:

Architecture in the Abbasid era was influenced by Persian art. Construction and urban arts were developed. Among the most prominent examples are:
The Abbasids were interested in building cities such as: the city of Baghdad, which Abu Ja`far al-Mansur built, and which became the capital of the caliphate.

*Social Studies, Grade 7, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 63.*

Regardless of the siege and the positive relations between Qatar and Iran, the Dolphin gas pipelines continue to serve both Qatar and the UAE. In the following map Iran is not mentioned and the Gulf is called the "Arab Gulf."

*Note the map, and be familiar with the natural gas transmission lines:*

[Legend, in blue:] Pipelines built by the Dolphin Energy Company.

*Social Studies, Grade 7, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 17.*
**Turkey**

Qatar's relationship with Turkey is generally positive. Past clashes between the nascent Qatari Emirate and the Ottoman Empire are featured in the textbooks. As an Ottoman enemy during that period, Britain became the ally and midwife in the birth of what is now Qatar. In the current siege environment, however, Turkey has been an especially close ally of Qatar and helpful supporter during the blockade, as a partner in various other fronts from Gaza to Libya. The leaderships of both nations are committed to the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood.

This above image of the Ottoman army is placed between two excerpts describing how Abdul Hamid II rejected Zionist ambitions to establish a national home in Palestine.

The Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire is described with much admiration. The establishment of a caliphate and Islamic wars to conquer more lands are lauded. The Sultans are described in detail with their talents and capabilities. The glory of *jihad* is thus bolstered in examples not only from early Islam but also from the period of Ottoman rule. The description of the Ottoman Empire includes the term "The Islamic State," which is also the common name for ISIS in the Arab world.
The Conquest of Constantinople, 1453

The city was built in 324–330 by Emperor Constantine who made it the capital city of the Byzantine Empire.

The city of Constantinople was fortified; surrounded by walls and towers and fortresses. It was also surrounded by water from three sides.
The first goal of Mehmed the Conqueror was to take over Constantinople, the city that withstood eleven Muslim attempts to conquer it since the times of the Umayyad Caliph Mu'awiya bin Abi Sufiyan in the middle of the seventh century and until the mid-fifteenth century.

Many of the commanders of the Islamic State and its Caliphs wished to conquer the city in order to attain the blessing of the Messenger of Allah, who said: 'Conquer Constantinople, and may the Amir live a careless and delightful life as its Amir and may the [conquering] army live a careless and delightful life.'

Hadith narrated by Imam Ahmad.


**Christians, Jews and Israel**

**Christians**

Until recently, the Qatari curriculum viewed Christianity negatively. Most charitable activities and goodwill from Westerners was viewed suspiciously—aimed at destroying Islam and controlling Islamic lands. A 2016 *Islamic Education* textbook specified three spheres of activity defined as missionary: education; "deceptive charities" [*al-jam'iyyat al khayriyya al-wahmiyya*]; and medical treatment. All are described as missionary, "a way to communicate the Christian call" [*al-da'wa al-nasraniyya*].

**The Relationship between Orientalism and Christianization and the Governments of Christian Countries:**

The relationship between Orientalism and Christianization is a close and extremely strong one, because Orientalism is the other tributary of Christianization. Both emanate from the Church. They are all pastors, and they serve the Church in the same manner. The mission of all is focused on destroying Islam, or sowing doubts in people's hearts about it, distorting the history of the Islamic nation and its great Prophet, and turning the Islamic world into regions of influence of the West.


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There has been some improvement over previous curricula with attitudes toward Christians. Much information about cultural interaction during the middle ages is provided, especially regarding the translation movement. The textbooks generally praise the role of Christians along with others (such as the Nestorian Christian, Hunayn ibn Ishaq al-Ibadi, but without naming his faith).  

With the integration of Qatar's Vision 2030, one sees more exercises in cultural sharing and engaging with the world, compared to previous editions. Students are called to reach out to the world, "strengthen the national identity at the global level," to promote "dialogue and openness to the Other for civilizational and cultural coexistence . . ."  

In Islamic religious studies, however, there is very little improvement. As with previous curricula, Christianity and Judaism remain a bad example for Muslims. The following passage refers to a Qur'anic verse warning believers not to follow in the footsteps of those who in the past "became divided and differed."[from other believers rather than uniting] In other words, the Qur'an offers a general warning against inner conflicts. The Qatari textbook volunteers—without reference—the anti-Christian, anti-Jewish interpretation.

Allah forbade them [the Muslims] to be in the likeness of the People of the Book, in the way they became divided and differed [from each other] and said: 'And do not be like the ones who became divided and differed.' And it is a wonder that their differences occurred 'after the clear proofs had come to them' requiring them not to divide and differ. They deserved the great punishment and thus Allah said: 'And those will have a great punishment' [All quotations are from Al-Imran 3:105].

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114 Notably, the translation movement and Hunayn ibn Ishaq al-Ibadi: Arabic Language, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 34.
115 Social Studies, Grade 9, Vol. 2, 2019, P. 83.
116 Ibid., pp. 75–77
assault by the West. All were seen as having the intention of destroying Islam through the rule of human (secular) law and by granting equal rights to women.\textsuperscript{119} Suspicion toward non-Muslim minorities in the curriculum was present and local minorities were blamed of collaborating with the enemy.\textsuperscript{120} Such previous indoctrination toward resentment and rejection of the People of the Book, namely Jews and Christians, was indoctrinated in young Qatari minds.\textsuperscript{121}

Some indoctrination continues. The belief in Jesus as the son of God, the trinity, and the belief in redemption by the cross are listed in a 2019 \textit{Islamic Education} textbook among the things that caused the deviation of Christianity. In an explanation on Christianity, the text criticizes the Apostle Paul, one of the most important figures in Christianity, for introducing changes deviating from "Jesus' religion."\textsuperscript{122}

Thus, the process of moderation appears to be in its infancy; the question remains as to whether this is indeed the ultimate direction of the curriculum. There are certainly lapses in this process, notably removing some material relating to Christians in Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{123}

The curriculum does not report on the suffering and persecution of local Christians under Islam through the ages, particularly their demise in the last century; the horrors of recent years by groups supported at times by Qatar such as ISIS are untouched. Instead self-congratulatory idyllic descriptions are provided. For example:

\begin{quote}
The continued presence of Christian denominations on Islamic lands is a clear indication of Islam's adherence to the principle of tolerance, and a sign of coexistence and peace between the followers of the two religions. \textit{Social Studies, Grade 7}, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 116.
\end{quote}

This phrase is provided in the context of the denial of any attachment of Judaism to Jerusalem (let alone its centrality) suggesting that learning is not taken seriously even when improvements occur. Other platitudes include: "Loving one's homeland is a duty of every member of society. The heavenly religions encourage this."\textsuperscript{124} This kind of phrasing does not meet international standards, which require specific examples in a

\begin{footnotes}
\item[119] \textit{Islamic Education}, Grade 11, Vol. 1, 2016, p. 162.
\item[120] \textit{Islamic Education}, Grade 12, Vol. 2, 2017, p. 79. Note: As the Qatari curriculum was publishing such material, ISIS and other radical Sunnis were slaughtering minorities in the region.
\item[121] Example of a removed verse: "O you who have believed, if you obey a party of those who were given the Scripture, they would turn you back, after your belief, [to being] unbelievers." [\textit{Al-Imran 3:100}], \textit{Islamic Education}, Grade 12, Vol. 1, 2016, p. 36.
\item[122] \textit{Islamic Education}, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 50.
\end{footnotes}
meaningful context. Such examples are provided in the context of presentation of Western scientists and specifically the new attitude toward Orientalism.125

The damage to Qatari society caused in past curricula through so many years of demonization and incitement may not be easily undone.

Currently, the outlook toward the Jews and Israel remains negative, even though one finds some positive descriptions of Jews in the context of open and tolerant Medieval Muslim-Arab empires and states. Direct Jew hatred is less widespread in the recent edition, but it continues to be a central problem for this curriculum. The attitude toward Israel is intolerable by any acceptable standard. It seems that authors believe that copy-pasting radical Palestinian narratives into the textbooks is the right educational path for young Qatari students rather than providing them with balanced and nuanced information about Israelis, the Jews, Palestinians and related conflicts.

Jews

Past Qatari curricula were rife with anti-Jewish material, against the background of early Islamic conflicts and modern antisemitism. In the following excerpt (removed from the recent edition) the myth of the Elders of Zion is quoted as fact; Jews are still blamed as architects of a premeditated plan to corrupt Muslim women. It is unclear how much of this forms the educational edifice of the Qatari population.

It says in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*: We must win the woman, in the day she reaches out to us, and we won the case. Therefore, the Jews succeeded in directing Western public opinion, when they took hold of the [Muslim] women through media and through money. Another of the fiercest enemies of Islam said: A cup [of alcohol] and a song are effective in destroying the Muhammadan community more than a thousand cannons do, so they drowned it in love with materialism and desires.


125 *English*, Grade 7, Vol. 1, 2019, pp. 21, 29.
But the "Protocols" mentality is also present in the current curriculum's discussion on the Balfour Declaration. The textbook presents Jews as all powerful, able to change the course of their countries, perform acts of sabotage, or make them participate in war against their will. The following is a list of British expectations in granting the Balfour Declaration:

1 - Exploit the Jewish economic and political influence in the United States to pressure it to enter the war.

2 - Gain the support of Jews in Russia and push them to put pressure on it to stay in the war [against Germany], particularly after the Communist Revolution, and [in the event] Russia is determined to pull out of the war.

3 - Imposing British control over Palestine through the Jewish presence after the discarding [the understanding] of Palestine being under international administration, as adopted by the Sykes-Picot Agreement.

4 - Induce strong Zionist figures around the world and in Germany and Austria especially, to play a sabotaging role in the ranks of the Germans and their allies during the war.

... 


**Western Antisemitism and the Holocaust**

Modern Muslim antisemitism is thought to have its roots in three areas: Anti-Judaism in classical Islam (seventh to ninth centuries),\(^{126}\) adoption from Modern European antisemitism, and, more currently, themes related to the Arab-Israeli conflict.\(^{127}\) If an *Islamic Studies* textbook refers at one point to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, with the accusation that Jews target women, it

\(^{126}\) The classic research on this topic remains, George Vajda, "Juifs et Musulmans selon le Hadit," *Journal Asiatique* 229 (1937): pp. 57-137.

\(^{127}\) Emmanuel Sivan, Dov Maimon, "Muslim Anti-Semitism: The Challenge and Possible Responses," The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute, Jerusalem, 2009. This argument was validated after examining a variety of radical Islamist groups with opinion-mining methods; Eldad J. Pardo, "Radical Islam Team," in *GIF Final Scientific Report: Opinion Mining in Religious Studies*, ed. Andreas Gruenschloss (Gottingen and Jerusalem: 2012), pp. 16, 18–21.
echoes Western, rather than Islamic antisemitic tropes. The omission of the Holocaust can also serve as an indicator of antisemitic bias.

In the 2019 textbooks examined by IMPACT-se, we found no evidence that the Qatari curriculum teaches directly about the Holocaust. Indirectly, however, a 2019 twelfth-grade Social Studies textbook refers to Nazi Germany's hatred toward the Jews and appears to justify the ensuing actions against the European Jewish population. Sharing elements of Western antisemitism, the textbook apparently agrees with these policies and provides supporting "evidence."

A chapter on Nazi Germany on the eve of WWII explains that the Nazis were hostile to the Jews, "because they were the reason for Germany's defeat" [in WWI]. Earlier in the same textbook students learn that the Balfour Declaration was a tool by the Allies in WWI to influence Russian Jews to pressure Russia to stay in the war [against Germany]. The Declaration was also used to induce strong Zionist figures around the world, particularly in Germany and Austria, to "play a sabotaging role" in the ranks of the Germans and their allies during the war. Against this background, Nazi enmity toward the Jews is shown to be justified.

The Jews played a crucial role in the outcome of WWI, not only in trying to pressure Russia to stay in the war, "playing a sabotaging role" in Germany and Austria, but also in pushing the United States to join the war. The allies, seeking "Jewish financial and political support" granted the Balfour Declaration "to exploit Jewish economic and political influence and push the US to join the war on the side of the allies."

The Qatari curriculum describes Jewish capitalism as a powerful actor, allowing the Zionist movement to manipulate all warring parties.

B. The Balfour Declaration

Word War I helped the Zionist movement to enroll all the [warring] parties to its side. offered promises in return for the support of Jewish Capitalism to this or that party. The movement worked in all directions to achieve its goals, whoever might win the war. Social Studies, Grade 12, Vol. 1, 2017 (Advanced), p. 25.

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129 Based on this project's reviewed textbooks, with special scrutiny given to History, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2019 (until 1939) and Social Studies, Grade 12, Vol. 1, 2017, pp. 92–116 (WWII).
131 Ibid., p. 174.
A 2017 eleventh-grade Social Studies textbook asserts Jewish control over the global economy while exploiting other countries in times of financial difficulty.

Britain underwent a financial crisis during World War I, so the Jews exploited the situation, especially since they almost controlled the global economy, and through this they could stir the countries’ policies according to their own interests. 


The textbook empathizes with German sentiment on the eve of WWII explaining that Germany was humiliated and bankrupted; Jews were ready to take advantage by "manipulating the financial markets and accumulating immense wealth at the expense of the dire economic conditions." This led to the rise of National Socialist Party that followed "the ideas of its leader Adolf Hitler." 133

133 _Social Studies, Grade 12, Vol. 1, 2017 (Advanced), p. 95._
Canceling the rights of the Jews because they had a great impact on the defeat of Germany in the First World War.


This argument is reinforced in another textbook.

In the shadow of the political and economic crises, the National Socialist Workers’ Party, known as the Nazi Party headed by Adolf Hitler, appeared.

**The Principles of the Nazi Movement:**
1. The Aryan race is the master race.
2. The glorification of the leadership: since the leader is the representative of all the people, and the consideration of the individual is a servant of the country.
3. The country's supervision of all economic activity.
4. The hostility toward the Jewish people: since they are the reason for Germany's defeat.
5. To revive the German war glory and to take back the German colonies lost in WWI.
6. The hostility toward the communist movement.


This curriculum expounds on the racism of Germany during the National Socialist regime, but does not specifically mention the Holocaust. Other horrors conducted by Germany against various helpless communities before and during WWII are also not mentioned.
The Racism of the Nazis:

Nazism sees the Aryan race as superior to human races, as if they were God's Chosen People. This means radicalization of the idea of nationalism mixed with racism. They made citizenship rights limited to the pure Germanic race only. Hitler thought that the existence of culture and human civilization depends on the Aryan Race and its superiority.

- Demonstrate the validity of the following: The ideas of the Nazi Party (Led by Hitler) were extreme.
- What was the Nazi Party’s view of other peoples?
- Can such ideas bring world peace? Why?

Values I Learn:
Accepting the Other:
'I make sure not to differentiate between races in different societies, or to discriminate within one society.'

*History, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 197*

The lesson of the curriculum's authors is that racism should be condemned both in different societies and "within one society." This is an especially important acknowledgement in a multi-racial (though discriminatory) society such as Qatar.

A general reference to genocide as a negative phenomenon appeared in a 2018 textbook dealing with violence and extremism. The chapter was removed from the 2019 edition.

The Jews Tried to Kill Jesus, Killed Other Prophets

The Israelites are accused of trying to kill Jesus ('Isa). They are presented as corrupted people and practitioners of polytheism.

-Muslims retell the story of how the Israelites tried to kill Jesus (Jesus) but Allah saved him and raised him to heaven. The Almighty said: 'And they did not kill him, nor did they crucify him; but [another] was made to resemble him to them. And indeed, those who differ over it are in doubt about it. They have no knowledge of it except the following of assumption. And they did not kill him, for certain. Rather, Allah raised him to Himself. And ever is Allah Exalted in Might and Wise' [An-Nisa 157:4].


The textbooks follow the Islamic tradition which showers praise on the kings of ancient Israel, notably, David and Solomon, who are considered prophets. But the Israelites themselves are often cast negatively, for accusing the prophets of being liars and even killing a number of them.

The Story of Daoud and His People the Israelites:

It is known that the Israelites, because of their bad morals, accused their prophets of being liars and killed some of them. They accused the Prophet Daoud of obscene false deeds, all because of their lies and slander against him. So, he cursed those people who disbelieved. The Almighty said: 'Cursed were those who disbelieved among the Children of Israel by the tongue of Daoud and of Jesus, the son of Mary. That was because they disobeyed and [habitually] transgressed. [Al-Ma’idah 5:78].

Daoud passed away after living a life full of worship and just judgment, it is said that he died at the age of one hundred years.

_Islamic Education, Grade 7_, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 129.

The students need to actively ponder and practice the crimes of the against Moses, Jesus and Muhammad.

Collective Activity

I Check my understanding:

The Messengers of Allah Almighty and His Prophets have been afflicted by people using them as liars and abusing them, in word and in action. With your colleagues, write the most noticeable afflictions caused to the following Prophets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prophet</th>
<th>Main Affliction by His People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Muhammad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Isa [Jesus]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Musa [Moses]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Islamic Education, Grade 7, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 130.*

The Treacherous Jew

Previous curricula included the depiction of Jews as traitors and schemers during Prophet Muhammad's time period. One well-known case is that of a Jew who tried to rekindle a conflict between two groups of tribespeople converted to Islam. Instead, the textbook relied upon a story not found in the Qur'an, relating it to a particular Jew; it then asked students to form an opinion about Jews based on "the story."

From the 2016 version:

Reason for the Revelation:

The verses were revealed in [the context of a story according to which] a group of people from the Aws and Khazraj [tribes] were sitting and talking. Shas bin Qais, the Jew, passed them by and became angry from the harmony and togetherness among them since they had been enemies in pre-Islamic times. So he instructed a young Jew to sit with them and remind them of their past wars and hatred and recite for them some of the ridiculing poems they used to write about each other. And so he did.

Thus they started quarreling, and boasting, and becoming angry, and they called for weapons and moved on one another to fight. This reached the Prophet, so he came and preached to them and sorted it all out among them. They listened and obeyed. And Allah thus revealed: 'O you who have believed, if you obey a party of those who were given the
Scripture, they would turn you back, after your belief, [to being] unbelievers' [Al-Imran 3:100].

**Activity:**
Write some of the characteristics of the Jews citing the story and the reason for the verse's revelation . . .


The story about the treacherous Jews continues to be taught. The Qur'anic verse that includes criticism of "those who were given the Scripture,"—Jews or Christians—is not included in the text. Students are asked to draw lessons from this story of "outsiders" who incite Muslims to quarrel and become disunited. Also, the name of the Jew from the story, Shas bin Qais, is mentioned, although not identified in the current curriculum as a Jew. The question remains: Why should this story be included at all, since the verse is removed?

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It was reported about a man from the people of Medina, Shas bin Qais, stealthily sent among to the midst of the Aws and the Khazraj [tribespeople] to remind them of the wars and fighting of the past between them. [He] hoped that this would break their friendship. When they were reminded of that, they became extremely angry; they even took up arms. The Prophet went out with his friends and he preached to them and reminded them of Allah and Islam. When the people returned, they learned that this was a Satanic move. So they cried, embraced, and left with the Prophet. A few Qur'anic verses were subsequently revealed.

>>>How does the Islamic nation benefit from this incident?

*Islamic Education, Grade 12*, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 27.

In sum, Jews are portrayed as being problematic toward Allah and Islam. The 2016 textbook devoted an entire section to Jewish distrust of Islam and Allah, as seen in Surah Al-Imran. This mentality likely persists not only among former Qatari students but throughout numerous Middle

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136 Quran.com
Eastern curricula where this continues to be taught. In the current Qatari curriculum, some items have been removed, such as how the People of the Book (Jews and Christians) opposed Islam, while trying to corrupt Muslims.137

**Jews are Partners in the Effort to Destroy Islam**

Previous textbooks depicted Jews as allies of the polytheists, part of an eternal anti-Islamic axis.

The flag of falsehood was carried by the polytheists and their Jewish supporters. All the enemies of the [Islamic] nation were allied with them. And so it went until the Crusader armies attacked the Muslim lands, driven by blind fanaticism and aroused by the clergy of the Church among the European peoples by inventing the ugliest lies about Muslims. *Islamic Education, Grade 11, Vol. 1, 2016, p. 162.*

Other items were not removed. Despite somewhat more moderate language, the following textbook still insists that the People of the Book rejected the true faith and opted for a false one.

Allah called the People of the Book to the correct faith that saves from the punishment of Allah. And he said 'If the People of the Book were to believe' in the Prophet Muhammad and what came through him in Islam 'it would have been better' than the false claim of faith they hold.

And Allah said that 'among them are the believers' like Al-Najashi and Abd Allah bin Salam. 'And most of them are the immoral' who did not believe in the Prophet nor followed his message. *Islamic Education, Grade 12, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 32.*

This unfinished business with the Jews from the period of Islam's beginnings, is also covered in secular textbooks such as *Arabic Language,* which suggests that Jew hatred has been a policy in Qatar for quite some time. The following sentence is given as part of an exercise that relates to Jews in the city of Medina during the Prophet Muhammad's time.

The people of Medina devoted themselves to the Messenger, except for the Jews. *Arabic Language, Grade 9, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 33.*

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137 *Islamic Education, Grade 12, Vol. 1, 2016, p. 30.*
Jewish incitement is seen as a tool to be used by the Quraysh tribe to destroy Islam. This historical context, in which Jews are cast as enemies of Islam, lingers in this curriculum.

2- Desire of the Quraysh to Eliminate Islam.

The Quraysh sensed that the position of the Muslims in Medina endangered their trade with the Levant. They found that the incitement of the tribes by the Jews was a fruitful opportunity to end the [Muslim] danger and eliminate Islam. *Islamic Education, Grade 7*, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 75.

Status of Jews in Jerusalem and the Holy Land

The attachment of Jews to Jerusalem as their holiest place[^138] is completely denied. Descriptions of Saladin conquering Jerusalem from the Crusaders include much information about tolerance toward Christians and the religious significance of the city to their faith, but nothing about the Jews. It should be noted that in the new edition of the seventh-grade *Social Studies* textbook that describes this episode there is less about Christians in Jerusalem as well.

The Status of Jerusalem:

Jerusalem was given a great place in the hearts of Muslims. In it the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque, the first of the two qiblas [prayer directions], the third of the Two Holy Mosques, and the path of the Holy Prophet. Allah described it as the blessed land and the city of Jerusalem, the land of the prophets, and in it many [of the Prophet's companions] were buried.

The continued presence of Christian denominations on Islamic lands is a clear indication of Islam's adherence to the principle of tolerance, and a sign of coexistence and peace between the followers of the two religions.

In light of the previous phrase, look for the reality of Muslim treatment of non-Muslims in Islamic history. Present your findings to your classmates.


In the 2018 edition, the text in the box included information about Christian holy sites, but not Jewish.

This excerpt from a 2019 sixth-grade textbook denies the legitimacy of Israel. It claims that Palestine is an Arab country, its capital is Jerusalem and is under "Israeli Occupation." The narrative includes demonization of the Jews as perpetrators of crimes and occupiers of other people's land.

Palestine is an Arab state, and its capital is the city of Jerusalem. It fell under the Israeli Occupation, which committed barbaric actions against its people; torture, killing, and destroying houses. The occupier claims that this land belongs to the Jews and that they own it, not the Arabs. In this poem, the poet proves the falseness of these claims, as he underlines how Jerusalem is an Arab city, no matter how much the aggressors try to alter this truth.

The textbooks narrate a version of ancient history that sets out to prove the Arab right to the land of Palestine; the Canaanites were Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula who settled the land in 6000 BCE. The Jews, following Abraham, only arrived around 1400 BCE.

Note that the text does not deny Jewish rights in the Land of Israel. It also does not refer to the Palestinians, but to "the rights of Arabs."

Historical Truth:

Historical studies prove that the first residents of Palestine were the Canaanites; and this goes back to 6000 years BCE. They are an Arab tribe that moved to Palestine from the Arabian Peninsula. After their advent, Palestine was called it by their name [Canaan]. As for the Jews, their first entry into the land of Palestine occurred six hundred years after the arrival of Ibrahim [Abraham]. So they came to the land around 1400 BCE.

Thus, the Canaanites entered and settled Palestine before the Jews by about 4,500 years, and this proves the Arab right to the land of Palestine, both from the religious-legal perspective [shar'iyya-diniyya] as well as from their residential seniority and land ownership.


The Arabization of the Canaanites is perhaps not only related to the hostility with Israel, but also to a deeper question of ancient indigenous pre-Islamic or non-Arab peoples who somehow

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139 As to the veracity of this narrative, a common view is that "Late Bronze Age Canaan was not made up of a single 'ethnic' group but consisted of a population whose diversity may be hinted at by the great variety of burial customs and cultic structures (both considered to be culturally sensitive indicators of ethnicity)." Ann Killebrew, Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel 1300–1100 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), p. 12; In all likelihood, most of the dwellers of Canaan, including the various Israelite tribes, were at one point speaking varieties of Biblical Hebrew (the "Language of Canaan") Holger Gzella, "The Emergence of Hebrew," *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, vol. 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 852–63; Holger Gzella, "Canaanite," *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c.8000–332 BCE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 29–30; Koert van Bekkum, "The 'Language of Canaan': Ancient Israel’s History and the Origins of Hebrew," in *Biblical Hebrew in Context*, ed. Koert van Bekkum et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 67–84.
managed not to become extinct, such as the Yazidis and even the Kurds. In the following example there is a text about Ibn Battuta, the great Muslim explorer from Morocco—a popular country in the curriculum—but not recognized as an ethnic Berber (Amazigh).

Jewish Holy Books such as the Torah are Valid

The Torah and other Jewish holy books are recognized without the assertions one sometimes finds within Islam about forgeries or distortions. Islam as a continuation of Judaism and Christianity is well documented.

The following fourth-grade Islamic Education textbook provides support from the Qur'an that it is imperative to believe in the "previous books" that Allah has revealed to human beings, including the Torah, which was given to Moses, and the New Testament, which was given to Jesus (both considered by Islam to be part of the Israelite tradition).
The Heavenly Books Mentioned in the Holy Qur'an:

- The Holy Quran tells us about a number of Heavenly Books. [Allah] said: 'We have already sent Our messengers with clear evidence and sent down with them the Scripture' (Surat Al-Hadid 57: 25).

- The heavenly books mentioned in the Blessed Qur'an:

1. The Scrolls—Revealed to Ibrahim [Abraham]
2. The Torah—Revealed to Musa [Moses]
3. Psalms—Revealed to Da'oud [David]
4. The Gospel—Revealed to 'Isa [Jesus]
5. The Qur'an—Revealed to Muhammad


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Loyalty to one's homeland is revered in the curriculum. Obligation toward one's homeland derives from the heavenly religions (i.e., Islam, Christianity and Judaism). This suggests that Jews, too, are obligated to defend their homeland, although that remains unclear from the text.

**Lesson Topic**

**Loving Homeland Emanates from Faith**

Loving one's homeland is a duty of every member of society. The heavenly religions encourage this. Loving one's Homeland has multiple facets: Human behavior, sayings, and deeds; commitment to upright values and principles, such as honesty and tolerance, preference of the collective interest over the individual ones; offering advice to others, preserving the cohesion of the country, working for its development and prosperity, and rejecting causes for division and disagreement among individuals; finally, adherence to one opinion as regards the benefit of the country.


Theological differences with Judaism are apparent in the curriculum; Jews overly appreciate life in this world, suggesting a lack of sufficient faith in the world to come. Another argument, detailed in the following excerpt, relates to their technical attitude toward the Torah. Muslims are advised not imitate them.

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The example of those who were entrusted with the Torah and then did not take it on is like that of a donkey that carries volumes [of books]. Wretched is the example of the people who deny the signs of Allah. And Allah does not guide the wrongdoing people [Al-Jumu'ah 62:5].

After memorizing the aforementioned Ayahs, write the Ayahs that demonstrate the following meanings:

- Performing deeds in accordance with what the Muslim knows of his religion, while not resembling the Jews.

Islamic Education, Grade 10, Vol. 1, 2019, pp. 18-19.

Finally, the students learn about the conflicts and fighting between the early Muslims and Jewish tribes in great detail. The Muslim narrative of the Medina covenant describes the failure of the Jews to abide by it, ultimately leading to their demise.

Israel and the Jewish National Movement

The curriculum adopts a discourse that views Israel through the lens of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Israel is seen as evil while Palestinians are good. The curriculum proposes that Israel is an occupying state and Zionism, associated with a Jewish ambition to rule the world, is racist. But despite the obvious contradiction, the expression "comprehensive and final settlement according to the two-state solution" exists.

The following is an example of Qatar's attitude toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Note that the name Israel is contextualized as a warmonger.

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First, the Palestinian Cause:

The Palestinian cause is considered to be one of the most prominent causes in the Arab and international arena. Most of the Islamic and Arab states defend it.

Qatar's Role in Supporting the Palestinian Cause:

The State of Qatar has made great efforts to support the Palestinian cause and stand by the Palestinian people, including:

- The State of Qatar's efforts for reconciliation among the Palestinian factions.
- The State of Qatar's success through diplomatic efforts to stop the wars that Israel has waged against the Gaza Strip.
- Supporting Palestinian educational institutions and assistance to institutions supporting women and children and providing assistance.
- The historic visit by Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani to break the siege imposed on the Gaza Strip in 2012.

[Cube on the left]:

Values I learn:

I am proud of my state, Qatar, for its position in support of the Palestinian cause and I make a point of helping the Palestinians in their claim for legitimate rights.

[Picture]:

His Majesty Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa's visit to the Gaza Strip in 2012.

**Social Studies, Grade 10, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 91.**

It does not surprise that the Israeli role in facilitating this visit and the often close coordination between Jerusalem and Doha on Gaza issues is not mentioned.

In the following excerpt quoting the Qatari leader's speech on the Palestinian cause, an assignment was added in the 2019 edition calling for students to draw conclusions from the text, which presents the two-state solution, "agreed upon by the international community" based on "peace negotiations" and "the 1967 borders." Israel is not mentioned as one of these two states. Rather, "Israeli occupation of the Arab lands" should end.
Read the following text taken from the Speech of His Highness Amir Sheikh Tamim Ben Hamad before the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 19, 2017 and answer the subsequent questions:

'The international community should assign maximum priority to renewing the peace negotiations based on ending Israeli occupation of Arab lands within a limited time frame, and reaching a just, comprehensive and final settlement according to the two-state solution agreed upon by the international community, grounded on International legitimacy decisions and the Arab peace initiative. This will not be achieved except through the establishment of the independent state of Palestine with the 1967 borders and Jerusalem as its capital.'

- **Summarize His Highness' demands to the United Nations General Assembly over the Palestinian cause.**

- **What are the values that can be extracted from the text?**

*Social Studies, Grade 10, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 92.*

Israel's omission from the speech as a partner for peace seems significant. Israel does not appear on any of the maps in the textbooks we examined. As we have seen elsewhere, the curriculum embraces a "culture of peace." Yet, it teaches that Israel has been an occupation state since its establishment in 1948 and that Muslims have a religious obligation to conquer the land.

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3- The Partition of Palestine and the Declaration of an Occupying State (The Israeli Entity)

In the year 1948 a Zionist State was declared following the end of the British Mandate of Palestine; this day became to be known as the Nakba Day.

In the year 1967 the Zionists completed the occupation of Palestine, and a new wave of Palestinians was displaced outside Palestine. The Occupation continues to Judaize Palestine and blur its Arab and Islamic identity.

*Islamic Education, Grade 11, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 146.*

The text makes clear that there is no place for Israel's existence. In the following exhortation students are taught that it is a religious obligation to help liberate Palestine from the Occupation (Israel) and not to concede any part of it, leaving no room for Israel or Jews. In other words, the curriculum exhorts an endless war against Israel and rejects any compromise.

3- تقسيم فلسطين وإعلان قيام دولة محتلة (الهكبات الإسرائيلي):

وفي عام 1948م، تم إعلان الدولة الصهيونية بعد إنهاء الانتداب البريطاني على فلسطين، وصار يعرف هذا اليوم فيما بعد "يوم النكبة".

وفي عام 1967م، قام الصهاينة باستكمال احتلال فلسطين، وتمّ تهجير دفعة جديدة من الفلسطينيين إلى خارج فلسطين، ولا يزال الاحتلال يعمل على تهجير فلسطين وطمس هويتها العربية والإسلامية.

بما أن قضية فلسطين مرتبطة بالعلاقة فإنّ على المسلمين عددًا من الواجبات، منها:

1 - تعليم أبناء المسلمين وتنفيذهم بجوانب القضية الفلسطينية، والاعتداء الصهيوني على فلسطين والقدس، وربطهم بفلسطين رابطًا عقديًا.
2 - العمل على بناء كل جديد يعين على تحرير فلسطين من الاحتلال.
3 - نصرة الشعب الفلسطيني سياسيًا وماديًا ومعنويًا.
4 - عدم التنازل عن أيّ جزء من فلسطين; فهي أرض عربية إسلامية.
5 - دعم ومساندة أبناء بيت المقدس، والعمل على تثبيتهم في أرضهم، ومواجهة مخططات الهجiras التي يتعذّرون لها.
The Obligation of the Muslims toward Palestine, Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa

1 Teach Muslim children about the aspects of the Palestinian cause and the Zionist aggression toward Palestine and Jerusalem.
2 Invest every effort to liberate Palestine from the Occupation [Israel].
3 Support the Palestinian people in political, material and moral spheres.
4 Do not give up any part of Palestine, as it is an Arab-Islamic land.
5 Help and support the people of the House of the Temple (Jerusalem, bayt al-maqdis), work on installing them in their land, and confront the schemes for their displacement.

*Islamic Education, Grade 11, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 147.*

A 2017 *Social Studies* textbook applies the term "Zionist gangs" to Israelis.145 It claims that "Israel has been active since the first day of its establishment to annihilate the Palestinian people, and to Judaize Palestine."146 It presents a baseless history of Jewish origins and rights in the Land of Israel and life in the diaspora. Ancient Jews were "invading immigrants" who established a short-lived state and were later killed by the Romans, with the few survivors escaping to neighboring lands, thus disconnecting the Jews from Palestine. The text even questions the Jewishness of today’s Jews. The Palestinians were "subjected to massacres" by the "Occupation" forces. The textbook is rife with demonization of Israelis, as the term, "Zionist gangs" implies. Much space is given to the "jihadi movement" founded by Izz al-Din al-Qassam. The Arab revolt of 1936–39 is also described in jihadi terms. The conflict over Jerusalem is labeled as Judaization, aimed to push Muslims (and Christians) out of the city.147

No less disturbing is the textbook's representation of the 2014 conflagration between Hamas and Israel. The indiscriminate rocket launches by Hamas into civilian populations, forcing "Zionist citizens to enter the shelters" and stopping "airplane traffic to and from Israel," is described as "brave" and "remarkable." Israeli responses are described as instigating "the most barbaric aggression."148

The following poem, written by Qatari poet Hassan Al-Nimah following the 1967 Six-Day War, represents the desired goal of victory against Israel as annihilation of the enemy.

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146 Ibid., p. 29. (The term for annihilate is al-qadha’ ‘ala.)
147 Ibid., pp. 12, 29, 16–18, 33.
148 Ibid., p. 32.
Read the following verses in front of your colleagues in expressive reading. Observe the transition from a tone of sadness and sorrow to one of resolve and challenge. Use your body language appropriately:

O my nation as poets grieve
Igniting souls with torments, and they flare up
O nation charred by the age calamities,
Scorched by belligerent evil,
O nation of the Chosen One and the Arabic, do not grow feeble!
Answer Palestine that victory is waiting
Answer fate and be a perfect storm of heroic acts
Not leaving [the enemy] remaining or scattered

Arabic Language, Grade 10, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 27.

Poetry, often accompanied with strong imagery, is used to stir negative emotions toward Israel. The Islamic expression: "Judaize" is used to describe Jewish history in reference to Al-Aqsa Mosque. Arabs are invited to "lend their cannons" to the war against Israel. The poem is violent, employing phrases like "the waterfall of blood" and "the elderly accompanying children to death." Students learn that they must help resist all things Israeli, as suggested by "the filth of the aggressors and their heinous actions."

149 "The Chosen One" [literally: al-mustafā], one of the names of Muhammad; "the Arabic" [literally, the language of the consonant Dhad, believed to be unique to Arabic]
A Letter from the Guardians of the Al-Aqsa Mosque
Abd al-Ghani at-Tamimi

Lend us your cannons for a day, and not your tears
Lend us and remain in your positions
Sons of Islam! Our pain is still your pain
Our deaths are your deaths

If we are family of the same womb
Shall we cut it and will it cut us off!?
God forbid! The qualities of Islam
Forbid you and forbid us.
Lend us your cannons for a day, and not your tears
Lend us and remain in your positions
Are you waiting for the Al-Aqsa Mosque’s existence to be obliterated?
And for us to be obliterated?
Lend us, leave the condemnation and be ashamed
We had enough of the condemnations and the waiting

My brother, for Allah’s sake, tell me when will you be angry?
When things holy to us are violated?
When our landmarks are ripped apart, won’t you be angry?
When our nobility is killed, when our honor is crushed
When our resurrection will happen, won’t you be angry?
Tell me, when will you be angry?
When our resources are robbed, when our institutes fall apart
When our mosques are destroyed and the Al-Aqsa Mosque remains
You saw there are horrors
You saw the waterfall of blood
The elderly accompanying children to death
You saw the colors and shapes of oppression
You did not get angry
Tell me when will you

**Shedding Light on the Text:**
In this part of the poem, the poet addresses the Arab people and calls them to save Jerusalem and its people from the filth of the aggressors and their heinous actions. He cries and agonizes over the Arab people’s weariness and indifference toward their Palestinian brothers and their sacred places. He is hopeful that the Arab and Islamic nation will return to be a powerful nation that protects what is sacred to it.

**Preparation and Arrangement:**
Using the center of information sources in your school and the internet, search for attempts to Judaize Jerusalem and the aggression against its holy sites, then summarize in your notebook the opinions that you found.


The description of Israel and Zionism in a 2019 *History* textbook is hostile. In the 2017 twelfth-grade *Social Studies* textbooks, for which we have no 2019 counterpart, the curriculum describes Jews as acting in unison; as "Jewish capitalists" they obey Zionist directions in all countries. And yet, it also argues that Jews "do not have the characteristics of a nation." They do not deserve national rights because: "There are English Jews, American Jews, French Jews, Russian Jews, Ethiopian Jews, and so on." Moreover, while recognizing that the Jews received the Torah, have had Prophets and have practiced a legitimate heavenly religion, the curriculum still insists that they "do not share any connection [with one another], nor do they have a shared history, a cultural heritage, or shared customs and traditions."

Zionism is demonized as a racist movement. Yet, in one textbook the Zionist movement is not described as racist and Jewish suffering from European persecution is somewhat acknowledged. The problem of the diaspora for Zionists is recognized by the curriculum's authors. The State of Israel is a "settler-colonialist" state ("the most severe type of colonialism"), an "Occupation State" and thus illegitimate; it should be rejected. The legitimacy of terrorism against the "Zionist Entity" as ("resistance") is discussed.

In the spirit of antisemitism, Zionism is defined as a racist movement that aims at achieving Jewish global dominance. This concept is applied without any context in a chapter about Judaism.

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and Christianity, and the deviations which occurred and prevented them from continuing to be part of the one true religion of Islam.

Enrichment: Zionism is an extremist racist political movement, which aims at establishing a state for the Jews in Palestine. It strives to rule the world and control it. *Islamic Education, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 49.*

The curriculum portrays various aspects of colonialism. The following chart is organized by type of colonialism, definition and example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Colonialism</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>A country controls another by force and robs its resources with all means.</td>
<td>French occupation of Algeria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settler</td>
<td>Considered the most severe type of colonialism for a people. [Controlled by] people of a settlement state instead of the original inhabitants.</td>
<td>The Zionist settlement in Palestine.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Types of Colonialism:

The world has known different types of colonialism; these are the most important:

**Military:** A country controls another by force and robs its resources with all means. Example: French occupation of Algeria.

**Settler:** Considered the most severe type of colonialism for a people. [Controlled by] people of a settlement state instead of the original inhabitants. Example: The Zionist settlement in Palestine.
**Mandate:** Regime set by the League of Nations for weaker countries after World War I. Example: British Mandate in Jordan.

**Guardianship:** A regime set by the UN, post-World War II, set to take the place of the mandate for some of the countries that were under colonialism. Example: Italian guardianship over some of the regions of Libya

**Protectorate:** Meaning that the colonial state maintains the appearance of an independent state [of the country under its protection], but that it controls all aspects of security in the country. Example: French protectorate of Tunisia.

[White box on the upper left]:

**Values that I learn:**

I reject all forms of colonialism

*Social Studies, Grade 9, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 118.*

According the Qatari curriculum, the entire State of Israel is "Occupation."

**C- Wars and Political Problems:**

[Wars] play an important role in population spread. Wars and political problems lead to forced migration of people toward safe and stable areas. An example of that is what happened in Palestine after its Israeli occupation in 1948. [People] found refuge in the neighboring Arab countries. This also happens nowadays in Syria and Yemen which led to immigration waves into neighboring areas.

*Social Studies, Grade 7, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 102.*
Question Four: What are the Consequences of:
1. The Israeli Occupation of the Land of Palestine (population-wise)?

*Social Studies, Grade 7*, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 106.

Rejection of Israel teaches Qatari students to support terrorism against Israeli citizens. The word used is *resistance*, but the meaning across the region is known to mean indiscriminate violence. The ninth-grade *Social Studies* textbook has a section titled: "European Colonialism and the Liberation Movements in the Arab Homeland," which includes the legality of resistance to "French and British Colonialism in the Arab Homeland." Regarding Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation, the question is raised as to whether it is legal opposition or an act of violence. The student must provide proofs in his answer. The previous year's *Social Studies* textbook (2018) included the same question.

The Third Activity: In your opinion, is the Palestinian people's resistance to the Israeli Occupation considered a legal or a violent act? Support your position with evidence.


Early Zionism

The following narration of early Zionism is less extreme than some other Middle East curricula, but remains negative and inaccurate. The curriculum asserts that Theodor Herzl, as founder of the Zionist movement, collaborated with European countries to eliminate the Ottoman Empire. In

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fact, he defended the Ottomans in Europe and was concerned about the possibility that the empire might collapse from some of its harsh policies.\textsuperscript{156}

As in other curricula as well, the Qatari textbooks do not refer to the Holy Land as a Jewish homeland nor do they much lament the sultan's poor judgement and missed opportunity to save the Islamic Empire. Elsewhere in the textbook, the authors point to the fact that the Ottomans declared war as they joined WWI on the German side.\textsuperscript{157}

\begin{center}
\underline{The Ottoman Empire and the Establishment of the Zionist Movement:}
\end{center}

Herzl appeared with an idea to establish a homeland for the Jewish people and insisted that is should be Palestine. It would bring them together from their diaspora, and solve the issues of their dispersal and oppression, every now and then, by the countries of Europe.

Herzl tried to offer inducements to Sultan Abdul Hamid II to consolidate the Jews in Palestine. But he understood Herzl's purposes, and did not give him what he wanted—the Sultan prevented the immigration of the Jews to Palestine and released a decree preventing the Jewish immigration to the Holy Land.

Herzl turned to countries in Europe for help in achieving his goal and found great support, especially since it was another means (for those countries) to eliminate the Ottoman Empire.

\textit{History, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 22.}


\textsuperscript{157} \textit{History, Grade 11, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 122.}
The following misquotation of Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II, falsely refusing to grant the Holy Land to the Jews is offered without sourcing. In reality, he likely never made this statement; as explained in the introduction to this excerpt (p. 93); the "Zionist Project," as envisioned by Herzl was originally intended to be part of the Ottoman Empire.  

The Answer of Sultan Abdul Hamid to Herzl's Request for the Land of Palestine

'Advise your friend Herzl to not take any serious steps in that subject; since I cannot give up on a single piece of the holy lands, it is not my property but my people's property. My ancestors fought for this land and watered it with their blood. The Jewish people can keep their millions. If my state will get torn, maybe it will be possible to get Palestine without any price. But as long as I am alive, I would rather have a scalpel cut my body before I will see Palestine getting amputated from the Islamic State. This will not happen. I cannot agree to dissect our bodies while we are alive.'

- What is your evaluation of Sultan Abdul Hamid's response?

- What is your duty towards the Palestinian question?

Add to Your Knowledge

Theodor Herzl:
Born in Hungary in May 1860; an Austrian-Hungarian journalist, playwright and political activist. He founded the new political Zionism. Herzl established the Zionist Organization, and encouraged Jewish immigration to Palestine in an attempt to establish a Jewish country, after the first Jewish Congress in 1897.

Values I Learn:

I am interested in my nation's causes, and I extend a helping hand to its people who are in crisis.

Nevertheless there is some reduction of anti-Zionism. For example, the poem "To My Mother" by Palestinian National Poet, Mahmoud Darwish (1941–2008), is no longer included. The introduction to the poem describes Israel as: "Occupation." Nevertheless, "To My Mother," although not especially inciting, was published in Israel in 1966, and fits conveniently into the Israel=Occupation paradigm.\footnote{Muna Abu Eid, Mahmoud Darwish: Literature and the Politics of Palestinian Identity (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2016), p. 31.}

The second text was written by great Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, who tasted the bitterness of the Occupation's prison. Like any mother who longs to see her imprisoned son, his mother decided to visit him and bring him fruit and coffee . . . \textit{Arabic Language, Grade 10}, Vol. 2, 2018, p. 164.

One should not conclude that the poem's removal suggests that Palestinian literature is not respected. In an article dedicated to values and literature, two of five examples are written by Palestinians from the Galilee in Israel (which is not mentioned). The quintessential example for the value of nationalism is found in Mahmoud Darwish's preoccupation with the Palestinian issue. An illustration of "patriotic values" is seen in the writings of Samih Al-Qasim (1939–2014)

The replacement text seems more focused on the homeland. The lesson in the 2018 edition is entitled "Loss and Longing between Two Poets"\footnote{Arabic Language, Grade 10, Vol. 2, 2018, p. 164.} while the comparable 2019 lesson is entitled "The Homeland between Two Poets."\footnote{Arabic Language, Grade 10, Vol. 2, 2019, p. 113.} Other examples of replacing a Palestine-related issue with a Qatar-related one also exist. In one case a poem by Saudi poet Abd Al-Rahman Al-'Ashmawi calling for the liberation of Jerusalem was replaced by an introduction to patriotic poetry in Qatar.\footnote{Arabic Language, Grade 9, Vol. 1, 2018, p. 120; Arabic Language, Grade 9, Vol. 1, 2019, p. 122.}
Gender and Society

The curriculum portrays women largely in traditional modes. But some subjects, such as science and English, include women in modern settings.

1. Let's Write!
   *Computing Information Technology, Grade 1, Vol. 2 (Workbook), 2019, p. 6.*

Males often wear traditional garb (Note that the girl's image is less traditional and came first):

2. I Browse the Internet
   *Computing Information Technology, Grade 1, Vol. 2 (Workbook), 2019, p. 28.*
Women are encouraged to be brave, while serving the home and homeland.

The mother said to her daughter: 'My little daughter, be strong and courageous and help your home and your homeland.'


Another traditional presentation of female status is seen in the story: "Every Girl Adores Her Father" which references the women of paradise from Islamic tradition. Just like the story itself, the good woman is the one who pleases her husband, is loving and has many children. Note that this hadith is quoted from Salafi scholar (Muhammad Nasiruddin) al-Albani (1914–99).\(^{163}\)

\(^{2}\) Abdullah bin Abbas narrated: 'The Messenger of God said: Shall I not inform you of your wives among the dwellers of Paradise? The loving and prolific [in giving birth]. If she offends or is offended, will take her husband's hand and say: In the name of Allah, I will not sleep until you are satisfied' [told by Al-Tabarani and improved by Al-Albani].


The following image portrays a typical image of males depicted as protectors. Here a benevolent-looking father walks his smiling children to the school bus.

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In an *Arabic Language* textbook the punctuation exercise in previous curricula was about a Qatari male racing car driver. The text is now dedicated to Rufaida Al-Aslamia, an Arab female doctor from early Islam who offered medical assistance on battlefields. She was also known as a companion to the Prophet Muhammad and a successful businesswoman. Her role may be seen as dualistic as both a successful professional, while at the same serving on the battlefield supporting Islam as a *jihadi*.

We see in other Muslim curricula—particularly in Iran and the Palestinian Authority—that women are elevated to *jihadi* or martyr status, as a considered advancement of women.

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**Eternal Women**

Who is the first nurse and physician in Islam? It is the great companion [to the Prophet] Rufaida Al-Aslamia, who treated the wounds of the Muslims in the raids commanded by the Prophet to spread Islam. She accepted the wounded and injured in her ambulance tent helped by a number of female companions who extended medical treatment to the Muslim wounded based on her wide medical experience and knowledge. She participated in the raids of the beloved Prophet such as the Battle of the Trench and Khaybar. She was reading and writing well and possessed great fortune which she spent on her charity work. What a great woman combining knowledge and ethics.


Thus, the curriculum values both traditional values and hints at empowerment of women. In the same textbook, there is a picture of a woman wearing an Islamic hijab standing in the library and reading a book. The context is that of the National Library of Qatar. The books and the hijab combine the power of learning and the obedience and adaptability expected by traditional values.

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164 *Arabic Language, Grade 7*, Vol. 1, 2018, p. 34.
Gender Roles

A 2019 eighth-grade *Islamic Education* textbook teaches the Sharia view that prohibits men and women from imitating one another in action or dress. This act, the curriculum maintains is against Allah’s plan as it disrupts the natural order of things by destabilizing the family structure and thus society. The chapter lists a person's lack of awareness, absence of religious boundaries, mental issues, and blind imitation as motivations for copying the opposite sex. Pride in religion is one way to solve this problem. The 2018 version of this textbook applies harsher language, and provides more detailed information on the imitation of men by women. The text does not encompass sexual conduct or specific punishments, except for the Prophet's curse which implies being deprived of Allah's mercy.
I will read and memorize:

Abdullah ibn Abbas narrated: 'The Messenger of Allah cursed the men who imitate women men and the women who imitate men.'

Within the Vastness of the Noble Hadith:

- **Allah created men and women and made each of them with a different nature. The purpose of this distinction is so that one completes the other. And with his integration, life will continue and livelihood sustained livelihood. The difference between man and woman is not meant to respect one and humiliate the other. If one of them tries to leave their position that was revealed by Allah, then matters will be disrupted and become out of its way and harm the entire society.

- **This is why the warning came to deter whoever is tempted to act against the natural disposition created by Allah. The Prophet gave a warning in the form of a curse which signals the removal from Allah’s mercy. This also indicates strict prohibition and great warning to men who imitate women in talking, acting, or appearance. The same prohibition and warning is directed as well to women who imitate men.

The Reasons Men and Women Imitate Each Other:

1- Lack of awareness and guidance from the family regarding the severity of such imitation and its consequences.
2- Feeble faith and scarcity of religious deterrent help this behavior and invite sins.
3- Mental problems: Some experience feelings of inferiority, so to compensate, they imitate the other gender to get attention.
4- Blind imitation.

Why Did Allah Prohibit Men and Women's Imitation of Each Other?

Imitation between men and women deviates from the purpose for which Allah wanted to distinguish men from women. There are many purposes, among them:
1- Increasing love and affection: creating distinction increases the love between the two [man and woman], as all families are based on the couple.
2- Stabilizing the family and society: This distinction between both (men and women) implies different roles for each of them in the family and in society, so it straightens life and stabilizes society.

Important Matters That Must Be Adhered to in Order to Avoid Imitation between Men and Women, Including:
1- Adherence to our natural disposition, created by Allah.
2- Right upbringing that nurtures pride in religion.
3- Right friendship and leadership.
4- Correcting false ideas and habits.
5- Filling one's time with useful activities.

What Must Be Considered in Men's And Women's Clothing:
- Men: Should wear what is usually known to be for men, as follows
  1- They are not to be made from silk or gold.
  2- They must avoid wearing jewelry that imitates women’s jewelry, such as necklaces or bracelets.
  3- They must cover their private parts.

- Women: They wear what is usually known to be for women, as follows:
  1- They must not wear jewelry that attracts men’s attention.
  2- They must not imitate men’s clothing.
  3- They must not wear tight or transparent clothes, but opt for loose coverings.
  4- They must cover their private parts.

Conclusion

Qatar has shown itself to be an ambitious country with a great many challenges in its path. The movement from poverty to affluence starting in the mid-twentieth century, along with a mostly capable leadership, has allowed the Gulf nation to create a viable economic plan (Vision 2030) to support its active involvement in regional and world affairs. Like Saudi Arabia with its Vision 2030 program, Qatar aspires to become a regional and global hub focusing on high visibility and specialization in the domains of media, education, sports, knowledge economy, transportation and diplomacy. The curriculum maintains that Qatar's involvement in world affairs is ongoing and includes the global spread of political Islam.

While its enormous wealth allows Qatar to employ a carrot-and-stick interventionist policy in a host of regional issues, the tiny peninsula with its miniscule army is constantly challenged by its more powerful neighbors in the Arabian Peninsula, the Gulf and Iran. At the same time, it continues to face internal challenges resulting from its demographic makeup. This focuses on an autocratic regime ruled by a minority immigrant tribe with the remainder of citizens, eligible to vote only in local elections. Most strikingly, almost 90 percent of Qatar's population are non-citizen immigrants who can be deported at any time, often experiencing segregation and discrimination.\(^{165}\) Such discrimination and the ensuing unrest it creates, contributes to Qatar's geopolitical vulnerability; its source of revenue, owes to a fortunate discovery of fossil fuels in the late 1930s.

The curriculum emphasizes nationalist identity which seems to be in the midst of a resurgence—likely in part due to the siege crisis affecting the emirate country. However, pan-Islamic and pan-Arab nationalism is also evident—though somewhat reduced from previous curricula. The Islamic dimension includes elements of Salafism and the Muslim Brotherhood. But Qatari education, despite such extreme religious influences, remains heavily influenced by Western educators displaying the Qatari gift for embracing contradictions.

Within the Islamic discourse there appears to be a slight movement away from the jihadism of the Muslim Brotherhood as well as from the cultural isolationism of the Salafists. Yet both defensive and offensive jihad is taught with contexts from early, Medieval and contemporary Islam. Certain particularly offensive material (such as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion) has been removed or replaced.

The curriculum expounds on the openness of Medieval Islamic states, leading to their rise in prominence culturally and economically. It attributes much of Qatar's financial success on education and openness; the historical emphasis on the Medieval translation movement in school textbooks recognizes the role of Christians and Jews and stresses the critical importance of

\(^{165}\) Pattisson, "Asian Town," The Guardian
tolerance and openness in Muslim societies. One should bear in mind that this moves the curriculum away from the Salafi ideal.\textsuperscript{166}

With gender, however, the Salafi voice remains intact. Women are encouraged to be brave, serving homes and homeland, to love their husbands, and to have many children. Yet, the empowerment of women is documented from supporting roles during early Islamic times and currently in the opportunities afforded them by education and the ability to participate in the Consultative Council (\textit{Majlis al Shura}); but such empowerment is not at the expense of strict adherence to traditionalist beliefs.

Qatar's commitment to issues important to the Arab world remains strong; occasionally one finds such support replaced with sections that favor Qatari national causes. Demonization of Israel conveniently becomes part of that identity in supporting the Palestinian cause. Absent from the curriculum is an understanding of the perennial Middle Eastern crises affecting non-Arab or non-Muslim minorities or their various issues. While the Turks and Iranians—and even the British and Americans—are respected, others are not.

Hatred and persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany is justified for their role in the downfall of post-WWI Germany and their control and manipulation of governments and world markets. Concerns related to the origin of Israel and the Jews in the region, Western antisemitism and the Holocaust, and the condition of Jews in Islamic lands, particularly in the modern age leading to mass exodus from Arab countries, are avoided. Other ethnic and religious minorities and tribes such as the Amazig, Yazidis, Kurds and Maronites are among those excluded. The curriculum teaches students the importance of protecting Muslim minorities, who are persecuted worldwide. China and India's abuses of their Muslim minorities is criticized. European governments strive to assimilate their Muslim populace.

An idyllic presentation of the history of Islam as tolerant, liberal, interactive and advanced is preferable to the radicalism and \textit{jihadism} that still exists across the curriculum. Yet from the perspective of UNESCO standards it is important to present such history more completely and accurately.

Qatar appears to be in a process of reducing decades of radical education. Changes are slow and not fully consistent. A good starting point to view the curriculum is from the perspective of IMPACT-se's UNESCO-derived standards for \textit{SOUND PROSPERITY} and \textit{COOPERATION}, reflecting society's vision.

In the Qatari curriculum, prosperity is tightly linked to opening education and cultural interaction with the world. However, such behavior is new. Until very recently one could see vicious attacks

\textsuperscript{166} \textit{Al-salaf al-salih} (the righteous early), refers to the first three generations of Islam: The "friends" (of the Prophets), the "followers," and the "followers of the followers" [الصحابة، التابعون، تابعو التابعين].
against Western civilization. *Islamic Education* textbooks have been fashioned by Muslim Brotherhood affiliates targeting Jews, Crusaders, missionaries, secular-modernists and secular Arabs. Democracy—a Western innovation—was seen as contradicting Islam.

The new curriculum speaks of democracy and cultural exchange. This may explain Qatar's intention to maintain high visibility in international affairs. Various projects such as hosting the FIFA World Cup and funding the first mosque and Islamic center in Denmark are praised. The curriculum maintains that the Copenhagen mosque aims at "disseminating the culture of peace" correcting "the distorted image of Islam," while repudiating violence and hatred and spreading tolerance.\(^{167}\) However the curriculum omits Qatar's controversial treatment of workers building World Cup venues\(^ {168}\) or the opposition of Denmark citizens to the activities of the Grand Mosque.\(^ {169}\) Students are also taught to be proud of Qatar's involvement in Gaza and to be enthusiastic over attacks against Israeli civilians.

There is no education for peace in the Israeli-Palestinian context even as the two-state solution is mentioned. The "obligation of Muslims is to liberate Palestine from the Occupation." Simply, the curriculum's presentation of Israel, peace and Jewish issues do not meet UNESCO'S standards. The textbooks provide very little UNBIASED INFORMATION regarding Jews and Israel; they do not show RESPECT nor do they acknowledge INDIVIDUAL OTHER Israelis, let alone Israel as a national entity. HATE continues to be instilled through examples that carry over to some textbooks from previous curricula, such as the "The Treacherous Jew"; "Zionism is an extremely racist political movement"; and "Israel is an Occupying State" representing "the most severe type of colonialism." Students are taught to support Palestinian "resistance" and to expect "victory against Israel and annihilation of the enemy . . . without compromise" Thus, PEACEMAKING is almost never found in this context.

And yet, Jews are mentioned in the context of the Medieval translation movement. The description of Zionism as a racist movement still remains but was removed from at least one textbook as were some antisemitic myths. Old Islamic anti-Jewish tropes exist, but were minimized in recent editions. The curriculum still falsely frames the Jewish national movement as a colonial-settler enterprise, and Israel as an occupation state.

Similarly, some anti-Christian material has been removed. But Christians, along with Jews as "People of the Book" are blamed for causing divisions among Muslims. The curriculum respects Western scientists and scholars. The US, Britain, Turkey Iran, China and Oman are portrayed as

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friendly actors. China's persecution of Muslims is detailed; *jihadism* in Kashmir is applauded. There is no anti-Shiite material, perhaps in deference to the large Shiite population and the current close relations with Iran. Criticism of the rival Arab siege countries is restrained, leaving open avenues for dialogue. The curriculum's idyllic portrayal of the Islamic treatment of minorities is simplistic (former editions described minorities as collaborating with the enemy).

Finally, the curriculum teaches students tolerance toward the expatriate community. It encourages them to respect all members of the Qatari population and cautiously fosters the idea that democracy represents the future. Regarding GENDER, the curriculum exhorts both traditional values and empowerment for women, at times creating contradictions. Careers for women are not a priority. They are encouraged to be brave, serving homes and homeland, loving their husbands while having many children. The curriculum rejects non-traditional gender roles (even actors playing opposite-gender roles).

The Qatari curriculum appears to be in a phase of transformation. Qatar's ambition to be actively involved in world affairs includes the global spread of political Islam, supporting Iranian and Turkish agendas, radical movements such as Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood, and subverting other regimes such as Egypt. There are many contradictory signals attending such outreach: Building an Islamic Center in Denmark or supporting so-called human rights causes around the world can be interpreted in various ways. An us-versus-them mentality is taught to confront non-Muslims worldwide; the apparent goal is to destroy Israel and support Muslim victims of oppression, negative campaigns, displacement, genocide and even "benign" efforts by Europe to integrate them into society at large.

Such international preoccupation tends to obfuscate the major problem affecting the Qatari homeland, to wit, the maltreatment of its majority expatriate population. A more serious attitude toward improving conditions for this population could ultimately help Qatari leaders to channel their global ambitions into more meaningful and beneficial arenas. The curriculum includes hints in that direction, particularly with its discussions of democracy. If, as promised, the Consultative Council convenes as a parliament in 2021, we may hopefully see some of the promised changes. We will continue to watch closely if the curriculum—and the society it represents—evolves.
Methodology

IMPACT-se utilizes a content analysis research method to examine textbooks according to the following condensed criteria 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.\(^{170}\)

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.\(^{171}\)

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.\(^{172}\)

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.\(^{173}\)

5. **PEACEMAKING**: The curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace.\(^{174}\)

\(^{170}\) 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.

\(^{171}\) 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.


6. **UNBIASED INFORMATION**: Educational materials (textbooks, workbooks, teachers’ guides, maps, illustrations, aids) should be up-to-date, accurate, complete, balanced and unprejudiced, and use equal standards to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.¹⁷⁵

7. **GENDER**: The curriculum should foster equality and mutual respect between women and men. It should refrain from stereotyped gender roles.¹⁷⁶

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.¹⁷⁷

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¹⁷⁵ 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.

¹⁷⁶ 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.

¹⁷⁷ 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 Textbooks

The following Qatar 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. For this report, IMPACT-se acquired a large majority of the textbooks used in the Qatar curriculum. The remaining books were either unavailable or made unavailable for unknown reasons. We welcome any comments related to the acquisition of any omitted materials (http://www.impact-se.org/about-us/contact-us/).

Grade 1


Grade 2

27. Computing and Info Technology, Grade 2, Vol. 2 (Workbook), 2019

**Grade 3**


**Grade 4**


**Grade 5**


**Grade 6**


**Grade 7**


**Grade 8**


**Grade 9**


**Grade 10**


**Grade 11**


**Grade 12**