

The Attitude to the "Other" and to Peace in Palestinian and Israeli Schoolbooks

**By
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Introduction

This paper is based on 18-year research work done by the author on the attitude to the "other" and to peace in schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority (PA), and on similar research work done by the author and others on Israeli schoolbooks. The author does not claim to have seen all Israeli schoolbooks, since this is a formidable task and also costly - due to the enormous numbers involved, but he read quite a few of them personally and saw the source material quoted in the reports published by Amos Yovel in 2000 and 2002, by Yael Teff-Seker in 2012, the one accomplished in 2013 under the auspices of the Council of Religious Institutions of the Holy Land (CRIHL) with the financial support of the US State Department, and the new research issued in May 2017 by IMPACT-SE on Ultra-Orthodox textbooks. Other studies done by scholars like Eli Podeh and Ruth Firer of the Hebrew University, and those one initiated by the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI) were also consulted. All in all, hundreds of books of various subjects and editions have been reviewed throughout these years and a fair amount of data has been collected, which provides an ample basis for comparison between the Palestinian and Israeli schoolbooks, as far as their attitude to the "other" and to peace is concerned.

The source material includes the most recently published PA schoolbooks, as well as Israeli schoolbooks published after 2000 and are still in use in Israeli schools. Some of the quotations from these latter books, presented in this paper, were not available to the author directly and were therefore taken from the reports mentioned above.

One should keep in mind the huge difference existing between the PA and Israel regarding the publication and use of their respective schoolbooks: All streams of Palestinian education - state schools in the PA-controlled West Bank and the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip, private schools, including those belonging to the various Christian churches and the Islamic charity foundations, UNRWA schools, etc. use the same books produced by the PA Ministry of Education's Curricula Center in Ramallah. Non-governmental schools might use additional books, but not at the expense of these ones. In Israel, on the other hand, schoolbook publishing is a private enterprise and each school has the option to choose its books out of the large variety on the market. The Israeli Ministry of Education approves every year a list of books, but not all schools follow it to the letter. The Israeli school system includes state secular and state religious schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry, the independent ultra-religious schools that belong to the various Hasidic and non-Hasidic streams, each with its own curriculum, and a few other independent schools belonging to the Christian churches and to various organizations with their separate curricula such as the Anthroposophic Movement, the Arab-Jewish schools of the "Hand-in-Hand" organization, etc. The curriculum of Arab state schools in Israel has not been dealt with in this paper, for it is not part of the portrayal of the Arab-Palestinian "other" to Jewish students.

The PA Books

The PA was established in 1994, following the Oslo Accords of 1993 between Israel and the PLO, and it soon took over the educational system in the West Bank and Gaza. Its schoolbook publication project started in 2000 with foreign financial assistance. That project ended in 2006 and, after that, most books have been reprinted or even re-edited and changed. In 2016, the PA started a new project of rewriting all the books and, save for few grade 12-textbooks, it has been completed. It should be clearly emphasized from the start that the Palestinian schoolbooks treat the Jewish-Israeli "other" much better than most textbooks in the Arab countries, including Egypt and Jordan that signed peace treaties with Israel. However, there have been certain fundamentals followed by the books, which have prevented them from becoming a peace curriculum. The new books of 2016-17 are even more radical than their predecessors in this respect. These fundamentals are: delegitimization of the State of Israel and its existence and even the mere presence of Jews in the country, demonization of Jews and Israel, and war indoctrination instead of peace education.

A. De-legitimization of Israel and the very presence of Jews in the country:

The PA schoolbooks do not recognize any legitimate ties the Jews might have to the country. According to the PA textbooks, Jews have no rights whatsoever or legitimate status in the country. They are referred to as occupiers there: "An issue for discussion: I will talk about the Palestinian woman's role in [the context of] sacrifice and steadfastness within the confrontation with the Jewish-Zionist occupier" (*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2017) p. 77). The Jews' national movement in modern times – Zionism – is presented as a "political-colonialist movement" (*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 79) and the student is expected "to connect [Western] Imperialism [*Isti'mar*] with Zionism" (*ibid.* p. 66). Another piece in the same book talks of the Zionist movement's "greedy ambitions [*atmaa'*] in Palestine" (*ibid.* p. 74).

Contrary to the pre-2016 PA textbooks that mentioned on several occasions the Jews' presence in the country in antiquity, the newly published books never acknowledge that fact.

The new schoolbooks continue their predecessors' line that systematically denies the existence of any Jewish holy place in the country. The Jewish holy place of the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, for example, is presented as an exclusively Muslim holy place under the name Al-Buraq Wall that appears below the photograph of the Wailing Wall:

"Illumination: Al-Buraq Wall was thus named after the name of [the divine beast] Al-Buraq that carried the Messenger [of God, i.e., Muhammad] during the Nocturnal Journey [*Israa'* – from Mecca to Jerusalem, according to Muslim belief] and the Ascension to Heaven [*Mi'raj*]. Al-Buraq Wall is part of the western wall of Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Muslims alone have absolute right to it."



حائط البراق

إضاءة: سُمِّي حائطُ البراقِ بهذا الاسم؛ نسبةً إلى البراقِ الَّذي حملَ الرَّسول ﷺ في رحلةِ الإسراءِ والمعراجِ، وحائطُ البراقِ جزءٌ من السورِ الغربيِّ للمسجدِ الأقصى وهو حقٌّ خالصٌ للمسلمين وحدهم.



(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 54)

Another book makes a specific accusation against the "Zionists" in this context, from which the student may assume that the establishment of the sanctity of the Wall to the Jews was done after 1967 only:

"They annexed the Islamic features [of Jerusalem] to the list of Zionist heritage [as] they transformed the Al-Buraq Wall into the Wailing Wall... they removed some of the stones from Jerusalem's city wall and replaced them with other ones carrying Zionist decorations and forms; they opened Jewish synagogues in the Old City of Jerusalem, and they are striving vigorously these days to take control of the Noble Shrine [*Al-Haram al-Sharif* – the Temple Mount] by allowing the Zionist settlers to enter it daily in preparation for taking full control over it and preventing any Muslim connection to this place that is holy to Muslims."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 62, and see the exercise on p. 63 with the following sentence: "The Zionist occupation changed the name 'Al-Buraq Wall' into 'the Wailing Wall [*Hait al-Mabka* in Arabic - the place of mourning]" and the assignment: "I will specify some of the Zionist measures aimed at erasing the Arab and Islamic features in the city of Jerusalem.")

As regards the Jewish holy place of the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron:

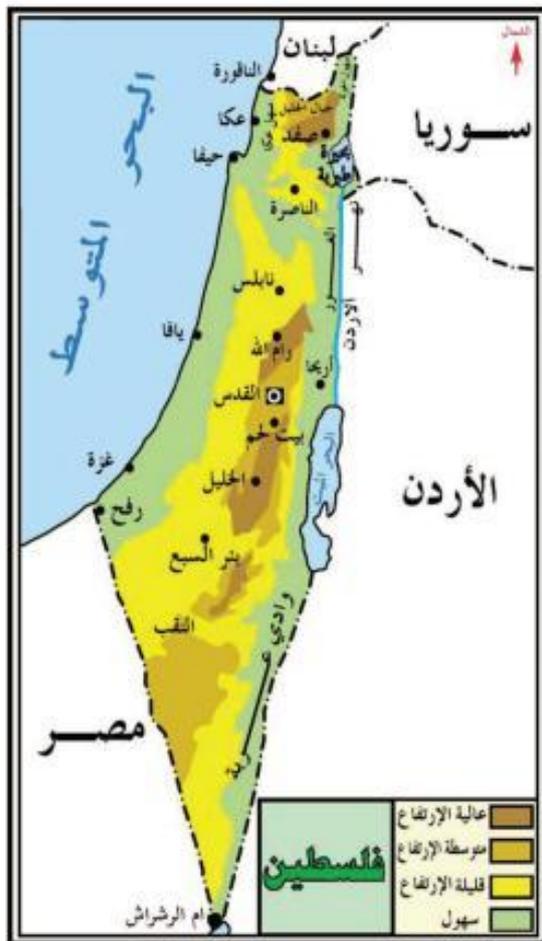
"The Zionist occupation authorities partitioned the Abrahamic Sanctuary [the Cave of the Patriarchs], prevented the [Muslim] call for prayer [there] and permitted the settlers to hold therein their religious ceremonies."

(*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 52)

Israel's six million Jewish citizens, who were never considered in the older books as the country's legitimate inhabitants, continue to be disregarded. They are referred to

as "foreigners" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2017) p. 64) or "infiltrators" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2017) p. 52).

Thus, cities built by Jews in the country in the modern era, such as Tel Aviv, Nahariyyah, Petah Tiqvah, Rishon Letzion, Netanyah, Dimona, etc., are not shown on the map. For example, the following map, titled "Palestine", shows the cities of Acre, Haifa, Safed, Nazareth, Nablus, Jaffa, Ramallah, Jericho, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Gaza, Rafah and Beer Sheba. In some cases, like the one here, modern Jewish cities are given the Arabic name of the places where they were built. In the case below, the modern city of Eilat is given the Arabic name of the desolate site where it was later built – Umm al-Rashrash:



(*Social Studies*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2017) p. 40)

In continuation of the older books' line, Israel is never presented as a sovereign state, neither on maps nor in texts, even within its pre-1967 boundaries. In many cases the whole country is described as Palestine. That Palestine, of which the territory encompasses the whole of Israel, is presented as the sovereign state in the region, instead of Israel.

Following is a map titled "Political Map of the Arab Homeland" featuring the whole country as one unit next to the name "Palestine":



خريطة الوطن العربي السياسيّة

(Social Studies, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 22)

Lesson 2 in the following example is titled "Palestine is Arab [and] Muslim":



A map titled "States of the Arab Homeland" follows that title and some additional statements. The name "Palestine" appears on the map next to the country in its entirety, including Israel within its pre-1967 borders, with the Palestinian flag flying over it:

دول الوطن العربي

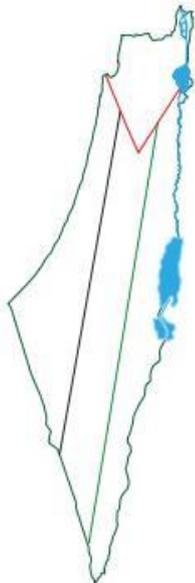
ج.



(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2017) p. 7)

The assignment in the following example reads: "A. I will color the map of my homeland with the colors of the Palestinian flag" and the map itself is contoured according to the flag's lines and colors:

أ- أُلَوِّنُ خَرِيْطَةَ وَطَنِي بِأَلْوَانِ الْعَلَمِ الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّ.



(National and Life Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2017) p. 8)

The whole country covered by the Palestinian flag appears elsewhere as well, with an unequivocal English message: "Free Palestine", namely, that the liberation of Palestine from occupation should include the disappearance of the State of Israel:



(*Sciences and Life*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2017) p. 65)

The emphasis put on Israel's pre-1967 area as an occupied territory is made clearer in the following piece:

"Activity 1-A: We will observe the following map, draw conclusions and then answer:" The map, titled "Map of Palestine", is devoid, as usual, of cities established by Jews in modern times. The first assignment on the right reads: "We will distinguish between the Palestinian cities occupied by the Zionists in 1948 and the ones that they occupied in 1967."

نشاط (١-أ): نلاحظ الخريطة الآتية، ونستنتج، ثم نُجيب:



خريطة فلسطين

- نَميِّزُ بين المدن الفلسطينية التي احتلتها الصَّهيانية عام ١٩٤٨م، وتلك التي احتلتها عام ١٩٦٧م.
- نستنتجُ كثرة المدن في وسط فلسطين وشمالها وقتلها في جنوبها.

(*Social Studies*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 56)

Textual material as well emphasizes this phenomenon of Palestine replacing Israel as the sovereign state in the region:

"Palestine is located within the Asian wing of the Arab homeland, in an area known as the Levant [*Bilad al-Sham* in Arabic] that comprises the states of Palestine, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon."

(*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 7)

"Palestine is located in Earth's northern hemisphere, in the western part of the Asian continent. It is one of the states of the Levant [*Bilad al-Sham*] (Palestine, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon). On the north it is bordered by Lebanon and Syria, on the east – by Jordan, on the west – by the Mediterranean, and on the south – by Egypt and the Gulf of Aqaba..."

تقع فلسطينُ في النّصفِ الشّماليِّ مِنَ الكُرّةِ الأَرْضِيَّةِ، في الجزءِ الغربيِّ
من قارّةِ آسيا، وهي إحدى دُولِ بلادِ الشّامِ (فلسطين، وسوريا، والأردن،
ولبنان)، يَحُدُّها مِنَ الشّماليِّ لُبْنانُ وسوريا، وَمِنَ الشّرقيِّ الأردن، وَمِنَ الغربِ
البحرُ المُتوسّط، وَمِنَ الجنوبِ مِصرُ، وخليجُ العقبة، ويُعدُّ موقعُ فلسطينِ حَلَقَةً

(*Social Studies*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 23)

And this falsified information appears on the map as well. The following map, titled "The States of the Levant [*Bilad al-Sham*]" includes "Syria", "Lebanon", "Jordan" and "Palestine", with the latter encompassing the whole of the country:



(*Social Studies*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017) p. 42)

Cities in pre-1967 Israel are described as exclusively Palestinian:

"[Assignment:] I will look in the Internet for the Palestinian city of Acre..."
(*Technology*, Grade 5 (2016) p. 49)

"I am Jaffa... I am a Palestinian city built by your ancient Arab forefathers six thousand years ago on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea..."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2017) p. 106)

In the following assignment the student is required to put the name of a city – the Israeli city of Haifa in this case – in a sentence:

"3. The city of ...[Haifa]... is one of the Palestinian coastal cities."
(*National and Life Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2017) p. 81)

A question in a Mathematics textbook opens with the following sentence that presents the Israeli city of Tiberias as Palestinian:

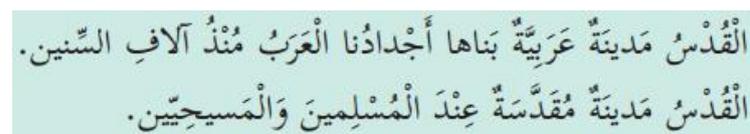
"Tiberias is a Palestinian city."
(*Mathematics*, Grade 4, Part 2 (2017) p. 7)

In PA parlance, these Palestinian cities are under occupation, much the same as cities of the West Bank and Gaza. This is the case, for example, with the Israeli city of Ramleh:

"The Zionist gangs occupied the city of Ramleh on 21.7.1948... and the city still succumbs to the yoke of Zionist occupation."
(*Social Studies*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 60)

As regards Jerusalem, the books never mention that it has some historical connection to Jews, neither politically nor religiously. It is described as Arab from its very establishment and as a holy city for Muslims and Christians alone:

"Jerusalem is an Arab city built by our Arab forefathers thousands of years ago. Jerusalem is a holy city for Muslims and Christians."



الْقُدْسُ مَدِينَةٌ عَرَبِيَّةٌ بَنَاهَا أَجْدَادُنَا الْعَرَبُ مِنْذُ آلَافِ السِّنِينَ.
الْقُدْسُ مَدِينَةٌ مُقَدَّسَةٌ عِنْدَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمَسِيحِيِّينَ.

(*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2017) p. 28)

"I will explain: Jerusalem is of enormous importance to Muslims and Christians."
(*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 49)

Moreover, a great effort is made in the books to deny any connection the Jews might have to this city:

"...The transitory invaders and the usurping tyrants who took it alternately in the past, and to this very day, still pour on it their malice and their despicable licentiousness, thinking that they have taken control over it, attained superiority in its realm and managed, due to oppressive power and by jumping over the centuries, to fold over its pure Arab cultural records page by page in order to connect a distorted and disconnected past to a present based on robbery, coercion, forgery and usurpation.

They do not know that they delude themselves... Jerusalem has Arab roots... This is Jerusalem, and it will remain stubborn against the aggressors – even though tyranny's meanness might stick to it more, as well as the malice harbored by the forgers who infringe on its Muslim and Christian holy places and on its history and archaeological sites that attest its genuine Arab origin since thousands of years..."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) pp. 18-20. This very text presents the Hebrew letter as threatening Jerusalem's Arab character and refers to the Jews there as foreigners and imposters – p. 17.)

De-legitimization of Israel and of the Jewish presence in the country in the older books included one case of sheer forgery: A Hebrew inscription was erased from a British Mandatory stamp. In the new books the situation is a bit more complex. On the one hand, a piece in a mathematics textbook reads: "The Palestinian Pound is the legal official currency of the Palestine government during the British Mandate over Palestine and the Emirate of Trans-Jordan between the years 1927-1948", and pictures of a two-sided coin of that period is given with the Hebrew inscription on it:



نشاط (١): الجنيه الفلسطينيّ هو العملة الرسميّة الشرعيّة لحكومة فلسطين في عهد الانتداب البريطاني على فلسطين، وإمارة شرق الأردنّ ما بين عاميّ ١٩٢٧-١٩٤٨م.



(*Mathematics*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2017) p. 86)

In another mathematics textbook for a lower grade, on the other hand, a Mandate-period coin is reproduced with the Hebrew inscription eliminated (and compare to the following picture of the original coin):



نشاط (١):

أمرز قلمي على الدائرة فيما يأتي:

أناقش: كيف يُسكّني قياس محيط قطعة النقد، باستخدام المسطرة فقط؟
وباستخدام خيطٍ ومسطرة؟



(*Mathematics*, Grade 6, Part 2 (2017) p. 63. The student is requested to follow with his pen the circles' contours. The caption says: "I will discuss: How could I measure the coin's circumference...?")



Moreover, Mandatory money is used in another Mathematics textbook to support a false claim that there existed an independent Palestinian state before the Zionist occupation of 1948:

"Activity 2:

The Palestinian Pound is the currency of the State of Palestine [*Dawlat Filastin*] before the occupation. The metallic coins were of 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 mils."



(*Mathematics*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2017) p. 95. The photograph of the Mandatory note is partially given, showing the Arabic inscription only, probably to create the impression that there was an Arab state in Palestine before 1948. It reads: "1 Palestinian Pound".)

B. Demonization of Israel and the Jews:

Demonization of the Jews is not restricted to the conflict. It starts in the religious context of the political rivalry between the Prophet of Islam and the Jews of Arabia, which serves as a solid platform for their demonization in the context of the conflict itself. Demonization of Israel starts with its very establishment. What aggravates the demonization process in the PA schoolbooks is the total absence of any objective information about Jewish history and culture, or about Israel – its political structure, demography, economy and culture – that would balance its demonization as an enemy.

Another feature of the demonization picture is the systematic avoidance of presenting the Jewish or Israeli individual as an ordinary human being – in stark contrast with the Israeli schoolbooks' attitude to the Palestinian individual. In fact, the Jewish/Israeli "other" is mostly referred to as a group only, with the accompanying connotations of alienation and threat.

Following are several examples demonizing Jews. The first one is taken from a piece describing the Jews' behavior vis-à-vis Muhammad in the city of Medina, according to Muslim historiography:

"...But the Jews did not respect the treaty [they had signed with Muhammad] and went in for all kinds of treachery, betrayal and hostility, which made it necessary for the Muslims to fight them."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 50)

And a further demonizing piece:

"Let us watch a video clip from the attached CD about the Jews' attempt to kill God's Messenger [Muhammad]."

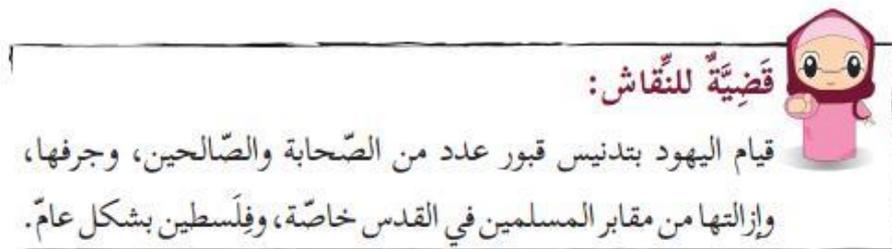
هيا بنا نشاهد مقطع فيديو من القرص المرفق، لمحاولة قتل اليهود رسول
الله ﷺ.



(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2017) p. 65, and see on p. 66 the assignment: "An issue for discussion: the Jews' recurring attempts to kill the Messenger [Muhammad]").)

Another seriously demonizing accusation appears in the same book in a similar context:

"An issue for discussion: The Jews' activity [today] of desecrating the graves of some of the Prophet's Companions and the virtuous men, sweeping and removing them from the Muslim cemeteries in Jerusalem specifically and in Palestine in general."



(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2017) p. 71)

The demonizing pieces increase in the context of the present conflict:

"... Savage Zionist gangs that came from a foreign world full of hostility and hatred to Arabs and Palestinians invaded it [the land] without permission..."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 23)

"[Assignment:] 6. Let us mention the motives for the Zionist gangs' perpetration of collective extermination and forced migration [*Al-ibadah al-jamaiyyah wa al-tahjir al-qasri*] against the sons of our people in 1948."

تَذَكُّرُ الدَّوَاغِعِ مِنْ مُمَارَسَةِ الْعِصَابَاتِ الصَّهْيُونِيَّةِ الْإِبَادَةِ الْجَمَاعِيَّةِ وَالتَّهْجِيرِ الْقَسْرِيِّ لِأَبْنَاءِ شَعْبِنَا

عام ١٩٤٨ م.

(*Arabic Language – Academic path*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2017) p. 26)

"1. The Zionists have based their entity on terrorism, extermination [*ibadah*] and colonialism [*isti'mar*]. Let us present that in detail."

(*Arabic Language – Academic Path*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2017) p. 27)

"We were told that the army of treason at that night
Cut off the people's organs professionally and attentively
They tortured them, cut their body parts into pieces
And then cast them into the claws of death."

(Poem about Deir Yassin by an Algerian poet, *Arabic Language – Academic Path*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2017) p. 30, and see the same piece as a language exercise on p. 69)

And there are as well more specific accusations. One, for example, is intentional killing of Palestinian children and youths. The following first example is taken from a poem:

"The child and the old man among us will die and will not surrender
The mother will fall on her killed sons and will not surrender."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2017) p. 65)

"During the First Palestinian *Intifadah*, the Palestinian youths were utilizing the sling to stand against the Zionist occupation's soldiers and defend themselves against their treacherous bullets."



(*Sciences and Life*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 77)

And a language exercise in this context:

"4. The soldiers attack the children out of fear of their dreams."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2017) p. 58)

And an assignment:

"We will write an article in which we will talk about the Israeli abuses against Palestinian children while following the rules of journalistic articles and focusing on:

1. Children falling as martyrs.
2. Demolition of their houses and deportation of their families.
3. Their arrest.
4. Preventing them from studying.
5. Preventing them from playing."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 135)

The security fence stretching along the West Bank and turning into a concrete wall in urban areas, which was built to stop Palestinian terrorist attacks against Israeli citizens in the early 2000s, is thus described:

"This monster that winds around the lands of the occupied West Bank constitutes a crime against humanity because of its daily disastrous impacts on the inhabitants' lives. The wall, judging by its course, is like a symbol of the Zionist project as a whole that constantly swallows up more Palestinian land."

(*Arabic Language – Academic Path*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2017) p. 116)

Other accusations include: house demolition, cutting down trees, arrests of school children, torture, and even setting loose wild boars into Palestinians' fields:



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 2 (2017) p. 24)

"Why does the occupation cut down deliberately fig and olive trees in our country?"

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 72)

"[Assignment:] We will prepare a play about the arrest of school students and their interrogation at the Zionist interrogation departments."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 45)

"2. The Zionist occupation uses [various] kinds of torture against male and female prisoners-of-war in its jails. Let us clarify that."

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2017) p. 41)

"It [the occupation] set loose herds of boars that caused damage to the [Palestinian] inhabitants and their crops."

(*Social Studies*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 21)

Israel is also accused of carrying out excavations under the Temple Mount in order to cause the collapse of the mosques situated there. The caption under the following caricature reads:

"We will think and observe the caricature and write a paragraph about the message the cartoonist wanted to pass through."



(*Social Studies*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 64)

In the following piece taken from a poem, the Jews are dubbed "Devil's aides [*a'wan Shaytan*]":

"Where are the horsemen [who will ride] towards Al-Aqsa [Mosque] to liberate it from the fist of unbelief, from the Devil's aides?"

أَيْنَ الْفُؤَارِسِ لِلْأَقْصَى تُحَرَّرُهُ مِنْ قَبْضَةِ الْكُفْرِ مِنْ أَعْوَانِ شَيْطَانٍ؟

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2017) p. 66)

Demonization is given a vivid dimension in a piece featuring extreme manifestations of victimization, which inevitably demonize the perceived victimizer. It is a lesson

titled "A Letter from a Palestinian Little Girl to Children of the World", in which "She describes the suffering caused to her and to children of her age..." Excerpts:

"Since I was born they have assassinated my childhood. They tore my doll apart and I hid it in my heart. Since I was born the bullets' whistle has pierced my ears and blackness has covered everything around me. I see crying eyes: This is a martyr's mother, this is a prisoner-of-war's daughter and this is a missing person's sister. And this is a child whom a bomb has maimed: It killed his doll and, with it, it took away his eye, his heart and his joy. Sadness has found into his heart the way that joy will never know. And this is a young woman who has lost her husband, and sorrow has dug in her cheeks the furrows of despair..."

Since I was born I have seen our fields subjected to appropriation and our alleys closed. Death and soldiers march there. I see the ruins of demolished houses whose stones have been dispersed in all directions and underneath them the children's memories and the birds' dreams still sigh...

I dreamed that we had a school where I would not be afraid to be trodden by a boot of a usurping soldier... Why did they slaughter my childhood in front of my eyes and kill the rose in the fields? Why did they kill the butterflies in our gardens and frighten the birds? Why did they veil the sunlight, spread darkness and block the roads?"
(*Arabic Language*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2017) pp. 59-61)

Finally, the Palestinian educators have chosen for their students a Prophetic Saying [*Hadith*] that designates the killing of all Jews by the Muslims as a pre-condition to the coming of End of Days. They introduced that *Hadith* with some words they probably deemed appropriate:

"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 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, for it is one of the Jews' trees.'"

مقاتلة اليهود والانتصار عليهم: فقد بشر الرسول ﷺ بنهاية ظلم اليهود على هذه الأرض المقدسة، وإزالة فسادهم واحتلالهم لها؛ عن أبي هريرة رضي الله عنه أن النبي ﷺ قال: «لا تقوم الساعة حتى يقاتل المسلمون اليهود، فيقتلهم المسلمون، حتى يختبئ اليهودي من وراء الحجر أو الشجر، فيقول الحجر أو الشجر: يا مسلم، يا عبد الله، هذا يهودي خلفي فتعال فاقتله إلا الغرقد، فإنه من شجر اليهود»^(٢).

(*Faith*, Grade 11 [*Shar'i Stream*] (2013) p. 94)

C. War indoctrination, instead of peace education:

The PA schoolbooks are not utterly devoid of peace advocacy. There is one piece dedicated to that:

"Activity 3: Let us read the conversation, discuss and draw conclusions:

While the Abu Ali family was watching the news, Abir said: 'What are these painful scenes, O father?'

Sa'id: 'Can't these wars ever stop? Can't the [world] states do something to stop them?'

Father: 'The ones who suffer from these wars are the peoples. Therefore the states should act to stop them.'

Abir: 'But how? O father?'

Father: 'The states should solve the problems between themselves through dialogue and peaceful means. They should propagate love and peace among the peoples. The world should direct [its] scientific progress and inventions towards the people's benefit. The states should commit themselves to preventing the propagation of weapons and help each other in solving [their] conflicts'

Sa'id: 'Islam has created human morals [to be applied] during wars. What approves that most is [Caliph] Abu Bakr's instruction to the army of Usamah bin Zayd: 'Do not kill a small child, nor an old man, or a woman; do not uproot a date palm tree, nor burn it, or cut down a fruitful tree.'

Implementation:

- We will split into groups.
- We will read the conversation and discuss it.
- How can we solve the problems between people?
- What are the measures taken by the states in order to put an end to wars and bring about peace?
- How would we direct [the world's] technological development in the service of states and peoples, away from wars?

I have learned:

Wars cause destruction, kill a large number of people, destroy the environment and pollute it. Therefore, the states of the world should prevent wars and propagate peace. That [could be done] by solving the problems between the [various] states through dialogue and peaceful means, propagating the culture of tolerance and love among the peoples, increasing awareness among the citizens of the wars' danger and their destructive impact on man and the environment, creating organizations for the supervision of the propagation of deadly weapons and the prevention of their selling and trade, utilizing [the world's] scientific progress in the service of mankind and not for its destruction and the ruin of the environment, implementing the international agreements that advocate peace and the prevention of wars, and especially [safeguarding] the rights of citizens and civilians during wars and armed conflicts."



بينما كانت أسرة أبي عليّ تشاهد نشرة الأخبار، قالت عبيير: ما هذه المناظر المؤلمة يا والدي؟

سعيد: ألا يمكن لهذه الحروب أن تنتهي؟ أليس بإمكان الدول عمل أي شيء لوقفها؟

الأب: من يعاني من هذه الحروب هم الشعوب؛ لذا على الدول العمل على وقفها.

عبيير: وكيف ذلك يا أبي؟

الأب: على الدول أن تحلّ المشكلات بينها بالحوار والطرق السلمية، وعليها نشر المحبة والسلام بين الشعوب، وعلى العالم أن يوجّه التقدم العلمي والاختراعات لما فيه مصلحة الناس، وعلى الدول أن تتعهد بمنع انتشار الأسلحة، وأن تساعد بعضها في حل الصراعات.

سعيد: لقد وضع الإسلام أخلاقيات إنسانية خلال الحروب، ولا أدلّ على ذلك من وصية أبي بكر الصديق لجيش أسامة بن زيد (... لا تقتلوا طفلاً صغيراً، أو شيخاً كبيراً، ولا امرأة، ولا تعقروا نخلاً، ولا تحرقوه، ولا تقطعوا شجرة مثمرة،.....).

التنفيذ:



- نَنقَسِمُ في مجموعات.
- نَقْرَأُ الحوار وناقشه.
- كيف نستطيع حلّ المشاكل بين الناس؟
- ما الطرق التي تلجأ إليها الدول لإنهاء الحروب وإحلال السلام؟
- كيف نوجّه التطور التكنولوجي في خدمة الدول والشعوب بعيداً عن الحروب؟



تؤدّي الحروب إلى الخراب والدمار، وقتل أعداد كبيرة من الناس، وتدمّر البيئة وتلوّثها؛ لذا على دول العالم أن تمنع الحروب، وتنشر السلام وذلك عن طريق:

حلّ المشاكل بين الدول بالحوار والطرق السلمية، ونشر ثقافة التسامح والمحبة بين الشعوب، وزيادة الوعي بين المواطنين لمخاطر الحروب وآثارها المدمرة على الإنسان والبيئة، وإيجاد مؤسسات لمراقبة انتشار الأسلحة الفتاكة ومنع بيعها والاتجار بها، واستخدام التقدّم العلمي لخدمة البشرية وليس لدمارها وخراب البيئة، وتطبيق الاتفاقيات الدوليّة التي تدعو إلى السلام ومنع الحروب، وخاصّة حقوق المواطنين والمدنيّين في الحروب والنزاعات المسلحة.

(*Social Studies, Grade 5, Part 2 (2017) pp. 83-84*)

But this is a sole case of peace advocacy and peace is referred to here as a universal ideal, with no mentioning whatsoever of the current Palestinian-Israeli conflict in this context.

On the other hand, when the Oslo process is described in detail in one of the books (*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 10, Part 2 (2017) pp. 75-78*) – including Yasser Arafat's official recognition of Israel's right to exist in peace and security, as stated in a letter he sent to Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in September 1993, which is quoted in full (p. 76) – it is done in a neutral language without the slightest effort to convince the student that a peaceful resolution of the conflict is necessary, contrary to what is done in Israeli schoolbooks in this context.

Thus, none of the PA textbooks advocates peace and coexistence with Israel, or hints at the possibility of solving the conflict peacefully. Indeed, Israel, as depicted in the foregoing material, is delegitimized and demonized to such a degree that one cannot perceive it as a partner for peaceful coexistence.

Consequently, there is only one solution to the conflict dealt with in the books used by all Palestinian schools: Violent struggle for the liberation of the whole of Palestine, which means total destruction of Israel. In other words, the Palestinian curriculum features war indoctrination – instead of peace education.

This war indoctrination is well presented in the PA national anthem that is taught to students in the low grades. It is titled "*Fidai*" – a traditional term meaning "self-sacrificing person" and used nowadays as a title for members of the Palestinian armed organizations. Following is the full piece preceded by the sentence "Let us know our national anthem":

Fidai, fidai, fidai, O my land, O land of the forefathers

Fidai, fidai, fidai, O my people, O people of eternity
 With my determination, my fire and the volcano of my revenge [tha'r]
 And my blood's yearning to my land and my home
 I have climbed mountains and went into struggle
 I defeated the impossible and shattered the shackles
Fidai, Fidai, Fidai, O my land, O land of the forefathers
Fidai, fidai, fidai, O my people, O people of eternity
 In the winds' storm and the weapon's fire
 And my people's determination to carry on the struggle
 Palestine is my home and the road to my victory
 Palestine is my revenge [tha'ri] and the land of steadfastness
Fidai, Fidai, Fidai, O my land, O land of the forefathers
Fidai, Fidai, Fidai, O my people, O people of eternity
 By the oath under the flag's shadow
 By my people's determination, and by the pain's fire
 I shall live as a *Fidai* and I shall continue as a *Fidai*
 And I shall die as a *Fidai* until I return
Fidai, fidai, fidai, O my land, O land of the forefathers
Fidai, fidai, fidai, O my people, O people of eternity"

نَعْرِفُ نَشِيدَنَا الْوَطَنِيَّ

نشاط (١): نَسْتَمِعُ، وَنُرَدِّدُ:



فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي **** يا أَرْضِي يا أَرْضَ الْجُدُودِ

فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي **** يا شَعْبِي يا شَعْبَ الْخُلُودِ

بِعِزَمِي وَنَارِي وَبُرْكَانِ ثَارِي

وَأَشْوَاقِ دَمِّي لِأَرْضِي وَدَارِي

صَعَدْتُ الْجِبَالَ وَخُضْتُ النَّضَالَ

قَهَرْتُ الْمُحَالَ حَطَّمْتُ الْقَيْودَ

فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي **** يا أَرْضِي يا أَرْضَ الْجُدُودِ

فِدَائِي فِدَائِي فِدَائِي **** يا شَعْبِي يا شَعْبَ الْخُلُودِ



(National and Social Upbringing, Grade 3, Part 1 (2017) pp. 15-16)

It is clear from the text, especially the expression "until I return" that refers to the perceived violent return of the 1948 Palestinian refugees' descendants into Israel's pre-1967 territory, that the said struggle is by no means restricted to the territories of the West bank and Gaza alone. To make this point clearer, the following poem, titled "Children of Palestine", is presented, with specific references to the Israeli cities of Haifa and Jaffa:

"Let us sing:

I am a lion cub;¹ I am a flower;² we gave the soul to the revolution³
Our forefathers built for us houses in our [formerly] free country
I am a lion cub; I am a flower; we carried the revolution's ember
To Haifa, to Jaffa, to Al-Aqsa [Mosque], to the [Dome of the] Rock"

¹ *Shibl* in Arabic - a term denoting male members of the al-Fatah youth movement.

² *Zahrah* - a term denoting a female member of that movement.

³ *Thawrah* – a term denoting the activity of the Palestinian al-Fatah organization that started in January 1965, that is, before the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip by Israel in 1967.



أطفالُ فلسطين

إبراهيم التلي

أنا شَيْبِلٌ أنا زَهْرَةٌ وَهَبْنَا الرُّوحَ لِلثَّوْرَةِ
بَنَى أَجْدَادُنَا دُوراً لَنَا فِي أَرْضِنَا الحُرَّةِ
أنا شَيْبِلٌ أنا زَهْرَةٌ حَمَلْنَا جَمْرَةَ الثَّوْرَةِ
إلى حَيْفَا إلى يَافَا إلى الأَقْصَى إلى الصَّخْرَةِ

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 2, Part 1 (2017) p. 42)

And a language exercise says:

"It would be appropriate that Jaffa will return to us."
(Arabic Language, Grade 8, Part 2 (2017) p. 101)

And regarding the Israeli city of Safed:

"Safed is one of the most beautiful Palestinian cities in Galilee. It boasts of its noble Canaanite descent in spite of the fog of occupation that some day will dissolve."
(Arabic Language, Grade 9, Part 2 (2017) p. 21)

The violent struggle illustrated for first-grade students:

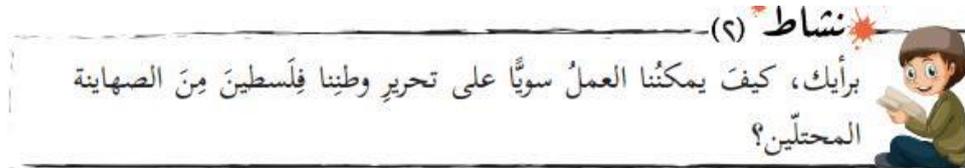


(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1, Part 2 (2017) p. 81)

Having absorbed this atmosphere of a violent struggle created by the textbooks, the students are asked:

"Activity 2:

In your opinion, how can we work together for the liberation of our homeland Palestine from the occupying Zionists?"



(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 93)

This national struggle for the liberation of the entire Palestinian homeland from the occupying Zionists is further intensified in the schoolbooks by the addition of the religious element into it:

"Focus: I am a Muslim; I make a sacrifice for the liberation of Al-Aqsa Mosque."



(*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 56)

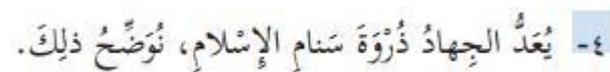
Within this approach, traditional Islamic concepts, such as Jihad and martyrdom, are used to strengthen among the students – who mostly come from a socially traditional environment – their personal commitment to the violent struggle. It should be stressed, however, that the new textbooks use these concepts to a lesser extent than their predecessors. For example, three poems exalting Jihad and martyrdom have been omitted, as well as an excerpt from another poem that served as a language exercise.

Jihad is exalted both in general and in the Palestinian context:

"Jihad in God's cause has a superb rank in God's view... Jihad in God's cause is better in God's view than any other good and pious deed."

(*Islamic Education*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 20)

"[Assignment:] 4. Jihad is considered the peak of Islam. Let us clarify that."



(*Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2017) p. 5)

"Jihad is one of Paradise's gates."

(Language exercise, *Arabic Language*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2017) p. 92)

And in the Palestinian context:

"O Jihad, to which glory has clapped... an honor boasted by Palestine."
(*Arabic Language – Academic Path*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2017) p. 122)

Martyrdom is also exalted. Following are language exercises and an assignment featuring that:

"3. The martyrs are more honorable than us all."
(*Arabic Language*, Grade 6, Part 2 (2017) p. 34)

"6. The martyrs enjoy a superb status in the Palestinians' souls which is manifested in many phenomena. Let us write down some of them."

٦- لِلشُّهَدَاءِ مَكَانَةٌ عَظِيمَةٌ فِي نُفُوسِ الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّينَ تَتَجَلَّى فِي مَظَاهِرٍ مُتَعَدِّدَةٍ، نَكْتُبُ بَعْضاً مِنْهَا.

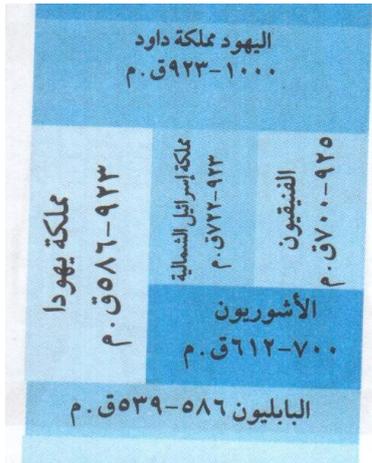
(*Arabic Language*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2017) p. 79)

"2. The students went to visit the martyrs' graves."
(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2017) p. 100)

D. The changes discerned in the PA new schoolbooks

It should be emphasized that the new books, which have been published by the PA since 2016, are generally more radical than their predecessors. One prominent feature is their systematic avoidance of the use of Israel's name, even in its numerous demonizing descriptions – contrary to what used to be done before 2016. Now, Israel is referred to in the vast majority of cases as "the Zionist occupation", and the "the Arab-Israeli conflict" has been renamed "the Arab-Zionist conflict". Even Israel's membership in the UN organization is referred to by a similar epithet: "The representative of the Occupation State at the UN" (*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2017) p. 41). Another phenomenon in this context is putting the name "Israel" in parentheses which are often used in Arabic as quotation marks. This change seems to express intensification on the part of Palestinian educators of their non-recognition of the State of Israel to the point of omitting its name from the books. It may also indicate a higher level of demonization: Instead of a conflict between two concrete entities, Israel and the Palestinians, the latter are now stuck in an existential struggle against an all-evil mythical power – world Zionism.

Another feature of the new PA schoolbooks is the total elimination of any former reference to the Jews' presence in the country in antiquity. In pre-2016 PA schoolbooks such presence was mentioned several times. One of these cases is the following historical time table that no longer exists in the current books. The inscriptions read (from top to bottom and from right to left): "The Jews David's Kingdom 1000-923 BC; The Phoenicians 925-700 BC; The Northern Kingdom of Israel 923-722 BC; The Kingdom of Judea 923-586 BC; The Assyrians 700-612 BC; The Babylonians 586-539 BC."



(*History of the Middle Ages, Grade 7* (2014) p. 74)

This new approach of eliminating any reference to the Jews' presence in the country in antiquity seems to have been given an ideological reasoning in the new books, namely, denying the rival party's historical "narrative" as a means to strengthening one's own one: "The Zionist occupation targets our history and existence. It turns the facts and the historical events upside down, falsifies and distorts them, and weaves a false history that corresponds to its goals. Therefore, we must be aware of our history and be acquainted with the real events that took place on our soil, so that we would differentiate between what is true and what is false and learn the lessons that will enable us to build our future and establish our independent state with Jerusalem as its capital" (*Social Studies, Grade 6, Part 1* (2017) p. 18).

And again:

"As for the Palestinian people, [the present struggle] is a central chapter of the battle for its existence and staying in its homeland. It is fought against those who occupied its land, drove its sons away and robbed its resources. They still work diligently to undermine the foundations of its identity and root out its heritage by way of robbery, erasure, forgery and destruction, in order to create a cracked narrative based on legends, baseless rumors and false arguments... They have constructed for themselves an artificial entity that derives its identity and the legitimacy of its existence from tales, legends and fantasies and have tried in various ways and methods to create material evidence for those legends, or archaeological and architectural proofs that would attest to their reality, but in vain."

(*Arabic Language – Academic Path, Grade 10, part 2* (2017) pp. 70-71)

The 2017 PA textbooks further intensify their role as tools of indoctrination, comparing to their pre-2016 counterparts. That new trait of theirs finds its expression in the systematic insertion of various aspects of the conflict into seemingly unrelated school subjects such as physics, chemistry, biology, and even vocational education. Thus, for example, in a cooking class, the students are asked to prepare, with the help of the elderly members of their families, a dish typical of their "original" place of dwelling, that is, before 1948 (*Vocational Studies – Practice, Grade 10* (2017) p. 103). In physics, a remark is made, within the discussion of sound waves, that the Zionist occupation forces prohibit the call for prayer from the minarets of Al-Aqsa Mosque (*Sciences and Life, Grade 8, Part 2* (2017) p. 53). In biology, the importance of the human spine is made more palpable by presenting a case of a boy who was

severely injured by an object left in the field following "the Zionist aggression against Gaza" (*Sciences and Life*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2017) p. 64). In chemistry, the following illustration is given:



تأمل و فكر
يحافظ الماء والملح على حياة الأسرى الفلسطينيين خلال خوضهم
لمعركة الأمعاء الخاوية.

(*Sciences and Life*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2017) p. 34. The caption says: "Observe and think: Water and salt keep the Palestinian prisoners-of-war alive while conducting the empty-guts battle [i.e., hunger strike]".)

And demonizing items phrased as a question in mathematics:

"1. The number of martyrs during the first *Intifadah* (the Stone *Intifadah*) reached 2,026. The number of martyrs during the Al-Aqsa *Intifadah* reached 5,050. The number of martyrs during the two *Intifadahs* is"



١ بَلَّغَ عَدَدُ شُهَدَاءِ الْإِنْتِظَاضَةِ الْأُولَى (إِنْتِظَاضَةِ الْحِجَارَةِ) ٢٠٢٦ شَهِيدًا، وَبَلَّغَ عَدَدُ شُهَدَاءِ إِنْتِظَاضَةِ الْأَقْصَى ٥٠٥٠ شَهِيدًا.

عدد الشهداء في الانتفاضتين = _____ شهيداً

(*Mathematics*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2017) p. 25)

And in geometry:

"Activity 1: Palm tree growing is prevalent in the Palestinian lands in the regions of Jericho, the Jordan Valley and Gaza. As a result of the Israeli abuses of plantation sweeping, some of them become broken. If a palm tree is broken like [the one] in the adjacent picture, and the length of the broken part is 13 meters, while the tree's full length, before it was broken, had been 20 meters, how would we know the angle's measure?"

نشاط (١) : تنتشر زراعة النخيل في الأراضي الفلسطينية في مناطق أريحا، والأغوار، وقطاع غزة؛ ونتيجةً للانتهاكات الإسرائيلية في تجريف الأشجار تتعرض بعضها للتكسير. إذا تعرضت إحدى أشجار النخيل للكسر، كما في الشكل المجاور، وكان طول الجزء المائل من الشجرة على الأرض ١٣ متراً، وكان طول الشجرة قبل سقوطها ٢٠ متراً، فهل يمكن معرفة قياس الزاوية



(*Mathematics*, Grade 9, Part 2 (2017) p. 8. No signs of plantation sweeping – meant to eliminate hiding places for potential attackers alongside strategic roads – are seen here).

Aspects of the conflict are also mentioned within unrelated historical events such as the destruction of Carthage by the Romans in the 2nd century BC (*Social Studies*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2017) p. 80), Prophet Muhammad's persecution by the inhabitants of Mecca in the 7th century AD (*Social Studies*, Grade 6, Part 2 (2017) p. 36), The Spanish Reconquista in the 15th century (*Social Studies*, Grade 7, Part 2 (2017) p. 28), the tragedy of the native Americans caused by the European settlers there on the one hand: "I will compare the tragedy of the Indians, America's original inhabitants, to the tragedy of the Palestinian people" (*Social Studies*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2017) p. 33) and the struggle of America's European settlers against Britain, on the other hand – the Boston Tea Party (*ibid.*, p. 36), the attack on the Bastille during the French Revolution in 1789 and Napoleon's military expedition to Egypt in 1799 and beyond (*ibid.*, pp. 42, 63, respectively).

One important development in the 2017 schoolbooks is the new message added to the perceived "Right of Return" by which the descendants of the Palestinian refugees of 1948 are entitled to return to their ancestors' former houses and reclaim their property in full. Their return has always been given a violent character in the PA books and seen as part of the violent liberation struggle. Now, the new textbooks add explicit references indicating that the areas within pre-1967 Israel to which these people will return should be under Palestinian sovereignty. In other, clearer, words, Israel itself should disappear:

"We shall return; we shall return with the soaring vultures; we shall return with the strongly blowing wind; we shall return to the vineyard and the olive trees; we shall return to raise the flag of Palestine... on our green hills."

سَنَعُودُ، سَنَعُودُ مَعَ التَّسْوِيرِ الْمُحَلَّقَةِ، سَنَعُودُ مَعَ الرِّيحِ الْعَائِيَةِ، سَنَعُودُ
إِلَى الْكُرْمِ وَالزَّيْتُونِ، سَنَعُودُ؛ لِنَرْفَعَ عَلَمَ فِلَسْطِينِ، إِلَى جَانِبِ زَهْرَةِ
الْحَنُونِ عَلَى رَوَابِينِ الْخَضْرَاءِ.

(Arabic Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 82)

"...I am the owner of the great right, from which I create the morrow
I shall reclaim it; I shall reclaim it as a precious and sovereign homeland
I shall shake the world tomorrow and march as a consolidated army
I have an appointment with my homeland and it is impossible that I forget that
appointment"

صَرْخَةُ لاجئ

هارون هاشم رشيد

أنا لن أظل مُقيداً	أنا لن أعيش مُسَرَّداً
خفُّ نائراً مُتَمَرِّداً	أنا لي غداً وَغداً سَأَزُ
صِفِّ وَهِيَ تَجْتاحُ المَدَى	أنا لن أخاف من العوا
تَرْمي دَمَراً أَسْوِداً	وَمِنَ الأعاصيرِ الَّتِي
رِوَصانِعٍ مِنهُ العَدا	أنا صاحبُ الحقِّ الكَبِيبِ
وَطناً عَزيزاً سَيِّداً	سَأُعِيدُهُ .. وَأُعِيدُهُ
وَأَسِيرُ جَيشاً أَوْحِداً	سَأَزَلِّزُ الدُّنْيا غَداً
هَيهاتَ أنسى المَوعِدا	لي مَوعِداً في مَوطِني

(Excerpts from the poem "A Refugee's Cry" by Harun Hashem Rashid, *Arabic Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2017) p. 85*, and see among the accompanying questions the following one: "The poet has determined the way of the return. We will clarify it as it appears in the poem.")

Moreover, there is clear rejection of a return under occupation:

"Is he not crazy, the one who is driven out of his homeland and then is ready to return to it as a guest with the robbers who had seized it?"

(*Arabic Language, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 57*)

Terrorist activities against Israeli civilians are also part of the struggle against the Zionist occupation of Palestine. Thus, the new books exalt Palestinian terrorists who participated in such actions. Dalal al-Mughrabi, for example, who was killed in a terrorist attack she had led against a civilian bus on the Coastal Highway in 1978 in which more than 30 men, women and children were murdered, is mentioned in four

books. In all of them she is described as a heroine and martyr of Palestine. Following is the first page of a 4-page item dedicated to her:

"Dalal al-Mughrabi

([By] the authors [of the textbook])

In front of the text:

Our Palestinian history is full of many names of martyrs who presented their souls as a sacrifice for the homeland. Among them is the martyr Dalal al-Mughrabi who painted with her struggle a picture of challenge and heroism that have made her memory eternal in our hearts and minds. The text in front of us provides a glance on the path of her struggle."

دَلالُ الْمُغْرَبِي

(المؤلفون)

بَيْنَ يَدَيِ النَّصِّ

يُحْفَلُ تَارِيخُنَا الْفِلَسْطِينِي بِكَثِيرٍ مِنْ أَسْمَاءِ الشُّهَدَاءِ الَّذِينَ قَدَّمُوا أَرْوَاحَهُمْ فِدَاءً
لِلْوَطَنِ، مِنْهُمْ الشَّهِيدَةُ دَلالُ الْمُغْرَبِي الَّتِي سَطَّرَتْ بِنِضالِهَا صُورَةً مِنْ صُورِ التَّحَدِّي
وَالْبُطُولَةِ؛ مَا جَعَلَ ذِكْرَهَا خَالِداً فِي قُلُوبِنَا وَعُقُولِنَا. وَالنَّصُّ الَّذِي بَيْنَ أَيْدِينَا يَتَحَدَّثُ
عَنْ طَرْفٍ مِنْ مَسِيرَةِ نِضالِهَا.



Civil aircraft hijacking, which was part and parcel of the Palestinian armed organizations' terrorist activities, is mentioned as well, without the slightest sign of self-criticism:

"The Palestinian organizations reacted [to Israeli attacks against them in Lebanon] by attacking Zionist targets, including aircraft hijacking."

(*Geography and Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine*, Grade 10, Part 2 (2017) p. 60)

The new PA schoolbooks of 2016-2017 are also characterized by the intensified description of the violent struggle against Israel, including some incriminating items involving incitement to the perpetration of war crimes. For the first time in the history of the PA curriculum, a reference is made to the fate of the 6 million Jews now living in the country after its supposed liberation: expulsion of the usurper (code name for Israel) and extermination of the foreigners' defeated and scattered remnants. This new element in the PA schoolbooks sounds the alarm with all its might:

"Let us sing and learn by heart: The Nobles' Land [*Ard al-Kuramaa*]
[Photograph of the Old City of Jerusalem with the Dome of the Rock]
I have sworn! I shall sacrifice my blood
To water the nobles' land
And I shall remove the usurper [*ghaseb*] from my country
And shall exterminate [*ubid*] the foreigners' scattered remnants [*fulul al-ghuraba*]
O land of Al-Aqsa [Mosque] and the Sanctuary [*haram*],
O cradle of pride and nobility
Patience, patience, for victory is ours
And dawn will peep out from darkness"

نُغْنِي وَنَحْفَظُ: أَرْضُ الْكُرْمَاءِ



قَسَمًا سَأُضْحِي بِدِمَائِي لِأُرْوِي أَرْضَ الْكُرْمَاءِ
وَأَزِيلَ الْغَاصِبَ مِنْ بَلَدِي وَأُيَدِّ فُلُولَ الْغُرَبَاءِ
يَا مَهْدَ النَّخْوَةِ وَالْكَرَمِ يَا بَلَدَ الْأَقْصَى وَالْحَرَمِ
صَبْرًا صَبْرًا فَالْتَّصِرْنَا وَالْفَجْرُ يُبْطِلُ مِنَ الظُّلَمِ

(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2017) p. 64)

Equally alarming is the first reference by the PA schoolbooks to the party targeted by the Palestinian liberation struggle, namely, the Jewish/Israeli "other". A story in one of the 2017 books mentions the imposition of a curfew in parts of the city of Al-Birah in the West Bank following a terrorist attack on the neighboring Jewish settlement of Psagot. The reference to the victims of that attack is shocking:

"The neighbor: "The curfew does not include us in Al-Sharafah [neighborhood]. It is imposed on Al-Natarish [neighborhood]. It seems that there is a barbecue party [*haflat shiwa'a*] there with Molotov cocktails on one of the buses of the Psagot colony [*musta'marah* - Jewish settlement] on Mount Al-Tawil"

الْجَارُ: حَظَرَ التَّجَوُّلَ لَا يَشْمَلُنَا فِي (الشَّرْفَةِ) مَفْرُوضٍ عَلَى
(النَّارِيشِ) عَلَى مَا يَبْدُو هُنَاكَ حَفْلَةٌ شِوَاءٍ بِالْقَنَابِلِ الْحَارِقَةِ لِإِحْدَى
حَافِلَاتِ مُسْتَعْمَرَةِ (بَسَاغُوتِ) عَلَى الْجَبَلِ الطَّوِيلِ.

(*Arabic Language*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2017) p. 61. The "barbecue party" expression is underlined in red.)

The Israeli Books

A. De-legitimization?

Israeli schoolbooks do recognize the Palestinian national movement as such:

"B. Nationalist Trends among the Arabs

An Arab-Palestinian nationalist movement started to develop in the country. Its Pan-Arab dimension emerged as part of the Arab nationalist movement in the Middle East as a whole... Its Palestinian, local, dimension emerged against the background of the [political] interest in the country shown by the European Powers, and became stronger with the beginning of the Arab struggle vis-à-vis the Zionist movement... The [Arab] newspaper Al-Karmal started to appear in Haifa in 1908. It called for resisting the Jewish immigration and voiced the beginning of the separate Palestinian identity..."



(*Being Citizens in Israel*, [Civics, Upper Grades, State Secular & State Religious Schools] (Ministry of Education, 2016) p. 26)

Assignment: "A. Indicate [the] steps in the development of the Palestinian national movement in the years 1919-1939."

א. ציינו צעדים בהתפתחותה של התנועה הלאומית הפלסטינית בשנים 1919–1939.
(*1870-1970: An Era of Horror and Hope* [History, Upper Grades] (Center for Educational Technologies [CET], 2001) p. 185)

The Israeli schoolbooks also recognize the Palestinian Authority whose territories are often marked on the map as an autonomous body under Israeli sovereignty. The following map, titled "Map 2: The State of Israel's Borders" shows the Palestinian Authority's A areas. The main Palestinian cities, namely, Nablus, Hebron and Gaza, appear on the maps alongside Israeli cities, including Arab ones (Nazareth, Shefar'am, Umm al-Fahm, Tayyibeh and Rahat):

Another map shows the whole country as one entity. But an adjacent smaller map presents areas A and B of the Palestinian Authority:

"Areas within the PA's responsibility:

Area A: PA responsibility for internal security and public order.

Area B: PA responsibility for Palestinians' public order and Israeli responsibility for Israelis' security."



(*Living Together in Israel 4* [Civics, Grade 4] (CET, 2005)

Israeli schoolbooks usually make a distinction between pre-1967 Israel, which they name "Israel" or "the State of Israel", and the country in its entirety, to which they apply the traditional Hebrew term "the Land of Israel [Eretz Yisrael]". However, in a book published in 2015, the term "Israel" refers to areas in the West Bank not annexed to Israel. Following is one example taken from that book:

"In this chapter we will focus on two of Israel's mountainous regions - Judea and Samaria Mountains and Galilee Mountains."

בפרק הזה נתמקד בשניים מאזורי ההר של ישראל – הרי יהודה והרי שומרון, והרי הגליל.

(*Geography for Grade 6* [State & State Religious Schools] (CET, 2015) p. 154)

But this very book says in a different place:

"The border between Israel and Jordan runs along most parts of the [larger Syro-African] Depression. [However,] south of the Springs Valley ([formerly named] Beit Shean Valley) up to the middle of the Dead Sea, it is **a border in dispute** that should be determined in a settlement between Israel and the Palestinian Authority and Jordan. **The agreed-upon borderline** between Israel and Jordan runs from the middle of the Dead Sea to Eilat."

לאורך רוב חלקי הבקע עובר הגבול בין ישראל לירדן. מדרום לעמק המעינות (עמק בית שאן) ועד אמצע ים המלח, זהו **גבול שנוי במחלוקת** שיש לקבוע אותו בהסדר בין ישראל לבין הרשות הפלסטינית וירדן. מאמצע ים המלח ועד אילת עובר **הגבול המוסכם** בין ישראל לבין ירדן.

(*Geography for Grade 6*, [State & State Religious Schools] (CET, 2015) p. 182)

The main Muslim and Christian holy places in the country, as well as holy places to other religions (Druze, Bahai, etc.) are recognized and appear as such in the textbooks. Following is a piece presenting the main Muslim and Christian holy places in Jerusalem, alongside the Jewish holy place of the Wailing Wall there:

"Jerusalem: One city, three religions

Jerusalem is the capital city of the State of Israel... It is also a city holy to the three great monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam...

[The caption next to the sign reads:] A street sign in Jerusalem."



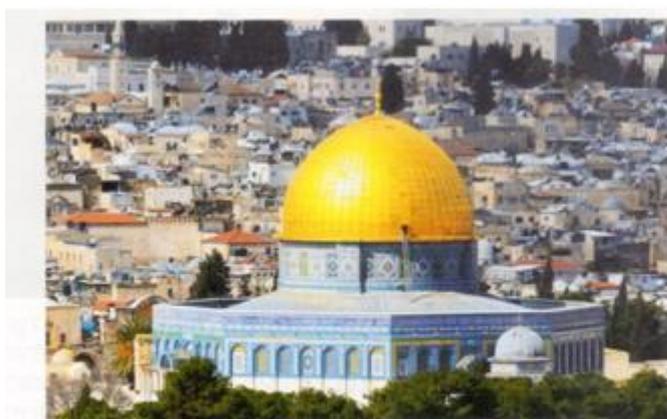
(*A Very Good Word* [Hebrew, Grade 5, Part 2, State Secular Schools] (CET, 2015) p. 119, and see the discussion of Jerusalem's three monotheistic faiths on pp. 119-122)

The sanctity of Jewish holy places to followers of other faiths is also mentioned:

"Jerusalem's Holiness to Muslims

The holiest cities of the Islamic religion are Mecca and Medina that are located in Saudi Arabia. Jerusalem is the third holy city [in Islam]. According to the Islamic belief, Prophet Muhammad, founder of the Islamic religion, ascended from the Temple Mount to Heaven and was honored by God's revelation. Since the days of Muhammad, Muslims have continued to consider Jerusalem a holy city. Islam's two most important places [there] are the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa Mosque. The Muslims call Jerusalem Al-Quds, i.e., the Holy [City]. Since its sanctification in the eyes of Muslims as well, Jerusalem has become a holy city to the three religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The holy places in Jerusalem often constitute a focal point of friction. The Temple Mount, for example, where the Dome of the Rock is located, is also the place where the [Jewish] Temple used to stand.

One of the impressive buildings preserved from the early Muslim period is the Dome of the Rock. The Dome of the Rock is placed above the Foundation Stone - the stone that according to Jewish belief was in the Holy of Holies [hall] in the Temple. According to Islamic belief, Prophet Muhammad ascended from there to Heaven. In the picture: the Dome of the Rock today."



אחד המבנים המרשימים שהשתמרו מהתקופה המוסלמית הקדומה הוא כיפת הסלע. כיפת הסלע ניצבת מעל "אבן השתייה" - האבן אשר על פי האמונה היהודית הייתה בקודש הקודשים בבית המקדש, ועל פי האמונה המוסלמית ממנה עלה הנביא מוחמד לשמים. בתמונה: כיפת הסלע כיום.

על קדושתה של ירושלים למוסלמים

הערים הקדושות ביותר בדת האסלאם הן הערים מכה ומדינה, הנמצאות בערב הסעודית, וירושלים היא העיר השלישית בקדושתה. על פי האמונה המוסלמית, הנביא מוחמד, מייסד דת האסלאם, עלה לשמים מהר הבית וזכה להתגלותו של האל. מאז ימי מוחמד המשיכו המוסלמים לראות בירושלים עיר קדושה. שני המקומות החשובים ביותר לאסלאם הם כיפת הסלע ומסגד אל־אקצא. המוסלמים קוראים לירושלים "אל־קודס", כלומר, "[העיר] הקדושה". מאז שקדשה גם למוסלמים, הייתה ירושלים לעיר קדושה לשלוש הדתות: ליהדות, לנצרות ולאסלאם. לעתים קרובות המקומות הקדושים בירושלים מהווים מוקד לחיפוכים. הר הבית, למשל, שעליו שוכנת כיפת הסלע, הוא גם המקום שבו עמד בית המקדש.

(*Geography for Grade 6 [State & State Religious Schools] (CET 2015) p. 215*)

B. Demonization

Demonizing expressions in Israeli schoolbooks are those ones describing Arab and Palestinian attacks on Jews throughout the conflict, mostly in history textbooks. Beyond that, there are expressions within language exercises dealing with aspects of the conflict with demonizing effects, though without mentioning the "other" specifically. The first example relates to the damage caused to Israeli environment in Galilee due to Hizballah's rocket barrages during the Second Lebanon War in 2006. The second example refers to Palestinian terrorist activity in Israeli cities:

"Exercise 3: Read the following text and answer in your copybook the questions that follow (the text includes a sentence that is incorrect grammatically):

'Returning the Green Color / by Dudu Bazak

1) The 2007 Arbor Day is celebrated under the title of repairing the war damages. 2) During the Second Lebanon War more than 750 thousand trees were burned. 3) The fires have consumed the Ranot Naftali Forest almost completely and severely damaged the Biriyah Forest. 4) According to the Israel Fund's estimates, the cost of the damage inflicted on the forests is about 80 million Shekels and their rehabilitation process might take many years. 5) The Israel Fund started yesterday a project of the Biriyah Forest rehabilitation with a budget of hundreds of thousands Shekels. (Maariv, January 26, 2007)"

תרגיל 3

קראו את הטקסט שלפניכם וענו במחברתכם על השאלות שאחריו. (הטקסט מכיל משפט שאינו תקין מבחינה תחבירית)

מחזירים את הירוק / דודו בזק

(1) ט"ו בשבט 2007 נחוג בסימן שיקום נזקי המלחמה: (2) במהלך מלחמת לבנון השנייה נשרפו יותר מ-750 אלף עצים. (3) השרפות כילו כמעט כליל את יער רמות נפתלי ופגעו קשות ביער בִּירְיָה. (4) על פי הערכות קק"ל, עלות הנוק שנגרם ליערות הוא כ-80 מיליון שקל, ותהליך שיקומם אמור להימשך שנים רבות. (5) אתמול החלה קק"ל בפרויקט לשיקום יער בִּירְיָה בהשקעה של מאות אלפי שקלים.

"מערב" 26 בינואר 2007

(*In the Paths of the Text [Hebrew for Intermediate grades]* (Sheri-Ganel, 2016) p. 334)

"1) The Civil Guard's men were watchful and, therefore, the explosive package was discovered in time.

2) Because the Civil Guard's men were watchful, the explosive package was discovered in time."

(1) **אנשי המשמר האזרחי היו עֲרֵנִיִּים, לכן נתגלתה חבילת הנפץ בעוד מועד.**

(2) **משום שאנשי המשמר האזרחי היו עֲרֵנִיִּים, נתגלתה חבילת הנפץ בעוד מועד.**

(*In the Paths of the Text [Hebrew for Intermediate grades]* (Sheri-Ganel, 2016) p. 252)

However, the books used in schools of the independent ultra-religious streams tend to emphasize the perceived evil intentions on the part of Arabs and Palestinians towards the Jews in the country in general.

This line of thought is enhanced by a pre-1967 Arab caricature reproduced in another textbook of the ultra-orthodox independent stream. The piece has been taken from: IMPACT-SE, *Haredi [Ultra-Orthodox] Textbooks in Israel - Reinforcing the Barricades*, by Eldad Pardo and Tehila Gamliel (May 2017) p. 46:



This caricature, which appeared in an Arab newspaper before the Six-Day War shows how Arabs imagined the War would turn out.

History of Recent Generations, Middle School, Vol. 2, 2008, p. 140.

Another example of a demonizing piece in an Ultra-Orthodox schoolbook is the following translated one that has been taken from *Victims of Our Own Narratives? - Portrayal of the 'Other' in Israeli and Palestinian School Books: Study Report* (Council of Religious Institutions of the Holy Land [CRIHL], 2013) p. 15:

“Israel is a young country and surrounded by enemies: Syria, Egypt, Jordan. And on every side [...] enemy states are hatching plots that are only waiting for the right time to be carried out. Like a little lamb in a sea of seventy wolves is Israel among the Arab states, which, ever since she was established to this day have not come to terms with the fact of her existence even after they have threatened to destroy all the inhabitants...” (Ultra-Orthodox schools, *Country and Its Inhabitants: Israel Studies* [למודי ארץ ישראל], Grade 4, Part 3, 2008, p.118, LP1333).

However, a more recent approach on the part of ultra-orthodox schoolbooks tends to add to the external enemies internal ones too. Beside the wolves, there are aggressive sheep posing against the ultra-orthodox lamb as well. This item was taken from IMPACT-SE's recent study of Israeli ultra-orthodox textbooks, p. 29:

לאחר מות מוחמד שררו בחצי האי ערב אי-סדר ומלחמת ירושה. לירוש נבחר אבו בכר, חותנו של מוחמד ומראשוני המאמינים בו. הוא קיבל את התואר ח'ליף - המחליף של שליח האל. החליף היה מנהיג דתי ומדיני, אך לא נחשב לנביא.

כבר בתקופתו של אבו בכר יצאו הערבים למסעות כיבושים מחוץ לחצי האי ערב. הם הניחו יסוד לאימפריה שהגיעה לשיאה בימי החליפים שבאו אחריו. החליפים ארגנו את השלטון בשטחי האימפריה - הם קבעו את ערי הבירה, סללו דרכים והקימו בהן תחנות דואר, וטבעו מטבעות. החליפות הגיעה לקצה עם כיבושה על ידי שבטים מונגולים ב-1258.

הערבים כפו את האסלאם על עובדי האלילים באימפריה שלהם, ומספר המתאסלמים גדל. היהודים והנוצרים באימפריה זכו ליחס מיוחד - הם כונו "עמי הספר", עמים שיש בידם ספר קודש ובשורה דתית שקדמה להופעת מוחמד. המתאסלמים שילמו מס גולגולת ומס קרקע, ובתמורה השלטונות הגנו על חייהם ועל רכושם. יהודים ונוצרים שירתו במשרות פקידות באימפריה כי ידעו קרוא וכתוב והיו נאמנים לחליפים.

באימפריה התפתחה תרבות עשירה: הוקמו בתי חולים, ורופאים ערבים זיהו מחלות וערכו ניתוחים מסובכים; נבנו מצפי כוכבים ופותחה האסטרונומיה; פותחה האלגברה; ותורגמו ספרי פילוסופיה מיוונית לערבית. הערבים הפיצו את הספרות ההודיות המקובלות אצלנו עד היום והחלו להשתמש בספרה אפס. עוד ענפי תרבות התפתחו באימפריה, ובהם: פילוסופיה, גאוגרפיה, אמנות, אדריכלות, ספרות ועוד.

(*Journey into the Past: Encountering Worlds - the 5th-16th Centuries* [History, Grade 7] (CET, 2011) p. 133)

The same approach is followed regarding modern Arab history and other data related to the Arab countries presently.

Israeli schoolbooks do provide the students with information about Arabic literary works. The following is a poem by the Israeli Arab poet Fadel Ali translated into Hebrew [in part]:

"I am a child who climbs the world's stairs. I have a heart, I have brains, I have my own matters, like everyone else."

✱

אֲנִי יֶלֶד
שֶׁמֶטֶפֶס
עַל מַדְרָגוֹת הָעוֹלָם.
יֵשׁ לִי לֵב,
יֵשׁ לִי שִׁקְל,
יֵשׁ לִי עֲנִינִים
כְּמוֹ לְכֻלָּם.

פֶּאֶדֶל עָלִי

נֶסֶח עֵבְרִי: יְהוּדָה אֶטְלֵס וְיֹנָה טֶפֶר

(*A Good Word: Hebrew for Grade 3* [State Religious Schools] (CET, 2014) p. 50)

Arabic lessons, which are part of the Israeli curriculum in certain grades, are utilized for providing more information about Arab society, its customs and daily life. The following piece describes some of Islam's main features:

"[Hebrew:] 1. Listen to the piece and follow the written text. Find how many times the newly-learned letter **ظ** appears, and how many times – the newly-learned letter **ض**.

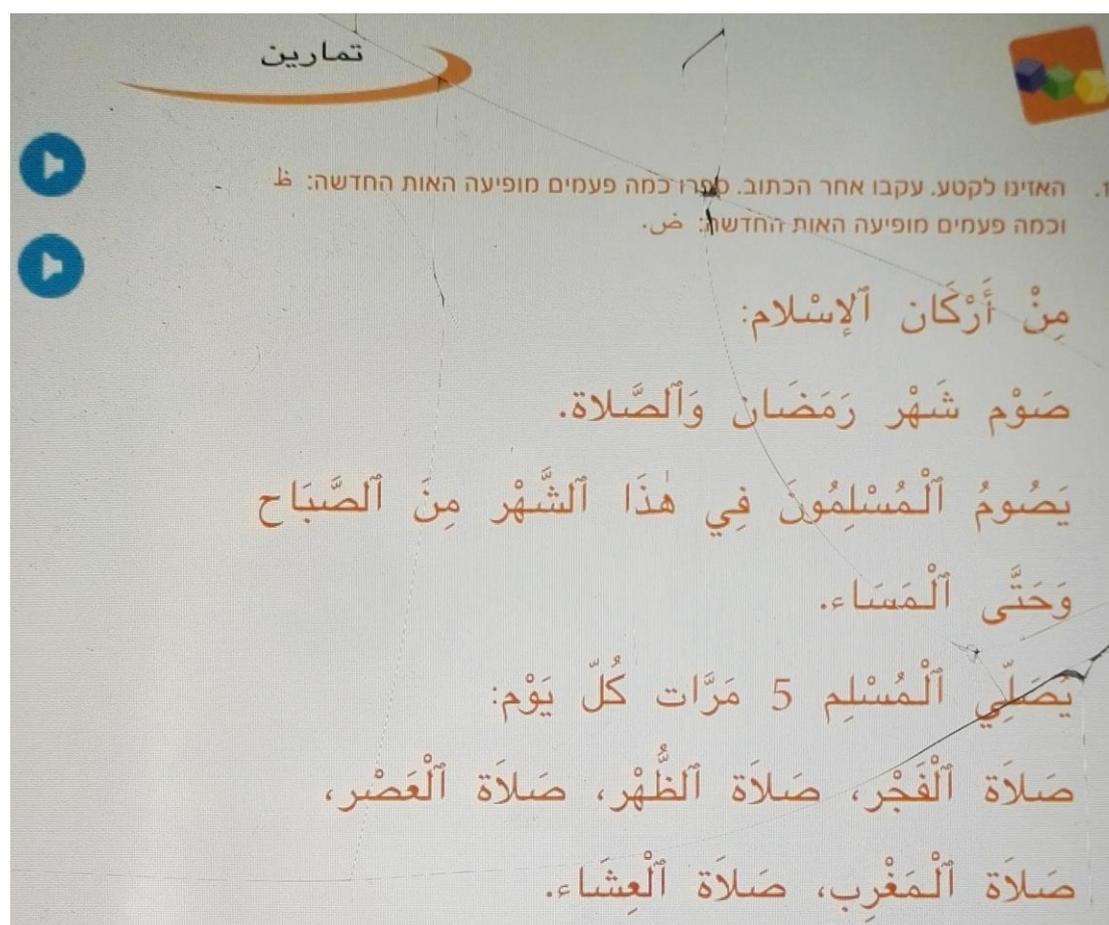
[Arabic:] Among the Pillars of Islam:

The fast of the Ramadan month and prayer.

The Muslims fast in that month from morning until evening.

The Muslim prays 5 times every day:

Dawn prayer, noon prayer, afternoon prayer, evening prayer, night prayer."



(*Language Telling of Culture*, [Arabic, Grade 7] (Effect-Tiv, 2010) p. 116)

Following is part of a preface taken from one of the textbooks, written by the General Inspector of the subjects of Arabic and Islam at the Ministry of Education and presenting the official rationale behind these lessons (translated in part within the marked text):

"Teaching of Arabic in Hebrew schools aims at the construction of the so vital cultural bridge between Israel's Jewish and Arab inhabitants. Acquiring a [foreign] language is a form of declaration on the part of the student of his intention and commitment to get to know the other and the other's culture. Gladly, there has been recently a momentum in studying the Arabic language in Hebrew schools..."

דבר המפמ"ר

הוראת הערבית בבתי הספר העבריים נועדה לבנות את הגשר התרבותי החיוני כל כך בין כל תושבי מדינת ישראל, יהודים וערבים.

רכישת שפה היא בגדר הצהרה של הלומד על נכונותו ועל מחויבותו להכיר את האחר ואת תרבותו. לשמחתי, ניכרת לאחרונה תנופה בלימודי הלשון הערבית בבתי הספר העבריים. תנופה זו ניכרת בלימודי החובה בכיתות חטיבת הביניים ובכיתה י ואף בלימודי הבחירה בכיתות יא-יב.

לצד כל האמור, אנו עדים לביקוש רב מצד הורים ותלמידים להיחשף לשפה הערבית כבר בכיתות בית הספר היסודי. לכן, משרדנו מאפשר מיזמים שבהם נלמדת ערבית תקשורתית, בעיקר בכיתות ה-ו. מטרה מרכזית בתכניות אלה היא לבנות את המסד ולהכשיר את הלבבות ללימוד השפה הערבית בכיתות ז ומעלה.

ברוח הזמן אנו מעודדים את שילוב התקשוב והמולטימדיה בהוראת הערבית בבתי הספר היסודיים והעל-יסודיים.

"יא סלאם", החיבור שלפניכם, הוא מרכיב מרכזי במיזם "השפה כגשר תרבותי" – מטעם יוזמות קרן אברהם. הספר "יא סלאם" ערוך בצורה נאה ומאירת עיניים ויש בו כדי לחבב את הלשון הערבית על תלמידי בתי הספר העבריים ולהביא להרחבה נוספת של היקף הלומדים את השפה בשלבי החינוך השונים.

אני מבקש לברך את מחברי "יא סלאם", אלה ולסטרה ואליאס פלאח אליאס, ואת כל העוסקים במלאכה.

בהצלחה,
שלמה אלון
מפמ"ר לערבית ואסלאם

(*"Ya Salaam": Language as a Cultural Bridge [Arabic, Grades 5-6]* (Effect-Tiv, 2010) page not numbered.)

And a question in a fourth-grade textbook reads: "Arab and Druze children start learning Hebrew in grade 2. In your opinion, is it desirable that Jewish children start learning Arabic in grade 2 [too]? Explain."

My granddaughter answered [in handwriting script]: "In my opinion, it is desirable that the Jews learn Arabic [beginning] in grade 2 because then, after several years, they will be able to speak Arabic with other Arabs."

באיזו שפה מדברים הערבים והדרוזים?

לעמוד 41 בספר הלימוד

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א. הילדים הערבים והדרוזים לומדים עברית מכיתה ב. האם לדעתכם כדאי שילדים יהודים ילמדו ערבית מכיתה ב? הסבירו.

אולי כן, כי אם אנחנו פה שנים הם יוכלו ללמוד ערבית עם ערבים אחרים

(*Living Together in Israel 4, Workbook* (CET, 2005) p. 38)

Contrary to the PA schoolbooks' attitude regarding the Israeli "other", the Israeli ones do present the Palestinian individual as an ordinary human being. "Meeting Sundus" is a piece for lower grades Jewish students in which an Arab girl tells about herself and her family that lives in a village in the Hula Valley in Israel. It is accompanied by the family's photograph in its home.

פגישה עם:



סונדוס מהישוב טובה

- 1 שמי סונדוס הייב ואני גרה ביישוב
- 2 הערבי טובה שבועמק החולה. כל
- 3 הבתים שלידנו הם של בני המשפחה
- 4 המרחבת שלנו. סבתא וסבא וכל
- 5 הדודים ובני הדודים הם השכנים
- 6 שלנו. למשפחה המרחבת קוראים
- 7 בערבית "חמולה" והשם של החמולה שלנו הוא "הייב".
- 8 פעם לא משעמם אצלנו. כמעט כל שבוע יש יום הולדת לאחד
- 9 מבני הדודים במשפחה, ואנחנו חוגגים ביחד ועושים שמח.
- 10 כשאמא ואבא נוסעים או עובדים מחוץ לכפר שלנו, תמיד
- 11 יש לנו עם מי להשאיר.
- 12 מול הבית של סבתא וסבא יש חצר, וזהו מקום המפגש של בני
- 13 החמולה שלנו בקיץ. כשהילדים נפגשים יש הרבה רעש מהמשחקים
- 14 ומהמריבות. אבל אם גם המבגרים באים לחצר, אנחנו משחקים
- 15 בשקט, כדי לא להפריע להם.

(Living Together in Israel Part 2 [Sociology & Civics, Grade 2] (CET, 2006) p. 53)

And another such piece describes three children of the Ramah village in Galilee, one Muslim, one Druze and one Christian, as well as their habits and their families:



המשפחה שלי מוסלמית, אבל לי ולהורי יש חברים מכל העדות בראמה. אני אוהבת ללמוד, והמקצועות שאני הכי טובה בהם הם אנגלית, ספורט ומחשבים. כשאגדל אני רוצה להיות רופאת ילדים. ההורים שלי עובדים ליד הבית - יש לנו חנות לעציצים, פדי חרס ורהיטי קש. אני אוהבת את היישוב שלי. אצלנו במשפחה אומרים שאפשר לכנות את היישוב "הפלה של הגליל", כי הוא יפה כל כך.



נְרוּאָנָד

המשפחה שלי היא משפחה דרוזית שחיה בראמה כבר יותר מ-500 שנים. כ-30 משפחות ביישוב הם קרובי משפחה שלנו. יש לי 4 אחים, וכולם גדולים ממני, והם תלמידים מאוד טובים, אז אני צריך להוכיח את עצמי כל הזמן... בינתיים אני מצליח לא רע. פעם בשבוע אני הולך לתנועת נוער, אני מנגן בתופים, ובנוסף אני משתדל לתרום לחברה. למשל, בחופש הגדול האחרון עזרתי לשפץ את בית העם הדרוזי.



אָדָהִם

המשפחה שלי נוצרית. הבית שלי נמצא במקום גבוה בראמה, ולכן נשקף ממנו נוף נהדר. יש לי רק אחות אחת, אבל הרבה קרובות משפחה בגילי שגרות לידי. אני אוהבת לקרוא ולשחק עם בני משפחתי וחברות בחצר מתחת לבית שלנו.



מְרִיָּה

(Living Together in Israel Part 4 [Sociology & Civics, Grade 4] (CET, 2005) p. 47)

The objective information given to the Israeli-Jewish student counter-balances in his or her mind the negative portrayal of Palestinians, and Arabs in general, as enemies within the on-going conflict. It must be noted, though, that most such information deals either with general Arab and Muslim history and culture or with the Arab-Palestinian society within Israel. Israeli schoolbooks do not provide the students with adequate information about Palestinian society in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip,

which should be considered a serious shortcoming on their part as far as education to peace is concerned.

On the other hand, there are expressions of empathy to the Palestinian refugees' plight. Following are two examples. The two translated excerpts in the first example are marked. The caption next to the photograph reads: "Inside the refugee camp of Balata, near the city of Nablus":

"Refugees in the wake of the Israeli-Arab conflict

The Israeli-Arab conflict and the wars between Israel and the Arabs created movements of large refugee groups, both Arab and Jewish."

"The problem of the Arab refugees is a complicated political problem and a painful human problem. It is one of the most difficult and complex issues in the years-long Israeli-Arab conflict. Within the negotiations on the peace agreements between Israel and its neighbors, this issue as well is being put on the negotiation table and its solution will undoubtedly be vital to the achievement of peace in the Middle East."



443 במחנה הפליטים בִּלְטָה, ליד העיר שכם

– אם משום שמדינות ערב סירבו לקלוט אותם כאזרחים שווי זכויות, ואם משום שהם עצמם נמנעו מלהשתלב במדינות שאליהן הגיעו. במחנות הפליטים האוכלוסייה גדלה במהירות, ותנאי החיים בהם קשים מאוד – שיעורי האבטלה גבוהים, המגורים צפופים ודלים, ורמתם של שירותי הרפואה, החינוך והתברואה, ירודה.

בעיית הפליטים הערבים היא בעיה פוליטית סבוכה ובעיה אנושית כאובה, והיא אחד הנושאים הקשים והמורכבים ביותר בסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי ארוך-השנים. במסגרת השיחות על הסכמי השלום בין ישראל לשכנותיה עולה גם הנושא הזה על שולחן הדיונים, ואין ספק שפתרונו יהיה חיוני להשגת שלום במזרח התיכון.

פליטים בעקבות הסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי

הסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי והמלחמות בין ישראל לבין הערבים, יצרו תנועות של קבוצות פליטים גדולות – הן של ערבים והן של יהודים.

הפליטים הערבים

רוב הפליטים הערבים יצאו מישראל בעת מלחמת העצמאות (בשנים 1947-1949) ובעת מלחמת ששת הימים (1967). מאות-אלפי הפליטים הערבים התפזרו במדינות שונות בעולם, ובעיקר במדינות המזרח התיכון. הם ידועים בכינוי "פליטים פלסטינים", ומספרם המדויק שגוי במחלוקת.

חלק מהפליטים הערבים השתקעו והשתלבו במקומות שאליהם הגיעו, חלקם חזרו לבתיהם באישורה של מדינת ישראל, ורבים מהם מתגוררים מאז ועד היום במחנות פליטים ובשכונות עוני

(*People and Settlements* [Geography, Intermediary & Upper Grades, State Secular & Religious Schools] (CET, 2007) p. 114)

The caption reads: "Palestinian refugees"

"Question: How does the photograph emphasize the hardships of the Palestinian refugees' situation?"



פליטים פלסטינים.

שאלה:



כיצד מדגיש הצילום את הקשיים במצבם של הפליטים הפלסטינים?

(*Nationalism in Israel and the Nations – Building a State in the Middle East* (2009) p. 107, taken from the source material gathered for a report by Yael Teff-Seker, *Peace, Tolerance and the "Other" in Israeli Schoolbooks* (Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education [IMPACT-SE], 2012 [Hebrew])).

One can even find in the Israeli textbooks descriptions of friendly relations between Jewish and Arab individuals, or families, or children, and these are all presented in a positive light, even in the context of the conflict, such as the following example:

"Other Days Came/ By Yossi Margalit/ Told by Hannah Brenner

The building we were living in belonged to Muhammad from the village of Lifta, west of Jerusalem. Every month he would come to our home to collect the rent. My father would invite him to sit in the balcony and my mother would serve him with a cup of tea and a cake... [Things went that way until the UN Partition Resolution of Nov. 1947]... a wave of hostilities swept the country and Muhammad stopped coming to our home and we as well avoided going to Lifta lest we be attacked on the way there.

Few months passed and one day my father returned home sad and upset. 'I saw near Mea Shearim neighborhood a line of horse-led carriages', he told, 'loaded with furniture, pillows, mattresses, bundles of clothes and household utensils. Muhammad was sitting on one of the carriages. Where to? I asked him. To Jordan, he answered.

-Why?

-We are afraid of what the Jews will do to us.

-And where is the family?

-My wife Fatimah and the children left a month ago.

Go back home, Muhammad, I said to him. You and your family will not do any harm to the Jews and therefore they will not harm you. I am afraid, Muhammad answered and hurried his horse to go on the way.'

We had a heavy feeling..."

[...] הבניין שבו גרנו היה שייך למוחמד מהכפר ליפתא שממערב לירושלים. מדי חודש בחודשו היה מוחמד מגיע לביתנו כדי לקבל את שכר הדירה. אבי היה מזמין אותו לשבת במרפסת ואמי נהגה לכבד אותו בכוס תה ובפרוסה של עוגת צימוקים, מעשה ידיה. בין לגימה ללגימה היה מוחמד שואל את אבי על חייו בפולין, ואבי היה מתעניין אצל מוחמד על מעשיו בכפר ועל בני משפחתו הקרובים והרחוקים. [...] כך התנהל הוויי המשפחות עד שמלאו לי שמונה, סמוך לכ"ט בנובמבר 1947, היום שבו הוחלט בעצרת האומות המאוחדות על חלוקת ארץ ישראל לשתי מדינות: מדינה יהודית ומדינה ערבית. גל מעשי איבה שטף את הארץ ומוחמד חדל לבוא אל ביתנו. אף אנו נמנענו מללכת לליפתא, פן יפגעו בנו בדרך.

...
חלפו כמה חודשים, באחד הימים חזר אבי הבייתה עצוב ונסער "ראיתי ליד שכונת 'מאה שערים' שיירה של עגלות רתומות לסוסים," סיפר אבי, "ועליהן רהיטים, כרים, מזרונים, צרורות בנדים וכלי בית. על אחת העגלות ישב מוחמד. 'לאן?' שאלתי אותו. 'לירדן', ענה. 'למה?' – מפחדים ממה שיעשו לנו היהודים. 'והמשפחה היכן?' פטימה אשתי והילדים עזבו לפני חודש. 'חזור הבית, מוחמד, אמרתי לו, 'הרי אתה ומשפחתך לא תפגעו ביהודים, ולכן גם לא יפגעו בכם.' 'אני מפחד', השיב מוחמד, והאיץ בסוסו לצאת לדרך."
הרגשתנו הייתה קשה. "אשמור לך את הדירה," אמר אבא. "הארץ תשקוט" ... עבר זמן, ובמהלכו אבדה תקוותם של הוריי, כי הקרובים בפולין ניצלו והגיעו לארץ. גם את מוחמד, בעל ביתנו, ומשפחתו, לא ראינו עוד.

(*The Way of Words* 5 (2006) p. 143, taken from the source material gathered for Yael Teff-Seker's Report (IMPACT-SE, 2012).

Following is a piece encouraging friendship and cooperation between Jewish and Arab individuals today:

"Writing Assignment No. 2

Following is background information for the topic "Education for Equality and Coexistence". Read the text and do the writing assignment that follows:

'A group of Arabs and Jews who think differently assembled and created a partnership over twelve years ago at the Max Rein Bilingual "Hand-in-Hand" School in Jerusalem. Those partners decided to put an end to the stagnant way of thinking and started educating to patience, tolerance, respect, equality and coexistence. The group expanded and turned into a community, of which each member keeps his religious and national identity and, at the same time, becomes familiar with the peoples around him and enjoys the commonly celebrated holidays and a rich culture. According to the group's members, they have created an educational system based on knowledge and values and they guide their children toward excellence.'

Write a 1-1.5-page essay in which you present arguments for this way of life, support your words and substantiate them with explanations, proofs, data and examples taken from various places around the world (example: Ireland, Korea, Tibet)."

משימת כתיבה 2

לפניכם דברי רקע לנושא "חינוך לשוויון ולדו-קיום". קראו את הטקסט ובצעו את משימת הכתיבה שאחריו.

בבית הספר הדו-לשוני "יד ביד" על שם מקס ריין בירושלים התקבצה לפני יותר מתריסר שנים קבוצה של ערבים ושל יהודים החושבים אחרת ויצרה שותפות. השותפים הללו החליטו לשים קץ לקיבעון המחשבה, והם החלו לחנך לסבלנות ולסובלנות, לכבוד, לשוויון ולדו-קיום. הקבוצה גדלה ונהפכה לקהילה שחבריה שומרים כל אחד על זהותו הדתית והלאומית, וּבְדָבָרָם הם מכירים את העמים החיים מסביבם ונהנים מחגים משותפים ומעושר תרבותי. לדברי חברי הקבוצה, הם יוצרים מערכת חינוך המבוססת על ידע ועל ערכים, והם מדריכים את ילדיהם למצוינות.

כתבו מאמר טיעון (בהיקף של עמוד עד עמוד וחצי), ובו **הציגו** נימוקים המצדדים בדרך חיים זו, **בססו** את דבריכם ו**נמקו** אותם באמצעות הסברים, הוכחות, נתונים ודוגמאות ממקומות שונים בעולם (לדוגמה אירלנד, קוריאה, טיבט).

(*In the Paths of the Text [Hebrew for Intermediate grades]* (Sheri-Ganel, 2016) p. 40)

Furthermore, in some cases Arab-Palestinians are said to have rescued Jewish individuals - a theme the parallel of which is not to be found in PA schoolbooks. The first example is a series of assignments following a story titled "Abu Aziz's Goat" in which an Arab neighbor saved a Jewish baby who needed goat milk in order to survive [Excerpts]:

- "2. Write down your own thoughts about the story...
3. How did Abu Aziz's decision to care for the baby's milk influence the relations between the two families?
4. Yael... decided to post on the class site a thank-you letter to the Abu Aziz family... Write the letter on Yael's behalf...
5. The meaning of the Arabic word 'aziz' is 'darling', 'beloved', 'respectable'... Do you think it fits here as a name? Explain."

2. א. כתבו מחשבות שלכם על הסיפור.
ב. שתפו במחשבות שלכם והקשיבו למחשבות שלכם.
3. איך ההחלטה של אבו-עזיז לדאוג לחלב לתינוקת השפיעה על הקשר בין שתי המשפחות?
4. יעל חשבה שכדאי לשתף את חבריה לכיתה בסיפור של סבא. היא החליטה לפרסם באתר הכיתתי מכתב תודה למשפחת אבו-עזיז לצד תקציר סיפורו של סבא.
א. כתבו תקציר של הסיפור. הזכירו רק את העובדות החשובות להבנת רצף העלילה ונסו להסתפק ב-8-10 שורות.
ב. כתבו את המכתב בשם יעל. לפני הכתיבה חשבו: על מה היא מודה? מה חשוב לה שהחברים בכיתה יבינו?
5. א. פירוש המילה הערבית "עזיז" הוא יקר, אהוב, מכובד. הסופרת בחרה בשם הזה כדי לומר משהו על הדמות. האם לדעתכם השם מתאים? הסבירו.
ב. העתיקו משפט או משפטים מהסיפור שחזקו את דעתכם.

(*A Very Good Word*, [Language, Grade 6, State Secular Schools] (CET, 2016) p. 27)

Note: The story and the assignments, minus No. 4, appear in a parallel textbook for State Religious Schools, pp. 34-37.

The second example relates to a historical event. A list of 19 Arab individuals of Hebron, including one woman (No. 7 on the list), who saved Jewish families during the massacre of August 1929 there, appears in one of the history textbooks. The list, signed by the Hebron two chief rabbis, shows the number of persons saved by each Arab.

הרשימה חתומה ע"י שני רבני העדות היהודיות בחברון באותה תקופה, הרב רבנו מאיר פראנקו והרב יעקב יוסף סלונים.

נפשות	משפחת סלונים	משפחת פראנקו
(15) 20	משפחת סלונים	1. עבד שקיר עמר
24	משפחת שניאורסון קיטיין	2. עיסה קורדייה
7	משפחת ליבה, ישראל זיסל	3. אחמד זרו
17	משפחת בג'יו תרגומן	4. ג'ויהאן אבו היקל
19	משפחת חיינסון בורובסקי	5. יחיה מארקה
66	משפחת דניאל מזרחי	6. אחמד קרידה
7	משפחת שלים	7. פהימה אם סלים חשיב
8	משפחת גוזלן	8. ש'ך מחמוד חמירי
14	משפחת מזרחי גוזלן	9. עומר בדיר
14	משפחת סלונים	10. מחמד חסן בדר
14	משפחת מזרחי ולהבה אליעזר	11. מוסה יעקב שחין
7-6	משפחת מעש מעט	12. שקיר קייסמי
11	משפחת קמר לוי	13. פואד טהביב
8	משפחת פראנקו, גרודז'ינסקי, ד"ר אלקנה	14. מחמד אבו זיני
15	משפחת חסון, גבאי, אבוזגלו	15. תאפיק שהון
7	משפחת גוזלן אבושדיד	16. חג' דאייב אבו חטאב
5	משפחת עזרא	17. רג'ב חסן בדר
3	משפחת חסון	18. מחמד אכרם
4	משפחת קסטל שלמה	19. חסן מוחמד חסן בדר

אנו מאשרים בזה כי רשימה זו היא רשימה מלאה של הערבים שהגנו על משפחות יהודים בחברון בימי המאורעות.

חתימות: רבנו מאיר פראנקו – רב ראשי (—)
יעקב יוסף סלונים (—)
כ' טבת תר"ץ (20.1.30)

מתוך: עודד אבישר (עורך), ספר חברון, עיר האבות ויישובה בראי הדורות, עמ' 424

(1870-1970: An Era of Horror and Hope [History, Upper grades] (CET, 2001) p. 164)

In addition to the foregoing implied ways meant to present Arab-Palestinian individuals in a positive light, there are cases in the Israeli schoolbooks in which direct efforts are made to uproot prejudice among the students against Arabs.

Following are two examples:

"Assignment: The Declaration of Independence

It has been written in the Declaration of Independence that 'the State of Israel... will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants, irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture...'

Announce a poster competition in your class. The competition's goal is putting on the agenda the issue of xenophobia and the attitude to minority groups in Israel, and encouraging the implementation of the statements written in the Declaration... After the competition you will be able to put the best posters on the class' walls and in the school's corridors."

משימה: מגילת העצמאות

במגילת העצמאות נכתב כי "מדינת ישראל... תקיים שוויון זכויות חברתי ומדיני גמור לכל אזרחיה בלי הבדל דת, גזע ומין; תבטיח חופש דת, מצפון, לשון, חינוך ותרבות; תשמור על המקומות הקדושים של כל הדתות".

הכריזו על תחרות כרזות בכיתתכם. מטרת התחרות היא להעלות לסדר היום את נושא הקסנופוביה והיחס לקבוצות מיעוט בישראל, ולעודד את יישום ההצהרות שנכתבו במגילת העצמאות. שלבו בכרזות רעיונות וביטויים מתוך דבריהם של הרצל, אחד העם ובן-גוריון ומן הפסוקים שלמדתם בפרק. לאחר התחרות תוכלו לתלות את הכרזות הטובות ביותר על קירות הכיתה ובמסדרונות בית הספר.

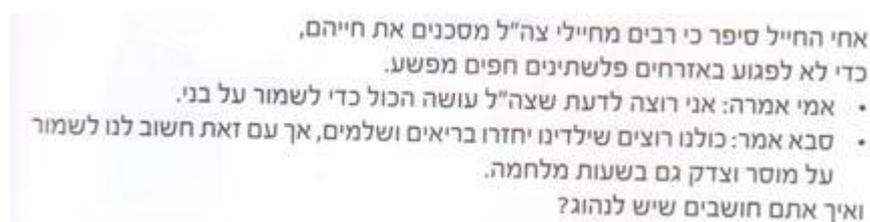
(*Herzl Said... An Exemplary Society in Zionist Thinking* (Shalom Hartman Institute, 2011) p. 20)

And this approach refers as well to the dilemma of treating Palestinian civilians during warfare:

"My brother, who is a soldier, told me that many IDF soldiers endanger their lives in order not to harm innocent Palestinians.

- My mother said: 'I want to be sure that the IDF does everything to keep my son safe.'
- Grandfather said: 'We all want our children to come back safe and sound, but, notwithstanding, it is important to us to follow moral and justice [principles] in war time too.'

How do you think one should behave?"



(*Textbook for the Study of Israel's Culture and Heritage for Grade 6* (Modan, 2011) p. 157)

One important element in Israeli schoolbooks that diminishes the effect of direct demonization of the rival "other" within the conflict and is not to be found in the PA schoolbooks is self-criticism. There are texts criticizing Israeli attitudes or acts in the context of the conflict. Following is a piece criticizing Israel's policy towards its Arab-Palestinian citizens:

The caption next to the photo: "Heads of [Arab] local councils demonstrate in Jerusalem and demand equality."

The inscription on the banner held by the demonstrators: "Equality in budget for Jews and Arabs"

"Equality, but also Gaps

According to the law in Israel, Israel's Arab citizens have equal rights as Israel's Jewish citizens have... But there are fields where gaps (differences) exist between the Jewish and Arab and Druze populations. For years the state has invested in Arab settlements less money than in Jewish settlements..."



דאשי רשויות מקומיות מפגינים בירושלים ודורשים שוויון.

שוויון, אבל גם פְּעָרִים

לפי החוק בישראל, לאזרחי ישראל הערבים יש זכויות שוות כמו לאזרחי ישראל היהודים: יש להם זכות להצביע בבחירות, נציגים ערבים ודרוזים נבחרים כחברי כנסת, שופטים ערבים מְקֻהָּנִים בבתי המשפט, הערבית היא שפה רשמית במדינה, בכל היישובים יש בתי ספר והחינוך בהם הוא חנם, וכדומה.

אבל יש תחומים שבהם יש פערים (הבדלים) בין האוכלוסייה היהודית לבין האוכלוסייה הערבית והדרוזית. במשך השנים המדינה השקיעה ביישובים הערביים פחות כסף מאשר ביישובים היהודיים. למשל, לא נְקָלְלוּ מספיק כבישים נוחים בין היישובים הערביים ובתוכם, לא נבנו מספיק בתי ספר, והוקמו רק מעט פארקים ומגרשי משחקים ביישובים הערביים.

(*Living Together in Israel* [Civics, Grade 4] (CET, 2005) p. 42)

Another piece, given as a language exercise, criticizes the occupation in general:

"Violence in Israeli Society

[By] Meirav Milo

Possible causes of violence are the on-going exposure of Israeli society to the Occupation on the one hand and to terrorist attacks on the other hand. That leads to... society's acceptance of violence as a way to solving problems. Some think that one of the Occupation's outcomes is one's apathy to the other's suffering."

האלימות בחברה הישראלית

מרב מילוא

גורמים אפשריים לאלימות הם החשיפה המתמשכת של החברה הישראלית לכיבוש מחד ולפיגועי טרור מאידך. אלו מביאים לעלייה ברמת החרדה, ולהשלמה של החברה ככלל עם אלימות כדרך לפתרון בעיות. יש החושבים שאחת התוצאות של הכיבוש היא קהות חושים לסבלו של האחר.

...

(*Phase B: Hebrew for Grades 11, 12* (CET, 2007) p. 276)

The massacres perpetrated by Jewish or Israeli forces against Palestinians in Deir Yassin in 1948, and in Kafr Qassem in 1956 are denounced in Israeli schoolbooks:

The first (Translated) example has been taken from *Victims of Our Own Narratives? - Portrayal of the 'Other' in Israeli and Palestinian School Books: Study Report* (CRIHL, 2013) p. 30:

According to historical research, about 100 people were killed in Deir Yassin, most of them women, children and old people, but at that time, there was talk of hundreds killed, and ETZEL even boasted after the battle and counted 240 killed... The episode of Deir Yassin horrified public opinion in Israel and in the world because of the harsh attack on a civilian population. The leadership of the Jewish Agency expressed 'feelings of horror and disgust at the barbaric way that action was carried out.' On the political plane, it served and still serves as an excuse for Arab propaganda against Israel, but its main influence was in the immediate range: the image of the Jewish occupier created by the battle of Deir Yassin was the central cause of the Arab exodus from captured Arab settlements" (State secular and state religious schools, *Nationality in Israel and in the Nations: Building a State in the Middle East* [בונים מדינה במזרח : הלאומיות בישראל ובעמים: התיכון], Grade 11, p.113, LP1429).

The second example:

"On the first day of the Sinai Campaign [October 1956] a horrible event took place in Kafr Qassem... 49 women, men and children were murdered by a Border Guard company that operated there [the circumstances reported]... The Kafr Qassem massacre serves as an alarm lamp for the rule of law in Israel, and the legal concept of 'a clearly illegal order' emerged in its wake. This is an order that one should absolutely not obey, no matter who gives it, because it contradicts basic humanistic values..."

[...] ביזמה הראשון של מלחמת סיני התרחש בכפר קאסם אירוע מחריד. בכפר, השוכן במרכז הארץ, נרצחו 49 נשים, גברים וטף בידי פלוגת משמר הגבול שפעלה במקום. בשל הפתיחה במלחמה הוקדמה שעת העוצר על הכפרים בגבול ירדן לשעות אחרי הצהריים, מבלי ליידע את התושבים שעבדו מחוץ לכפר. תושבי הכפרים היו מורגלים בעוצר משעות הלילה, לכן שבו מעבודתם לאחר שכבר החל בכפר קאסם מילא קצין משמר הגבול את ההוראות [שניתנו בעת מתן הפקודה: לירות במי שמפר את העוצר. חייליו ירו למוות בשבים מהשדות ומעבודתם במחסום. יש להדגיש כי בכפרים האחרים, שגם בהם הגיעו השבים לביתם לאחר שעת העוצר, נקטו המפקדים בסלחנות ובהבנה למאחרים, ולא מילאו אחר פקודת הירי.

[...] טבח כפר קאסם משמש נורת אזהרה לשלטון החוק בישראל, ובעקבותיו נולד המושג המשפטי "פקודה בלתי חוקית בעליל" (בעליל=באופן ברור). זוהי פקודה שאסור בשום אופן לבצע ולא חשוב מי נתן אותה, כי היא סותרת ערכים הומניסטיים בסיסיים ללא סיבה מהותית מאחוריה.

(*To know History: Nationalism in Israel and among the Nations – Building a State in the Middle East* (2009) p. 213, taken from the source material gathered for Yael Teff-Seker's Report)

No parallel cases of self-criticism are found in any of the PA schoolbooks. On the contrary, the main culprits who were involved in the massacre of Jews in August 1929 in Hebron and Safad, were tried, convicted and executed by the British Mandate

authorities are considered in the PA schoolbooks heroes and martyrs (*Arabic Language*, Grade 10, Part 1 (2017) p. 128).

C. Peace advocacy

In sharp contrast to the PA schoolbooks that advocate a violent struggle of total liberation instead of a peaceful resolution of the conflict, no solution other than peace has so far been found in the entire Israeli curriculum. Following are two examples of the peaceful orientation expressed by the Israeli schoolbooks:

"There is only one solution in keeping human lives: neither steel planks, nor tanks, nor aircrafts, nor concrete fortifications. The one and only solution is peace. We shall continue [marching] on the way to peace with determination and devotion. We shall not cease. We shall not give up. Peace will win all our enemies, because the other option is worse for all of us."

[...] יש פתרון אחד לשמור על חיי האדם: לא לוחות פלדה, לא טנקים, לא מטוסים, לא מבצרי בטון, הפתרון האחד הוא – השלום. נמשיך בדרך השלום בנחישות ובדבקות. לא נרפה, לא נוותר, השלום ינצח את כל אויבנו, כי האפשרות האחרת גרועה לכולנו.

(*In the Language of the Lines* [Reader, Grade 6, State Religious Schools] (2007) p. 297, taken from the source material gathered for Yael Teff-Seker's Report)

"Yitzhak Rabin, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, signed an agreement with the Palestinians – the Oslo Accord. By this agreement Israel recognized the right of the Palestinian people to an independent state [of its own]. The Oslo Agreement reflected the desire to end the violent confrontation between us and the Palestinians and to open a new page of peace between the two peoples."

[...] יצחק רבין, שזכה בפרס נובל לשלום, חתם על הסכם עם הפלסטינים - "הסכם אוסלו". במסגרת הסכם זה הכירה מדינת ישראל בזכותו של העם הפלסטיני למדינה עצמאית. הסכם אוסלו שיקף את הרצון להגיע לסיום העימות האלים בינינו לבין הפלסטינים ולפתוח דף חדש של שלום בין שני העמים.
[...]

(*Destruction-Exile-Redemption* [Bible studies, Upper Grades] (CET, 2005) p. 21, in Yael Teff-Seker, *Peace, Tolerance and the "Other" in Israeli Schoolbooks* (IMPACT-SE, 2012 [Hebrew]) p. 43.

The Palestinian religious ideals of *Jihad* and *Shahadah* have no equivalent in Israeli schoolbooks, and cases of self-sacrifice in battle are restricted to past events only and not presented as recommended future acts.

Yet, Ultra-Orthodox textbooks, though not talking against peace in principle, openly express distrust vis-à-vis the particular agreements so far arrived at in this respect (and note the accusation against the Israeli left regarding this issue toward the end of the first piece). The following two pieces were taken from IMPACT-SE's study, pp. 46-47, 42, respectively:

Talks were held at Oslo with PLO negotiators, and Arafat and his team were recognized as the official representatives of Arabs in Eretz Yisrael. The Israeli government based this recognition on the fact that the Arab League recognized Arafat as the representative of all Palestinian Arabs. The Oslo talks gave the PLO general governmental status and access to the world of international diplomatic relations. Even the gates of the United States opened to the PLO when the Israeli Knesset abolished the law that prohibited negotiations with PLO terrorists.

The Israeli government gave them authority and political, economic and military power without concern for the destructive consequences that might result from placing such might in the hands of the monstrous PLO terrorists and the PLO's military arm, Fatah.

The principle behind the UN resolutions was 'territories for peace.' That is, Israel would withdraw from territories and the Arabs would agree to peace. The problem was, of course, that withdrawal from territories is a defined and tangible thing, while the peace that the Arabs promised the Jews is undefined and intangible.

Arafat was in the worst possible situation, from every perspective. But at that very point the Israeli leftist political parties came to his aid. They assumed that the head of the PLO terrorist organization would prove to be a peace partner. Arafat, for his part, agreed to negotiate with Israeli emissaries and even signed an agreement with them, all the while intending to turn his back on them as soon as it was convenient.

History of Recent Generations, Middle School, Vol. 2, 2008, pp. 392–93.

They were given almost everything. They (the Palestinians) never were a distinct people and they never had a country of their own. We declared them a people and gave them a land. But the more we gave them, the more intensely hostile they became, and the more acts of murder they committed (Haredi newspaper *Hamodia*, Erev Sukkot, 5761).

History of Recent Generations, Middle School, Vol. 2, 2008, p. 396.

Conclusion

In light of the examples presented here it is obvious that the Israeli schoolbooks are distinctively better than their Palestinian counterparts as far as their attitude to the rival "other" and to the issue of peaceful resolution of the present conflict is concerned. In fact, the PA books do not yet constitute a peace curriculum while the Israeli ones fairly meet that challenge.



Dr. Arnon Groiss – Professional Background

Dr. Arnon Groiss is a retired Arabic-language journalist from the Voice of Israel Arabic Radio where he worked for 42 years beginning in 1973. He is also an expert on Middle Eastern affairs having earned his Ph.D. degree from Princeton University's Department of Near Eastern Studies, as well as an MPA degree from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. Dr. Groiss taught for several years at the Hebrew University in the 1990s and 2000s. Since 2000 Dr. Groiss has been researching the attitude to the "other" and to peace in various Middle Eastern curricula, studied hundreds of textbooks of various school subjects and authored numerous reports on Palestinian, Egyptian, Syrian, Saudi Arabian, Iranian and Tunisian schoolbooks. Dr. Groiss has presented his findings to policy makers, fellow researchers and people of the press on numerous occasions in various places, including the US Congress, the European Parliament, the UK House of Commons, the Israeli Knesset, the Canadian Parliament, the French Assemblée nationale, the Swedish Parliament and elsewhere.