



Jews and the Jewish State in Schoolbooks Used by UNRWA: De-legitimization, Demonization and Indoctrination to War

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Executive Summary

This paper deals with the attitude to the Jewish-Israeli "other" and to the issue of peace on the part of Palestinian Authority (PA) schoolbooks used in schools operated by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem. It is based on 110 books in various school subjects, mostly published in 2014-2016.

The findings show that the PA schoolbooks used by UNRWA do not follow the principles agreed upon within the Oslo Accords, namely, mutual recognition, resolution of the conflict by peaceful means only and the rejection of violence. Instead, they adopt a threefold attitude of de-legitimization, demonization and indoctrination to future war for the destruction of the State of Israel.

De-legitimization is expressed by denying the Jews any rights in the disputed country. They are said to have "greedy ambitions" there, instead, and their nationalist movement in modern times - Zionism - is described as a colonialist movement. The Jews' presence in the country in antiquity is hardly mentioned; their holy places there, such as the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron and Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem are not recognized and described as Muslim holy places usurped by Jews; the Jews' mere presence in the country today (some 7 millions - the majority of the population there) is portrayed as illegitimate and their cities - including Tel Aviv - are absent from most maps; Israel is not recognized as a sovereign state and its name does not appear on any map, while Palestine sometimes replaces it on maps and in textual material as the sovereign state in the region; places inside Israel within its pre-1967 boundaries are presented as exclusively Palestinian; circumlocutions such as "the Territories of 1948", "the Interior" and "the Green Line" are used to avoid the term "Israeli territory"; the Jews' national language is denied recognition to the point of falsification of historical documents: a Hebrew inscription is erased from a British Mandatory stamp reproduced in a PA textbook; the very establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, in accordance with the UN Partition Resolution of 1947, is dubbed "occupation"; and the PA itself is referred to as "the State of Palestine".

Demonization is manifold, and what aggravates its impact is the almost total absence of objective information about the Jewish-Israeli "other" that would balance its numerous manifestations. Also, the PA schoolbooks used in UNRWA schools never treat the Jewish or Israeli individual as an ordinary human being. The Jewish-Israeli "other" is always presented as an alien and threatening group, thus aggravating its demonization. The PA books attribute to the Jews genocidal intentions towards the

Palestinians and present the latter as the ultimate victims in the conflict. Nowhere do the books used by UNRWA admit that the war of 1948 was initiated by the Palestinian party. Thus, the war and its aftermath are blamed on the Jews alone. There are over twenty accusations against the Jewish-Israeli party to the conflict, including the occupations of 1948 and 1967, massacre of Palestinians, expulsion of the Palestinian people from its land, destruction of villages, aggression against neighboring Arab countries, murdering Palestinian children intentionally, assassinating Palestinian leaders, demolishing houses, uprooting trees, robbing land and water, jailing Palestinian so-called freedom fighters, damaging various branches of Palestinian economy, responsibility for in-family violence in Palestinian society and for drug addiction there, polluting the Palestinian environment, attempts at erasing the Palestinian cultural heritage, desecrating Muslim and Christian holy places, violating human rights, besieging Palestinian society by what is termed "the separation and annexation wall" (originally built to block Palestinian suicide bombing attacks), etc. Demonization of Jews is further extended beyond the scope of the current conflict, presenting them as opponents to the prophet of Islam in Arabia and to Jesus Christ and his disciples. Needless to say, such a portrayal is bound to increase the hatred Muslim and Christian students in UNRWA schools might feel towards Jews in general, and not to the particular Jews involved, thus transforming the conflict from a mere national one into a far more intensified religious enmity. Finally, there is a poem describing the alien aggressor as one who directly threatens the very existence of the local person, which makes the conflict a fight for mere survival.

Indoctrination to war is emphasized by the fact that the PA books used in UNRWA schools never advocate a peaceful solution to the conflict and never discuss a future of co-existence with Israel. Rather, they talk about a violent struggle for liberation of Palestine from Israeli occupation with no restriction whatsoever of this struggle to the territories of the West Bank and Gaza. Within this violent struggle, traditional Islamic ideals - *Jihad*, *Ribat* (standing on guard against the enemies of Islam) and martyrdom - are exalted, and the students are encouraged to adopt them. The "Right of Return" concept is incorporated into this struggle and assumes, accordingly, a violent character.

It should be noted that the most recently published books, which signify the beginning of a PA project of renewing the curriculum, emphasize further the issue of the violent struggle for the liberation of the territories inside pre-1967 Israel, much beyond what used to be done previously. Thus, if there were hopes for change to the better, they have been crushed.

These findings cast a heavy shadow over UNRWA's participation in the PA anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli campaign. Having been an international body, it should not take part in the conflict, should not treat a UN member state - Israel - as an illegitimate entity, and should not promote hate education against the Jewish state. It is inconceivable that UNRWA uses textbooks that call for Jihad against Israel, eliminate Israel from maps, falsify history and historical documents, and - beyond all - lead its own students into a future of destruction and misery. UNRWA has heavy moral responsibility here. Therefore, the books it uses should be thoroughly and immediately improved, and it is the democratic donor states' obligation to make it happen.

UNRWA's Educational Activity

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) was established following the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 in order to carry out relief and works programs for the Arab war refugees. Since its establishment, it has operated in the fields of education, health and social services among Palestinians registered as refugees of that war, and their descendants, in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Over half of its annual budget (732 million USD in 2014 and 744 million USD in 2015) is allocated to education.¹ UNRWA provides educational services up to high school age - not inclusive (only in Lebanon does it keep high schools for Palestinian students). During the school year of 2014/15 it had a total of 685 schools with 493,500 students, of which 252 were in the Gaza Strip with 240,413 students and 97 were in the West Bank with 50,566 students.² According to the Palestinian Authority's Central Bureau of Statistics for 2015/16, UNRWA had 248,059 students in 257 schools in the Gaza Strip and 48,776 students in 96 schools in the West Bank, namely, a total of 296,835 students in these two areas, which constituted about 25% of the PA school students.

The schoolbooks in use in UNRWA schools are provided by the host governments in its areas of operation. UNRWA can add to the curriculum its own books and it did publish schoolbooks promoting issues such as tolerance, non-violence and human rights for use in its schools in the West Bank and Gaza. But a thorough examination of these books revealed that they systematically avoided dealing with these subjects within the wider context of the Middle East conflict and restricted the scope of their discussion to Palestinian society alone (for instance: tolerance between Palestinian Muslims and Christians, protecting the environment, acceptance of the handicapped, etc.). Thus, the schoolbooks issued by the Palestinian Authority (PA) are the only books in UNRWA schools that deal with the various aspects of the conflict. Accordingly, 110 such books from grades 1-9 in the subjects of Arabic, Islamic Education, Christian Education (taught to Christian students within the PA educational system), National Education, Civics, History and Geography were examined. Most of these books were published in 2014 and 2015. Some 20 books were published in August 2016 for grades 1-4 and were examined too, including Mathematics and Sciences textbooks that had been hardly examined in former years.

The findings reveal that the PA books, including those ones in use in UNRWA schools, are based on three fundamental principles regarding their attitude to the "other" and to peace within the conflict: De-legitimization, demonization and indoctrination to a future war for the elimination of the State of Israel, though without stating that explicitly. Following are the findings with some examples:

De-legitimization

According to the PA schoolbooks used by UNRWA, Jews are not considered a nation entitled to national rights like other nations, but are rather citizens of various states. The Jewish nationalist movement in modern times - Zionism - is defined as a colonialist movement created by European Jews: "Zionism is a political-colonialist [*istitaniyyah* - "colonizational"] movement created by the Jews of Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century with a view to gathering the Jews of various nationalities from all parts of the world and concentrate them in Palestine and in its

¹ http://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/about_unrwa_2015.pdf and see the chapter titled "UNRWA in Figures"

² *Ibid.*

neighboring countries by way of immigration and the expulsion of the Palestinian people from its land in order to establish the State of Israel" (*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 54). Moreover, Zionism is actually a European Imperialist initiative: "The European Imperialist [*Isti'mariyyah*] states took upon themselves the [task of] circulating the Zionist notion among the Jews themselves in order to hasten the establishment of the Jewish state, due to the confluence of their interests with the Jews' interests, on the one hand, and in order to get rid of the Jews and send them out of their own countries, on the other hand" (*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, Grade 9 (2014) p. 54).

According to these schoolbooks, Jews have no rights whatsoever in Palestine, just "greedy ambitions [*atma*]". Within the chapter itself these ambitions are attributed to Zionist Jews alone, but the assignment at the end expands these ambitions to include the Jews at large:

"1. The Zionist-colonialist [colonizational - *istitaniyyah*] greedy ambitions towards Palestine began since 1882.

بدأت الأطماع الصهيونية الاستيطانية في فلسطين منذ عام ١٨٨٢ م

2. These greedy ambitions increased following the convening of the first Zionist Congress in the city of Basel in Switzerland in 1897. That Congress, headed by Theodor Herzl, encouraged emigration to Palestine and the starting of negotiations with the Ottoman Sultan Abd al-Hamid II in order to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine. But Sultan Abd al-Hamid II opposed these greedy ambitions in spite of the material temptations.

3. The Zionist greedy ambitions increased with the support of British Imperialism. Britain's Foreign Minister, Lord Balfour, issued on November 2, 1917 his declaration that called for granting the Jews a national home in Palestine."

ازدادت الأطماع الصهيونية بدعم من الاستعمار البريطاني ، حين أصدر وزير خارجية بريطانيا اللورد بلفور تصريحه في ٢ تشرين الثاني عام ١٩١٧ م الداعي إلى إعطاء وطن قومي لليهود في فلسطين .

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 20, and see the question on that page: "In what year did the colonialist greedy ambitions regarding Palestine start?")

The assignment on p. 22 in the same book reads: "1. I will mention the Ottoman State's positions vis-à-vis the Jews' greedy ambitions regarding Palestine."

١ - أذكر مواقف الدولة العثمانية من أطماع اليهود في فلسطين .

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 22)

The PA schoolbooks used in UNRWA schools do not recognize the Jews' historical ties to the country in general and to Jerusalem in particular. There is almost no information in these books about the Jews' presence in the country in antiquity, and, in any case, the Palestinians are presented as direct descendants of the ancient Canaanites who, in their turn, are described as an Arab nation. This way an impression is made according to which Palestinian-Arab presence in the country had preceded that of the Jews there: "The origin of the Palestinian people is in the Canaanites who immigrated to Palestine from the Arabian Peninsula in the year 3500 BC approximately."

يعود أصل الشعب الفلسطيني إلى الكنعانيين، الذين هاجروا إلى فلسطين من الجزيرة العربية عام ٣٥٠٠ ق.م تقريباً.

(*National Education*, Grade 5 (2014) p. 30)

Jerusalem is presented as an Arab city from its very beginning - "Jerusalem is a city built by the Arab Jebusites five thousand years ago" (*Geography of Palestine*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 82), and its Jews are described as occupiers and infiltrators in a poem appearing in one of the books: "I belong to her [Jerusalem], even if the flag of misery has landed upon her; I belong to her and shall redeem her by [my] property and soul, and shall never resign myself to her humiliation by an occupier and an infiltrator" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 52).

Even in the school subject of *Christian Education* - intended for Christian students in the Palestinian school system - the books conceal in the vast majority of the cases the Israelite/Jewish identity of the country's inhabitants within the context of Old Testament events and emphasize it in New Testament contexts as opponents of Jesus Christ and his disciples. Thus, for example, Moses helped "his people" stand Pharaoh's oppression, went out of Egypt with "his people", climbed up Mount Sinai to pray for "his people" and gave the Ten Commandments to "his people" (*Christian Education*, Grade 3 (2002 - the latest edition of this book so far) pp. 8-9), and: "Then came the King of Babylon, captured Jerusalem, destroyed the temple and the inhabitants went on exile to Babylon. The people lived in exile for a long time and when it returned, it lived under foreign rule (Persian, Greek, Roman)."

ومن ثم جاء ملك بابل واستولى على اورشليم
وهدم الهيكل وجلا السكان إلى بابل . عاش الشعب طويلا في المنفى . ولما عاد، عاش تحت
سلطة الحكم الأجنبي (الفارسي، واليوناني، والروماني)

(*Christian Education*, Grade 7 (2001 - the latest edition so far of this book) p. 19).

By contrast, within the story of the Crucifixion, Jews are explicitly mentioned while the source from which the details were taken - Luke - mentions "the priests, the rulers and the people", rather than Jews.

The schoolbooks totally ignore the Jews' religious connection to the country and even deny it explicitly. In none of the PA schoolbooks used by UNRWA does any reference to a Jewish holy place appear. All the chapters on the holy places mention those ones belonging to Muslims and Christians alone. When places holy to Jews are referred to, such as the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron and Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem, they are presented as Muslim holy places the Jews aspire to take over. Thus, for example, the riots of 1929 are named in one of the textbooks as "the Revolt of Al-Buraq in protest against the Jews' attempts to take control of Al-Buraq Wall [the Wailing Wall's Muslim name]."

ثورة عام ١٩٢٩م وتعرف بثورة البراق احتجاجاً على محاولات اليهود السيطرة على حائط
البراق

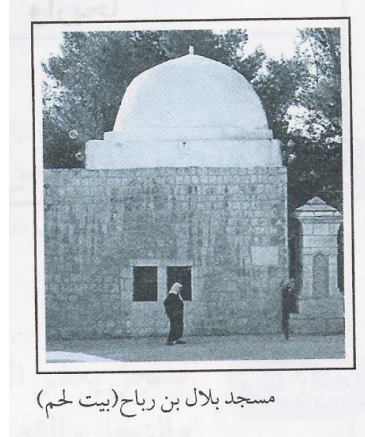
(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 21)

As for the other two sites: "The attempt to Judaize some of the Muslim religious places, such as the Abrahamic Mosque [the Cave of the Patriarchs] and the Mosque of Bilal Bin Rabbah [Rachel's Tomb] (near Bethlehem)."

محاولة تهويد بعض الأماكن الدينية الإسلامية مثل المسجد الإبراهيمي
ومسجد بلال بن رباح (قرب بيت لحم).

(National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 55)

And see the inscription "the Mosque of Bilal Bin Rabbah (Bethlehem)" under the photograph of Rachel's Tomb in the same book:



(National Education, Grade 7 (2013) p. 54)

Furthermore, the mere presence of some 7 million Jews in Israel today is illegitimate as they are omitted from the figures regarding the country's inhabitants. Israel's Arab citizens are its only legitimate inhabitants, as well as the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza and those who reside abroad. See the chart below (and also note the use of the phrase "the territories occupied in 1948" as a circumlocution to avoid the expression "Israeli territory"):

"The chart below shows the number of Palestine's inhabitants in 2015, according to the Palestinian Statistics Center:

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number of Inhabitants</u>
The West Bank and the Gaza Strip	4,750,000
The territories occupied in 1948	1,470,000
The Arab states	5,460,000
In foreign countries	685,000

[Assignment:] I will organize the regions where Palestinians are found in a descending order according to the numbers of the inhabitants:"

المنطقة	عَدَدُ السُّكَّانِ
الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة	٤٧٥٠٠٠٠
داخل الأراضي المحتلة عام ١٩٤٨ م	١٤٧٠٠٠٠
في الدول العربية	٥٤٦٠٠٠٠
في الدول الأجنبية	٦٨٥٠٠٠

٦ الجدول الآتي
يُوضِّحُ عَدَدَ سُكَّانِ
فلسطين لعام ٢٠١٥ م،
حسب مركز الإحصاء
الفلسطيني:

أرتب مناطق تواجد الفلسطينيين تنازلياً حسب أعداد السكان:

(Mathematics, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 25)

And in another chart referring to the country's inhabitants in 1999 the Jews are missing too (and Israel's territory is defined here as "the Interior"):

"Let us examine the figures - the inhabitants of Palestine on 1.2.1999

		Percentage
1) The [West] Bank	1,972,000	}
2) Gaza	1,113,000	}36%
3) The Palestinians of the Interior	1,094,000	13%
4) The Palestinians of the Diaspora	4,419,000	51%
Total	8,598,000	100%"

نشاط ٣

تفحص المعطيات الرقمية - سكان فلسطين في ١/٢/١٩٩٩ م

النسبة المئوية	
%٣٦	١,٩٧٢,٠٠٠ الضفة (١)
%١٣	١,١١٣,٠٠٠ غزة (٢)
%٥١	١,٠٩٤,٠٠٠ فلسطينيو الداخل (٣)
%١٠٠	٤,٤١٩,٠٠٠ فلسطينيو الشتات (٤)
	٨,٥٩٨,٠٠٠ المجموع

(National Education, Grade 6 (2014) p. 10)

In a chart showing the numbers of the Arab world's inhabitants, in the column of the states, one can find "Historical Palestine [*Filastin altarikhiyyah*]" with 10 million inhabitants. A footnote says: "The number of the inhabitants in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and inside 'the Green Line' [that is, Israel in its pre-1967 borders] is 5,025,376. The number of the Palestinian refugees in Palestine and the Diaspora is 5,447,949, according to estimates by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics in 2009, based on the final results of the 2007 census." Thus, the refugees abroad are counted as the country's inhabitants, while the Jews inside the country are ignored. This time the "Green Line" circumlocution is used to describe Israel's pre-67 territory.

As the Jewish inhabitants in the country are absent, their cities, including Tel Aviv, are missing from the maps too. Only lately did Tel Aviv appear on one map, in a book published in 2016, under the Arabic name "Tel al-Rabi", which is the Arabic translation of its Hebrew name:



(Mathematics, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016) p. 143)

Its appearance under this name apparently signals a new development of the Palestinian narrative within which Tel Aviv is presented as a modern Jewish city built on the ruins of an Arab city that had preceded it. This new myth finds its expression in the Internet at times. For instance, a site named "Palestine Site for Dialogue" <https://www.paldf.net/forum/showthread.php?t=791196> shows photographs of Tel Aviv under the title "Photos of the Palestinian City of Tel al-Rabi'" and says further: "The city of Tel Aviv is an occupied Palestinian city located on the Mediterranean coast... Israel occupied it in 1948. Formerly, it was named Tel al-Rabi'."

The effort to hide the Jews who live in this country includes as well the erasure, literally, of their national language. A stamp issued by the British Mandate authorities is reproduced in a PA textbook and in the process the Hebrew inscription is erased from its bottom-left corner:



(National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 7)

And compare with the original:



The Jews' state, Israel, is not recognized as a sovereign state and its name does not appear on any map in the schoolbooks used by UNRWA. On the other hand, there are

maps where the whole country is presented as Palestine, sometimes with an emphasizing statement such as "Palestine is Arab [and] Muslim":



(National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 16)

Or under the Palestinian flag:



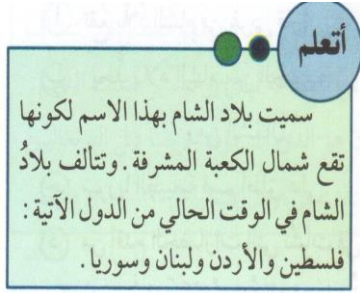
(*National and social Upbringing, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 7*)

Another book shows a map of the whole country accompanied by the following assignment: "I will color the map of my homeland with the colors of the Palestinian flag."



(*National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 10*, and see a similar assignment in *Islamic Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 4*)

Israel is replaced by Palestine as the sovereign state in the region in text as well, not only on maps: "The countries of the Levant [*Bilad Al-Sham* in Arabic] are Palestine, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon" (*Islamic Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014) p. 72*); "...The countries of the Levant [*Bilad Al-Sham*] presently consist the following states: Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria".



(History of the Ancient Civilizations, Grade 5 (2014) p. 27)

Thus, the PA schoolbooks treat the whole country as Palestine, and when certain data refer only to the territories of the West Bank and Gaza a clarifying footnote is needed:

"Chart No. 3: Percentage of age groups among the inhabitants of some Arab states

State	% Children	% Youth	% Elderly People
Palestine*	42.5	54.4	3.1

...

* Palestine refers [here] to the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip."

(Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9 (2015) p. 48)

We have already seen the circumlocutions of "the Interior", "the Territories of 1948" and "the Green Line" used to replace the term "Israel's territory".

In addition, places inside pre-1967 Israel are presented exclusively as Palestinian. In a lesson titled "a trip to Acre" the following expressions appear: "Acre is a Palestinian city... Acre was built in the second millennium BC by the Arab Canaanites... I visited this beautiful Palestinian city... I left this eternal city full of hope that it will return to its original owners one day." (Our Beautiful Language, Grade 4, Part 2 (2014) pp. 20, 21)

In another case the student is required to draw a line between a given coastal plain in column A and the Arab state to which it belongs in Column B. The relevant coastal plain in the exercise is that one between Haifa and Gaza and the corresponding Arab state is Palestine:

٤ - أصل بين السهل الساحلي في العمود (أ)، والدولة العربية التي يوجد فيها في العمود (ب):

الدولة العربية (ب)	السهل الساحلي (أ)
سوريا	عنابة
السعودية	من حيفا إلى غزة
المغرب	الملوية
لبنان	عكار
الجزائر	اللاذقية
فلسطين	تهامة
العراق	

(Geography of the Arab Homeland, Grade 9 (2015) p. 25 - the red line and circles have been added)

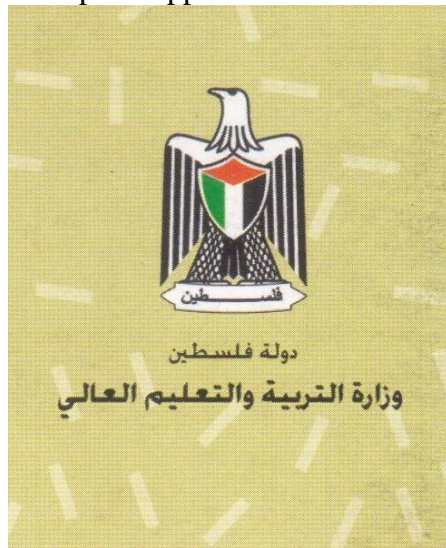
Israel is not recognized as a sovereign state because it is considered an occupying entity from its very inception. The 1967 occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is just an addition to the original, and more serious, occupation of 1948: "The Israeli Occupation: The Disaster [Nakbah] of 1948 by the Zionist organizations befell the Palestinian society, as most Palestinians were forced to emigrate from their land and the State of Israel was established in part of Palestine. The West Bank was annexed to Jordan in 1950 and the Gaza Strip was placed under Egyptian administration. The Set-Back [Naksah] of 1967 befell the Palestinian society, as the Israelis managed to occupy the rest of Palestine - the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Sinai Desert was occupied from Egypt and the Golan Height was occupied from Syria as well."

الاحتلال الإسرائيلي :

حَلَّتْ بِالْمَجْتَمَعِ الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّ نَكْبَةٌ عَامَ ١٩٤٨ م عَلَى يَدِ الْمُنْتَظَمَاتِ الصُّهْيُونِيَّةِ، حَيْثْ هُجِّرَ مَعْظَمُ الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّينَ مِنْ أَرْضِهِمْ، وَأَنْشِئَتْ دَوْلَةُ إِسْرَائِيلَ فِي قِسْمٍ مِنْ فِلَسْطِينَ، وَضُمَّتِ الضَّفَّةَ الْغَرْبِيَّةَ إِلَى الْأُرْدُنِ عَامَ ١٩٥٠ م، وَالْحَقَّ قِطَاعُ غَزَّةَ بِالْإِدَارَةِ الْمِصْرِيَّةِ. وَحَلَّتْ نَكْسَةٌ عَامَ ١٩٦٧ م بِالْمَجْتَمَعِ الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّ، حِينَ تَمَكَّنَ الْإِسْرَائِيلِيُّونَ مِنْ اِحْتِلَالِ بَاقِيِ فِلَسْطِينَ الْمَتَمَثِّلِ فِي الضَّفَّةِ الْغَرْبِيَّةِ وَقِطَاعِ غَزَّةَ، كَمَا اِحْتَلَّتْ صَحْرَاءُ سَيْنَاءَ مِنْ مِصْرَ، وَهَضْبَةَ الْجَوْلَانِ مِنْ سُورِيَا.

(National Education' Grade 5 (2014) p. 30)

Hence, the termination of that occupation and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state on the whole country's territory constitute a clear and natural necessity, and today's Palestinian Authority is seen as the first phase in that direction. The best manifestation of that in the schoolbooks is the professed identity of the publishing body: "The State of Palestine - The Ministry of Education and Higher Education [*Dawlat Filastin - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah wa Al-Ta'lim Al-Aliy*]" . This inscription appears on the cover and first page of every book:



And we have already seen examples of "the State of Palestine" in the text as well.

By presenting the Jewish-Israeli "other" as a foreign occupier with no rights, with almost no past in the country and with no holy places there at all, whose mere presence in the country today, as individuals and as a state owning collective, is illegitimate - by that the PA schoolbooks in UNRWA use contribute to the development of an aspiration among the students to make the adversary "disappear" by whatever means.

Demonization

The mere presentation of the Jews living in the country as foreign occupiers with no right to be there, as we have seen, makes them automatically part of the forces of evil in the eyes of Palestinian students in UNRWA schools. To that one should add the attribution to the Jews of genocidal intentions regarding the Palestinians: "The first group of Jewish settlers came to Palestine from Russia in 1882 and the second group was in 1905. The coming of the Jewish throngs to Palestine continued until 1948, and their goal was taking over the Palestinian lands and, then, replacing the original inhabitants after their expulsion or extermination."

وصلت أولى دفعات المستوطنين اليهود من بلاد روسيا إلى فلسطين عام ١٨٨٢م والدفعة الثانية كانت عام ١٩٠٥م واستمر وصول الكتل البشرية اليهودية إلى فلسطين حتى عام ١٩٤٨م ، وكان هدفها الاستيلاء على الأراضي الفلسطينية ومن ثم تحل محل السكان الأصليين ، بعد طردهم أو إبادتهم ،

(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 20)

And, indeed, "the Palestinian people was expelled from its land as a result of the Israeli occupation of Palestine, suffered from massacres and was forced to emigrate to the neighboring countries" (*National Education*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 12). In no place do the PA schoolbooks used by UNRWA admit that it was the Palestinians who started the war following the UN partition resolution of November 1947. Thus the exclusive responsibility for the results of that war is placed on the Jews' shoulders, which intensify their demonization.

Demonization of the Jews and their state is expressed in several ways in the PA schoolbooks in use by UNRWA. What increases its impact is the fact that these books almost totally refrain from providing the student with objective information about the Jews or Israel which would have balanced the numerous demonizing textual pieces. There are no details in the books about Jewish history, the Holocaust, Jewish culture, the structure of government in Israel, Israeli society, economy, daily life, etc. No reference is made either to the Jewish or Israeli individual as an ordinary human being. Israel and its Jews are portrayed as an alien and threatening group, which contributes to their demonization in the schoolbooks.

As for the State of Israel, it is responsible exclusively for many evils that have befallen the Palestinians and other Arabs, beyond occupation of the country and expulsion of its inhabitants. The present research has found over twenty accusations against the Jewish-Israeli "other" in schoolbooks used in UNRWA schools, under the ultimate title "occupation": "Some intra-family violence problems emanate from the occupation and its destructive influence on our society. I will clarify [that]."

٤- بعض قضايا العنف الأسري تنبع من ممارسات الاحتلال وأثاره المدمرة على مجتمعنا،
أوضح.

(*Civics*, Grade 8 (2013) p. 55)

"Killing of cities has become an ordinary thing during the occupation that does whatever it can to dismantle every civilization-related infrastructure in our society."

أصبح قتل المُدُنِ أمراً عادياً زمن الاحتلال، الذي يعمل كل ما في
وُسْعِهِ على تفكيك كل بنية حضارية في مجتمعنا.

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 61)

"[Assignment:] Let us mention the names of some Palestinian villages that the Israelis destroyed, removed their remnants and established on their lands colonies [*musta'marat*] and settlements [*tajammu'at sakaniyyah*]."
(*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 54)

Intentional murder of Palestinian children is attributed to Israel in a language exercise:
"The Palestinian child stood facing the enemy's bullets like a brave soldier."

٢- وقف الطفل الفلسطيني أمام رصاص العدو ووقوف الجندي الباسل.

(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 28)

And more: "Blowing up Palestinian houses constitutes one form of suffering experienced by the Palestinian people at the hands of the occupation. I will mention other forms of such suffering" (*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 2 (2015) p. 13); "The occupation has thrown those who struggle [against it] into painful captivity [i.e. jail] (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 5, Part 2 (2014) p. 68); "[Assignment:] Let us explain the reason for the increase in poverty rate in Palestinian society" (*Civics*, Grade 7 (2014) p. 51, and on the preceding page several reasons are mentioned including "the occupation and armed violence"); "The interest in Palestinian popular heritage has become a pressing necessity due to its exposure during the occupation to attempts at erasing Palestinian identity and the foundations of Arab identity and heritage" (*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 44); "...Burning of Salah al-Din's ancient preacher podium [*minbar*] at Al-Aqsa Mosque" (*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 55); "I will write a short report on the Israeli settlements' impact on environmental pollution."

١. أكتب تقريراً قصيراً عن أثر المستوطنات الإسرائيلية في تلوث البيئة.

(*Human Geography*, Grade 6 (2014) p. 83)

"[Assignment:] The occupation throws the principles of international law overboard. I will give three examples"
(*Reading and Texts*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 51)

A grade 1 book describes one of the "open day" activities in school saying: "Some students staged a nice show" with an illustration showing an Israeli soldier pointing his weapon against a Palestinian elderly couple:



عَرَضَ بَعْضُ الطُّلَابِ مَسْرُوحِيَّةً جَمِيلَةً.

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1, Part 2 (2014) p. 132)

And there are also poetic accusations: "The poet described Jerusalem in [his poem's] line 6 as the Arabs' sister, that the enemies were sharpening their knives in order to slaughter her. What does the poet expect the brethren [to do] in the case of their sister?" (Reading and texts, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 46).

Other accusations:

Attempts at taking control of Muslim holy places; desecration of Muslim and Christian holy places; demolition of houses: "Expression: Let us answer the two following questions: What do the workers do? What does the bulldozer do?"

التعبير

نُجِيبُ عَنِ السُّؤَالَيْنِ الْآتِيَيْنِ كِتَابِيًّا:

ماذا يَفْعَلُ الْمُشَقَّالُ؟

ماذا تَفْعَلُ الْجِرَافَةُ؟

٨٠

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014) p. 80)

Uprooting of trees: "Expression: Let us express orally what is [shown] below:"

التعبير

نُعَبِّرُ شَفْوِيًّا عَمَّا يَأْتِي:

٧١

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 2, Part 1 (2014) p. 71)

And more:

Aggression against neighboring Arab states and robbery of their water, robbery of Palestinian land and water, damaging various branches of Palestinian economy, causing trouble to the Palestinian woman and family, assassination of Palestinian leaders, besieging the Palestinians by means of the separation fence that is always presented as a wall - without mentioning that it was built in the wake of Palestinian suicide bombing attacks, oppressing the Palestinian Bedouins - including those living in the Israeli Negev region, etc.

Demonization of Jews outside the scope of the conflict is mostly done in classes of *Islamic Education* in the context of the political rivalry of some of the Jews in Arabia with the prophet of Islam, and *Christian Education* in the context of the Jewish establishment's opposition to Jesus Christ and his disciples. In both cases, the mere reference to these issues greatly contributes to the propagation of hatred to Jews in general, not just those historical Jews who were involved in those affairs. Following are two examples of demonization of Jews in these contexts:

"[Question:] What is indicated by the [Jewish tribe of] Qurayzah's violation of their contract with the Prophet [Muhammad]?" (*Islamic Education*, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 51). The relevant chapter in the book does not provide any answer to this question, but parallel books in other Arab curricula state in this context that the Jews were tricksters then and they are so now, and it is most probable that that is what the teacher will say in class.

"The doors were closed where the disciples were gathering for fear of the Jews" (*Christian Education*, Grade 3 (2002 - the latest edition of this book so far) p. 86).

In conclusion of this chapter, the following excerpts, taken from a poem titled "the Flame-Clad Horizon", describe an occupier in the general sense, not necessarily Israel, but the inclusion of this poem in a PA schoolbook automatically transforms it into a demonizing piece against Israel, especially in view of its mention of the orange orchard, which has become a repeating motif in Palestinian poetry symbolizing the yearning for lost Palestine:

"How would you respond if an alien person attacked your family – having been dazzled by his weapon he bared a wolf's fang... How would you respond if your roots within you were challenged, if the adversary planted his spear in your land's heart, opened fire on the field that burned its wheat, and continued insistently to spoil, destroy, murder, hide your sun from you, strangle the freshness of your time, undermine your house's walls upon you, and color with blood the bright daylight? How would you respond if he claimed that the date palm grove, and the orange orchard, and your Arab olive tree, and yourself, and your wife Salma and your decent sons - are war spoils and seized possessions, and [it is] either staying alive without any right or perdition to that one who does not obey orders? How would you respond?"

الأفق مُتَشِحٌ بِاللَّهيبِ

(عبد الستار سليم / مصر)

بماذا تُجيبُ

إذا ما تعدَى على أهل بيتك

شخصٌ غريبٌ

وقد عرَّه أنه ذو سلاح

فكثرت عن نابٍ ذيبٌ

بماذا تجيب إذا ما استفررتُ

جدوركُ فيك . . وقد غرس الخصمُ

في صدرِ أرضك رُمحهُ

وأطلق ناراً على الحقلِ

تحرقُ قُمحهُ

ولجَّ عناداً

وعاثَ فساداً

يدمرُّ، يقتلُ، يحجبُ

شمسكُ عنك . . ويخنقُ

خُضرةً وقتكُ

يُزلزلُ - في كلِّ أن - عليكُ

جوانبَ بيتكُ

ويصبغُ بالدم وجهَ النهارِ

القشيبُ

بماذا تجيبُ؟! *

* * *

بماذا تجيبُ إذا ما ادَّعى

أنَّ كرمَ النخيلِ،

وبيارة البرتقالِ،

وزيتونكُ العربيِّ،

وأنتُ.

وزوجكُ (سلمى)

وأبناءك الطيبينَ،

مكاسبُ حربِ،

ومُلكُ يمينِ.

وإما البقاءُ بلا أيِّ حقِّ

لكم في الحياةِ،

وإما الفناءُ لمن للأوامرِ لا

يستجيبُ

بماذا تجيبُ؟! *



(Reading and texts, Grade 9, Part 2 (2014) pp. 51-53. A question on p. 55 reads: "Who is the alien person in the text?" and in an exercise on p. 56 the student is

requested to choose a given explanation to certain expressions, including the following one: "the orange orchard = the robbed land").

This poem elevates the demonization of the Jewish-Israeli "other" in the eyes of the Palestinian student to a level of existential threat. The logical consequence: One should fight such an enemy; it is impossible to make peace with it.

Indoctrination to a Future War against Israel

Indeed, the schoolbooks issued by the PA, whether in use by UNRWA or elsewhere, do not include even one word in support of a peaceful solution to the conflict and a peaceful co-existence with Israel. There are statements in favor of peace in general, such as the one appearing in the Palestinian Declaration of Independence, issued in Algiers in 1988. But the only reference there to Israel is made in the context of the demand to end Israeli occupation - without any explanation where it ends territorially.

Instead of support for peace and co-existence with Israel, one finds in the PA schoolbooks used in UNRWA schools calls for a violent struggle for the liberation of Palestine: "[Assignment:] I will bring together the poetic lines and the feelings they express in the following [examples]: 'A morning of glory and red liberty watered by the martyrs' blood...' - 'The hope for the liberation of Palestine.'"

١١ أوقف بين الأسطر الشعرية والعواطف التي تعبّر عنها فيما يأتي :

اللَهْفَةُ على تحرير المسجد الأقصى .	صباحُ مناظليكَ الصَّيْدِ في الأَكْبَالِ في الأَغْلالِ .
التفاوُلُ بتحريرِ فلسطين .	صباحُ المسكِ والعنبرِ صباحُ التينِ والزيتونِ والليمونِ والزَعترِ .
الحِرْصُ على التمسكِ بأرضِ فلسطينَ والثباتِ فيها .	تناديني مَأذُنُهُ . . غيَابُكَ طالَ وتَهْتَفُ بي . . تعالَ تعالَ .
الإعجابُ بجمالِ الطبيعةِ في فلسطين .	صباحُ العاشقينَ ثراكَ ، لن يُلْقُوا بغيرِ حماكَ ما ارتحلوا . . عصا الترحالِ .
كراهيةُ المحتلِّ لما يعانیه المناضلونَ في سجونِهِ .	صباحُ المجدِ والحريّةِ الحمراءِ يرويها دَمُ الشهداءِ صباحُكَ أنتَ يا وطني بشمسِكَ نقهرُ الظّلماءِ .

(Reading and Texts, Grade 9, Part 1 (2015) p. 12)

The national anthem of the PA is also used for this purpose (excerpts): "... With my decisiveness, my fire, the volcano of my revenge and my blood's yearning to my land and my home - I climbed mountains and went into struggle, defeated the impossible and smashed the shackles... With the winds' storm and the weapon's fire, and my people's resolution to go into struggle, Palestine is my home, Palestine is my home, Palestine is my revenge and the land of steadfastness."

نشاط ٢: السلام الوطني الفلسطيني



أردّد مع زملائي السلام الوطني الفلسطيني:

فِدائِي فِدائِي فِدائِي يا أَرْضَ الجُدودِ

فِدائِي فِدائِي فِدائِي يا شَعْبَ الخُلودِ

بِعِزِّي وَنارِي وَبُرْكانِ ناري

وَأشواقِ دَمِّي لِأَرْضِي وَدَارِي

صَعِدْتُ الجِبَالَ وَخُضْتُ النُّضالَ

فَهَرْتُ المَحالَّ حَطَمْتُ القُيودَ

فِدائِي فِدائِي فِدائِي يا أَرْضَ الجُدودِ

بِعِصْفِ الرِّياحِ وَنارِ السِّلاحِ

وَإِصرارِ شَعْبِي لِخُوضِ الكِفاحِ

فَلَسْطِينُ دارِي فَلَسْطِينُ دارِي

فَلَسْطِينُ ناري وَأَرْضِ الصُّمودِ

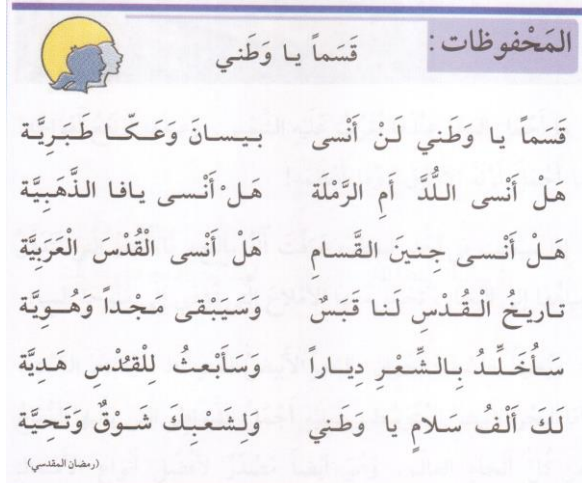
(National Education, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016) p. 95)

Another song related to the youth movement of Al-Fatah organization, the dominant body in the Ramallah-based PA government, stresses that the liberation activity - "Revolution" in Al-Fatah's parlance - covers as well Israel's territory within its pre-1967 borders (and it should be remembered that the said organization itself started its operations before the Six-Day War of 1967): "I am a lion cub [*shibl* - denoting a male member of Al-Fatah youth movement], I am a flower [*zahr*ah - denoting a female member in that movement]. We have carried the revolution ember to Haifa, to Jaffa, to Al-Aqsa [Mosque], to the [Dome of the] Rock."



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 42)

And more: "I swear: You shall return, my homeland; daylight shall follow [the present] night" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 1 (2014) p. 16), and also in the following poem (excerpts): "I swear, O my homeland, I shall never forget Beisan [Beit Shean], Acre and Tiberias; shall I forget Lydda or Ramla? Shall I forget golden Jaffa? Shall I forget [Sheikh Izz al-Din] al-Qassam's Jenin? Shall I forget Arab Jerusalem?"



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 3, Part 2 (2015) p. 83)

Within this violent struggle for the liberation of Palestine - which includes Israel's pre-67 territory - Islamic traditional values, namely, holy war (*Jihad*), standing on guard against Islam's enemies (*Ribat*) and martyrdom (*Shahadah*) are utilized. An example of a Jihad-promoting piece is presented by a poem titled "Palestine" (excerpts): "O, my brother, the oppressors have exceeded [all] bounds and, therefore, Jihad and sacrifice are necessary... Therefore, draw your sword from its sheath, because it should be put in the sheath no more... Palestine, our chests defend you; it is either life or destruction."



(Reading and Texts, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 44)

Among the exercises accompanying this poem on page 45 is one where the student is requested to write "yes" or "no" next to the following sentences: "- The poet thinks that it is time for Jihad and sacrifice; - The poet thinks that the only way to liberate Palestine is by Jihad".

An example of the *Ribat*-promoting pieces in the PA books used in UNRWA schools: "The Muslim who resides in Palestine, guards its soil and defends it, is regarded as one who stands on guard [*murabit*] in God's cause and he deserves much reward from God" (*Islamic Education*, Grade 5, Part 1 (2014) p. 74)

As for martyrdom, a poem titled "the Martyr" in a grade 7 book glorifies martyrdom and describes death and blood colorfully. Its last verse explicitly encourages the student to aspire for martyrdom. Verses of this poem are used as language exercises in several other books (excerpts):

"I will carry my soul in my palm and toss it into the abyss of destruction; [I would] either [have] a life that gladdens a friend or a death that would enrage the enemies..."

By your life! I see my death, but I hasten my steps toward it; I consider my death without my stolen right and without my country as an aspired goal; hearing [weapons'] clash is pleasant to my ear and the flow of blood gladdens my soul, as well as a body thrown upon the ground, skirmished over by the desert predators; his blood covered the earth in crimson and burdened with fragrance the eastern wind; he fell asleep to dream the dream of eternity and there enjoy the prettiest sights [i.e., in Paradise]; by your life! This is the death of men and whoever asks for a noble death – here it is!"

الشَّهِيدُ المحفوظات

سَأَحْمِلُ رُوحِي عَلَى رَاحَتِي
وَأَلْقِي بِهَا فِي مَهَاوِي الرُّدَى
فَمَا حَيَاةُ تَسْرُ الصِّدِّيقِ
وَإِنَّمَا مَمَاتٌ يَغِيظُ الْعِدَا
وَمَا الْعَيْشُ لَا عَيْشٌ إِنْ لَمْ أَكُنْ
مَخُوفَ الْجَنَابِ حَرَامِ الْحِمَى
لَعَمْرُكَ إِنِّي أَرَى مَضْرَعِي
وَلَكِنْ أُغْذِّئُ لِيْبِهِ الْخُطَى
أَرَى مَقْتَلِي دُونَ حَقِّي السَّلِيْبِ
وَدُونَ بِلَادِي هُوَ الْمُبْتَغَى
يَلْدُ لَأُذْنِي سَمَاعُ الصَّلِيلِ
وَيُبْهِجُ نَفْسِي مَسِيلُ الدِّمَا
وَجَسْمٌ تَجَدَّلُ فِي الصَّخْصَحَانِ
تَنَاوَشُهُ جَارِحَاتُ الْفَلَا
كَسَادِمُهُ الْأَرْضُ بِالْأَرْجَوَانِ
وَأَثْقَلُ بِالْعِطْرِ رِيحَ الصَّبَا
وَنَامَ لِيَحْلُمَ حُلْمَ الْخُلُودِ
وَيَهْتَأُ فِيهِ بِأَخْلَى الرُّؤَى
لَعَمْرُكَ هَذَا مَمَاتُ الرِّجَالِ
وَمَنْ رَامَ مَوْتًا شَرِيفًا فَذَا

(عبد الرَّحِيمِ مَحْمُود)

٧٥

الرَّاحَةُ: بِإِطْنِ السَّيْدِ.
المَهَاوِي: جَمْعُ مَهْوَى، وَهُوَ مَا
بَيْنَ الْجَبَلَيْنِ.
الرُّدَى: الْهَلَاكُ.

حَرَامِ الْحِمَى: أَنْ يَكُونَ مَوْطِنُهُ
فِي مَأْمَنٍ مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ.
أُغْذِّئُ: أُسْرِعُ.

تَجَدَّلُ: ارْتَمَى وَسَقَطَ.
الصَّخْصَحَانِ: الْأَرْضُ الْمُسْتَوِيَّةُ
الْجَرْدَاءُ، وَجَمْعُهَا صَخْصَحٌ.
تَنَاوَشُهُ: تَنَاوَلَهُ وَتَنَحَّطَفُهُ.
الأَرْجَوَانِ: الصَّبْغُ الْأَحْمَرُ.

الرُّؤَى: جَمْعُ رُؤْيَا، وَهِيَ مَا يَرَاهُ
الْإِنْسَانُ فِي نَوْمِهِ.

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 75)

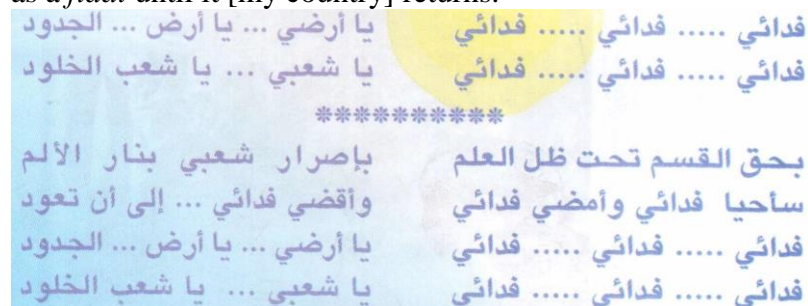
Furthermore, martyrdom is seen as a wedding party: "O, my homeland, I shall not cry in this wedding party [urs], because our Arabness refuses that we mourn the martyrs":

يا وطني ما كنتُ لأبكي في هذا العرس
فعرويتنا تآبى أن نبكي الشهداء

(Linguistic Sciences, Grade 8, Part 2 (2014) p. 60)

As regards terrorist activities within the liberation struggle, they are not referred to in the PA schoolbooks used by UNRWA, except for one case in which terrorist attacks against Israel by Palestinians based in southern Lebanon are favorably described in a literature textbook. Following are three excerpts: "Everyone knows that I am in the South [an explanatory note clarifies: "the South: South Lebanon"]. I left the city [Amman] and the family ten years ago in order to join the fighters"; "We in the South are facing death any minute... youngsters such as Saleh [his killed son] fall every day on the soil of the South"; and in a remark by the textbook authors: "[the story]... describes the Palestinian struggle against the occupation through the personality of Saleh's father who moved away from his personal crisis - taking revenge for his martyred son - to the wider cause of the homeland's freedom, by joining the *Fedai* activity." (*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) pp. 28-35: The first quote is taken from p. 30, the second one - from p. 33 and the third - from p. 34)

But if the PA schoolbooks usually refrain from mentioning terrorist activities against Israel, those ones who perpetrate them are praised and glorified. *Fedai*, a term taken from Islamic history and denoting a fighter who is ready to sacrifice his life for a cause [*fidai* = sacrifice], is the title given to members of the Palestinian armed organizations responsible for numerous terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians. The *fidai*'s are glorified, including within the PA national anthem sung in school: "*Fidai, fidai, fidai*, O my country, the country of [our] forefathers; *fidai, fidai, fidai*, O my people, the people of eternity; ...I shall live as a *fidai*, and continue as a *fidai*, and die as a *fidai* until it [my country] returns."



(*National Education*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2015) p. 59)

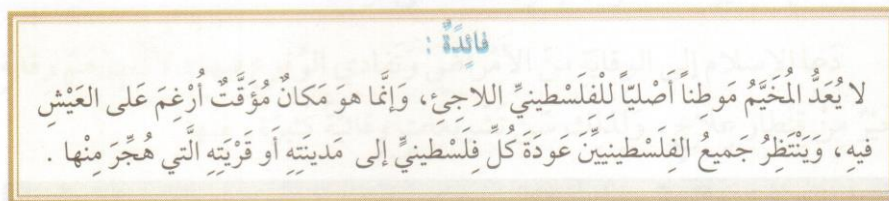
The killed *fidai*'s earn the title *shahid* (martyr) and are revered, as revealed by the following language exercise: "Those who were present rose in honor of the martyrs" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2014) p. 89). Those imprisoned are called "prisoners of war" and are also honored, as can be seen in another language exercise: "I will express orally my delight following the release of one of my homeland's prisoners-of-war" (*Reading and Texts*, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 27)

"The Right of Return"

This issue constitutes an essential element in Palestinian education and an integral part of the perceived struggle for liberation. The PA schoolbooks, including those ones in UNRWA use, emphasize the "right" of those Arabs who left, or were expelled from their places of residence in Mandatory Palestine during the 1948 war or afterwards - some 6-8 hundred thousand people - to return and reclaim their property in full. Most of them are no longer alive, bearing in mind the seventy or so years that have since passed. But that "right" is constantly transferred to their descendants - whose number reaches several millions today - through their registration as "refugees"

by the UNRWA administration, contrary to the treatment of all other refugees in the world who lose the refugee status in their new places of residence. Moreover, UNRWA strives to gather the descendants of those refugees in so-called "refugee camps" scattered in the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, and prevents their rehabilitation outside those camps. This way, UNRWA perpetuates their state of poverty and misery for generations, contrary to any humane logic. The issue of "the Right of Return" has also a grave and immediate impact on the conflict: We have seen that the PA schoolbooks ignore the 7 million Jewish inhabitants of the country, while they count the several million Palestinians outside the country as its legitimate inhabitants. Thus, the "illegitimate" Jews should leave in order to leave room for the return of the "legitimate" outsiders. In other words, the return of the "refugees" is equal to the destruction of Israel as a Jewish state.

The "Right of return" issue is found in the books in various forms: direct didactic information, stories, language exercises, poems, charts, photographs and illustrations, and even in mathematical contexts. Following are few examples: "The Zionist terrorist organizations forced thousands of Palestinians to go into exile [away] from their land, under threat of arms, which caused the emergence of the refugee problem" (*National Education*, Grade 7 (2013) p. 21); language exercise: "It is the Palestinian refugee's right to return to his homeland" (*National and Social Upbringing*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) p. 40); "The camp is not considered the Palestinian refugee's original domicile. Rather, it is a temporary place where he has been forced to live. All Palestinians wait for the return of each Palestinian to his city or village he was forced to leave."



(*Islamic Education*, Grade 6, Part 1 (2015) p. 69)

The poems dealing with this subject in the books add to it the emotional dimension, stress its inevitability and add an additional characteristic missing in other forms of discussion of this topic - the violent character of the return. Following are excerpts taken from a poem titled "We Shall Return": "... Tomorrow we shall return and the ages will listen to the footfalls during the return; we shall return with the thundering storms, with the sacred lightning and the shooting star, with the winged hope and the poems, with the soaring vulture and the eagle; indeed, thousands of victims shall return; the victims of oppression shall open every door" (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 28).

And more forcefully in the poem titled "We Are Returning": "Returning, Returning, we are returning; borders shall not exist, nor citadels and fortresses; call out, O those who have left: 'We are returning!' Returning to the places of residence, to the valleys, to the mountains, under the flags of glory, Jihad and struggle, in blood, sacrifice, fraternity and loyalty; we are returning; [we are] returning, O hills, returning, O heights, returning to childhood, returning to youth, to the Jihad in the heights, to the harvest in the country; we are returning."



(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2015) p. 50)

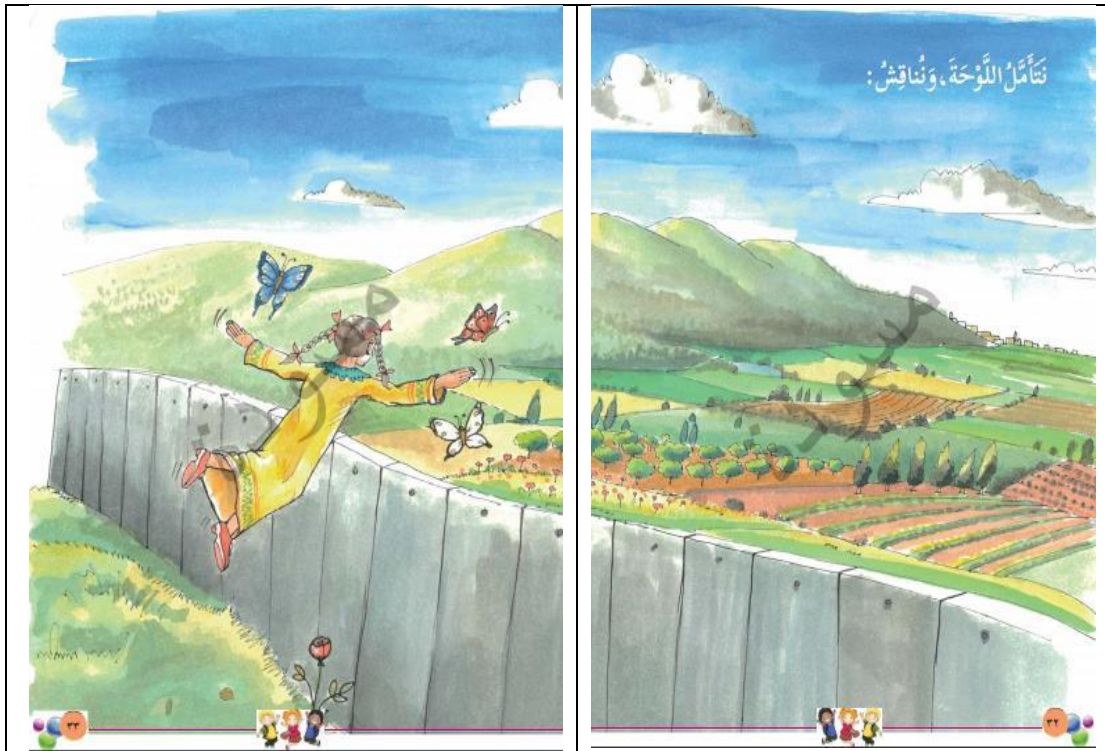
Conclusion

From the material reviewed here it becomes clear beyond any doubt that the schoolbooks issued by the PA - with substantial European financial support - do not educate for peace with Israel. Rather, the opposite is true. The scope of delegitimization and demonization of the Jewish-Israeli "other" is so wide that a state of peace with it is inconceivable in the students' eyes. Indeed, there is no call for peace with Israel in the books. Rather, emphasis is put on preparing the students conceptually and emotionally for a future war for the liquidation of Israel, with the supportive use of traditional Islamic values (Jihad, *Ribat*, martyrdom) and the "Right of Return" argument. The only flexibility seen in the books is that, instead of explicitly talking about the elimination of Israel, they use the vague term "liberating Palestine from Israeli occupation", while stating clearly that the said occupation includes Israel's pre-1967 territories.

In view of this situation, it is clear to any intelligent person that no peaceful solution to the conflict is possible, either presently, or in the future, without total change of this line of thought, which the PA has been systematically inculcating into its students for over twenty years by now.

But it seems that such a change is not coming. On the contrary, the survey of the new twenty schoolbooks issued by the PA in the summer of 2016 - this time, so it seems, without a restraining European financing - has revealed that the PA didactic approach in this field has been intensified. These books contain some new material that appears

to be more extreme, compared to former books. Stressing that Israel's pre-67 territory is an integral part of sovereign Palestine is part of this intensified approach. One example of that is an assignment appearing twice, in which the student is required to color a map of the country in its entirety in the colors of the Palestinian flag (*Islamic Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 4; *National Education*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 10). Another example is a poem portraying cities in pre-1967 Israel as targets for liberation (*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 2, Part 1 (2016) p. 42). Even the "separation wall" has been transformed in one of these books from a mere obstacle impeding Palestinian free movement in the West Bank into a barrier preventing the Palestinians living there from reaching the territories inside Israel from which they were separated in 1948, such as Mount Carmel and Jezreel Valley seen in the picture below:



(*Our Beautiful Language*, Grade 4, Part 1 (2016) pp. 32-33 and the accompanying story pp. 34-35).

In addition, Tel Aviv, having been formerly considered a city established by Jewish settlers and, accordingly, not shown on the map, now appears on a map with an Arabic name (*Mathematics*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016) p.143), possibly insinuating a newly developed Palestinian myth that depicts Tel Aviv as an occupied Arab city. The book itself does not say that, but such a myth is found on the Internet.

Another phenomenon in the new books of 2016 is strengthening the violent character of the struggle for liberation. That is done by introducing, for the first time, the tougher parts of the PA national anthem, while a former book gives its somewhat milder part only (and compare *National Education*, Grade 1, Part 1 (2016) p. 95 to *National Education*, Grade 1, Part 2 (2015) p. 59).

Finally, the authors' preface to the 2016 textbooks of *National and Social Upbringing* for grades 3 and 4 refers, for the first time, to the role of these particular books vis-à-vis the occupation: "This book is intended to build and strengthen the set of values

and nationalism among the younger generation of our sons the students... in order to withstand the various challenges imposed by the occupation that oppresses our land and uses various means in order to continue its hegemony and control over our fate and resources and liquidate all the local, regional and international efforts aiming at liberation, construction and the establishment of the Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital."

جاء هذا الكتاب لبناء المنظومة القيمية والوطنية وتعزيزها لدى الناشئة من أبنائنا الطلبة لتواكب المتغيرات السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية والثقافية والتكنولوجية، وتواجه التحديات المختلفة التي يفرضها الاحتلال الجاثم على أرضنا، باستخدامه وسائل مختلفة تهدف إلى استمرار هيمنته وسيطرته على مقدراتنا وثرواتنا، وتقويض كل المحاولات الوطنية والإقليمية والدولية الرامية إلى التحرر والبناء وإقامة الدولة الفلسطينية وعاصمتها القدس.

(National and Social Upbringing, Grades 3, 4, Part 1 (2016) page unnumbered)

The intensification of the PA line, if proven real by further review of additional books to be published in due course, will make it much more difficult to reach a peaceful solution to the conflict in the future.

But, while the demand for a change in the PA attitude is intertwined within the peace process and very much dependent on the political circumstances prevailing between the two parties to the conflict, UNRWA's situation is quite different. UNRWA is an international body and, as such, it is not a party to the conflict and should adhere to the UN principles of resolving the conflict peacefully. Consequently, it is unthinkable that schools operated by this organization would teach texts that glorify a violent struggle and call for Jihad against Israel. Especially so, when such a struggle is not restricted to territories that might be considered occupied on the global level, but rather covers territories recognized internationally as belonging to sovereign Israel. UNRWA is also obliged, as a UN agency, to avoid a situation in which a UN member state, such as Israel, would be presented as illegitimate to students in its schools, whether in texts or on maps. A textbook not showing Israel on a map should not enter UNRWA's schools in the first place! Even if Israel itself lets such books be taught in schools in East Jerusalem under its own sovereignty, due to political and other considerations, UNRWA does not have that privilege, because, as an international organization, it is not supposed to pursue political goals.

Beyond these issues, there is the professional aspect of UNRWA's educational mission, where it clearly fails by adopting questionable didactic contents, to say the least, such as texts fabricating a Canaanite origin for the Palestinians or falsifying a historical document (the Mandatory stamp) within the PA de-legitimization campaign against the Jews.

Much worse is UNRWA's betrayal of its moral obligation towards its students' well being, as it lets into its schools textbooks that educate the children to war against the State of Israel, thus endangering their very future.

UNRWA should, therefore, check and revise the books used in its schools. It is expected that the democratic donor states financing UNRWA's educational activity would demand just that. There are things UNRWA should not teach!



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. Between the years 2000-2010 Dr. Groiss served as chief researcher and, later, as Director of Research at the Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT-SE, formerly known as the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace – CMIP), a non-political NGO committed to studying the attitude to the "other" and to peace in the Israeli and in other Middle Eastern curricula. During his work there Dr. Groiss studied hundreds of textbooks of various school subjects and authored over ten reports on Palestinian, Egyptian, Syrian, Saudi Arabian, Iranian and Tunisian schoolbooks. The reports are available on the Institute's Web site <http://www.impact-se.org>. A summary of his research of this subject is to be found in "De-legitimization of Israel in Palestinian Authority Schoolbooks", published in *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 18 (2012), Issue 3, pp. 455-484, where he compares the PA schoolbooks with other Arab and Middle Eastern ones, including their Israeli counterparts. Dr. Groiss has presented his findings since 2000 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 and elsewhere. On the basis of his experience in this field, Dr. Groiss was appointed as a member of the Scientific Advisory Panel (SAP) of the Palestinian-Israeli Schoolbook Research Project commissioned by the Council of Religious Institutions of the Holy Land (CRIHL). The project was funded by the US State Department and ended in February 2013. Dr. Groiss' evaluation paper of this research project is to be found at <http://israelbehindthenews.com/library/pdfs/EVALUATION-1.pdf>.

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