

Palestinian Elementary School Curriculum 2016–17:

RADICALIZATION AND REVIVAL OF THE PLO PROGRAM



Eldad J. Pardo April 2017



Contents

Acknowledgements*

1	Executive Summary
3	Introduction
5	National Struggle: Identity and Violence
10	Respect for Authority Figures and Care for Local "Others
11	Nationalism Instilled via Folklore
12	The One State Vision
21	After Seventy Years: The Refugee Problem Endures, Continuing from Generation to Generation
29	The Ancient Palestinians
30	Paradoxical "Israel": Denied and Demonized
36	The PA's Islam: Nationalism and Limited Tolerance
42	Christianity in the PA Curriculum: Jewish Roots Ignored
44	Discussion: Upper and Lower Grades
51	Conclusions
52	Methodology
54	List of Quoted Textbooks

^{*}We would like to acknowledge Dr. Arnon Groiss for his collaboration and advice. Our thanks as well to our editor, David Byer, who also contributed to the development of our thesis and arguments.

Executive Summary

The new Palestinian curriculum, which includes new textbooks for grades 1–4, is significantly more radical than previous curricula. To an even greater extent than the 2014–15 textbooks, the curriculum teaches students to be martyrs, demonizes and denies the existence of Israel and focuses on a "return" to an exclusively Palestinian homeland.

Within the pages of the textbooks children are taught to be expendable. Messages such as: "the volcano of my revenge"; "the longing of my blood for my land"; and "I shall sacrifice my blood to saturate the land" suffuse the curriculum. Math books use numbers of dead martyrs to teach arithmetic. The vision of an Arab Palestine includes the entirety of what is now Israel, defined as the "1948 Occupied Territories."

The curriculum teaches that national institutions and authorities should be respected and encourages personal success. Still, while Islam is not used as a radical political tool for this age group, negative messages linger regarding non-Muslims. And though Christian education is provided, Jewish roots are ignored. This new curriculum appears to be a departure from the Canaanite roots narrative of past curricula, but Arabs continue to be presented as original dwellers of the land. Palestinian identity, as conveyed to these children, is now more realistically based on Levantine-Palestinian folklore alongside Arabism, Islam, and the struggle against Israel.

This research also revisits textbooks from grades 11–12 to reassess the Palestinian worldview as conveyed to older students. The texts for this age group commemorate the PLO's armed struggle and explain the rejection of past solutions. There is a focus on historical events involving anti-Jewish violence such as the 1936–39 (Arab) Revolt and the Al-Aqsa Intifada. The curriculum highlights the 1974 phased program for the conquest of the Land of Israel/Palestine. The strategy of violence and pressure (in place of negotiations) is advocated as the most effective action to achieve Palestinian goals, likely derived from the Sixth Fatah Conference of 2009. And in these uppergrade textbooks, the concept of "eternal war" is instigated through the abuse of Islamic terminology.

Within the higher-grade textbooks, there remain an absolute lack of empathy for the "Other," nor any comprehension or explanation of the root causes of the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis. Thus the hatred of Israel persists. The reality that Arab-Palestinians and Jews cooperated together in the past on a regular and widespread basis in a variety of activities—and that they still do—is entirely missing from the perspective of this curriculum.

Remarkably, the curriculum for grades 11–12 covers those periods in which Palestinians were considered at first Ottomans, (part of the anti-Ottoman, Great Arab Revolt); and later insisted on being Syrians; and then voted to become Jordanians. The expressed Islamic and Arabic identity together with the Levantine-Palestinian folklore stressed in grades 1–4 suggest that a cultural/regional approach may provide the missing link to reconciliation among people in the region.

Main Points

- The new Palestinian grades 1–4 curriculum is significantly more radical than in previous curricula.
- The 1974 PLO's Phased Plan for the conquest of the Land of Israel/Palestine is taught. The curriculum reflects a strategy of violence and pressure in place of peaceful negotiations.
- Struggle against Israel and its disappearance is the main theme.
- Martyrdom, demonization and "return" are educational keys. Children are expendable.
- National institutions and authorities are taught to be respected. Personal success is encouraged. The curriculum is sensitive to gender and the environment, but falls short on cooperation.
- Islam is not used as a radical political tool in grades 1–4, yet includes biases towards non-Muslims. Religion is clearly abused in grades 11–12 to foment hate amid calls for eternal war in the Levant.
- The Canaanite roots narrative was not found in the new grade 1–4 curriculum, suggesting a return to a somewhat more genuine identity narrative based on Arabism, Islam, Levantine local folklore and "the struggle."

Radicalization includes revenge and blood; martyrs are used as examples in math classes. There is no empathy toward Israel as the Other.

Policy Recommendations

- 1. There is a need for urgency. The PLO/PA educational system has created a Palestinian nationalism that absolutely rejects the Other and is therefore incompatible with Israel's existence. This trend must be immediately reversed.
- 2. The curriculum should focus on the creation of a constructive Palestinian identity and be free of the "struggle" and its accompanying terminology—terrorism, guerilla, resistance (*muqawama*), *jihad*, *ribat*, popular resistance—all should be excluded from the curriculum.
- 3. A wider viewpoint of the mutual contributions of both peoples demonstrates a history of peace and collaboration. The historical forces leading to the conflict should be honestly outlined and presented. Personal connections should be encouraged along with the realization of a future based on a new curriculum formulated on the tenets of UNESCO's Peace and Tolerance standards.

4. Interfaith education, which emphasizes respecting the Other by exploring the common Abrahamic and regional roots of the two peoples could be helpful in aiding students to value the Other more intrinsically.

Introduction

While this report is by no means exhaustive, it contains a number of important new insights and includes a thorough examination of the new 2016–17 textbooks for grades 1–4. At the same time, the report looks again at textbooks of the higher grades that focus more on politics, especially those of grades 11–12. By focusing mainly on the lowest and highest grades, we hope to chart the cognitive and emotional effect on students of the worldview devised by the Palestinian Authority's political and educational leadership.

The lower grade texts provide us with the contours of Palestinian identity, assuming that children between six and ten years of age are still too young to understand the complex realities that surround them. This does not mean that children this age cannot grasp the presence of cultural and political Others toward which compassion and empathy can be expressed. Indeed, the curriculum encourages accepting Others, such as the Christian minority, women, the elderly and the disabled. But children are not taught to have similar understanding of their neighbor Others—which is to say Israelis in all their multicultural forms—who share land, heritage, history and a future with Palestinian Muslims. Instead, one finds a combination of complete denial and hatred of Israel as an existing neighbor. There is little doubt of significant—even alarming—deterioration of the curriculum's message when compared with our review of previous texts for these age groups. In this regard, that does not bode well for future peace prospects.

Students in the upper grades, are given a historical and strategic perspective of the Palestinian worldview, created by the fully independent PA educational system as they prepare for their matriculation exams [tawjihi] (now recognized by Israel's leading academic institution, The Hebrew University). These textbooks present a much harsher historical and political perspective of Israel as a bitter rival and enemy in war and diplomacy. Tragically absent for those about to become young adults is a critically needed explanation for the reasons why there *is* an Israel on the same land, in the first place.

Palestinian students are taught little of their historical partnership of the land with the Jewish people and even less about why Jews have asserted their right to self-determination and the claim to Israel as their national homeland. There is likewise no mention of the Holocaust or the destruction of Jewish communities within Arab territories.

It is noteworthy that the two peoples have shared cultural roots in a land comprised largely of immigrants. The rise of radical forms of nationalism and the frequent intolerance toward minorities in modern Europe and the Muslim Middle East have almost certainly contributed to the narrow perspective taught to Palestinian students regarding the Other, while robbing them of the tools necessary for reconciliation amid a good-neighborly environment.

Studying both age groups comprising the lower and upper grades allows us to grasp more accurately the worldview and strategy adopted by the Palestinian leadership in its struggle against Israel. The curriculum for both groups of students reflect a comprehensive Palestinian strategy, likely based on the Sixth Fatah Conference of 2009, which established a policy of unilateral diplomatic effort in the international arena to accompany "popular resistance."

The curriculum also promotes the century-old paradigm of a ceaseless effort to destroy Israel in stages. A new generation of Palestinian children is methodically being educated in the spirit of the Ten-Point Program adopted by the Palestinian National Council ([PNC] (the legislative body of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], at its twelfth meeting in Cairo June 8, 1974). The plan called for the establishment of a national authority "over every part of Palestinian territory that is liberated" with the aim of "completing the liberation of all Palestinian territory." The curriculum includes an uncompromising rejection of Israel and a combination of violence and international community pressure to accommodate Palestinian demands. What used to be the strategy of one extremist guerilla movement has now become the standard for all Palestinians students.

The systematic hatred of all things Jewish/Israeli likely makes students malleable to more direct calls for action as required by the Palestinian Authority (exemplified during the Knife Intifada). While there are limits to overt incitement in the official Palestinian curriculum for reasons of deniability,¹ the curriculum seems designed to create an Us (Palestinian)-versus-Them (all things Israel) mentality, measured against which all means, fighting and struggle are legitimate. Such instruction is also supplemented with speeches by authorities, social gatherings or through social networks.

Palestinian students vow to "saturate the 'generous' land" with their blood. Each student recites: "I vow I shall sacrifice my blood . . . will remove/eliminate the usurper from my country, and will annihilate the remnants of the foreigners." There is apparently no restriction on violence until the last Israeli is out of Palestine.

_

¹ Eldad J. Pardo, "The PA Educational System: In the Shadow of the Terror Wave" (IMPACT-se, May 2016), pp. 11–13

² Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2016–17, pp. 64.

The vision presented by the curriculum is that of a struggle "until the day of resurrection" to secure one Arab Palestine that includes all the territory of Israel, with Israel's capital as the Palestinian capital, and being part of the "Arab Homeland," Arab Nation and Muslim Nation. A massive "return" of Arab Palestinians into what is now Israel is envisaged.

This curriculum emphasizes an improvement of national commitment; love of nature and the environment; markedly narrow respect for the Other (those within Palestinian boundaries) such as women, Christians and the disabled; and respect for teachers and authority figures. And beyond the curriculum, between Israelis and Palestinians, in reality, the two peoples actually collaborate with one another economically and culturally all the time, a topic both peoples are often all too happy to ignore.

Finally, as to material that might be added or discarded, these include everything that present an obstacle to trust and understanding, especially the commitment to violence and pressure instead of dialogue and learning about the Other as partner.

National Struggle: Identity and Violence

The most conspicuous impression one receives during the study of elementary Palestinian textbooks is its stress on Arab-Palestinian nationalism, covering the territory of the British Mandate in Palestine/the Land of Israel in 1922–48. The following directions from a teacher's guide refer to the "establishment of a Palestinian state with its capital in Jerusalem." But there is no specificity regarding the territory of the state to be established. The textbooks, however, refer to the entirety of [historical] "Palestine," (including Israel proper).

This book aims at building the national and value system and strengthen it among the younger generation of our student sons in order to accompany the changes in political, economic, social, cultural and technological arenas and face various challenges imposed by the occupation on our soil, using various measures intended to keep its hegemony and control over our destiny and our resources in an effort to eliminate all the independent, regional and international attempts for the liberation, construction and establishment of a Palestinian state with its capital in Jerusalem . . .

National and Life Education, Teachers Guide, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, Preface.

The flag, a version of the anti-Ottoman /pro-British Arab revolt featured in many Arab flags and the map, are perhaps the most important symbols of Palestinian identity imparted to students. Palestinian nationalism has always been stressed, but it seems to be even stronger now.



We sing:

I will deliver you, Oh my homeland/Oh, star of the nations We will plant the soil/in dream and in glory We shall protect Jerusalem/with eye and determination And our land shall live/her flag hoisted Oh my original homeland/Paradise of blessings We will defend it with love/in giving and generosity.

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1**, Vol. 1, 2016-17**, p 89.

The poem is seemingly rather benign and patriotic, even as it alludes to struggle and defense. However, the military dimension is already included in the first-grade:



Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2016-17, p 81.

The Palestinian national anthem, taught in third-grade, instills the spirit of fighting, revenge and sacrifice. It revolves around the *Fida'i*, warriors of *Fedayeen*, guerillasuicide warriors who pioneered Palestinian terrorism.





National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 16–17.

Activity 1: We listen and repeat:

Warrior, warrior, warrior, Oh my land, the land of the ancestors Warrior, warrior, warrior, Oh my people, people of eternity

With my determination, my fire and the volcano of my revenge With the longing of my blood for my land and my home, I have climbed the mountains and fought the struggle I have conquered the impossible, and smashed the bonds

With the wind's resolve and the weapon's fire And the determination of my people to fight the struggle Palestine is my home, and the trail of my victory Palestine is my revenge and the land of steadfastness

By the oath under the flag

By my land and people, and the fire of pain

I will live as a warrior, I will remain a warrior,

I will die as a warrior—until my country returns.

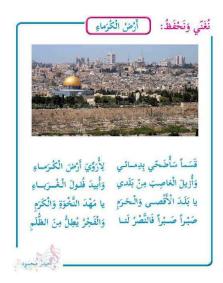
National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, pp. 15–16.

Activities around the national poem include repetitions in singing groups (Ibid. pp 17–18). The text explains:

Our national anthem expresses the struggle of the Palestinian people and their right for freedom and independence, return to their homeland and its defense, since it is the homeland of the fathers and grandfathers.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 18.

Hence, national goals that include the concept of "return" [into Israel] should be achieved by blood spilling and self-sacrifice. The following poem, "The Land of the Generous" by Hamid Mahmoud, is printed under a picture of Jerusalem, East and West. Israelis are referenced in the poem as foreigners or strangers (*ghuraba'*), ignoring a millennia old presence in the Holy Land.



We sing and remember:

The Land of the Generous

I vow I shall sacrifice my blood, to saturate the land of the generous And will eliminate the usurper from my country, and will annihilate the remnants of the foreigners.

Oh the land of Al-Aqsa and the Haram, oh cradle of chivalry and generosity

Patient, be patient as victory is ours, dawn is emerging from the oppression.

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p 64.

Children are expected to become martyrs; in other words, to be killed in conflicts with security forces. The following illustration shows children in the classroom looking at their friend's desk with the sign: "The Martyr." Getting killed in clashes becomes part of the curriculum.



National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016-17, p. 59.

Sacrifice and martyrdom, or suicide attacks, are not taught in the abstract, but are directly related to actual conflagrations. Students are aware that they should follow in the footsteps of those martyrs (*shuhada*) who died before them. The following example handles this issue as taught in a grade 4 mathematics textbook.[N.B. The new curriculum reintroduced funeral images excluded between 2001–09]



The number of martyrs of the First Intifada during 1987–93 totaled 2026 martyrs, and the number of martyrs of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Intifada in the year 2000 totaled 5,050 martyrs while the number of the wounded reached 49,760. How many martyrs died in the two Intifadas?

[This math question includes a photograph of a funeral procession featuring coffins covered with the Palestinian flag.]

Mathematics, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 35.

The number of the martyrs of the First Intifada is two thousand and twenty six martyrs.

Mathematics, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 11.

ا عَدَدُ شُهَداءِ فِلَسْطينَ أثناء العدوان على قطاع غزة عام ٢٠١٤م بلغ ٢١٣٩ شهيداً.	9
أُكْتُبُ عَدَدَ الشُّهَداءِ بِالْكَلِماتِ ثُمَّ أَقْرَأُ الْعَدَدَ .	
👶 أَكْتُبُ عَدَداً واحِداً أَكْبَرَ مِنْهُ	
👛 أَكْتُكُ عَدَداً واحِداً أَصْغَرَ مِنْهُ	

The number of the Palestine martyrs during the aggression on the Gaza Strip in the year 2014 reached 2,139.

- * Write the number of martyrs in words; then read the number.
- * Write a number that is one greater than that number.
- * Write a number that is one smaller than that number. *Mathematics*, **Grade 3**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 11.

Respect for Authority Figures and Care for Local "Others"

Part of the creation of a national identity has to do with building a normal society, which includes children following directions and the government providing services to citizens.

In the following image, describing a visit to the zoo, students are encouraged to follow directions given by an official in uniform and other adults:



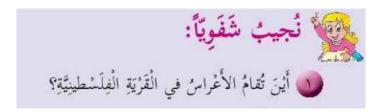
Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016-17, p. 74.

Nationalism Instilled via Folklore

The textbooks for the lower grades make use of local traditions and folklore and associate them with their national identity. In the following image taken from a chapter on a village wedding, one can see the village *dabkeh* group dancing. *Dabkeh* is an ancient and popular folk dance prevalent across the region and beyond. As with other folk traditions employed in similar ways elsewhere, such traditions are used to bolster a national cause, giving it a cultural framework. In the image one can also see the flag and the black-and-white fishnet pattern keffiyeh, which became Arafat's iconic symbol, as well as that of the Fatah movement and ultimately Palestinian nationalism.



Our Beautiful Language, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016-17, p. 5.



We answer orally: Where are weddings held in the Palestinian village?

[Answer: In the public square.]

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016-17, p. 7.

In another fourth-grade textbook, the keffiyeh is directly associated with the national struggle. Again, garments widespread across the Levant, the Arab world and beyond are typically branded as Palestinian.



<u>I learned</u>: Of old, the Palestinian man used to wear garments consisting of loose trousers [serwal], a long flowing robe [kumbaz], head cord [aqal], headscarf [hattah] and keffiyeh.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p. 16.

The curriculum also encourages the fulfillment of various dream archetypes to instill Palestinian national identity. The following image describes the dream of a Palestinian boy, Firas, who wants to lead a mission to the moon. His mother promises Firas that through determination and perseverance, dreams can be achieved.



Our Beautiful Language, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016-17, p. 65.

The One State Vision

The curriculum envisions a large Palestine with Jerusalem (not East Jerusalem), at its center. There is no room for Jews or Israelis in the future capital city of Palestine:

Jerusalem is a Palestinian city and capital of the State of Palestine. The Palestinian flag will be hoisted on the city's walls after the liberation from Israeli occupation, God willing.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 26.

The Holy Places of Jerusalem do not include any Jewish site. A related point to consider is that originally the Palestinian curriculum did not include Jewish places, such as Rachel's Tomb, but then adopted a policy of denial. As an example, the following map shows the Old City of Jerusalem, which includes the Jewish Quarter

but which no longer has any reference to the Wailing Wall, Judaism's most holy place and removed from the curriculum in the early 2000s.



National Education, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2002, p. 42. [Removed from the curriculum.]

On the other hand, a British Mandate period postage stamp in which Hebrew writing had been erased, is no longer in the curriculum.



National Education, **Grade 2**, Vol. 1, 2014, Cover Page and p. 7. [N.B. Removed from the curriculum.]

Still, the Jewish presence continues to be denied.

The holy places in Jerusalem: Al-Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 26–7.

Jerusalem is wrongly described as being established by "our Arab ancestors." Although these Arabs are not defined as Palestinians, the city is defined as an "Arab city" and there is apparently no longer any reference to Canaanites as ancestors.

Jerusalem is an Arab city built by our Arab ancestors thousands of years ago. It is holy to Muslims and Christians.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 28.

It is our duty to the city of Jerusalem to protect it, preserve it and its holy places, to pray for her and to strengthen the steadfastness of its people until we liberate it from the occupation.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016-17, p. 30.

An important part of the nationalism presented to young children includes the sea and oranges, characteristic to the Israeli coast and Gaza.



Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p 81.

Assignment to specify the names of Palestinian towns overlooking the Mediterranean with a focus on Acre, Haifa, Jaffa and Gaza. [Not a translation, but paraphrased –EP]

National and Life Education, Teachers Guide, Grade 2, Vol. 1, PA 2016–17, p. 99.

The following painting and story combines criticism of the security barrier with a longing for the Israeli territories, considered Palestinian:



We reflect upon the painting and discuss.

The above picture is part of a chapter on the widespread and popular Anemone Coronaria flowers in the region. The picture is followed by a story, "The Anemone," which describes a little girl, Layla, playing among the anemone flowers while chasing colorful butterflies—until she bumps into the security barrier.

She continued to run until she arrived at the concrete wall; and she stopped, sad. She did not know what to do next. She saw an anemone flower, alone at the bottom of the wall. She went near the butterflies and asked: "Why is she alone this way"?

The blue butterfly answered: "Because the wall separates her from her sisters."

Layla then flies with the butterflies over the wall and enjoys the beautiful friends [on the Israeli side].

The red butterfly: "This is *Marj Ibn Amer* [Jezreel Valley]."

Layla:" And what is that mountain"?

The white butterfly: "Its name is Carmel, and it is located in the city of Haifa."

The story ends with the butterflies accompanying Layla to her home. As she thanks them, she declares:

"Inevitably we will return"!

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17, pp. 32–33.

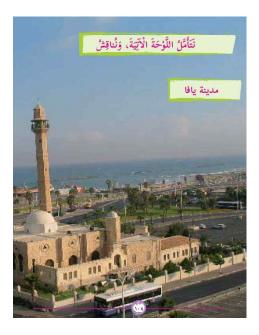
While Layla is dreaming about the return to Palestine/Israel, in the following poem by Ibrahim Ali, two young members of Fatah, the lion cub boy and the flower girl, are ready to attack. The accompanying illustration shows the two, in uniform, against the

background of a blood-spilled path leading to Jerusalem. They commit themselves to conquer Haifa, Jaffa and Jerusalem.



I am a lion cub, I'm a flower/we gave our spirits to the revolution Our grandfathers built houses/for us in our free country I am a lion cub, I'm a flower/we carried the revolution's flame To Haifa, to Jaffa/to Al-Aqsa/ to [Jerusalem's Dome of] the Rock. *Our Beautiful Language*, **Grade 2**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 42.

Visual memories of Israeli cities considered Palestinian are extensively presented in the curriculum.



We meditate upon the picture, and discuss.

The City of Jaffa

"I am Jaffa; I am the Sea Bride; I am a Palestinian city. Your ancient Arab forefathers built me six thousand years ago on the Mediterranean coast."

Among the questions: 2. "When did the Arabs build the city of Jaffa"? **Our Beautiful Language**, **Grade 3**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, pp. 104, 106–7.

There is a song about the bird that will visit Palestine, visiting places such as Safed, Tiberias, Acre, Haifa, Jaffa and Ramle [all in Israel proper].

The texts incorporate games with names of Palestinian towns such as Acre and Jaffa, all part of Israel.

There is a story about a boy who healed a bird and kept her in a cage. His mother reminds him that his uncle was captive. Questions include: "Who reminds you of the story of the bird"? Note next to the question: "Students' responses will be accepted with stories of captivity."

National and Life Education, Teachers Guide, Grade 1, Vol. 1, PA 2016–17, pp. 71–2.

The poem "Peace upon Our Hills," is presented against the background of a map representing the one-state Palestinian homeland. The poem includes the expressions, "Peace upon my dear homeland" and "We love you my dear homeland."



Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 104.



A Tourist Map of Palestine *National Education and Socialization*, **Grade 3**, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p. 80.



The above is a political map of Palestine that includes the entire territory of Israel, with neighboring Arab countries; but Israel is not depicted. The assignment for the student is to look at the map and find the city of Ramallah, then locate four other cities, to the north, to the south, to the east and to the west of Ramallah. The map includes many Israeli cities with Arab names, including, interestingly, Tel Aviv which carries the translation: *Tal al-Rabi* (Mound of Spring).

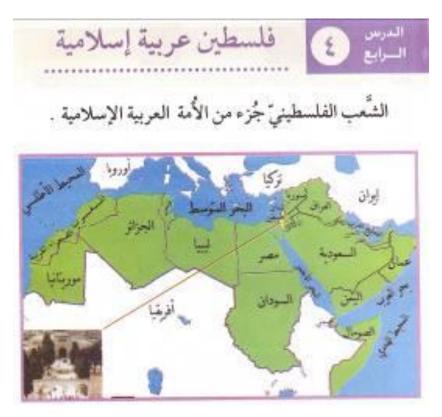
Mathematics, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 143.

Two issues apparently caused criticism within the Palestinian media: The Arabic name mistakenly given to Tel Aviv and the fact that Ramallah is at the center of the map while Jerusalem, not even mentioned in the questions, is the "city to the south

of Ramallah." Regardless of the mistaken assumption that Tel Aviv may originally have had an Arabic name, the map is typical in the sense that it totally excludes everything Israeli.

A new map of the "Arab Homeland" bears much similarity to the former map, but uses colors to emphasize Palestine even more. In both cases Israel does not exist, but the former map suggests that the Arab nation extends to vast territories, while the new map focuses on the Palestinians as separate from the rest of the Arabs, though still part of the Arab Nation.

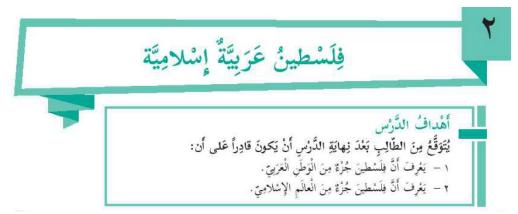
To understand the changes made in the maps, it will be useful to first look at the map shown in the 2014 curriculum:



Palestine is Arab-Islamic

The Palestinian people are part of the Arab-Islamic Nation. *National Education*, **Grade 2**, Vo. 1, 2014, p. 16.

In the 2016–17 curriculum, the title again is "Palestine is Arab-Islamic," but the lesson's goals differentiate between Arab and Islamic. The student should "know that Palestine is part of the Arab Homeland [rather than nation]" and "... that Palestine is part of the Muslim world [again rather than nation]."

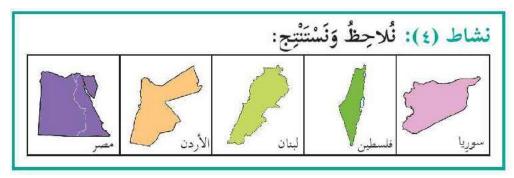


National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p. 5.

While this may seem to be a nuance, the separation between the concept of Palestine and that of Arab and Islamic becomes clearer when viewing the following graphics, as Palestine assumes different colors, includes its flag and is also shown separately on other maps.



National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p. 5.



National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p. 5.

After Seventy Years: The Refugee Problem Endures, Continuing from Generation to Generation

Another area of substantial change in the new curriculum concerns Palestinian refugees. The refugee issue perhaps constitutes the most difficult obstacle to any conclusive peace agreement. By making the issue a central element of the next generations' identity with the insistence on "return" to Israel/Palestine, Palestinian educators signal that there is very little room for compromise on this matter. The curriculum does not report about the many Palestinians from abroad³ who have settled in the territories and Israel or those Palestinians from the territories who have also immigrated to Israel. Nor do the examined texts explain why refugees have remained in the camps since the creation of the Palestinian Authority.

An elderly Palestinian passes the key to his lost home to the young generation.



I see in the picture...The grandfather is talking to his grandchildren about...The number of people in the picture...The number of males is...The number of females is...

Mathematics, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 67.

In the following image and explanation, another elderly Palestinian shares with his granddaughter the key and title of their home, left-behind in Palestine:

-

³ According to Arnon Sofer (University of Haifa), 302,000 Palestinians settled in Israel between 1948–2004. This does not include the large numbers of Palestinians who settled in the Palestinian territories.

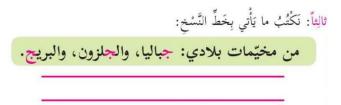


دَخَلَتْ سَناءُ غُرْفَةَ جَدِّها الَّذي يَسْكُنُ في مُخَيَّمِ الْيَرْموكِ في سورِيا، وَوَجَدَتْ أَمامَهُ صُنْدوقاً فَسَأَلَتْه: ما هذا الصُّنْدوقُ يا جَدِّي؟

Sana entered the room of her grandfather who lives in the Yarmouk refugee camp in Syria, found a box in front of him, and asked: "What is this box, oh grandpa"?

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016-17, p. 31.

An exercise is featured for students to connect the words: "refugees" and "return." *Our Beautiful Language*, **Grade 3**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 29.



We will write the following in the *Naskh* calligraphic style: Among the [refugee] camps of my country: *Jabalia*, *Jelazun* and *al-Bureij* [all sharing the letter *j*/Arabic *jim*].

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3, Vol. 1 2016–17, p. 50.

In 2012 the number of the inhabitants of the *al-Fari'ah* [refugee] camp totaled - 7,830 people.

Mathematics, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 13.



Deir Ammar and 'Aqbat Jabr are [two of] the Palestinian refugee camps. The population of Deir Ammar is 2,400 people, while the population of Aqbat Jabr is 6436 people. Answer the following:

- What is the meaning of refugee camps?
- When were the dwellers of these camps driven from their original homes?
- Point to other refugee camps.
- What is the total population of the above-mentioned two camps? *Mathematics*, **Grade 3**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 46.

An atmosphere of hate and resentment is fostered with the text's emphasis on refugees living in suffering conditions within the camps.



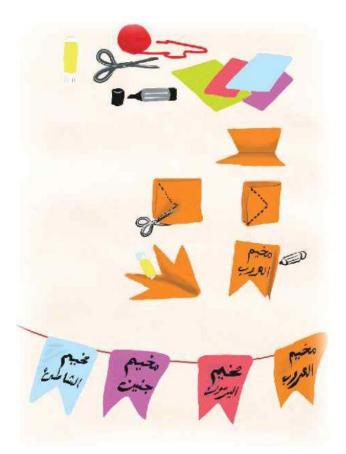
Activity 3: We observe and draw conclusions:

We draw conclusions from the difficult conditions in the Palestinian camps from the two pictures.

We clarify the rights of the Palestinian refugee.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016-17, p. 34

A classroom artwork activity includes making ornaments with the names of four famous refugee camps, *al-Arroub*, *al-Yarmouk*, *Jenin* and *al-Shati*, in the West Bank, Syria and the Gaza Strip. Such activities aimed at drawing attention to the refugee camps, suggest to the next Palestinian generation that the core of their struggle lies in Israel proper, beyond the West Bank and Gaza.



National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 38.

Children are taught that "return" [into Israel/Palestine] is an inherent part of the Palestinian national mission.

Our national anthem expresses the struggle of the Palestinian people and their right to freedom and independence and return to their homeland and its defense, since it is the homeland of fathers and grandfathers.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 18.

In the following Palestinian demographic data, Israel proper is considered "occupied territories," but not the West Bank and Gaza. Students are asked to place the appropriate demographic numbers in boxes under the table.

عَدَد السُكانَ	المنطقة	٦ الجَدُول الآتي
٤٧٥	الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة	يُوضِّح عَدَّدَ شُكَانَ
1 8 7	داخل الأراضي المحتلة عام ١٩٤٨م	فلسطين لعام ٢٠١٥م،
0 2 7	في الدول العربية	حسب مركز الإحصاء
٦٨٥٠٠٠	في الدول الأجنبية	الفِلسُطينيّ :

The following table illustrates the number of Palestinian residents in 2015 according to the Palestinian Center of Statistics. The student should place the

appropriate numbers in the boxes under the table in descending order according to the number of residents:

Area	Number of Residents
The West Bank and	4,750,000
Gaza	
Inside the 1948	1,470,000
Occupied Territories	
In Arab Countries	5,460,000
In Foreign Countries	685,000

[See spaces as added in Arabic chart above] *Mathematics*, **Grade 4**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 25.

The following map of Israel, the West Bank and Gaza, all depicted as one Palestinian homeland, with Palestine's neighboring countries, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt. Israeli areas such as the Galilee and the Negev are noted as part of Palestine, alongside Arab names of Israeli cities such as *Akka* (Akko, Acre), *Asqalan* (Ashkelon) and *Asdud* (Ashdod). The names of Tel Aviv and Jaffa were removed, but some letters remain (*Tal, Ja*). Originally the name given to Tel Aviv in this map was *Tal al-Rabi'* (The Mound of the Spring). Since Tel Aviv-Jaffa is a new city, its common Arabic name is *Tal Abib*. The name was erased most likely in the aftermath of angry commentary in some Palestinian media. The map and the embarrassing incident that followed the publication of PA's first curriculum, shows that Palestinian elementary school students are being methodically denied any positive information whatsoever concerning Israel.

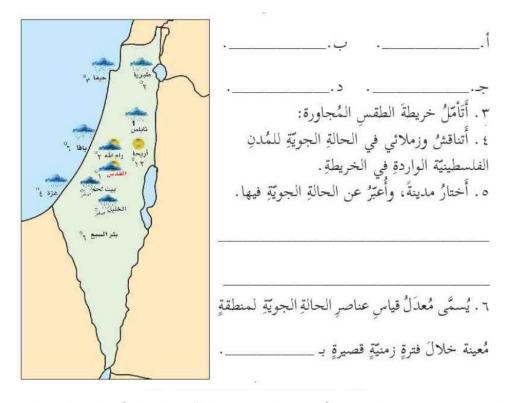


Mathematics, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 134.

The new fourth-grade science book uses weather studies to get across the one-state Arab-Palestine message. Textbooks show a snow-covered Jerusalem and describe the weather conditions in the imaginary Palestinian state, on a map only covering Arab cities.



Science and Life, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016-17, p. 2



The text includes the following: "I discuss with my friends the weather conditions in Palestinian cities featured in the map."

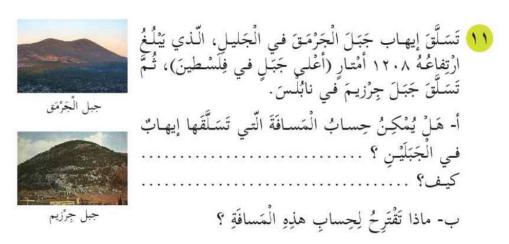
Science and Life, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016-17, p. 4.

From a national education book, a map exercise covers a Palestine that does not include Israel.



<u>Final Activity:</u> We will draw the map of our country with our bodies. **National and Life Education, Grade 2**, Vol. 1, PA 2016–17, p. 18.

From a math textbook:



The height of Israel's Mount Meron (*Jabal al-Jarmaq*) is openly included in the Palestinian math curriculum:

The height of *Jabal al-Jarmaq* is 1208 meters. *Mathematics*, **Grade 3**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 13.

And another math question:

Ihab climbed *Jabal al-Jarmaq* in the Galilee, whose height is 1208 meters (The highest mountain in Palestine), then climbed Mount Gerizim in Nablus.

Is it possible to calculate the distance lhab climbed on the two mountains? How?

What would you suggest to calculate this distance? *Mathematics*, **Grade 3**, Vol. 1, 2016-17, p. 43.

The Ancient Palestinians

According to the Palestinian narrative put forth in previous curricula, the Palestinian Arabs are the original dwellers of the Land of Israel/Palestine. The new school textbooks continue with this tale, even though the Canaanite origin of the Palestinians is no longer evident. The reason for that may be related to the Islamic view that the Canaanites were expelled from the Holy Land because of their sins. Another drawback for this argument is that historical Israelites were linguistically (and to an extent, culturally), Canaanites (along with the Phoenicians, Amorites, Ammonites, Moabites and Edomites). The following example is a manifestation of this presumed ancestry (which excludes any Jewish connection to Jerusalem).

The next paragraph, which appeared in previous curricula, is *not* included in the new curriculum for grades 1–4:

The Arab Canaanites were the first to settle in Palestine, then it was ruled by various nationalities and invaders building many places that, with the passing of time, have become ancient ruins that exist to this very day . . . with the conquest [fath] of Palestine by the Muslims it became Islamic and it still is . . . Palestine is still under Israeli occupation [ihtilal] to this day.

National Education, **Grade 4**, Vol. 1, 2013, p. 14. [Removed from the curriculum.]

While seemingly giving up on the Canaanite narrative, the curriculum still insists that Arabs built Jerusalem.

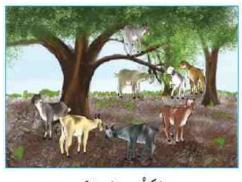
Jerusalem is an Arab city built by our Arab forefathers thousands of years ago. Jerusalem is holy to the Muslims and the Christians.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 28.

Paradoxical "Israel": Denied and Demonized

Hate education begins in the first-grade:

ب. أَتَأُمَّلُ الصّورَتينِ الآتِيتين، وأَناقِشُهما مَع مُعَلِّمي وَزُمَلائي:



الرَّعْيُ الجائِر



تَجْريفُ الأَراضي لِبِناءِ جِدارِ الضَّمِّ والتَّوشُّع العُنصري

The captions under the pictures for the course discussion topic read: "Overgrazing" (left); and "Leveling land for the construction of the racist annexation and expansion wall" (right).

National and Life Education, Grade 1, Vol. 2, PA 2016-17, p. 28.

A national and life education textbook includes a conversation where someone is impressed by the multitude of worshipers at Al-Aqsa Mosque on Friday during the holy month of Ramadan while another asks why only a few worship on other days.

The answer:

Because they cannot come on other days since the Israeli occupation prevents the arrival of the Palestinians [to Jerusalem] from the villages and cities . . . Yes, it is the occupation that dominates our entry or non-entry to our holy city.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 29.

The Al-Aqsa prayers were broadcast live via the Voice of Israel until they turned into a platform of incitement. In the curriculum, all conflicts around Al-Aqsa Mosque are portrayed as being arbitrarily created by Israeli security forces. However, this is a one-sided presentation of an emotional situation that requires unusual security measures to safeguard large numbers of worshippers. There are clearly issues, both national and religious that need to be resolved.

The following images show various aspects of anti-Palestinian activities by Israelis. The title reads "**Activity 4:** We perceive and conclude." The images describe (clockwise from the upper left): An Israeli settlement; a section of an Israeli

checkpoint; Israeli soldiers detaining Palestinians; and a section of the security barrier, typically known among Palestinians as the "racist separation wall."



National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 41.

A text on the same page, reads:

The Israeli Occupation is the main reason for our inability to achieve full independence. It is the right of the Palestinian people to struggle until they achieve an independent state, like other peoples in the world.

It was decided to build the racist separation wall in 2002.

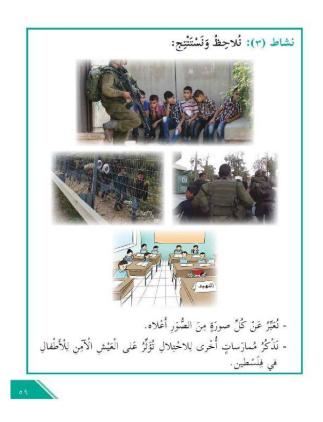
Mathematics, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016-17, p. 13.

Nine-year-old children are taught that Israeli security forces purposely block ambulances and endanger lives.



National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2016-17, p. 48.

Older children (age 10) are exposed to yet another collection of allegedly evil doings by Israeli forces, this time showing a martyred child. Apart from encouraging martyrdom, the text not only adds to the environment of polarization and radicalization but presents the IDF as criminals who intentionally harm Palestinian children. This type of propaganda ultimately endangers students by inciting and preparing these children to needlessly risk their lives.



The text in the illustrations above and below instructs children to meditate and express their views over each of the images and encourages students to "point out other practices of the occupation influencing the safety of children in Palestine"

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 59.



<u>I learned:</u> The children in Palestine suffer different forms of violence because of the occupation, which constitutes danger to their lives. It follows these methods: killing, arresting and detaining children for long hours; locking them in their homes; stopping them from arriving safely at their schools, or intimidating them; and displacing them by killing or arresting their relatives and destroying their homes.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016-17, p. 60.

<u>I learned</u>: We protect our Palestinian environment, and defend our land from the Zionist occupation by building, cultivating, providing water and electricity, constructing roads, supporting farmers and participating in national activities to protect the land and defending it from confiscation by the occupation and the building of settlements, which are against international law.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p. 85.

Palestinian Prisoners

The following is a question for collaborative work in math:

In the year two thousand and fourteen, the number of prisoners in the occupation prisons totaled 6,500 prisoners, while in the year the year two thousand and fifteen the number of prisoners was 6,800 prisoners. In what year was the number of prisoners larger?

Mathematics, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 13.

A story in the text tells of a boy who healed a bird and kept it in a cage. His mother reminds him that his uncle was captive. Questions include: "Who reminds you of the story of the bird"? Note next to the question: "Acceptable responses should be about stories of captivity."

National and Life Education, Teachers Guide, Grade 1, Vol. 1, PA 2016–17, p. 77.

<u>Demonstration for the release of prisoners</u>: The signs in the text read, "Freedom for Prisoners," and "We Will Not Forget Our Prisoners." (From the Israeli perspective the prisoners are either convicted terrorists or otherwise imprisoned for violent acts.)



National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p. 56.

Presentation of the Nakba

The Arab defeat in Israel's War of Independence, embedded in the Palestinian national memory as the Nakba (The Disaster), remains as an unresolved trauma in the Palestinian school textbooks. Empathy and solidarity with the suffering of students' fellow countrymen is all but natural. However, this major and multi-faceted tragedy is presented with no historical perspective, also ignoring much suffering caused by the Palestinians and their allies to their Jewish neighbors. Besides being a springboard for hostile penetration into Israel, this selective and repetitive presentation also serves as a cumulative effort to sow hatred and demonize their Israeli neighbor. For example, a math book uses human tragedy to practice numbers up to 999. The ensuing questions serve to reinforce the Palestinian viewpoint.



١ عَدَدُ الْقُرى الْفِلَسْطينِيَّةِ الْمُدَمَّرَةِ عامَ أَلْفٍ وَتِسْعِمِئَةٍ وَثَمانيةٍ وَأَرْبَعينَ ٣٩٦ قَرْيَةً.

First Lesson: Numbers Review up to 999

[The lesson begins with a photograph of a dilapidated building in one of the villages]

1. The number of destroyed Palestinian villages in the year one thousand, nine hundred, forty-eight is 396 villages.

Where did the dwellers of these villages go?

I remember one of these villages.

[A series of mathematical questions revolving around the number 396 ensues] *Mathematics*, **Grade 3**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 4.

A national education textbook provides a unit on the refugee problem. Among its goals, the students should "know the reason for the existence of Palestinian refugee camps," and become familiar with the "difficult life conditions at the camp."

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 30



Do we remember the name of the place where Palestinians gathered after their expulsion from their homes?

We describe the suffering of Palestinian refugees as they were displaced. *National Education and Socialization*, **Grade 4**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 30.

Continuing the story of Sana and her grandfather:

Grandfather: "We lived safely in Jaffa, but the Zionist occupiers encircled us, killed many of us and displaced us from our land. So we left, carrying a few belongings. We walked long distances on foot."

Sana: "What happened next"?

Grandfather: "We arrived here, where tents were raised to accommodate us in the hope that we would return to our homes. And as our wait continued for a long time, we moved to live in rows of crammed narrow houses with iron-plates roofing. It was dubbed 'Palestinian Refugee Camp' and we are still in it." *National Education and Socialization*, **Grade 4**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 32.

The PA's Islam: Nationalism and Limited Tolerance

Islamic education encourages both tolerance and Islamic superiority over the infidels (*kuffar*). The Temple Mount/Haram Al-Sharif serves as a symbol of Palestinian nationalism. Interestingly, in the elementary grades, the superiority of the Hijazi holy places, (i.e., Mecca and Medina), is maintained, regardless of efforts by Islamic and nationalist groups to boost the importance of Jerusalem, at least over Medina. As mentioned elsewhere, Islamic consideration may also have contributed to the apparent removal of the Canaanite argument from the new curriculum. If so, this can be seen as a positive step forward on the way to understanding that the traditional recognition of the Jewish connection to the Holy Land by Islam can serve as a prerequisite to peaceful coexistence.

Tolerance is a central Islamic value. In the following text, however, the context is that of tolerance after defeating one's enemy and conquering their land:

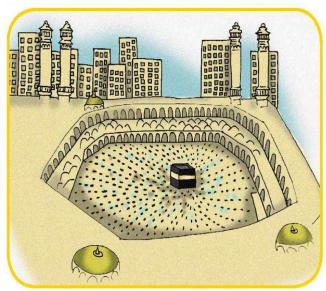
[1]: Add a checkmark (✓) next to the correct expressions and a cross (X) near the wrong ones. [The right answer seems to be number 4.]

- () The Muslim returns evil for evil because he does not accept humiliation.
- 2. () When the holy Prophet conquered Mecca, he punished its people because they had ousted him from the city.
- 3. () The Muslim encroaches upon those who have mistreated him.
- 4. () Tolerance among people generates love among them.

Islamic Education, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016-17, p. 60.

Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem

The curriculum does not overly emphasize Islam when it comes to Jerusalem. Arguments such as the one that Jerusalem is holier than Medina were not found. Also, these textbooks do not use Islam to educate about the centrality of the Holy Land for Judaism, as traditionally emphasized in Islam (and recognized in other Islamic curricula). As such, an important opportunity to lessen polarization is squandered.



The Ka'bah. *Islamic Education*, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 20.

The following model of the Ka'bah forms part of a unit telling the story of Abraham and his son, Ishmael building the Ka'bah while driving the message that for the Muslim nation there is but one center.



Educational Banner:

I am a Muslim, and the Ka'bah is my *qiblah* [prayer direction]! *Islamic Education*, **Grade 4**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 25.

The following is the first among three similar images of holy places including: Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem.



The Ka'bah.

Islamic Education, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p. 70.

Women and Islam

Generally, the new curriculum for grades 1–4 educates for friendly coexistence between more-or-less strictly religious Muslims, including women. The following illustration accompanies a story about an older religious-looking woman (on the right) wrongly suspecting a secular-looking young adult of pilfering from her bag of sweets, without permission. She repents only later, on the plane, when she discovers that the

bag actually belonged to the young woman. This example teaches that being religious does not guarantee that one is always right and that human relations among various segments of society should be based on shared civil values and honesty.



Our Beautiful Language, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p. 116.







An illustration of the verse (113/4) of the Holy Qur'an exposed some anti-women bias and raised a clamor among some Palestinian critics. The verse reads: "I seek refuge in the Lord of daybreak from and from the evil of the blowers in knots." The latter are typically understood to be witches or sorceresses. Thus, the illustration presents women as murderous old witches: hardly appropriate for first-graders. *Islamic Education*, **Grade 1**, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 48.

Bias Toward Non-Muslims



This illustration represents part of the seventh verse of the first and most important sura of the Qur'an, *al-Fatihah*: "The path of those upon whom You have bestowed favor, not of those who have evoked [Your] anger or of those who are astray." The people on fire seem to be those evoking God's anger, classically interpreted as the Jews, here being burned alive in hell. Those "who are astray" are classically interpreted to be Christians. The curriculum could have opted for one of the more universal and peaceful interpretations, which allow for the use of the sura by all, as in interfaith gatherings.

Islamic Education, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2016-17, p. 9.



Islamic Education, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016-17, p. 85.

The textbook does not tell the story of the People of the Elephant who were punished by God. This is left to discussion. This sura recounts how these people were destroyed, because of their plotting against the Ka'bah. Allah sent birds that dropped stones of baked clay on the elephants and the people. Is this appropriate for first-grade?

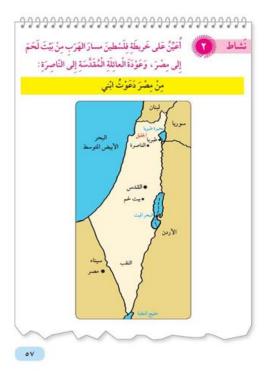


Illustrations showing torture suffered by the Prophet and his followers. *Islamic Education*, **Grade 3**, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p.11.

Christianity in the PA Curriculum: Jewish Roots Ignored

The elementary curriculum for grades 1–4 ignores the intrinsic connection between the three major monotheistic faiths. It also ignores the traditional understanding of most religions that Israel/Palestine is the historical Jewish homeland, with Jerusalem as its center, while serving as an important holy city to all three monotheistic religions. This is particularly disturbing when it comes to the curriculum's education on Christianity, as a faith that was born in the land established by Jews. On the other hand, while the Muslim texts include problematic elements as regards non-Muslims, the existence of Christian education is commendable, despite the denial of everything Jewish.

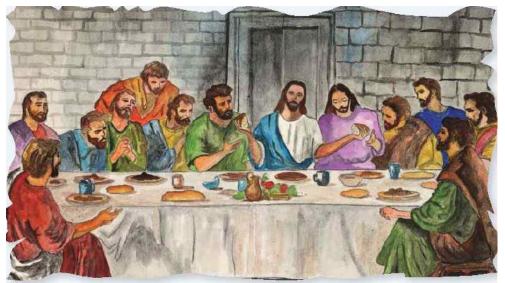




The map on the left is introduced to first-graders as an activity aimed at locating Jesus' birthplace on the "Map of Palestine." Present-day political borders show current names of neighboring Arab countries, but not neighboring Israel. Similarly, the map on the right offers an activity to chart the journey of the Holy Family, escaping from Bethlehem to Egypt and returning to Nazareth. Shown once again is a "Map of Palestine" with no trace of Israel amid present-day Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

Christian Education, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016–17, pp. 48, 57.

The discussion and pictures of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem omit the Jewish background of the crowd or that the participants of the Last Supper celebrating the Jewish holiday of Passover were Jewish.



Christian Education, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2016-17, p. 23.



بَعُدَ سَرُدِ أَحْدَاثِ دُّحُولِ يَسُوعَ إِلَى أُورُشَلِيمَ (متى ٢١: ١-١١) **Christian Education, Grade 1**, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p. 24.



Lesson 6, Palm Sunday

Educational summary: Jesus enters Jerusalem (*al-Quds*), and is received by the cheering crowds, as a king.

Goals:

- 1. The students should recount—in their own language—the entry of Jesus to Jerusalem.
- 2. The students will extract from the Biblical text the songs of happiness during the reception of Jesus.
- 3. The students will surmise the reason for the crowds' reception of Jesus in this manner.

Christian Education, **Grade 1**, Vol. 2, 2016–17, p. 24.

Discussion: Upper and Lower Grades

It is useful to recap the main points in our presentation of the new Palestinian curriculum for grades 1-4, in an attempt to more clearly understand the direction current Palestinian leadership is pulling its youth.

The curriculum provides skills and knowledge to Palestinian youth and attempts to build a national identity that would allow large numbers of people to collaborate for the benefit of all within and beyond the nation. But the PA curriculum also has a more practical goal of inciting the children under its charge to action—including violence—whenever the need arises.

Although the Palestinian Authority's military power is comparatively weak and the territory it fully controls is still limited, the educational system, and student body are controlled by the authorities in Ramallah. While in the Gaza Strip, the Hamas Palestinian regime can exercise violence at will through a steady supply of weapons and funding from radical allies, the Palestinian Authority must maintain a high degree of deniability for its actions, with its funding dependent on foreign contributions from sources ostensibly believing—or wanting to believe—in the PA's commitment to peace. The curriculum does not tell us the entire story of how Palestinian children are instructed: they certainly exposed to sources beyond the curriculum, both within and outside schools. Nevertheless, it is the curriculum that plays a central role in shaping the worldview of students and represents the voice of authority.

Both the dreams and realistic expectations from (and for) students need to be examined. By scrutinizing examples from the upper grade textbooks, we will try to answer two questions: What can reasonably be expected now? What can reasonably be expected in the future? Answers to these and other questions will hopefully provide a more nuanced, cognitive perspective of the effect of the curriculum as students approach adulthood.

It is our hope that the a study of the curriculum from the perspective of its youngest and oldest students will add some clarity to our understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, its possible future course and the pathways that we hope are still open to travel toward peace.

A. Elementary (Grades 1-4)

The new textbooks for grades 1–4, published by the Palestinian Authority for the academic year, 2016–17 do not represent a turning point as compared to earlier years. The overall impression remains: determination to build a nation; to bolster the Palestinian identity by focusing on one enemy: Israel; and to continue with the endless struggle to capture the "historical" Palestine, controlled by the British Mandate from 1922–48.

Within this curriculum, national institutions and authorities are taught to be respected; Islam is not used as a radical political tool *per se* in this age group; free Christian education is included in the curriculum (despite negative messages regarding non-Muslims); and Judaism is simply ignored. Traditional gender roles are maintained but girls and boys are not segregated, and veiling is accepted but not specifically encouraged. Still, education is not secular and Islam remains at the center of Palestinian identity and is taught intensively. The centrality of Mecca and Medina is uncontested, but the religious role of Al-Aqsa is also emphasized, coupled with nationalist enthusiasm. Nevertheless, blood—including from children—will inevitably be shed in an effort to substantiate the curriculum's fundamental teachings about a Palestinian state.

The most troubling aspects of this curriculum involve the attitude of PA/PLO/Fatah authorities toward the six-to-ten-year-old children who are considered to be expendable; and the indoctrination of these youth to the idea that all of Israel belongs to Palestine and all Israelis are evil. The central takeaway for Palestinian children from this curriculum is that Israel should not be there because Israelis are criminal invaders with no humanity whatsoever. The curriculum in its current iteration offers no real choices at all; it's hard to imagine any scenario not leading to violence. The only other option for positive change would be a major shift in the direction of the curriculum and the attitudes which produced it.

From a third-grade teacher's guide:

This book aims at building the national and value systems and strengthen it among the younger generation of our student sons in order to accompany the changes in the political, economic, social, cultural and technological arenas and face various challenges imposed by the occupation on our soil . . . [Italics added].

National and Life Education, Teachers Guide, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17, Preface.

The question is: How can a seven-or-eight-year-old child be expected to relate to the occupation? The answer offered by the curriculum shows child martyrs and pictures of hostile and evil security forces. Those killed or imprisoned in violence are venerated within the curriculum and other external elements (e.g., social media) of the surrounding educational system. Undoubtedly, the curriculum also supports peaceful nationalistic acts such as assemblies, demonstrations or just raising the flag: "We will defend it with love in giving and generosity." But giving and generosity are only part of what children are being taught.

And what kind of school lessons could influence children to become "martyrs" ready to explode? Messages such as: "Warrior, warrior, warrior"; "the volcano of my revenge"; "the longing of my blood for my land"; "With the wind's storm and the weapon's fire"; "I vow I shall sacrifice my blood, to saturate the land"; "we gave our spirits to the revolution." And there are those appalling math questions calculating the dead and the wounded:

The number of martyrs of the First Intifada during 1987–93 totaled 2026 martyrs; and the number of martyrs of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Intifada in the year 2000 totaled 5,050 martyrs; and the number of the wounded reached 49,760. How many martyrs died in the two Intifadas?

Mathematics, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17, p. 35.

There are other choices of objects one could use to teach math, such as apples and oranges; but while one will educate children to make fruit salad, the other teaches that it's acceptable to die as martyrs.

Within this elementary curriculum, Palestine means the entirety of Israel, whose current population are at once both demonized and denied existence. Teachers are encouraged to emphasize Palestinian towns overlooking the Mediterranean with a focus on places in Israel such as Acre, Haifa and Jaffa. A girl in a fantasy story flies above (Israel's) Jezreel Valley and looks at Mt. Carmel. A boy, in a math textbook, climbs the 1208 meters of (Israel's) Mount Meron. Tel Aviv is not on the maps, but Jaffa is: "I am Jaffa; I am the Sea Bride; I am a Palestinian city."

From the apparent perspective and intent of the curriculum, the Palestinian refugee problem will not likely soon change. The curriculum features famous keys and titles to ancient homes within Israel. The refugee camps as depicted are part of the life and suffering of the Palestinian people and add to the rationale for the systematic demonization of Israel. The solution to this problem is simple: it can only be resolved by allowing the Palestinian people to "return to their homeland and [provide for] its defense, since it is the homeland of the fathers and grandfathers." Israel itself is defined as the "1948 Occupied Territories," in which 1,470,000 Palestinians live.

This newest PA curriculum runs counter to every tenet of the UNESCO Standards for Peace and Tolerance (see Methodology, p. 54), where hatred of Israel and the

paradox of denial and demonization continue. There is no explanation whatever about the Other (i.e., Jewish people). Clearly stated, this curriculum, rather than facilitate empathy for the Other by its students, pushes them in the opposite direction. Without empathy for their neighbors and their history, and by denying their very existence, it is impossible to ask cogent questions related to their origin, let alone how they play and pray or eat or work.

With respect to the UNESCO standard that curricula include only unbiased information, the PA curriculum also falls short for its elementary students. Lessons taught to these young students only show Jews killing Palestinian children, blocking ambulances and destroying homes and villages and building illegal settlements. Don't Palestinian children also deserve to know that the great majority of Israelis grew up in Muslim and Arab countries or that the people portrayed in Christian textbooks welcoming Jesus to Jerusalem were Jews? Without understanding and having empathy toward Jews as a long-suffering tiny minority and lacking any knowledge of their historical attachment to this Land of Israel/Palestine, how can their young hearts be opened? The curriculum reinforces again and again the rationale that any action against a Jew is automatically in defense of one's home or person or village because Jews don't really have a right to exist.

In relation to Islam, the new curriculum for grades 1–4 is not overtly radical; it is also *not* problem-free. Though this curriculum is highly religious, making comparisons to Western educational systems is not useful. In Muslim nations, Islam is generally under the authority of the government. In these elementary school textbooks, nationalistic exploitation of Islam is limited and mostly focuses on Jerusalem's Dome of the Rock (which also serves as a nationalistic symbol). That the holy places in Saudi Arabia still have precedence in the Islamic education books is important and positive. Islamist groups often try to inflate the importance of Al-Aqsa even beyond its already considerable significance. Another element that may be connected to Islam is what appears to be signs of an abandonment of the Canaanite origin narrative. We did not find any instance of that in the new textbooks and this would seem to be a very positive development.

The Muslim education textbooks, however, are problematic in regard to women—depicted in places as witches (as well as non-Muslims whom it is assumed will go to hell). More attention to interfaith, and particularly to the Jewish faith, could go a long way in bringing peace and reconciliation among God-loving people throughout the region. Conversely, secular books in the curriculum are accepting of both religious and less religious men and women as partners in society.

B. Upper Grades (Grades 11-12)

As demonstrated in our interim report from May 2016,⁴ the Palestinian curriculum reflects a policy of "No to Negotiations, Yes to Violence and International Pressure." It is clear from the above discussion of the new curriculum for grades 1–4, that the textbooks for young children were devised on the assumption that violence could and should occur. Indeed, our findings correspond with the "existence of a comprehensive Palestinian strategy adopted in the Sixth Fatah Conference of 2009, which is based on a combination of unilateral diplomatic efforts and campaigns in the international arena and 'popular resistance.'"⁵

The existence of such a strategy is also evident from reading textbooks intended for grades 11–12. In this group, the presentation of the conflict with Jews is more developed, addressing the higher cognitive abilities of the students. Israel and the Jews cannot be denied altogether since students are expected to be familiar with the basic facts of their history. Unfortunately, major factors related to the conflict are distorted or ignored. Still, Palestinian history and strategy are explained in a more systematic manner, and this includes the switch from a peace process based on negotiations to a violence-plus-international-pressure paradigm.

The assumption of the curriculum is that Palestinian statehood is "one of the most pressing issues on the international agenda," and not a bilateral issue to be decided between the two sides. We have shown that in explaining the benefits of the failed PA attempt to attain member state status at the UN in 2011, the Palestinian schoolbook points first and foremost, to the "transfer of the Palestinian question from a process controlled by Israel, via bilateral negotiations, into an international issue." Moving unilaterally, the Palestinians would likely be able to grant Palestinian citizenship to Palestinians all over the world, automatically granting them the right of return to their "homeland" and would more easily facilitate the means to pressure Israel internationally.8

With respect to the Oslo Accords, the text does inform students that final status negotiations are part of the accords, as well as the commitment of Yasser Arafat that "the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and other acts of violence" and that "all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations," but—blaming Israel—stresses the hopelessness of negotiations

⁴ Eldad J. Pardo, "The PA Educational System in the Shadow of the Terror Wave" (IMPACT-se, May 2016), p. 27. ⁵ Hirsh Goodman and Yossi Kuperwasser, eds., "The Knife and the Message: The Roots of the New Palestinian Uprising" (Jerusalem: JCPA, 2016), p. 14. See also: "Fatah, Eleven Principles for Negotiations, Five Options for the Failure of Dialogue, Four Steps to Confront the Siege, and Seven Forms of Struggle" (Bethlehem: August 11, 2009)," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Autumn 2009): pp. 171–173.

⁶ Contemporary Issues (Humanities), Grade 12, 2014, p. 25.

⁷ Ibid., p. 28.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, (Part 1), 2011, p. 83.

(which led to the Al-Aqsa Intifada and beyond). The textbooks explain that the Intifada erupted because of the "stalemate in the negotiations;" Israel's effort to impose a solution in Camp David; and "the situation of despair and frustration experienced by the Palestinian people regarding the usefulness of the peace process signed in order to achieve national independence, the removal of the settlements and the return of the refugees." The text goes on to praise the extremely violent Al Aqsa Intifada and the heroism of the participants.

From one perspective, the history of the Palestinian struggle as described in the Palestinian textbooks for the upper grades shows the Jewish side to be a systematic negative force aimed at taking over Palestine from the Palestinians.

Zionism appeared during the second half of the nineteenth century and is a racist political movement. Its appearance synchronized with the arrival of the modern European colonial movement, since it actually forms an integral part of global colonialism.

History of the Modern and Contemporary World, Grade 10, 2014, p. 51.

From another perspective, Palestinians are permanently engaged in a struggle that involves armed conflict, diplomatic pressure and some negotiations (mostly rejections of initiatives deemed too harmful to their cause). The following is a textbook quote from the crucial June 1974 meeting of the Palestinian National Council (PNC):

The Palestinian National Council (PNC) . . . initiated the phased political program, which included:

The establishment of an independent fighting National Palestinian Authority on every part of the Palestinian land that will be freed . . . every liberating step will be a link in the strategy of the PLO for the establishment of the democratic Palestinian state.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, 2011, (Part 2) p. 63

The textbooks do not include Article 8 of that program, known also as the PLO's Ten-Point Program.

Once it is established, the Palestinian National Authority will strive to achieve a union of the confrontation countries, with the aim of completing the liberation of all Palestinian territory, and as a step along the road to comprehensive Arab unity.¹²

Instead, the curriculum for grades 11–12 describes the current phase in Islamic terms, as a struggle until the day of resurrection.

¹¹ Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, (Part 1), 2011, p. 87.

http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/MFADocuments/Yearbook2/Pages/3%2012th%20Palestinian%20National%20Council%20Political%20Prog.aspx.

¹⁰ Contemporary Issues (Humanities), Grade 12, 2014, pp. 25–29.

¹² See 12th Palestinian National Council Political Programme, June 9, 1974.

وأهل الشام عامّة، وفلسطين خاصة، في رباط إلى يوم القيامة، فعن عبد الله بن حوالة عن النبي (عَلَيْكَ) قال : «سَتُجَنَّدُونَ أَجْنَادًا ؛ جُنْداً بِالشَّام ، وَجُنْداً بِالْعِرَاقِ، وَجُنْداً بِالْيَمَنِ فَقُلْت : خِرْ لِي يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ . قَالَ : عَلَيْك بالشَّام ، فَإِنَّهَا خِيرَةُ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَرْضِهِ ، يَجْتَبِي إلَيْهَا خِيرَتَهُ مِنْ عِبَادِه » (١) .

فَأَهلُها في صراع دائم مع أعدائهم، وهم في رباط إلى يوم القيامة، والمتتبع لتاريخ فلسطين يجدُ أن معارك فاصلة دارت على أرضها، فمعركة اليرموك حسمت الصراع مع الروم، ومعركة حطين حسمت الصراع مع الصليبين، ومعركة عين جالوت حسمت الصراع مع المغول.

The people of the Levant in general and Palestine in particular, are in a state of *ribat* until the Day of Resurrection . . . If you examine the history of Palestine, you shall find that momentous battles took place on Palestine's soil. Its inhabitants are in constant struggle against their enemies . . . The Battle of Yarmouk was the decisive blow to the Romans; and the Battle of Hittin was a decisive victory against the Crusaders; and the Battle of Ain Jalut decided the fight against the Mongols.

Islamic Education, Grade 12, 2014, pp. 86-87.

The religious textbooks for the upper grades, include the following tradition relating to the day of resurrection, which sends a genocidal message:

مقاتلة اليهود والانتصار عليهم: فقد بشّر الرسول على بنهاية ظلم اليهود على هذه الأرض المقدسة، وإزالة فسادهم واحتلالهم لها؛ عن أبي هريرة في أنّ النبي على قال: «لا تقوم الساعة حتى يقاتل المسلمون اليهود، فيقتلهم المسلمون، حتى يختبئ اليهوديّ من وراء الحجر أو الشجر، فيقول الحجر أو الشجر: يا مسلم، يا عبد الله، هذا يهوديّ خلفي فتعال فاقتله إلا الغرقد، فإنّه من شجر اليهود»(٢).

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

Faith, (Sharia Studies) Grade 11, 2003, p. 94

Conclusions

Finding A: A frank analysis of the new PA school textbooks for grades 1–4 points to a further radicalization of the Palestinian national identity. This curriculum is now educating Palestinian elementary age children to engage in active conflict. Children are mentally prepared to jump into action and sacrifice their lives when the opportunity arises; they grow up with the disposition to fight against Israel, either from the current status quo or from an imagined future Palestinian state serving as a springboard for anti-Israeli activities.

Finding B: A look at the PA's upper-grade textbooks shows a commitment to the PLO's path that combines diplomacy and violence with a commitment to the full liberation of Palestine.

One conclusion and recommendation to be drawn from this finding is urgency. Those observers who believe that continuing the status quo while focusing on economic issues is the least harmful path, may find it appropriate to reconsider. The PA educational system has created a Palestinian nationalism that is incompatible with Israel's existence. This trend must be immediately reversed.

Another conclusion is that the paradigm of Palestinians wronged and robbed of their country for no reason is not conducive to an understanding of the historical forces behind this conflict nor the empathy and appreciation toward the suffering endured by both parties.

A wider viewpoint that will include these elements—as well as mutual recognition by the two peoples of the huge potential contributions to one another—could bring benefits to all. The much-denied fact, often hidden throughout the history of the conflict, is that most of the time both peoples collaborated extensively and benefited from one another across a broad range of areas; and perhaps it is at this point that the two sides could connect.

Methodology

Similar to its previous reports, IMPACT-se's updated report on 2017 Palestinian Authority textbooks utilized the content analysis research method. This research examined the content of the textbooks according to the following criteria, which is a condensed version of UNESCO's standards for peace and tolerance in school education:¹³

- 1. **RESPECT**: The curriculum should promote tolerance, understanding and respect toward the "Other," his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life.¹⁴
- 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.¹⁵
- 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.¹⁶
- 4. **PEACEMAKING**: The curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace.¹⁷
- 5. **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.¹⁸

¹³ The methodology was initiated by Yohanan Manor. This is an updated version of the standards prepared by Eldad J. Pardo, Jean-Claude Nidam and Shimon Shetreet (May 2014). http://www.impact-se.org/methodology/
¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ 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.

¹⁶ Based on Ibid., Articles III.6, IV.7 and VII.39; and on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 18.2.

¹⁷ Based on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 9; and on the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 5.

¹⁸ 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.

- 6. **GENDER**: The curriculum should foster equality and mutual respect between women and men. It should refrain from stereotyped gender roles.¹⁹
- 7. **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.²⁰

_

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ 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 Quoted Textbooks

The research is based mainly on forty-five new textbooks and teacher's guides published in 2016 for the academic year 2016–17. A large number of other textbooks from recent years, for grades 11–12 were also consulted.

Christian Education, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

Christian Education, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2016–17.

Islamic Education, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

Islamic Education, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2016-17.

Mathematics, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016-17

National and Life Education, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

National and Life Education, Teachers Guide, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1, Vol. 1, 2016-17.

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1, Vol. 2, 2016–17.

National Education, Grade 2, Vol. 1, 2014.

National and Life Education, Grade 2, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 2, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

Islamic Education, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2016–17.

Mathematics, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

National Education, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2002.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2016–17.

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3, Vol. 2, 2016–17.

Islamic Education, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

Islamic Education, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016–17.

Mathematics, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

National Education, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2013.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

National Education and Socialization, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016–17.

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 4, Vol. 1, 2016–17.

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016c17.

Science and Life, Grade 4, Vol. 2, 2016-17

Our Beautiful Language, Grade 7, Vol. 1, 2001–2009.

Faith, (Sharia Studies), Grade 11, 2003

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, (Parts 1 & 2), 2011

Contemporary Issues, (Humanities), Grade 12, 2014.

Islamic Education, Grade 12, 2014.

