

DRAFT REPORT

JEWS, ISRAEL, THE WEST AND PEACE IN THE PALESTINIAN
AUTHORITY TEXTBOOKS FOR GRADES 11, 12,
AND MUSLIM SCHOOLS IN THE WEST BANK

Compiled, Translated and Edited

By

Dr. Arnon Groiss

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Executive Summary

This report covers the school textbooks of the last two grades of the PA educational system, which were published in 2005 and 2006, thus ending a seven-year process in which the PA replaced the old Jordanian and Egyptian schoolbook for all grades with its own ones. While the books for grades 1-10 were all written and published under the late PA Chairman Yasser Arafat, the books for grade 11 were written under his successor Mahmud Abbas and the books for grade 12 were written under the Hamas government, which may account for the changes therein.

In fact, the books of grade 11 provide us with several significant changes, compared to the guidelines governing earlier books. The fundamentals have not changed, to be sure, and they are as follows:

- *Rejection of any rights the Jews might have in Palestine.*
- *Non-recognition of their holy places there, which are presented as Muslim holy places the Jews aspire to take over.*
- *The Jews themselves are presented in negative light both in the historical context and in the context of the present conflict.*
- *The Jewish national movement in modern times – Zionism – is presented as an expansionist movement created by Western Imperialism and striving to seize control of Arab lands between the Euphrates and the Nile rivers.*
- *Israel is not referred to as a sovereign state. Its establishment in 1948 is referred to as “occupation”. The books consider Palestine the sole legitimate sovereign state between River Jordan and the Mediterranean.*
- *Regions within Israel’s pre-1967 borders are presented as Palestinian.*
- *Israel is demonized by a long list of accusations presenting it as a source of evil, not as a neighbor with its own legitimate rights and interests. The list of its perceived crimes includes its very establishment, occupation of various parts of Palestine, expulsion of the Palestinian people from its homeland, massacres, assassination of Palestinian leaders, aggression against Arab neighboring countries, destruction of Palestinian economy, even responsibility for the meager participation of Palestinian women in economic activity, for Palestinian social ills – such as drug abuse and illiteracy, for cultural deficiencies, etc. The accompanying term “Imperialist” appears in this context for the first time, emphasizing Israel’s illegitimate status in the books’ view.*
- *The conflict is presented in a very biased way as a result of Jewish-British conspiracy against the Arabs. Israel is solely responsible for all its developments.*
- *The Palestinian refugee problem is presented as a result of Jewish aggression and its only solution is said to be the complete return of the refugees’ descendants to their ancestors’ former homes. The Palestinians’ share of responsibility for the creation of this problem, the mass flight of Jewish refugees from the Arab countries to Israel and the obvious difficulty of the suggested solution are never discussed.*
- *Peace with Israel is never openly advocated. Even the discussion of the peace process – in some cases in great detail – is devoid of expressions of support. Israel, on its part, is presented as a party acting against peace.*
- *As before, terrorist actions against Israel are not openly encouraged or rejected but there are indications of implicit support represented by the positive reference to “martyrs”, “prisoners-of-war” and “Fidais” (members of the Palestinian armed organizations).*

The changes found in the books for grade 11 include the following:

- *For the first time the Palestinian student is given some information about the Jewish Holy Scriptures (though lacking and from an Islamic point of view) and about Jewish ancient history in Palestine (without any connection being made to the Jewish present aspirations based on that historical presence in the country).*
- *Contrary to former books, these ones do not refer much to the Muslim-Jewish rivalry in early Islam, which reduces the number of anti-Jewish expressions in this context.*
- *For the first time the Jews' suffering under the Nazis is briefly mentioned alongside the term "Anti-Semitism" (with no further elaboration).*
- *Contrary to former usage, modern Jewish cities such as Tel-Aviv are shown on the map (though their names are almost unreadable).*
- *For the first time Israeli pre-1967 territory is referred to as "Israel" side by side with former terms avoiding this name such as "the Lands of 1948".*
- *For the first time ever we find Israel's name on the map in two cases – both are reproductions of Israeli maps.*
- *The accusations against Israel, though sometimes being very critical, are generally more rationalistic than emotional, with less hateful expressions.*
- *For the first time there is in the books a clear admission that it was the Arab side, rather than the Jews, which started the war of 1948 with the professed goal of preventing the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine in accordance with the UN 1947 resolution. Even the events of 1967 are told in a way, which does not present Israel as an outright aggressor.*
- *For the first time there are cases in which Jerusalem is mentioned as the Jews' ancient capital and which refer to the Jews as its inhabitants, including during the 1948 war. On the other hand, there are also expressions presenting Jerusalem as an exclusively Arab city occupied by the Jews.*
- *Contrary to former usage, the books for grade 11 hardly discuss the issue of the liberation of Palestine by force. Nor do they refer much to the issues of Jihad and martyrdom.*
- *The ideal of tolerance is advocated, as done in formerly published books, but this time the Jews are specifically referred to in this context, while former books mentioned Muslims and Christians only.*
- *The story of the peace process with Israel is told in full, unlike its treatment in former PA books. The narration is informative and documents related to the process are presented to the students (but, as already said, not a word of support of this move is ever heard).*

None of that, with the sole exception of the continued use of the term "Israel" to denote Israeli pre-1967 territory, appears in the books for grade 12, written under the Hamas-led government, which came to power in early 2006. The return to the old-style attitude is complete, with some additions worsening it:

- *A poem reproduced in one of the textbooks likens the Jews in the context of the conflict to invading snakes.*
- *Israel is blamed of exercising racial discrimination against the Palestinians, with a view, probably, to weakening its legitimacy further. This accusation had appeared once in a PA experimental textbook in the 1990s and was later omitted. Now it reappears and covers the larger part of a chapter dedicated to the phenomenon of racial discrimination in the world. Within this framework, Israeli activities such as the annexation of East Jerusalem in 1967 are presented as racial discrimination against the Palestinians.*

- *The accusations against Israel are heavily emotional, compared to the more rationalistic language of the grade-11 books.*
- *The peace process is hardly discussed, certainly not favorably. The issue of liberation by force is treated in the books for grade 12 more extensively and passionately.*
- *Although Jihad is not much discussed, there is reintroduction of the traditional Islamic concept of “Ribat”, namely, taking up position against the enemies of Islam, which had been first introduced into the books for grades 5 and 10 in 2005 under Yasser Arafat. The use of this term – referring here to the entire Muslim population of Palestine – is intended to intensify the religious aspect of the struggle against Israel.*
- *Unlike the books for grade 11, and in line with former PA school textbooks, the 12th grade books refer to the issue of martyrdom, also in language exercises. One of these references likens martyrdom to a wedding party.*

Thus, the beginnings of a possible change in attitude to the Jewish-Israeli “other” traced in books of grade 11 have been rooted out and the old notions, which inevitably had their impact on the students and undoubtedly contributed to at least part of the violence, remain in force.

The school textbooks of both grades contain many references to the West. This phenomenon began already under Arafat’s last year in power, in books for grade 10, and continued under both Mhmd Abbas and the Hamas government, with increasing intensity and hostility. The West, which began its attack against Islam and the Arabs during the Crusades and the Spanish Reconquista, is the source of evil and is blamed for almost all ills in modern Arab and Muslim societies:

- *Western Imperialism subdued most Arab and Muslim countries, in addition to vast other regions in the world.*
- *The West invented racial discrimination against the peoples of the colonies.*
- *The West invented Zionism and has supported Israel against the Arabs.*
- *The West abuses its political and economic hegemony in the world to the detriment of the weak countries, and uses Globalization, international bodies and world communication media for its purposes.*
- *The West abuses the environment.*
- *The West strives to destroy the Arab-Islamic culture by using various means, including academic research of Islam and Muslim civilization dubbed “Orientalism”.*

In other words, the West is presented to the Palestinian students as a threat to Islam and the Arab world on a large scale, which is bound to have negative results in the future, as the continuous education against Israel has so far done.

In addition to the books of grade 11 and 12, CMIP has reviewed some 25 schoolbooks issued originally in Jordan, republished by the PA – the Ministry of the (Religious) Endowments and Religious Affairs, and used in the PA religious institutions and classes. The results of this review, which appears at the end of this report as an Appendix, are as follows:

- *Although the books acknowledge the common ideals shared by all monotheistic religions and boast of Islam’s traditional tolerance towards Jews and Christians, they advocate caution against and unfriendly relations with them, as they are portrayed as enemies of Islam and the Muslims.*
- *The Jews in particular are denounced as enemies of God, the prophets and the believers, and as conspirators and violators of treaties. They are accused of being greedy, miserly, sly and treacherous.*

- *In the context of the present Middle Eastern conflict the Jews are further demonized as murderers, desecrators of holy places, usurpers of Muslim lands, etc. They are destined – according to a Prophetic Saying (Hadith) reproduced in one of the books – to be all massacred by the Muslims.*
- *The Jews' ties to the Holy Land are not recognized and their aspirations regarding that land are dismissed as "greedy ambitions". Even their holy places there are not recognized. Their modern national movement, that is, Zionism, is depicted as an invention of Western Imperialism against Arabs and Muslims.*
- *Israel's sovereignty is not recognized and its name does not appear on any map. Palestine appears there instead as the sole sovereign state in the country.*
- *Israel is demonized. It is depicted as an occupying power in Palestine and as an aggressive and expansionist entity. It has military superiority over the Arab states and constitutes a threat to them all.*
- *The West is demonized as well as a source of evil to the Muslim world: Western Imperialism subjugated Muslim countries, maltreated their population and plundered their wealth; Western Neo-Imperialism harmed the Muslim world having used its global political and economic hegemon for that purpose; the West has supported Zionism and Israel against the Muslims; the West has attacked the Muslim world culturally as well, using Westernization, foreign ideologies, "destructive movements" such as Bahaism, as means to weakening Islam's position both within the Muslim individual's soul and in Muslim society at large.*
- *Much emphasis is put in the books on the ideal of Jihad, which is elevated to a degree of a sixth religious duty in Islam, in addition to the traditional five ones. Jihad is made a necessity of Muslim society in all times, especially at present, for the purpose of defense as well as for the purpose of spreading the religion of Islam worldwide.*
- *Jihad is also a means to liberating Palestine from the Jews, although there is a text in the books – probably introduced by the Jordanian original publishers – which provides an explanation for the present peace process in the Middle East: Israel is too powerful and the general situation in the world today is such that annihilating Israel by war is impossible.*

Thus, these books as well express hostility to the "other" and emphasize the ideal of Jihad a great deal. They as well contribute to the atmosphere of hostility and violence in the Palestinian arena with grave implications for the region and the world in the foreseeable future.

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Introduction

This is the last in a series of reports issued by CMIP on the new Palestinian Authority (PA) textbooks, which gradually replaced the old schoolbooks published by Jordan (for the West Bank) and Egypt (for the Gaza Strip). It completes the former reports by covering in full the books issued in 2005 and 2006 for grades 11 and 12 – the last grades in the PA school system. It should be noted in this context that the books of each of these last two grades were published under specific political circumstances, different from those, which prevailed during the publication of their predecessors. The books for grades 1-10 had all been written under Yasser Arafat as president of the PA and reflected in many ways the official Palestinian position as envisaged by him. The books for grade eleven, on the other hand, were issued under his successor, Mahmud Abbas, which may explain some important changes appearing therein. The books for grade twelve were published under yet another government – that of Hamas, and, indeed, one can easily discern again changes in attitude. It has been therefore decided to divide the material quoted in this report within the various chapters into two separate consecutive parts in each sub-chapter, so that the reader will be able to see the difference between the two grades.

In addition, there are other books issued by the PA Ministry of the Endowments and Religious Affairs – not by the PA Ministry of Education – and used in religious schools and institutions. Though not constituting an integral part of the PA school system, they should be regarded as a product of the PA as a whole and therefore are treated as such within a separate appendix at the end of this report.

As done in our former reports, CMIP has followed the same criteria used throughout its coverage of the textbook publication process, namely, tracing any reference to the ‘other’ and to peace in the textbooks, taking it as is and inserting it in the report within its context in the appropriate chapter according to its specific subject, with minimum analysis. Clarifying notes are inserted in brackets within the quoted material or as footnotes. The analysis is done in the Conclusion based on criteria suggested by UNESCO and developed by CMIP itself, such as the following:

UNESCO relevant criteria

- 1. Are the data given accurate and complete?*
- 2. Are illustrations, maps and graphs up-to-date and accurate?*
- 3. Are the achievements of others recognized?*
- 4. Are equal standards applied?*
- 5. Are political disputes presented objectively and honestly?*
- 6. Is wording likely to create prejudice, misapprehension and conflict avoided?*
- 7. Are ideals of freedom, dignity and fraternity being advocated?*
- 8. Is the need for international cooperation, for the formation of common human ideals and the advancement of the cause of peace, as well as for the enforcement of the law, emphasized?*

CMIP criteria of analysis

- 1. Are other peoples and communities recognized and respected, or are stereotyped and prejudiced?*
- 2. Does education foster peace and support the peace process?*

In translating Qur’anic verses from Arabic into English we have mostly relied on N. J. Dawood’s translation published by Penguin. Prophetic Sayings (Ahadith) were translated by the author of this report independently.

Chapter One:

Other Religions and their Followers in General

Grade 11

For the first time within the PA textbook publishing process, the student is given adequate, though very limited information about the Jewish and Christian scriptures, from an Islamic point of view, which is not always accurate, as far as the existing Biblical text is concerned, and see the footnotes below.

The Torah

This is the book revealed by God to Moses. The word “Torah” means teachings or law. The Torah has been mentioned in the Holy Qur’an... Some of the Qur’an verses talked about some of the material which appeared there, such as:

1. Rules and laws that were given to the Children of Israel [a Qur’anic verse is here given].
2. The prophecy regarding the mission of our Messenger Muhammad and the mentioning of his and his friends’ features [a Qur’anic verse].¹
3. Urging [to practice] Jihad by soul and property [a Qur’anic verse].

The Jews believe in what is called “the Old Testament” which consists of thirty-nine books organized in four categories as follows:

1. The five books called “Torah” by the Jews. These books are Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.
2. The historical books which talk of the history of the Children of Israel.
3. The books of poetical wisdom. These are books containing anthems, proverbs, sermons and religious hymns.
4. Books of the Prophets, which talk of the missions of the prophets of the Children of Israel and their history from the Jewish point of view.

Much the same as the Old Testament is sacred among the Jews it is sacred among the Christians as well but the number of its books among them is larger than the number of the books in the Jewish version.

The Holy Qur’an has mentioned in more than one verse that distortion has taken place in the Torah [a Qur’anic verse].

Dr. Maurice Bukai, a Frenchman, explains in his book “The Koran, the Torah, the Gospels and Science” the essence of the Old Testament and says: “The Old Testament comprises a group of books unequal in length and different in type. These books were written over a period of more than nine centuries in different languages relying on the orally handed down heritage. Most of these books were amended and completed due to events that took place or due to specific needs, sometimes in periods disconnected from one another.”

Psalms

Psalms is the book revealed by God to David, one of the prophets of the Children of Israel [a Qur’anic verse].

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 41-42

¹ This is an Islamic belief based on a Qur’anic verse not substantiated by Biblical text.

The text proceeds to discuss the Christian Scriptures, which it treats from an Islamic point of view as part of ancient Jewish history.

The Gospel

The Gospel is the book revealed by God to Jesus for the guidance of the Children of Israel, as is the case with the Torah and Psalms... The Holy Qur'an already mentioned some of the rules appearing in the Gospel, which came to complement or amend the rules of the Torah... Among these as well is the prophecy about Muhammad and the mentioning of some of his features [a Qur'anic verse]². The Gospel is known among the Christians as "the New Testament". The New Testament is divided as far as its content is concerned into two parts: the historical books and the instructional books.

The historical books include the four Gospels, which are: Mathew's Gospel, Lucas' Gospel, Mark's Gospel and John's Gospel. They have been selected by the synod of Nicaea in 335 CE.

As regards the instructional books, they include twenty-two epistles mostly written by Paul, although he was not one of Jesus' disciples.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 42-43

God has pledged to keep the Islamic mission undistorted and unaltered, in contrast to the other beliefs. I will explain that.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 27

The Holy Qur'an has a special status among the rest of the Divine Books, which has become apparent in the following facts:

1. The Holy Qur'an came approving of the preceding Divine Books and having guardianship over them. What it has confirmed in them and pronounced to be true is therefore true and what it has annulled in them and refuted is therefore untrue.
2. With the revelation of the Qur'an the Divine missions have been completed. There is no book after the Holy Qur'an and no prophet after Muhammad.
3. The former Divine Books have been affected by distortion and destruction [a Qur'anic verse], while the Holy Qur'an has been guarded by God against destruction and distortion [a Qur'anic verse].
4. The legislation appearing in the former Divine Books was designated for specific peoples and for a limited period of time, while the legislation of the Qur'an and its rules are general for all people regardless of time and place...

Islam's Attitude to the Divine Books

In view of the distortion phenomena in the Old and New Testament, which we have mentioned, Islam's attitude to these books is based on the following:

1. The contents of every text in the existing books of the People of the Book [namely, Jews and Christians] – whether a historical [piece of] information, or a scientific fact or a legal rule – if the Qur'an, or the Prophetic Tradition [*Sunnah*], pronounces it as true, then, it is accepted by us for certain, and if the Qur'an, or the Prophetic Tradition, denies it, it is then rejected by us for certain.
2. As for the issues which the Qur'an has not ruled regarding their being true or false, we consider them neither true nor false because of the possibility of their being true or false, except when reality indicates their being true or false. Then, we accept that evidence and consider them true or false...

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 43-44

² See the former footnote.

Grade 12

...Caution vis-à-vis the *Israiliyyat*

I learn: The meaning of *Israiliyyat* is stories given by [Qur'an] commentators [which have been taken] from what is told about the Children of Israel [i.e., from Biblical and Rabbinical sources].

The method of the Qur'an regarding the discussion of previous nations is that it limits itself, while giving details about them, to issues containing lessons and admonitions. It does not expatiate in mentioning people's names and details and times of events. That is so because the Qur'an is a book of guidance. Events do not concern it, but to the point of the lessons they contain. That stands in contrast to the holy scriptures of non-Muslims, for they mention lots of details not mentioned in the Holy Qur'an. Extended reliance [in Qur'an commentary] on the embrace of these details mentioned in the *Israiliyyat* has resulted in errors in the commentary some of which [are the following]:

1. Being busy with useless matters such as mentioning the names of the Cave Dwellers³ and their dog's color.
2. Penetration of fables and myths into some of the commentary books, such as the saying that Earth is carried on a bull's horn and that the planet Venus used to be a woman whom God has turned into a star in the sky.
3. Penetration of stories, which do not befit the prophets' virtuousness and which attribute abominable sins to them.

Islamic Education, Grade 12 (2006) p. 5

³ A story briefly mentioned in the Qur'an and mistakenly believed to have been fully told in the Torah. Actually, it is not mentioned there.

Chapter Two: The Jews

A. The Jews in History

Grade 11

Unlike former books, which hardly refer to ancient Jewish history in Palestine and in at least one case obliterate it altogether and leave an unexplained gap between the years 1200-586 BCE⁴, the history book for grade 11, part 1, features a radical change, as it talks in some detail of Jewish presence and history there in ancient times. It begins with Patriarch Abraham whom is not identified as forefather of the Jews. But later episodes of Jewish history are presented as such, this time without the usual claim that the Canaanites, who preceded the Jews in the land, were of Arab origin, as done in former PA textbooks in order to create an Arab continued presence in the country since antiquity and depict the Jews as foreign invaders already then.

Our Lord Abraham's Entrance to Palestine

Our lord Abraham reached the land of Canaan arriving from the city of Ur in southern Iraq through Harran in Syria at the end of the nineteenth century BCE (1805 BCE) and first settled down in Shechem (Tall Balata in Nablus). He later moved to Hebron and met during his journey with Malkizedek ("king of righteousness and justice") the Canaanite ruler of Jerusalem. Abraham was accompanied in his journey by his nephew Lot who settled in Jericho. Our lord Abraham, his wife Sarah and their son Isaac died in Hebron. During that period the Philistines settled in the land of Canaan, in part of the coastal valley between Jaffa and Gaza.



Palestine during the reign of Prophet David

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 9

⁴ Reading and Texts, Grade 9, Part 2 (2004) p. 36 (see in CMIP report "Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks – The New Textbooks for Grades 4 and 9", May 2004, p. 10 and footnote number 2 there).

Palestine during the Reign of Prophet David⁵

The ancient history of Palestine witnessed the entrance of the Children of Israel under the leadership of Joshua the son of Nun in the 12th century BCE. They fought the Canaanites and the Philistines. In the latter third of the 11th century BCE Saul the son of Kish (Talut [in Islamic tradition]) assumed the leadership of the Children of Israel and fought the Philistines under the leadership of Goliath who managed to kill him and his sons at the end of the 11th century BCE. After his death Prophet David the son of Jesse assumed the leadership of the Children of Israel and continued fighting the Philistines and the Canaanites and established a kingdom on part of the Palestinian lands under his command. Prophet Solomon came after him and ruled from 963 until 923 BCE and in his reign the Jewish state reached its widest scope. After his death his state was divided into two parts: the Kingdom of Israel in the north (Samaria) and the Kingdom of Judea in the south (Jerusalem).

The Kingdom of Judea faced an attack by Shoshenq, an Egyptian pharaoh of Libyan origin, who besieged Jerusalem (Al-Quds)⁶ and took possession of many treasures and golden plates. Palestine was subjected to Assyrian attack in 722 BCE under the command of Sargon II who imposed his rule over the northern kingdom (Samaria), took most of the Jews who inhabited the northern [part of the] country captive and laid siege to Jerusalem but did not enter it. After a short while, Palestine faced another Assyrian attack by King Sanherib, who took control of Jaffa in 709 BCE.

Palestine experienced in 586 BCE a ruinous attack by the Chaldean Babylonian commander Nebuchadnezzar who destroyed Jerusalem and took the Jews captive to Iraq. It did not take long before this region submitted to Persian rule in 538 BCE and the Persian ruler Cyrus permitted whoever so wished from among the Jews to return to Palestine.

The Return of the Jews by Cyrus: Cyrus believed that the Jews' presence in Palestine would create a balance vis-à-vis part of the population who were supporting the pharaohs of Egypt. In addition, the Jews had helped him against the Babylonians. It is [also] said that his wife was Jewish and influenced him to bring the Jews back to Palestine...

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 9

...During Greek rule the southern and eastern parts of Palestine submitted to the rule of the Nabateans who made an alliance with the Jews against the Seleucids. But soon their relations with the Jews worsened and a battle took place between them on the shores of Lake Tiberias, which the Nabateans won, and another battle near Lydda, which the Nabateans won again and imposed peace on the Jews.

Palestine under Roman Rule

The Romans took control of Palestine in 63 BCE under the leadership of Pompeius and divided it and the neighboring areas into four administrative districts⁷:

1. First Palestine [Palaestina Prima], which included Nablus, Jerusalem, Hebron and the coastal plain until Rafah, of which the capital was Caesarea.

⁵ The Biblical Kings David and Solomon are considered prophets in Islam.

⁶ The Arabic version "Urushalim" is given here and followed by another Arabic name of the city, Al-Quds, which is more familiar, as an explanation to the student. In most other cases the name "Al-Quds" is used exclusively.

⁷ This division is a relatively late one. The country was first governed as a vassal kingdom, or kingdoms, ruled by kings of the Herodian dynasty and later as a province named "Judea". This name was replaced by "Palestine" in 138 CE following the suppression of the last great revolt by the Jews (132-135 CE). The partition of Palestine into several units as mentioned here belongs to later periods and mostly existed under the Byzantines.

2. Second Palestine [Palaestina Secunda], which included Galilee, Um Qays in [present-day] Jordan and Tiberias, of which the capital was Beisan [Beit Shean, Scythopolis].
3. Third Palestine [Palaestina Tertia], which included southern Syria, of which the capital was at times Petra and at other times Bustra.
4. Fourth Palestine, which included Haifa, Acre, Tyre, Sidon and Beirut and of which the capital was Tyre.⁸

The Romans appointed Herodes the Edomite as ruler over Palestine in 37 BCE. During his reign Lord Christ was born...

During the Roman period the Canaanite city of Shechem was destroyed and the Romans established in its stead the city of Nablus [Flavia Neapolis]. The Jews in Jerusalem staged several revolts, which were met by force on the Romans' part. In 70 CE the Roman commander Titus attacked them and imposed his rule over Jerusalem by force...

In 132 the Jews rebelled again under the leadership of Bar Kokhba in the reign of the Roman emperor Aelius Hadrian who put an end to the revolt, destroyed Urushalim (al-Quds), established in its place the city of Aelia Caputina [sic and should be Capitoline] and forbade the Jews to reside in it.

...During Byzantine rule over Palestine the Samaritans, who were part of the population [there], rebelled. The Byzantine emperor sent against them the Ghassanid [Arab vassal] king al-Hareth bin Jabalah who managed to suppress the revolt in 529 CE...

The Byzantine-Persian Struggle over Palestine

Palestine submitted to Persian rule in 614 CE when King Khosrow II sent his famous commander Shahrbaraz to Palestine. His forces managed to take control of Jerusalem with the Jews' help.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 10-11

But the former narrative, which Arabizes the ancient Canaanites and presents them as the sole legitimate inhabitants of the country, and thus directly connects them to the Arab Palestinians of today and implicitly makes the Jewish presence in Palestine in antiquity illegitimate, is not gone.

Palestine is considered to have great natural importance by virtue of its geographical position, as it is the crossroads and the center of the continents, and the passageway connecting the continents of Africa and Asia. Due to its distinguished position, invaders from all directions successively attacked it, but they were defeated and left it one by one and could not change its Arab and Muslim identity. Its first Arab-Canaanite civilization, and its Muslim civilization that subsequently merged with it, have remained as a living testimony to its Arab-Muslim roots... The Arab Canaanites, who were the first ones to settle in Palestine and populate it, were known of their achievements in the agricultural field...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 12

According to Muslim sources quoted in a history textbook, one of the provisions of the surrender pact of Christian Jerusalem to the Muslim Arab conquerors in 638 CE was the following:

...And no one from among the Jews will dwell [in the city] with them...

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 14

⁸ There was no "Fourth Palestine". The areas mentioned here under this name constituted the province of Syria, otherwise named Phoenicia.

The following is a traditional Islamic perception of ancient Jewish history based on the Qur'anic narrative. Although the general attitude is traditionally negative, there are two points deserving attention since they reflect a somewhat milder approach compared to former expressions in this context: One, there is a clear indication to the Jews' historical connection to Jerusalem. Two, there is an optimistic notion regarding the Jews' possible return to God's favor under certain conditions (they are both underlined for the reader's convenience).

Moses' Mission to the Children of Israel

[A Qur'anic verse]

God revealed the Torah to Moses in order to guide the Children of Israel and take them out of the darkness of ignorance and unbelief into the light of knowledge and belief. God ordered the Children of Israel not to take for themselves a god on whom they would rely and to whom they would entrust their affairs except Almighty God who had created them and bestowed His favor upon them...

The Children of Israel's Mischief on Earth

[A Qur'anic verse]

God had revealed that the Children of Israel would make mischief on earth twice and that that mischief would not be their determined fate but would rather emerge from their own deeds... God reveals to the Children of Israel that they will make mischief on earth twice through [the commitment of] murder, oppression, repression and sacrilege and that they will rise high and be dominant so that power and strength will be theirs. The more powerful they become the more corrupt and mischievous they will be. Any time they make mischief God will set some of His servants as rulers upon them who will subjugate them and ruin them.

The First Mischief

[A Qur'anic verse]

...The Children of Israel would rise high in the land and would have power and authority. Then they would make mischief there and God would send upon them His servants who have much courage and who would take possession of their country, move around it as they please and trample underfoot anything and anyone there with no fear. The [Qur'anic] verses indicate that the Children of Israel would again have victory, would have more property and more offspring and would reclaim their power and dominance. The verse addresses the Children of Israel [saying] that if they do right, then their right will turn for their own benefit and if they do wrong, then they will encounter the outcome of their evil deeds.

The Second Mischief

[A Qur'anic verse]

Since the Children of Israel did not stick to God's order to do right and thank [Him] for His favors [bestowed] upon them, and [since] their mischief continued in murder, violation of God's prohibitions and [in their] disobedience of Him, God sent upon them for the second time **someone who entered upon them in Jerusalem**, humiliated them, made the impact of misfortune, distress and humiliation apparent on their faces and destroyed what the Children of Israel had made themselves high with. God says addressing the Children of Israel in spite of their mischief: **God may have compassion for you and forgive you if you repent and return to God and to His obedience**. The verse confirms an eternal social norm, namely, whenever the Children of Israel return to making mischief on earth God punishes them by giving power over them to someone who will cause them painful suffering in punishment for their mischief...

[Questions:]

- How should I perceive the future of our land Palestine in the light of my study of the preceding [Qur'anic] verses?

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 14-16

A reference to the Jews in antiquity appears in a Christian Education textbook.

The people of the Old Testament is an image of God's new people, namely, the Church...

Towards the New Testament: God chose the Hebrew people to be a tool for this testament. But the prophets announce a new testament between God and mankind, ...which is the testament that God has established with humanity through Christ.

God's new people: From this New Testament emerged God's new people, namely, the Church.
Christian Education, Grade 11 (2005) pp. 55-56

Though the relations between Prophet Muhammad and the Jews of Arabia were never amicable and ended up in wars, expulsion, slaughter and subjugation of various Jewish tribes, the PA books of grade eleven do not feature much condemnation of the Jews as is sometimes seen in books published earlier, except for few cases.

The Prophet confirmed [the principle of] concluding treaties and concluded a number of them with the Jews of Medina...

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 120

One of the Hypocrites [a group of outwardly Muslims in Medina who still opposed Muhammad]... quarreled with a Jew over a [tract of] land and the Jew summoned him to God's Messenger so that he would pass a judgment [in the case] between them... He [Muhammad] issued a sentence in the Jew's favor for he was the rightful one...

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 22

Following are two quotations presenting negatively Jewish individuals in early Islam. The first one is a Jewish woman who was taken captive by Muhammad after her relatives had been slaughtered by the Muslims in Khaybar and who wanted to avenge their death. The second figure is of a Jew who converted to Islam and later participated in the political conspiracy against Caliph Uthman.

He [Muhammad] also pardoned... the Jewish woman who had inserted poison in the lamb [she had prepared] for him and did not take revenge on her.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 68

But they [the conspirators against Caliph Uthman] held a grudge [against him] and set a date for them to appear again in Medina in order to carry out their conspiracy, which was presented to them in a favorable light by Abdullah bin Saba, a Jew in origin who presented himself outwardly as a Muslim.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 74

A vaguely phrased reference to the Jewish suffering under the Nazis with the mentioning of the term "anti-Semitism" appears in one of the books. Apart from this reference nothing is said in the PA schoolbooks about the Holocaust, even in a history book covering in detail the Second World War. But the mere mentioning of Jewish suffering under the Nazis is in itself an innovation.

"The Jewish Question" is a European problem first and foremost. What befell the Jews at the hands of Nazism made "Anti-Semitism" a moral and political burden on the European Union...

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 41

Grade 12

The books for grade 12, which were prepared and published under the Hamas government, do not contain any reference to ancient Jewish history in Palestine, and, in fact, any other material about the Jews in history, except for the following piece, which present a Jewish individual in early Islam as a quarrel-monger.

The Jew Shas, son of Qays, [once] passed by a group of Ansar⁹ of the [formerly rival] tribes of Al-Aws and Al-Khazraj. It was unbearable for him to see the friendship and love after the hostility and wars, which had prevailed between them before Islam. So he started reminding them of their past and stirring the old enmity feelings, until they called to one another to take up arms and fight. God's Messenger heard of it and he took steps to prevent that... Their souls calmed down and they repented of what they had done.

Islamic Education, Grade 12 (2006) p. 12

B. The Jews in the Context of the Conflict

Grade 11

The first manifestation of the Jews' claim to Palestine in modern times, according to the books, is Napoleon's call upon them to help him in his efforts to gain control over the Levant.

...Napoleon issued an appeal to the Jews of Asia and Africa in which he urged them to rally around his flag in order to bring them back to Jerusalem and build their temple anew in return for helping him to take control of the Levant [Bilad al-Sham]. His aims by that were:

1. Wishing to attract the Jewish communities in the East so that they would be his assistants in supporting his influence and stabilizing his rule [there].
2. Acquiring the trust of the Jews in France and their financial support in order to obtain loans to meet the deficit in the French treasury.
3. Encouraging the Jews to settle in Palestine in order to facilitate the French occupation and support it as a threat to British interests and transportation [routes] to India.

As it is made clear from the following text:

On April 4 Napoleon directed his famous call to the Jews, which said:

"It was Divine Providence, which has sent me here at the head of this army... which has made Jerusalem my general headquarters... I do not only demand the lawful heirs of Palestine to occupy their homeland... Rather, I demand that they assure and back this nation [France] so that you will guard it [your homeland] from all those who have greedy ambitions against you, so that you become your country's true masters."

[Questions:]

- Napoleon issued an appeal to the Jews to come back to Jerusalem:
 1. What was Napoleon's motive in directing this appeal [to the Jews]?
 2. Was Napoleon serious in his appeal? Why?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 49, 51

Following are poetical references to the Jews in the context of the conflict in Mandatory times.

[The Palestinian poet] Ibrahim Tuqan said [in the 1930s]:

We have two adversaries:

⁹ Muslims of Medina, as opposed to Muhajirun – Muslims of a Meccan origin who immigrated to Medina at the time of the Prophet

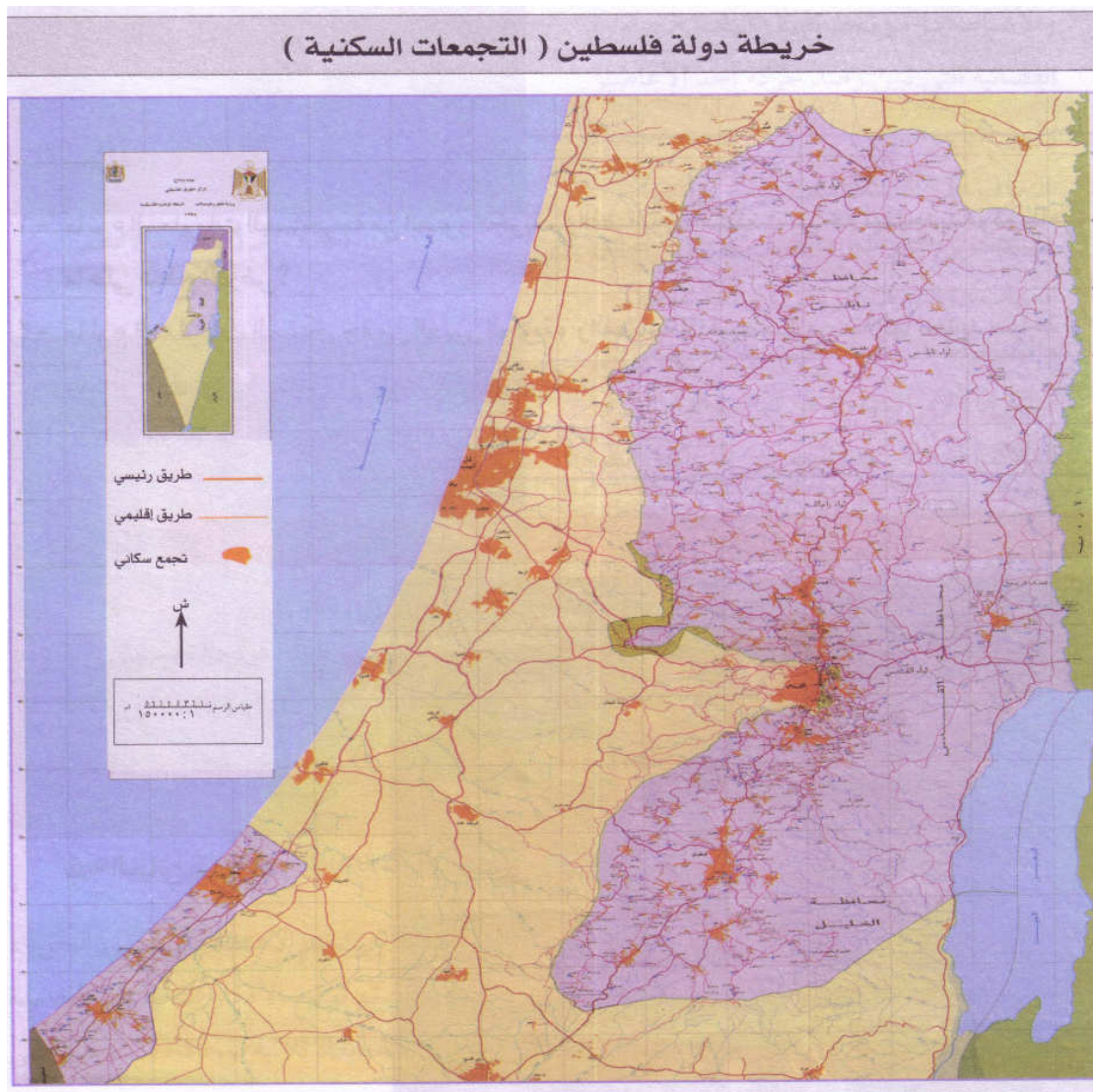
[One] has power and might [i.e., Britain]
And another deceives and takes advantage [i.e., the Jews]
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 61

Protect my homeland from the time's misfortunes
For the little bird [i.e., the Jewish people] came to think that it was an eagle
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 66

A textbook of Christian Education recognizes the existence of more than one people in the country, but it does not elaborate regarding their respective identities.

...Our land and its peoples.
Christian Education, Grade 11 (2005) p. 81

Contrary to former usage, according to which modern Jewish settlements – including Tel Aviv – are never shown on any map of the country appearing in the textbooks, a map in a geography textbook for grade eleven shows for the first time Jewish cities and provides their names, although one needs a magnifying glass to be able to read them.



Map of the State of Palestine (Settlements)
Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 20

Grade 12

A demonizing description of the Jews in the context of the conflict appears in a language textbook for grade 12.

...The Catastrophe [Nakbah], which took place in 1948, as the Jews occupied Palestine and established their state on its soil, and expelled the Palestinian people to exile and the neighboring states after having tortured it, massacred it and robbed its land, homes and holy places...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 109

A story by the Palestinian writer Samira Azzam tells of a love between a fighter in Acre in 1948 and a nurse who is killed while trying to bring him and his comrades a loaf of bread. The Jews are mentioned in the story several times as enemies, but with no explicit hateful expressions. The text of the schoolbook editor following the story is far more hostile:

The story is based on a narrator who tells the events of the Palestine Catastrophe of 1948 and the bloody battles related to it between the Palestinian resistance and the Zionist gangs and the latter's desire to expel the Palestinians from their villages, cities and land by use of means of repression, torture and murder in order to empty the country of its inhabitants...

A bond of pure love emerges between them [i.e., the heroes of the story], which the Zionist occupation of Palestine prevents from being crowned by marriage, as it ends Suad's life with bullets that settle in her heart... The story's characters have a patriotic sentiment and defend their land against the uprooting attempts by the Zionist gangs...

The Palestinian's defense of his land and his resistance to occupation... is represented by the [Palestinian] soldiers' defense of their city against the Zionist gangs, which seek to uproot the Palestinian people from its homeland and expel it from its land.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 143-144

The following poetry verse implicitly likens the Jews to invading snakes and wonders whether Muslims should continue tolerating Jews in general in accordance with the traditional Islamic Dhimma arrangement (regarding non-Muslims who live among Muslims).

By your life! How come that snakes invade us
And we [still] observe a protection covenant [dhimmah], which respects commitments

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 67

C. Zionism

Grade 11

The history of the Zionist movement is told in full in a history textbooks for grade 11. Though the description is mostly objective – without the inclusion of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion as “the confidential resolutions of the first Zionist congress” (as done in a history textbook for grade 10 in 2005¹⁰), there are several negative references implying that Zionism aspired, for example, to have under its control vast areas of the Middle East stretching from the Euphrates River to the Nile.

¹⁰ See in History of the Modern and Contemporary World, Grade 10 (2004) p. 63 and in CMIP report “Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks – The New Textbooks for Grades 5 and 10, June 2005, p. 22.

The beginning of modern Zionism is presented as a European, mostly British, innovation.

The idea of establishing Jewish national home in Palestine spread in England during the nineteenth century, as a number of English politicians and some influential people adopted this idea. An example of these [people] was the English [non-Jewish] Zionist [Lord] Shaftesbury who was one of the propagandists of Jewish settlement in Palestine. He is the author of the famous saying: "There is a land without a people and God now directs us with His wisdom and compassion toward it."

By that he was meaning that Palestine is a land without a people and that the Jews are a people without a land. This saying was later adopted by the Zionist movement and became [one] of its slogans. Is this saying correct? Why?

Shaftesbury also tried to convince some of the European politicians with his idea of Jewish settlement in Palestine such as Palmerston, who held the office of British foreign minister and, later, [that of] prime minister and who opened a [British] consulate in Jerusalem in 1838. He defined the goals of this consulate in his letters, which he sent to his ambassadors in the Ottoman Empire, including his memorandum which he sent in 1840: "Among the Jews scattered all over Europe there exists a strong feeling that the time in which their nation will return to Palestine is imminent. It is well known that the Jews of Europe possess immense fortunes. It is obvious that any country a great number of Jews will choose to settle in will obtain much benefit from the wealth these Jews will bring along with them. If the Jewish people returns under the protection and with the blessing of the [Ottoman] sultan, this will be a barrier between Muhammad Ali [of Egypt] and those who will succeed him [in power] and between the realization of his vicious plan in the future."

What was Palmerston aiming at by his call for making the Jews settle in Palestine?

There were many Englishmen who worked for the purpose of Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine. This matter was not restricted to Britain alone but rather spread to France where it found people who promoted this idea.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a turning point in the history of the Zionist movement as the idea of establishing the Jewish national home spread from the European circles to the Jews themselves who began to work for the realization of this aim. Thus, the interests of the great Imperialist states joined with the Jewish interests and that was the decisive factor in the realization of Zionism's dream of establishing the state of the Jews on the land of Palestine.

There appeared some Jewish personalities who adopted the idea of the Jewish national home. One of them was the German Jew Di Hirtch Kalisher [sic and should be Tsevi-Hirsch Kalischer] and the Russian Jew Leo Pinsker. There also appeared operative movements and associations with the view of carrying out the idea of the Jewish national home such as the Zion Lovers Association and the Bilu Movement (the return of Jacob's people to Palestine). But the great success realized by Zionism was with the appearance of the Zionist Organization at the hand of Theodore Herzl who succeeded in convening the first Zionist congress in the city of Basel in Switzerland in 1897.

Question: What are the most important resolutions of the Basel Congress?

The Zion Lovers Movement: It emerged among the Jews of Russia in the mid nineteenth century and spread to all countries of Eastern Europe. It called for the establishment of a national home for the Jews on the land of Palestine specifically.

Herzl was fully convinced that the settlement project in Palestine would not be successful unless it found support and backing from one of the great Imperialist states, as the establishment of such a state (the Jewish state) would serve as a trustworthy keeper of its imperialistic interests in the region. In order to realize this goal he began his international contacts and asked Germany to back him in his settlement project, because of the existence of large numbers of Jews there, hoping that Germany would adopt this project and mediate with the Ottoman Empire in order to obtain the Ottoman sultan's consent to grant the Zionist movement the lands spreading from the Euphrates River to El-Arish and the Nile River and allow the Jews to live and settle in Palestine, in return for their separation from the revolutionary movements in Germany, the spread of German culture and influence [by them in the East] and [their] protection of Germany's interests in the East. Herzl managed to meet the German emperor Wilhelm II twice: The first time [was] in Istanbul and the second [was] in Jerusalem in 1898. It was the only visit made by Herzl to Palestine where he presented his project to the Emperor in a letter saying:

"Therefore we truly believe that the realization of the Zionist program will bring good to Turkey as well. It will bring to it financial and practical resources and will make vast areas of arid lands fertile in the future. More happiness and civilized life for many people will emanate from this all. We plan to establish a Jewish company for the lands of Palestine and Syria, which will undertake this great project and [we] ask for the German emperor's protection of this company. Our idea will not cause harm to anyone's rights and to anyone's religious feelings. It will safeguard a reconciliation long sought. We understand and respect the attachment of all the religions, which rose on this land where our forefathers' religion also rose."

Did Herzl reveal in his letter the truth of the Zionist project? I will explain my response.

The German emperor Wilhelm II was not enthusiastic about the idea and answered Herzl that he did not mean to pressure the Ottoman sultan. By that time Herzl had already established a direct channel of communication with the Ottoman Empire with the aim of meeting with Sultan Abdul Hamid II in order to obtain his consent and approval of Jewish immigration to Palestine. He knew that obtaining a promise from the sultan himself is matchless to any other promise. Contacts between Herzl and Sultan Abdul Hamid II continued for six years and money was Herzl's means of tempting Sultan Abdul Hamid. Herzl visited Istanbul for the first time in 1896 but he met with the prime minister and did not meet with the sultan. The sultan's response to Herzl was sent to [Philip de] Newlinski, [a person] of Polish origin who was Herzl's friend and also Sultan Abdul Hamid's:

"If Mr. Herzl is your friend as much as you are my friend, then advise him not to take any steps in this matter. I cannot sell even a single [square] foot of the land because it is not mine. Rather, it is my people's. The sons of my people obtained this Empire with their blood, fed it with their blood and we shall cover it with our blood before we let someone usurp it from us... Let the Jews save their millions. If my Empire is to be divided, they then may have Palestine for nothing. But it will never be divided, except on our own bodies. I shall not agree that we be dismembered while we are still alive."

What do you think of Sultan Abdul Hamid's response to Herzl?

Sultan Abdul Hamid stressed his position in a law he enacted in 1900 saying:

"We already emphasized [our order] to prevent the Jews from entering the land of Palestine. The officials slackened the implementation of this order and misinterpreted it. The Jews come under the pretext of pilgrimage and settle down [in the country], as the Governor of the Jerusalem District has informed me. Their stay is not permissible by any means. The state's officials are firmly and especially responsible for the carrying out of this order meticulously. Even the Jews who are subjects of the Ottoman State are not allowed to live [in Palestine] permanently. These orders do not object visits by Jews to the holy lands, either as individuals or

in groups. But they do not allow their permanent dwelling [there]. A commitment should be taken from the consulates through which they have arrived. This order was issued as a resolution of the State's Consultative Council and the Cabinet and as a Sublime Decree by the Caliph [i.e., the Ottoman sultan]."

Do the measures appearing in the law guarantee the prevention of the Jews' immigration to Palestine? Why?

This position by the Ottoman government was not new. The government had already introduced in 1887 the red certificate for the Jews coming to Palestine, following clashes between the Arab fellahin and the invading immigrants in Hadera, Mlabbes [Petah Tiqvah] and Yazur. The Jews had established colonies on the lands of Palestine, among which was the colony of Petah Tiqvah (Key of Hope [sic and should be "Gate of Hope"]) on the lands of the Arab village of Mlabbes in 1882 [sic and should be 1878].

The Red Certificate: A provisional certificate which used to be given to an alien Jew coming to Palestine in return for his passport which the Ottoman authorities would keep as a guarantee of his departure after the expiration of his sojourn [period] which was three months at the most and which was not renewable.

Herzl did not despair of the response by Sultan Abdul Hamid II and aspired to meeting him personally, which he achieved in 1901. He [then] visited Istanbul again in 1902 and then he became aware of the sultan's final position regarding Herzl's settlement project in Palestine, namely, the sultan's insistence on rejecting Herzl's project.

Herzl's eyes began turning to Britain for helping him realize his settlement project, after his failure with both Germany and the Ottoman Empire. [But] in spite of Sultan Abdul Hamid's opposed position to the Jews' residence in Palestine, his reign witnessed Zionist immigrations, which totaled 25 thousand immigrants who lived in Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias and Hebron, which were among the main cities in Palestine, and established colonies there.

How would you explain the Zionist infiltration into Palestine in spite of Sultan Abdul Hamid opposing position regarding the Jews' immigration to Palestine and their living there?

The Zionist movement continued its efforts within the Ottoman Empire with the Union and Progress Association ["the Young Turks"], which came to power in 1908, and was successful in this field having relied on individuals in the government who belonged to the Dönme Jews.

The Dönme Jews: These are Jews who appeared as Muslims and played a prominent role in the revolution against Sultan Abdul Hamid.¹¹

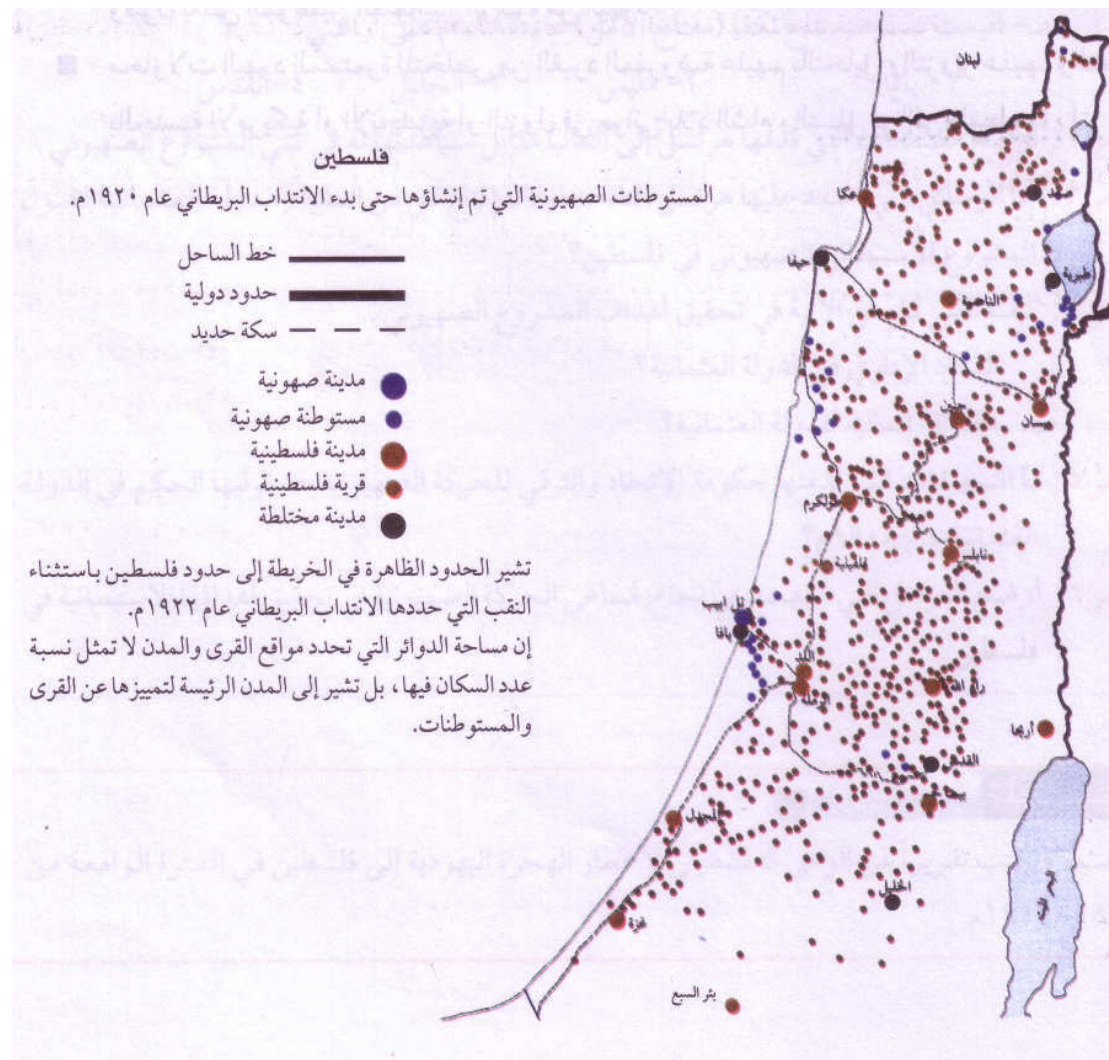
The Zionist movement established in Istanbul an office, which was known as "the Palestine Office", despite protests by the Jerusalem district deputies in the Ottoman parliament who demanded the implementation of the decisions regarding the prevention of the Jews' immigration and the reactivation of the limitations imposed [on that immigration] by Sultan Abdul Hamid's government.

In 1913 the Unionists abolished the limitations imposed on the Jews' immigration to Palestine because of the debt pressure and the [government's] need for money. In 1914 the limitations imposed on acquiring lands by Jews in Palestine were abolished [as well]. Thus, all the

¹¹ More correctly, the Dönme are the descendents of the followers of the Jewish false Messiah Shabetai Tsevi in the 17th century who converted to Islam following his example. One of the Dönme community members is said to have participated in the 1908 coup.

limitations imposed by the government of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in order to confront Jewish immigration disappeared.

How did the Unionists' revolution and the deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid contribute to the realization of the Zionist movement's goals?



Palestine: Zionist settlements established before the beginning of the British Mandate in 1920

[Large blue circle:] A Zionist city

[Small blue circle:] A Zionist settlement

[Large red circle:] A Palestinian city

[Small red circle:] A Palestinian village

[Large black circle:] A mixed city

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 65

The Palestinian Arab position played a role in the opposition to Zionist immigration to Palestine and its dangers through books such the book by Is'af al-Nashashibi "the Magician and the Jew" and the manuscript by Ruhi al-Khaledi [titled] "History of Zionism", as well as newspapers such as Al-Manar, Al-Carmel and Al-Munadi.

Nevertheless, several factors contributed to the success of the Zionist movement's efforts and the failure of Ottoman efforts to prevent Jewish immigration, such as:

- Intervention on the part of foreign ambassadors in Istanbul, Jerusalem and Beirut, their protests and their adherence to the privileges hindered the implementation of the limitations on Jewish immigration to Palestine
The Foreign Privileges: Facilitations and guarantees granted by the Ottoman government to the foreign subjects residing on its lands. [Sultan] Suleiman the Magnificent [originally] granted them to the French in 1536 [and they included privileges] such as the freedom of residence, acquirement [of property] and resort to their consuls in order to solve their [judicial] problems.
- Corruption of some members of the Ottoman administrative apparatus in the capital and in the Ottoman provinces of Jerusalem and Beirut and the acceptance of bribes by some Ottoman officials from the Jews.
- Continued attempts by the Jews to get rid of the limitations imposed on them by way of trickery, forgery, taking up American or English citizenship, or disembarking in the ports of the Levant and thence infiltrating into Palestine via land routes.

[Questions:]

- I will encircle the number of the correct answer.
 - The region demanded by Herzl for the settlement project was:
 1. Palestine
 2. The Levant
 3. The region stretching between the Euphrates and the Nile rivers.

Activity

Let us study and write a report on the Palestinian awareness of the dangers posed by Jewish immigration to Palestine during the period 1882-1924.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 61-63, 65-67

What would you expect the Zionist movement's reaction to the Sykes-Picot Agreement would be?

The Balfour Declaration

After the Zionist movement's failure in obtaining the consent of Germany and the Ottoman Empire to [Jewish] settlement in Palestine, it turned its eyes to Britain, having considered it the biggest Imperialist state, which might help the Zionist movement in the realization of its goals. The confluence of British imperialistic interests and the interests of the Zionist movement had great influence on this movement's success. The British foreign ministry issued the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917 in the form of a letter from Arthur Balfour, British foreign minister, to Edmond Rothschild, one of the Jews' wealthiest people. Following is the text of the letter in Arabic and English:

The Arabic text mostly conforms to the English one. Following is the English text.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have such [sic and should be "much"] pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of his Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favors [sic and should be "favour"] the establishment in Palestine ["of" has been omitted] a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavourer [sic and should be "endeavours"] to facilitate ["the" has been omitted] achievement of this object it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may

prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration on [sic and should be “to”] the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

[Questions:]

- Does Britain have the right to grant this declaration regarding Palestine to the Jews? Why?
- Who are those ones intended by the phrase ‘non-Jewish communities’ which appeared in the text?
- Did this actually apply to the population in Palestine when the declaration was issued? Why?
- Britain was conducting negotiations with three parties at the same time over the same region. How would you explain that?

Drafting the Balfour Declaration

The preparation for this declaration took several years. As for the formulation of the text alone, it lasted for two full years under the supervision of the Zionist organization. The declaration in its final formulation was issued after it had been amended six times.

Britain’s Motives behind the Issuance of the Balfour Declaration

1. The political factor, i.e., winning over the Zionist elements in Germany and Austria, acquiring [the solidarity of] the Jews of Russia who played a role in the Communist revolution with a view to keeping Russia in the war on the Allies’ side, and making use of the Jews in the United States to pressure the American government in order to push it into the war.
2. The strategic and Imperialist factor: The First World War demonstrated the importance of Palestine’s position due to its proximity to Egypt and to the Suez Canal, especially after the success of the Turkish forces in crossing the Sinai desert...
3. The strong alliance between Imperialism and Zionism. That was expressed by Winston Churchill, British minister of colonies, who is considered one of the builders of the Jewish national home:
”If we are destined in our lifetime – and this is what is surely going to happen – to witness the birth of a Jewish state not only in Palestine alone, but rather on both banks of River Jordan, which will rise under the protection of the British crown and will embrace three or four million Jews, we shall witness an event fully corresponding to the real interests of the British Empire.”¹²

What may the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine achieve for the British Empire and the West [in general]?

Whatever has been said about Britain’s motives in its issuance of this declaration, the [following] pivotal question still remains: Why did the issuance of the Balfour Declaration come that late, rather than why the Balfour Declaration was issued. I will think of this question and answer it in the light of the following:

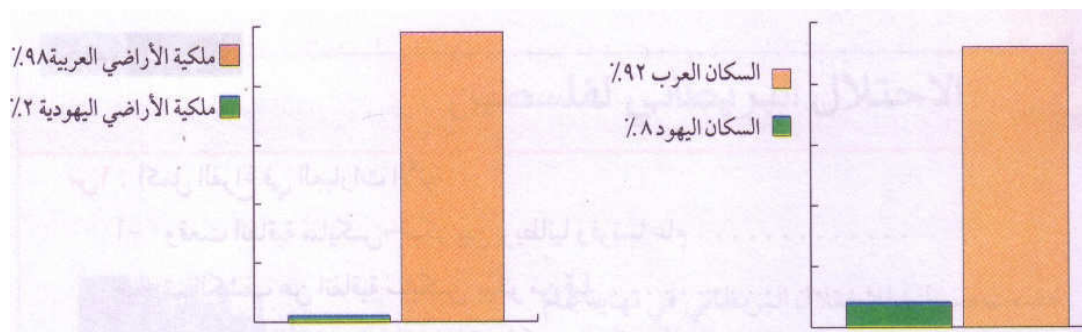
- The Zionist movement’s birth and coming to maturity.
- The eruption of the First World War and the defeat of the Ottoman Empire of which dominions Palestine was a part.

¹² Notwithstanding this statement, it was Churchill himself who, in 1921, detached Trans-Jordan from the area designated for the establishment of the Jewish national home and gave it to the Hashemite Amir Abdallah.

The Legal and Historical Dimensions of the Balfour Declaration

Although the Balfour Declaration was but a political document unbinding legally or internationally, this document is still engulfed by obscurity, much the same as many [other] British documents and treaties. The phrases in this document can be interpreted in various ways, such as the following:

- “The Jewish national home”. The Declaration did not openly say “the Jewish state”. Why?
- “The non-Jewish communities”, although the literal translation of the English text was “the non-Jewish groups”. In both cases, the Declaration denies the existence of the Palestinian Arab people which constituted 92% of the total population, while the Jews’ percentage did not exceed 8% when the Declaration was issued and did not own more than 2% of the total land in Palestine, as illustrated in the following graph:



Percentage of the population and of land ownership in Palestine in 1917

[Orange:] Arab land ownership 98%

[Orange:] Arab population 92%

[Green:] Jewish land ownership 2%

[Green:] Jewish population 8%¹³

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 81

- That could also be said regarding the civil rights the safeguarding of which was promised and which the [British] Mandate’s period over Palestine and its repressive policies [later] proved that even the guarantees given to the Arab Palestinians were not fulfilled.
- The text [of the Declaration] stressed the Jews’ political guarantees and rights in the European states. This is the greatest proof that Britain was planning to establish a Jewish state. Had the phrase “national home” meant that Palestine would be their spiritual center, these guaranties would not have been necessary.

As much as the Declaration was legally null and void it was also invalid historically, for the following reasons:

1. Britain did not have the right to issue this Declaration because Palestine was [then] under the sovereignty of the Ottoman State and was not [part] of Britain’s possessions, so that it would give it to the Jews. The Jews were not controlling Palestine and did not have the right of possessing it.
2. The Declaration fully contradicted the liberation appeals emanating from the great powers, whether during the First World War or after its cessation. Those appeals focused on the peoples’ freedom and on their right for self determination, as appeared in the principles [introduced by] the American president Woodrow Wilson.

¹³ No one would refute the fact that at that time the Jews were a small minority in Palestine and they owned a small portion of the land only. The numbers given here, though, are partly conjectural, as exact statistics of population and land ownership did not exist at that time, and partly distorted, as most lands in Palestine at that time were owned by the State and not by Arab or Jewish individuals, communities or organizations.

3. The Balfour Declaration fully contradicted what had been agreed upon with *Sharif Hussein* [ruler of Mecca who had started the Arab revolt against Turkish rule in 1916] within the Hussein-McMahon correspondence, where Palestine was included within the borders of the [promised] independent Arab state [under Hussein].

Why is the Balfour Declaration considered invalid legally and historically?

Activity

Let us study and discuss: How did the British internal conditions emanating from the First World War contribute to the issuance of the Balfour Declaration?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 78-82

...In 1975 Israel was denounced by the UN General Assembly in its thirtieth session within Resolution No. 3379 which said: "The United Nations General Assembly affirms that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."

This resolution was cancelled by the United Nations in 1991.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 71

Grade 12

References to Zionism in books for grade 12 are very few.

The Zionist movement focused its attention on Turkey since its inception. Against this background I will explain:

- A. The Zionist movement's attempts to have close relations with Turkey.
- B. The implications of the Israeli-Turkish cooperation on each of Syria and Iraq.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 155

These racist practices by Israel since its establishment in 1948 prompted the United Nations to issue its resolution no. 3379 on 10.11.1975, which considered Zionism a form of racism and denounced all its racist practices against the Palestinians. It is worth noting that this resolution was abolished according to a proposal presented by the United States on 16.12.1991, following the implications of the second Gulf War and the beginning of the peace process...

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 125-126

D. Jewish Holy Places

A prominent feature of all Palestinian textbooks is non-recognition of any Jewish holy place in the Holy Land. This line is continued in books for grades 11 and 12 as well. A Christian Education textbook for grade 11, however, does admit that the country is holy to the monotheistic religions, but it does not elaborate and does not mention the issue of Jewish holy places specifically. In any case, this is a book used by Christian students only who form a minority in Palestinian society.

Grade 11

Our land is sacred also to the other monotheistic religions because of the events that took place here, which interest the followers of these religions.

Christian Education, Grade 11 (2005) p. 78

The conflict between Jews and Muslim over the Wailing Wall is referred to in the following piece, without the slightest recognition of the fact that the Wall is holy to the Jews. In fact, they are presented here as attempting to take hold of a Muslim holy place.

Al-Buraq Wall [the Wailing Wall]

This is the western wall of the Noble Sanctuary [Al-Haram al-Sharif – Temple Mount], and it is a Muslim endowment [*Waqf*]. It was named Al-Buraq after the [heavenly winged] beast, which the Messenger [i.e., Prophet Muhammad] rode in [his] nocturnal journey and ascension to Heaven [*Al-Isra' wa al-Mi'raj* – according to Muslim belief] and it stopped next to the western wall. The Jews call it the Wailing Wall.¹⁴ The Muslims permitted the Jews in the reign of the Ottoman sultan Suleiman the Magnificent to visit the western wall of the Noble Sanctuary and that was reconfirmed during the rule of [the Egyptian governor] Ibrahim Pasha in the period between the years 1831-1840. But the Jews took advantage of Muslim tolerance and tried to take hold of the wall by various means among which was their attempt to buy the open space [in front of it] from the Muslims. In addition, they put there a screen to separate between men and women, put [there] tables and a wooden cabin, lit candles, put [small pieces of paper carrying] prayers in the wall's cracks, brought horns and blew them. These practices aimed at taking control of it, which instigated the Muslims. Therefore the Arabs complained to Britain against these practices and, accordingly, all that the Jews had put in the Al-Buraq yard was removed, which led to their staging a demonstration in protest of British measures.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 9

Grade 12

The following piece connects between Muslim and Christian holy places and the Arab-Palestinian character of the country. The Jewish connection to some of those holy places is ignored.

Palestine was and still is an integral part of the essence of the Arab and Muslim state in history]. The architecture styles within it are connected to its geographic position and to its spiritual and historical standing, being the meeting place of the monotheistic religions and a refuge of prophets and messengers [of God]. In it gathered cultures of peoples and tribes, which came to know one another on its lands and formed in its daily chronicles unique events and pages filled with this place's distinctness, especially in patterns of its architecture, cities, villages, mosques, churches, the forms of its houses, roads, neighborhoods, alleys, markets...

The architectural and cultural heritage in Palestine takes the form of ancient buildings and installations built by man on this blessed land... like the ones found in the Holy Sanctuary in Jerusalem [Temple Mount], the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Ibrahimi Sanctuary in Hebron [the Machpelah Sanctuary, or the Cave of the Patriarchs]...

These buildings and installations symbolize and distinguish the Palestinian people and its national identity, which it is proud of and strives to preserve and which serves as a clear evidence of its right to this land...

The destruction attempts by the enemies of this people with a view to changing the facts and hiding any remnant showing the depth of Arab and Muslim civilization in this land, and obliterating its authentic face in order to replace it with another, alien, face...

The neglect of historical buildings of heritage... threatens to cut off the sentimental connection between the people and its heritage and past, and makes of it an object to dissolution and annexation [to others].

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 16-17

Following is a text about Muslim and Christian holy places in Palestine. Jewish holy places there are ignored.

¹⁴ “The Wailing Wall” is a Christian name. The Jews call it “the Western Wall”.

The Arab homeland contains important religious sites to which Muslim and Christian pilgrims come from different parts of the world... as the case is with Palestine where Muslim and Christian holy places are found in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Nazareth and other Palestinian cities.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 143

Chapter Three: Israel

A. Israel and Palestine

Grade 11

As in formerly published textbooks, Palestine takes Israel's place as the sovereign state in the region. Its territory covers not only the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, but also pre-1967 Israeli territory and regions and sites within Israel in its pre-1967 borders are presented as Palestinian. Israel's establishment in 1948 is dubbed "occupation", which indicates the PA non-recognition of its legitimacy. Israeli pre-1967 territory is referred to as "the Lands of 1948". But side by side with these manifestations of non-recognition of Israel we find for the first time in the history of PA schoolbooks publication the name of Israel on two maps and a reference to Israeli pre-1967 territory as "Israel".

The name "Palestine" is originally Greek. It was mostly used by the Greeks to denote the lands where the ancient Philistines had used to live. In 138 CE it was introduced by the Roman emperor Aelius Hadrian as the new name of the province that had been called until then "Judea". The reason for this change was political, following the suppression of the Jews' last great revolt under Shimon Bar Kokhba against Roman rule between the years 132-135 CE. The Romans then decided to wipe out the Jewish character of the country by changing its name and by reestablishing Jerusalem as a Roman city under the name "Aelia Capitolina". The following text, taken from a PA history book for grade 11, attempts to Arabize both the name and the ancient Philistines (who were an Indo-European nation that presumably immigrated to the country from Crete around the 12th century BCE).

The Name "Palestine" ["Filastin" in Arabic]

There are a number of views regarding the origin of the name "Palestine":

- The term is formed by two words – "*fil*", which means "crust" [actually, "*fil*" means "scale"], and "*tin*", which means "soil". The meaning of the combined word thus becomes "the soil's crust" as an indication to the practice of agriculture by the inhabitants of this region.
- Some say that the name "Palestine" is taken from [the word] "*flsh*" or "*plst*" meaning "peasant" or "tiller of the land"¹⁵.
- [It is] related to the tribe of Philistia which emigrated from the Arabian Peninsula because of the draught and settled in the southern [part] of southern Syria (Palestine), though there are others who say that this name is related to the tribe of Philistia which emigrated from the Arabian Peninsula to the Island of Crete and [later] settled in southern Palestine.
- In dictionaries of the English language the term "Philist" appears in the meaning of a rude and unruly man. It probably conforms to what appears in God's words in the Holy Qur'an: "there are a giant people in it [the land]" (al-Ma'idah, 22).

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 8

Yet this very book mentions in some detail the Jews' ancient history in the land in a manner unprecedented before in any PA textbook (and see above, in the section about the Jews in history).

¹⁵ "Prst" (sometimes pronounced "Peleset") was the Philistines' name given to them by the ancient Egyptians. "Pleshet" or rather "Plishtim" (in plural) was their Hebrew name, probably used by both Israelites and Canaanites, with the possible connotation of "invaders" ("polshim" in modern Hebrew).

A map of the central parts of the country distinguishing the areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip by a different color but without any names on the map itself, which is titled “map of the State of Palestine (Settlements)”. A smaller map of the whole country has the Palestinian Authority’s emblem over it, again, with no identifying names at all.



Map of the State of Palestine (Settlements)
Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 20

The preceding item, as well as the following one, features the phenomenon of identifying the Palestinian Authority as a state. This tendency, which has repeated itself since almost the beginning of the PA textbook publication process, is manifested as well on the cover of each book where the phrase “the State of Palestine” appears on the top part.

I will look for the most important economic natural resources in each of the following Arab states:

1. Palestine.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 72

...The EU occupies the central position among the granting states, which offer their help either to Palestine or to other Arab states.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 41

Following are a few mentions of regions in pre-1967 Israel, which are presented as Palestinian.

...The Negev desert in Palestine...

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 58, 93

...The region of Wadi Arabah [the Aravah Valley] in southern Palestine.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 93

In the following quotation Palestine is presented as bordering Lebanon.

...The Naqurah shore on the Palestinian-Lebanese border.

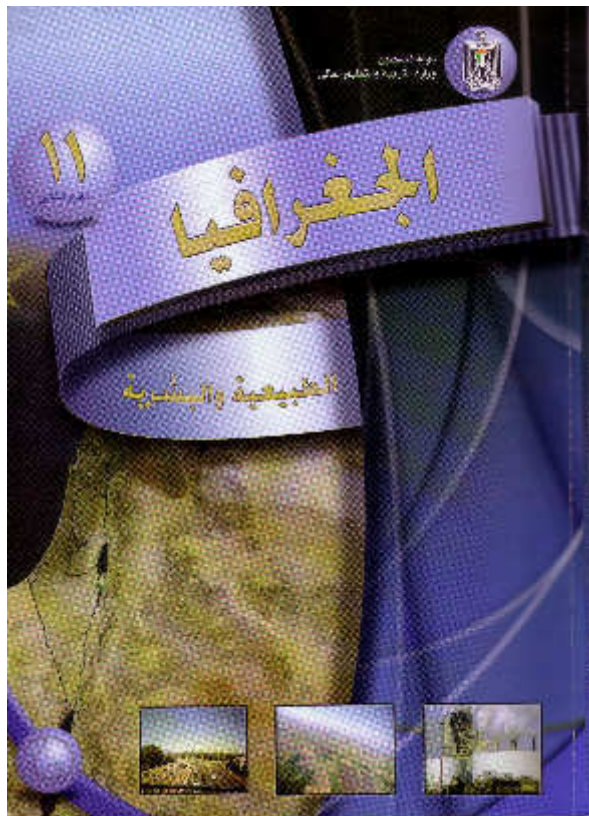
Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 110

In the following quotation the mineral springs of al-Hamah [Hamat Gader] are presented as Syrian, though according to Mandatory borders they belonged to Palestine. It seems that the Syrian pre-1967 occupation of this area has made the Palestinians relinquish it as part of historical Palestine.

...The Syrian al-Hamah [hot] springs...

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 50

On the other hand, there is a satellite photograph of the country, probably taken from an Israeli source, on which the boundaries of Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are shown. It is interesting to note that Israel in this case includes the Golan Heights, taken from Syria in 1967.



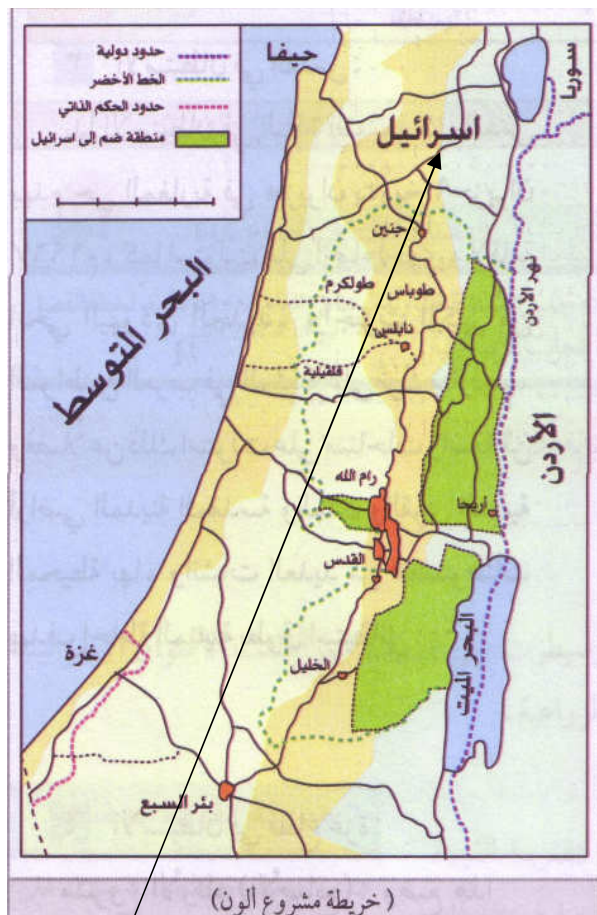
[Satellite photograph]
Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) cover page

Israel's establishment in 1948 is considered an occupation.

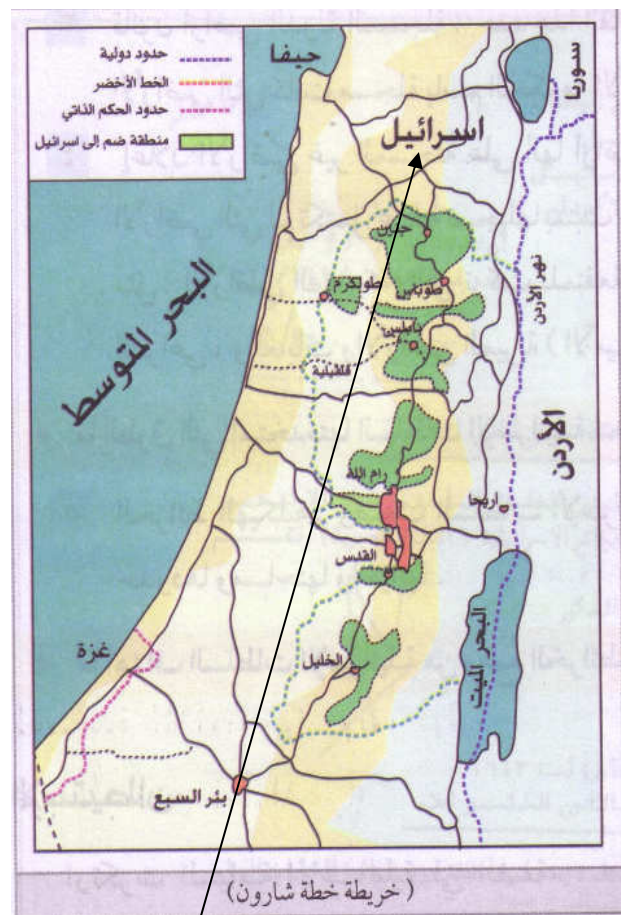
The Green Line: An imaginary line appearing in green on the maps after the war of 1967 in order to separate the Palestinian lands occupied by Israel in 1948 from the lands occupied by it in 1967

Modern and contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 57

On the other hand, and for the first time ever, the name “Israel” appears on two maps of the country. These are Israeli maps reproduced in a PA history textbook.



Map of Alon's Project
“Israel”



Map of Sharon's plan
“Israel”

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 57-58

Also, and for the first time as well, Israeli territory is referred to as “Israel” rather than the usual terms of “the Lands of 48”, “the Interior”, or “the Green Line”, as is found in former books.

It [Israel] also decreased the number of workers from Gaza and the West Bank to a fifth of the number of workers who were allowed to work in Israel.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 86

But the old-style reference is still to be found there as well.

On June 23, 2002 Israel announced the beginning of the construction of a wall 600-1,000 km long and 7-8 m high to separate between the lands of 1948 and the lands of 1967.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 92

Grade 12

Israel's establishment is occupation and Israel's status of a sovereign state is not recognized. Palestine is presented instead as the sovereign state in the region and is made to include regions and borders, which are Israel's today.

I will explain the racist policy pursued by Israel after its occupation of Palestine in 1948 until 1967.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 178

...The Catastrophe [*Nakbah*], which took place in 1948, as the Jews occupied Palestine and established their state on its soil, and expelled the Palestinian people to exile and to the neighboring states after having tortured it, killed it and robbed its land, homes and holy places...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 109

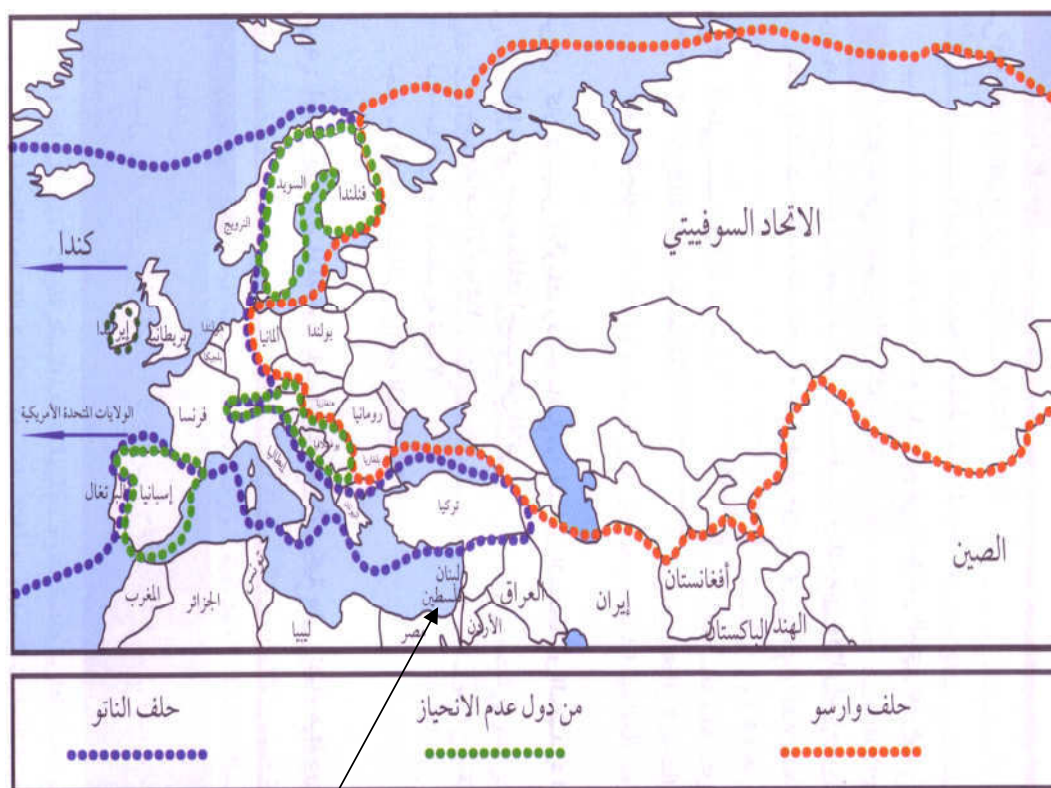
The Zionist gangs usurped Palestine, expelled its people from their cities, villages, land and homes and established the state of Israel.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 104

The British Mandate over it [Palestine] lasted until 15.5.1948. The Zionist forces succeeded in occupying about 77.4% of Palestine's surface and then completed its control over the rest of Palestine following the June war of 1967.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 15

Maps showing the whole country as one state sometimes called "Palestine".



Military and Political Alliances
"Palestine"

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 72



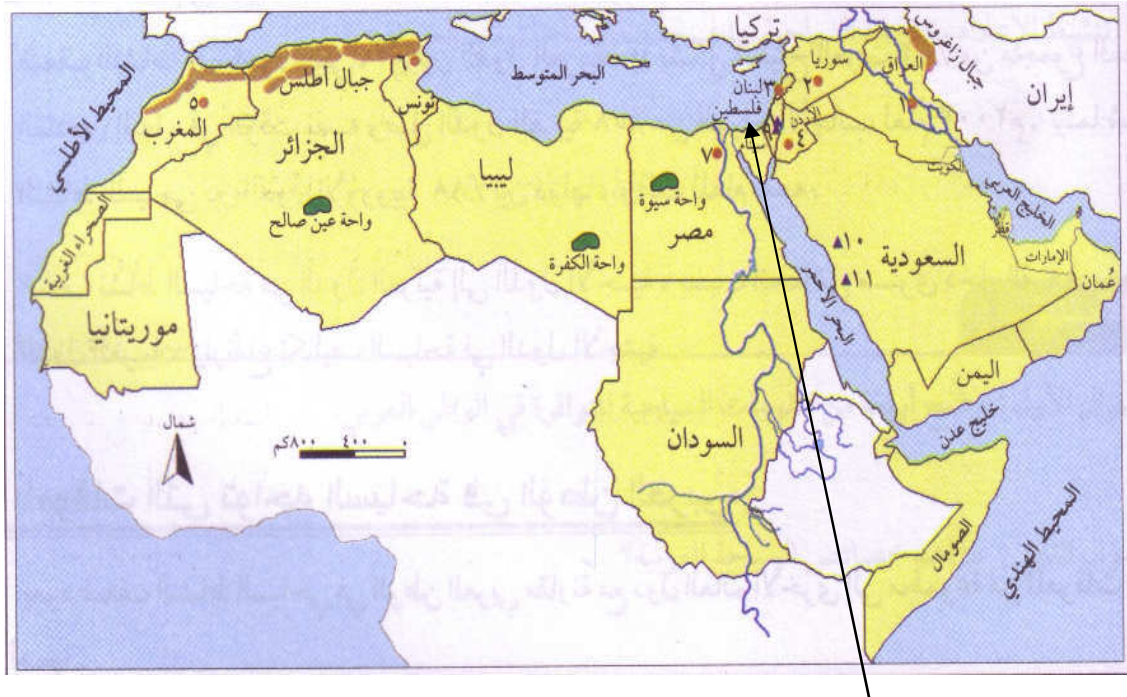
The Nile Basin
"Palestine"

**History of the Arabs and the
World in the Twentieth
Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 153**

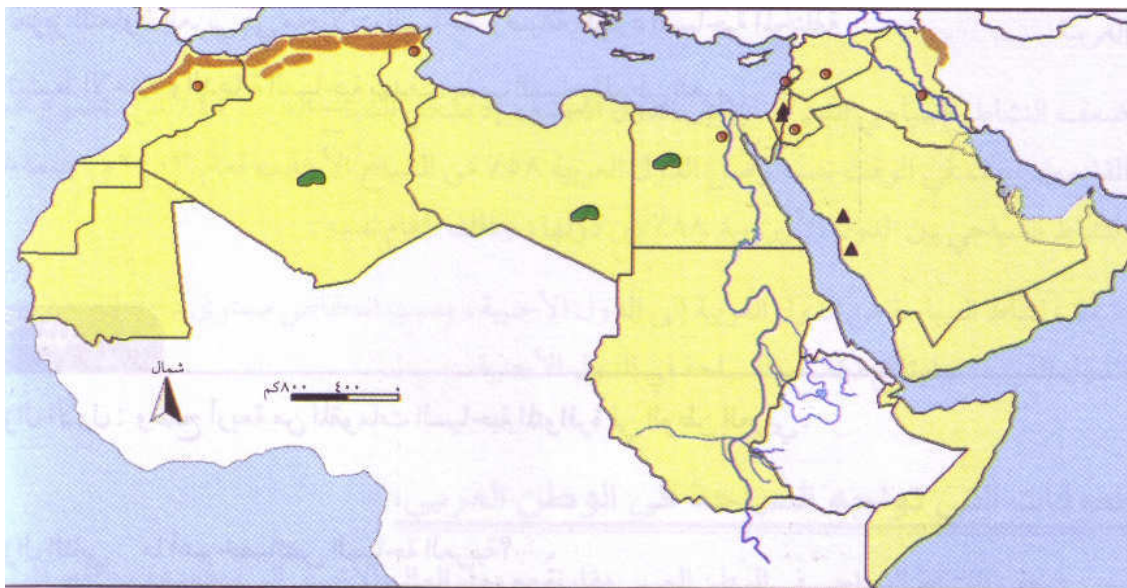


The Middle East
"Palestine"

**Contemporary Issues, Grade 12
(2006) p. 27**



Some Tourist attractions in the Arab Homeland “Palestine”
Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 143



Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 146

Palestine is presented as a sovereign state facing the Red Sea although in reality neither the West Bank nor the Gaza Strip is connected to that coast, which is Israel's.

...States, which face the sea on two maritime fronts, such as Palestine and Egypt on the Mediterranean and the Red Sea...

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 105

The following piece presents Palestine as a state in a form very similar to that of Israel.

...A state's form may be close to [that of] a rectangle, which stretches... from north to south like Chile, Palestine, Sweden and Norway...

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 110

Other quoted pieces presenting Palestine as a sovereign state.

Many states of the world are considered tourism states because they embrace important historical and archeological monuments such as Egypt... And Palestine, which embraces the ancient monuments of the Canaanite, Greek, and Roman civilization, as well as the monuments of Muslim civilization...

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 130

Palestine is among the prominent states famous for religious tourism...

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 138

Israeli Nazareth is mentioned among the cities included within the state of Palestine.

The Arab homeland contains important religious sites to which Muslim and Christian pilgrims come from different parts of the world... as the case is with Palestine where Muslim and Christian holy places are found in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Nazareth and other Palestinian cities.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 143

On the other hand, the following piece on Palestinian nature reserves speaks exclusively about such places in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and asks the student to add some more nature reserves to the list.

For discussion: Among the nature reserves in Palestine [are the following]: the reserve of Umm al-Rihan and Umm al-Tut in Jenin [District], Wadi Qana in Nablus [District], Umm Safa and Al-Naby Saleh in Ramallah [District] and Wadi Gaza. Do you know of other nature reserves in Palestine?

Scientific Education, Grade 12 (2006) p. 24

In the following case Israeli territory is mentioned as such, instead of the usual reference to it as "the lands of 1948", etc.

...To that one should add the elimination of the freedom of movement of [Palestinian] workforce and goods between the Palestinian territories and Israel, as more than 120 thousand Palestinian workers have been denied access to their work places inside Israel.

...The movement of Palestinian products between the areas of the Palestinian National Authority and Israel...

Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) p. 44

There is also one case in which the Palestinian areas are referred to by the term "the occupied territories" with an implied notion that Israel's pre-1967 territory is not part of the occupied territory.

...That has brought about the rise of unemployment averages and, consequently, the expansion of poverty range among the Palestinians in the occupied Palestinian territories.

...On the other hand, the Israeli authorities dump the markets of the occupied territories with large quantities of Israeli agricultural products in order to protect Israeli farmers.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) p. 44

B. Israel's Image

As in formerly published textbooks, Israel's image is wholly negative. Israel is never presented as a neighbor having its own legitimate rights and interests, but rather as an occupier and a source of evil inflicted by it on its Palestinian victims. Israel's primary sin is its very establishment on Palestinian lands, which is considered foreign occupation. As such it has full responsibility for the 1948 war, although the Arab side, including the Palestinians, was the one who initiated that war in defiance of the UN Partition Resolution of 1947. The aftermath of the war, namely, the seizure of more lands by Israel, the refugees' flight and plight, Israel's rule over the Arab Palestinians of the 1948 lands, etc. is all counted against it. Then the occupation of 1967 and the policies pursued in the occupied areas are listed as well, followed by Israel's incrimination as an entity perpetrating massacres and assassinations. Some of these descriptions, pieces of poetry in particular, carry demonizing characteristics. It should be noted, however, that the schoolbooks for grade 11, although critical of Israel in many ways, do not contain extremely emotive hateful feelings, as can be found in earlier books and in books of grade 12. Criticism is mostly rationalistic.

Grade 11

Israel's establishment in 1948 is considered an occupation.

The Green Line: An imaginary line appearing in green on the maps after the war of 1967 in order to separate the Palestinian lands occupied by Israel in 1948 from the lands occupied by it in 1967

Modern and contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 57

The refugee problem is presented as a result of Zionist planned expulsion operation. The Palestinians and Arabs' share of responsibility, having started the 1948 war in defiance of the UN Partition Resolution and with a view to eliminating Jewish presence in the country (not a single Jew was left in the few localities occupied by the Arabs in that war), is never discussed.

The Refugees

The Zionist forces used various methods in order to empty the Palestinian lands of their original inhabitants. Among these methods is the psychological warfare on the radio belonging to the "Haganah" [Jewish clandestine organization during Mandatory times], which was airing rumors, in addition to killing operations perpetrated against the inhabitants of some cities and villages, as happened in Deir Yassin, Tantura, Lydda and elsewhere, which brought about the expulsion of about one million Palestinians to areas inside Palestine and outside it, such as the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq and [other] various regions in the world.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 38

Israel's other sin is its efforts to change Palestine's Arab identity into a Jewish one: encouraging Jewish immigration, imposing restrictions on the Palestinian Arabs within its territory, confiscating Arab lands and massacring Arab villagers.

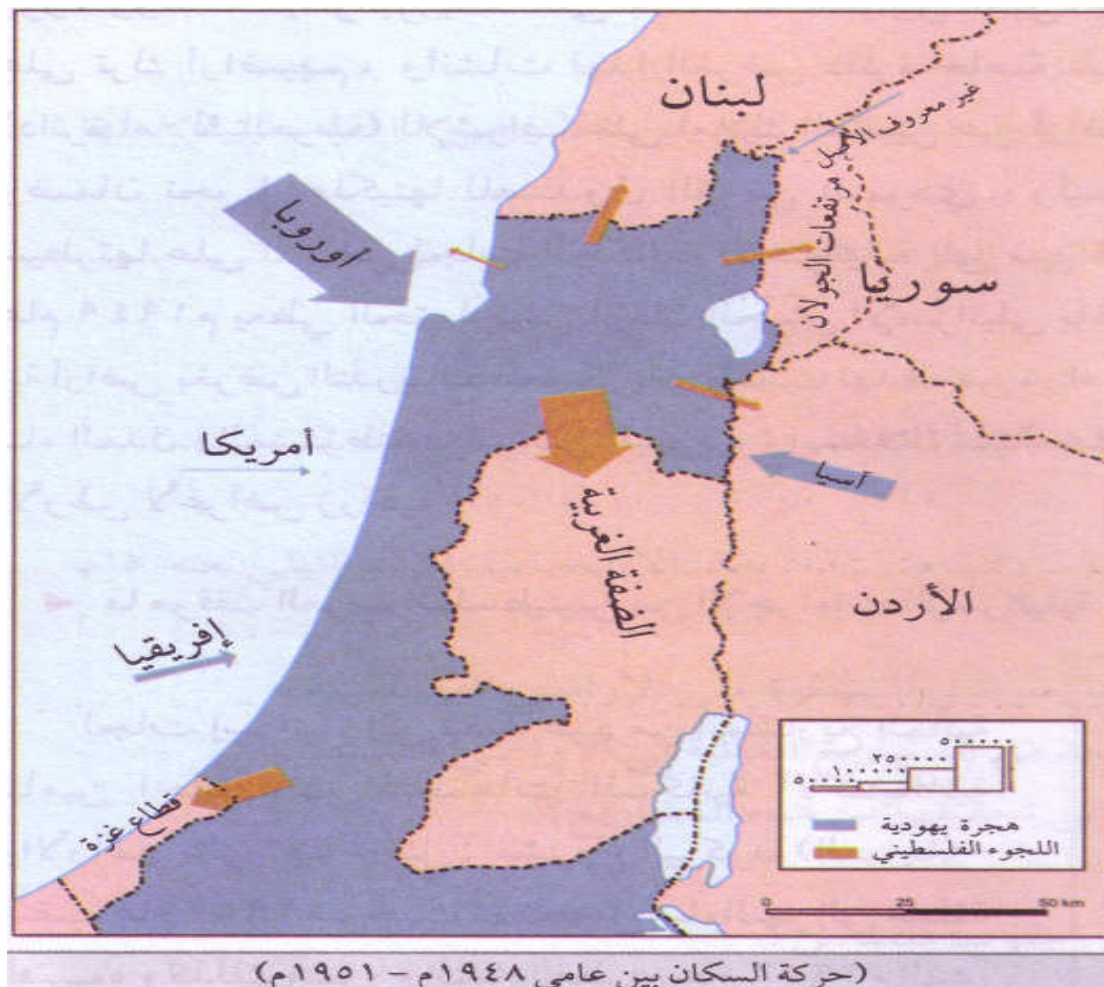
...Some 156 thousand Palestinians remained living in their homes, which came under Israeli control in 1948. They were concentrated in the regions of Galilee, the Triangle [east of the coastal plain between Tel Aviv and Haifa] and the Negev.

Israel resorted to many measures with a view to making the Palestinian land Jewish, guaranteeing the prevalence of the Jewish element, obliterating [its] Palestinian-Arab character, gathering the largest possible number of world Jews and having them settle in Israel in order to cause a demographic transformation in their favor at the Palestinians' expense. Among these

measures were the encouragement of Jewish immigration into Palestine and provide the Jews with facilities. The Israeli government enacted laws of which the most important one was the Law of Return of 1950, which stipulated that the Jews of the world are entitled to immigrate to occupied Palestine.

The Israeli government enacted in 1952 the Naturalization Law, which grants Israeli citizenship to the Jews who immigrate to Palestine and at the same time imposed on the Palestinian Arabs [within its territory] the acquisition of Israeli citizenship. In spite of the acquisition of [Israeli] citizenship by the Palestinians they did not enjoy the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Jews in Israel and measures were taken against them, which limited their freedom of disposal of property, freedom of speech and organization and the freedom of movement, work and residence. It also intervened in the educational curricula in school and put restrictions on municipalities and local councils in the Arab cities and villages.

Israel employed the policy of violence in order to force the Palestinian inhabitants to leave their houses and lands. The best example for that is the massacre it perpetrated against the Palestinian inhabitants in the village of Kafr Qassem on October 29, 1956 at the eve of the tripartite aggression against Egypt, of which the number of victims reached 49 Palestinians from among the village inhabitants.



Movement of inhabitants between the years 1948-1951

[Blue]: Jewish immigration

[Brown]: Palestinian refugee movement

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 41

...Israel continued its policy, which aimed at occupying [Arab private] land and seizing it by various means through buying it with money and transferring its ownership to the “Jewish National Fund”, or [by means of] taking possession of it for military and security purposes, or under the pretext that it is state land or wasteland. Israel put its hand on the property of the Palestinians who had been forced to leave their lands and established for this purpose a special department, which was named “Department of Arabs’ Property” to oversee the property of those ones who are absent from their land and guarantee the transfer of its ownership to the Jewish National Fund. In order to facilitate its control of land the Israeli government resorted to enacting the law of 1949, which gives the Chief of Staff of the Israeli army the right of closing any lands for the purpose of military training. Its aim by that was the building of cities and settlements for settling down Jews and using lands for agriculture.

What was the Palestinian Arabs’ position vis-à-vis the Israeli measures which aimed at seizing land?

...[This] Israeli policy faced a strong opposition on the part of the Palestinians the intensity of which gradually increased and took several forms of which the most prominent one was the popular uprising in May 1958 in the cities of Nazareth and Umm al-Fahm.

Activity

I will conduct research and write a report about one of the destroyed Palestinian villages.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 41-43

Israel is presented as an aggressor. The reasons for its move against Egypt in 1956 (terrorist attacks from the Gaza Strip and the closing of the Gulf of Aqaba to Israel-bound shipping) are not mentioned.

Israel occupied the Gaza Strip [in October 1956] during the tripartite aggression against Egypt, but it was forced to withdraw from it in March 1957. Following the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip it was put again under Egyptian administration.

What were Israel’s goals in [its] participation in the tripartite aggression against Egypt?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 42

Most of the criticism focuses on Israel’s policy on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Israeli Policy after the War of 1967

Israeli policy vis-à-vis the Palestinian people was crystallized in the following spheres:

...

Land Confiscation

Israeli authorities resorted to the implementation of several laws with a view to seizing control of Palestinian lands the most important of which were [the following ones]:

A. The former laws on which the Israeli authorities relied in confiscating lands:

1. The Confiscation for Public Purposes Law of 1943. This law stipulates the confiscation of lands for public interest in order to build vital projects such as schools, hospitals, highways and necessary services, as is specified in the document on the following page.
2. The Emergency and Public Security Regulations of 1945. These are a collection of regulations and laws enacted by the British Mandatory government under the pretext of safeguarding public order in society and observing the inhabitants’ security. The Israeli authorities have taken advantage of them in confiscating or closing land for security purposes or military training.

B. Laws enacted by the Israeli authorities after 1967:

1. Absentee Property Law. The Israeli authorities promulgated this law on July 23, 1967. It deals with the absentees' movable and immovable property. The Custodian of Absentees' Property has been entrusted with the mission of guarding the absentees' property until the return of their owners. He is entitled to dispose of it through its administration, or renting it, or buying and selling it.

Absentee: A person who left the West Bank before June 7, 1967 or on that day or after.

I will explain: The Israeli authorities hurried to hold a population census in Jerusalem on 25.7.1967.

2. Compensation Law. This law is considered complementary to the Absentee Property Law. Its goal is settlement of absentees' property seized by Israeli authorities.

[An Israeli document in Arabic titled "Seizure of Part of Jerusalem Lands"]

How would you explain [the fact] that the Israeli authorities retained laws from the time of the British Mandate over Palestine?¹⁶

3. Registered State Land Law. This law defined the administration of government property by seizing all lands, which were registered under the name of the Jordanian government, as state lands.
4. Declaring non-registered lands as state lands. These are the lands, which the process of their registration was not completed due to the 1967 war such as the wastelands left for public utility like pasture lands, forests and Miri lands.

Miri land: Government lands suitable for agricultural use the cultivator of which for more than three years is entitled to lay hold of it.

What are the ways used by the Israeli authorities for transformation of land into wasteland?

5. Outline plans. The Israeli authorities prepared plans and outline plans for cities and villages in order to clarify their borders, surface and sections.

What were the Israeli authorities' goals in preparing outline plans?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 54-57

[Jewish] Settlement

Israeli policy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip after the war of 1967 focused on the consolidation and strengthening of Jewish presence there and prepared settlement projects such as:

1. The Alon settlement project of 1968. Yig'al Alon, one of the leaders of the Israeli Labor Party, proposed to annex a strip of land 10-15 km wide along the Jordan Valley to the Dead Sea. He [also] proposed border amendments on the Green Line, especially in the areas of Qalqilyah and Tulkarm.

¹⁶ These very laws were retained as well by the Jordanian and Egyptian governments within the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, respectively. Similar measures were taken with regard to Jewish property there between 1948-1967.

The Green Line: An imaginary line appearing in green on the maps after the war of 1967 in order to separate the Palestinian lands occupied by Israel in 1948 from the lands occupied by it in 1967

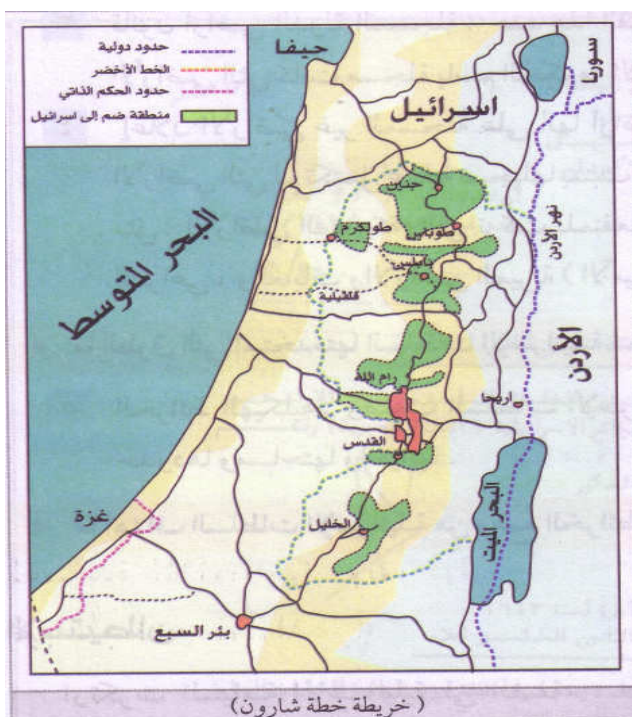
What was this project's goal?



Map of Alon's Project

2. The Sharon settlement project of 1982. The project aimed at consolidating [Jewish] settlement in all areas uninhabited by Arab population, where [Jewish] settlements were to be built on the hilltops of the West Bank, in its valleys, above the water aquifers and in the strategically important areas, and bypassing roads were to be built in all parts of the West Bank.

Why does the Israeli authorities rely on building roads in the West Bank?



Map of Sharon's Plan

3. [Jewish] settlement in Jerusalem [See in the sub-chapter on Jerusalem].
4. [Jewish] settlement in the Gaza Strip. The Pegs (Fingers) Project. Yisrael Galili, head of the governmental Committee for Colonialist Imperialism [rather, for Settlement Affairs] prepared this project. The project aimed at dividing [the] Gaza [Strip] into three blocks separate from one another by Jewish settlements, in a way that would later enable the annexation of these blocks to the neighboring regions in Israel. The northern block will be annexed to the Ashkelon area, the central one – to the Beer Sheba area and the southern one – to the Eshkol region neighboring the outskirts of Rafah.¹⁷

Where were the [Jewish] settlements in the Gaza Strip concentrated and what was the purpose of that?



Map showing the [Jewish] settlements in the Gaza Strip

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 59

The Settlements in the Gaza Strip

All the settlements were evacuated and destroyed in 2005 in implementation of the Israeli unilateral disengagement plan.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 57-59

¹⁷ It seems more likely to assume that the annexation plan referred to the Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip rather than the immensely populated Palestinian areas there.

A gloomy picture of the Palestinian economy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is presented and the blame is put exclusively on Israeli occupation practices.

Israeli Economic Policy in the Occupied Territories

Israeli authorities strove to make Palestinian economy subsidiary to their own economy through their control over the Palestinian economic and human resources such as land, capital, consumption market and labor.

Why did Israel strive to make Palestinian economy dependent on it?

[Israel] carried out this policy in the following fields:

The Agricultural Sector

It [Israel] confiscated vast tracts of agricultural lands and took control of water [resources]. It also closed the Israeli market to Palestinian agricultural production with a view to protecting its own agricultural products.

The Industrial Sector

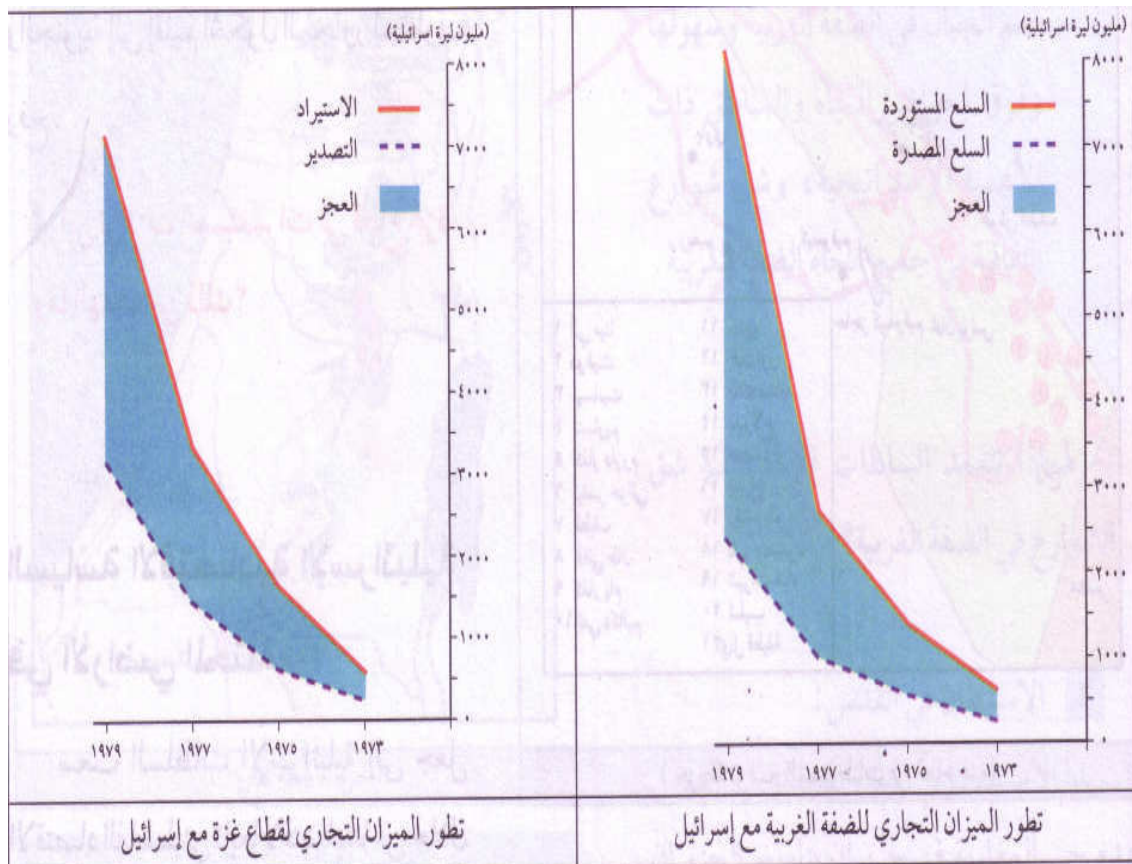
High taxes were imposed on local manufactured goods such as Value Added Tax. The absence of government subsidies and investments in the Palestinian industrial sector did not enable Palestinian industry compete with Israeli industry, which led to the closure of some Arab factories.

Value Added Tax: A tax imposed by the occupation authorities on Palestinian manufactured goods at the rate of 17% of the goods' value. It applies to all commercial transactions and deals.¹⁸

Commerce

Palestinian exported goods to Israeli markets were solely goods manufactured on the basis of contracting arrangements with Israeli firms, such as clothes, leather manufactured goods and some construction materials. The Israeli authorities were controlling the issuance of import and export permits and imposed high customs rates.

¹⁸ VAT was introduced into Israeli economy in the 1970s and by no means was it imposed on Palestinians alone. Its present rate is 15.5%.



The development of the balance of trade between the Gaza Strip and Israel

The development of the balance of trade between the West Bank and Israel

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 60

In favor of which side is the balance of trade?

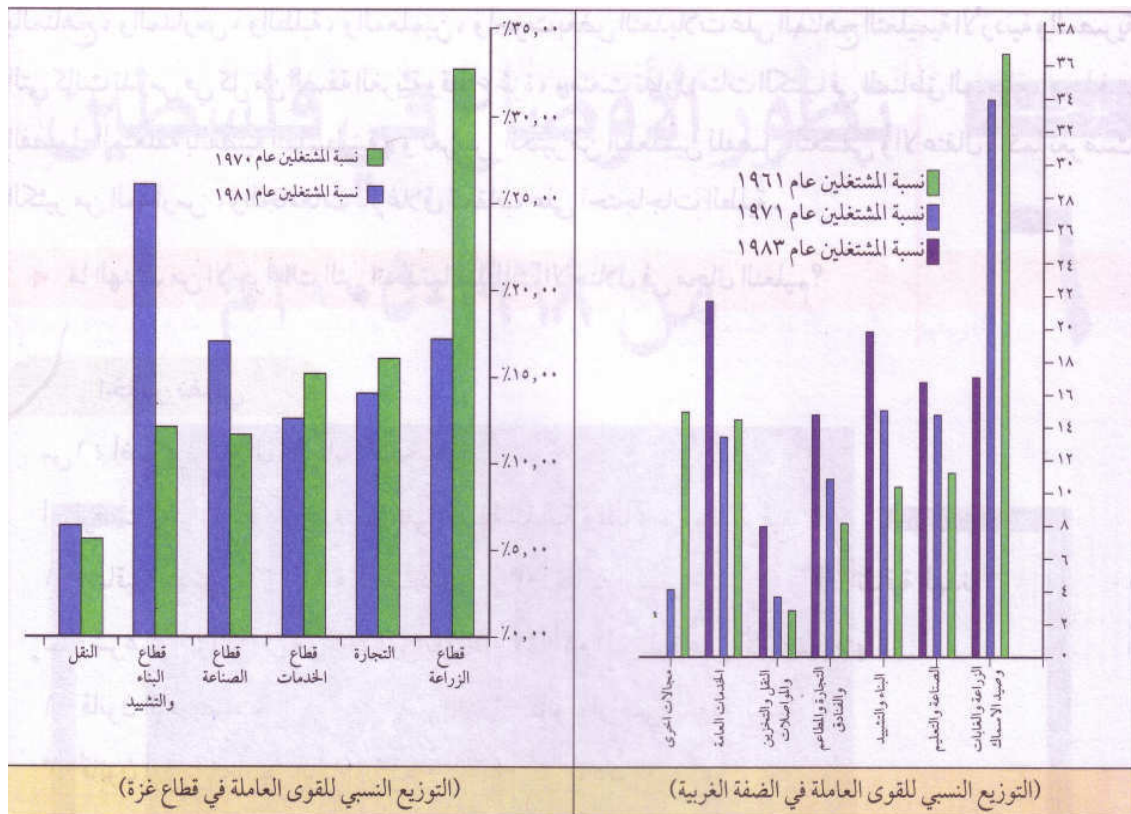
[Israel] closed the Arab banks [which had operated in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip before 1967] and caused damage to the Palestinians' savings due to inflation and the continuous change of the Israeli currency's value. It also burdened the [Palestinian] inhabitants with high taxes such as the Value Added Tax, Income Tax and municipality taxes such as the *Arnuna* Tax.

The *Arnuna* Tax: A tax collected by the Municipality of Jerusalem in return for services, which sometimes reaches with its accumulated fines an amount that equals the price of the landed property.¹⁹

Why did the Israeli government resort to imposing many taxes on the population?

These practices drove many Palestinians to become cheap workforce in the Israeli market where Palestinians formed a third of the workforce in the construction, agriculture and industry sectors.

¹⁹ *Arnuna* is the main municipal tax everywhere in Israel, not only in Jerusalem.



Proportional distribution of workforce in the Gaza Strip

Proportional distribution of workforce in the West Bank

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 61

The increase of Arab workforce ratio in Israeli economic activities deepens the economic dependence of the occupied territories on Israeli economy. I will explain that.

In order to ease the economic pressures in the occupied territories the Israeli authorities resorted to the policy of the open bridges and border-passes with Jordan and Egypt, as the gates were opened to Palestinian capable individuals to emigrate and work abroad and the markets of some Arab states were opened to Palestinian agricultural and industrial production. At the same time, Israel prevented the entrance of raw materials needed by the Palestinian industry from abroad into the occupied territories.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 59-61

...Palestine is an area whose development is being hindered.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 16

Israel's policies, which hinder Palestinian economic and social development is an emphasized theme in the PA textbooks, and note in the following item the recurring use of the epithet "Imperialist" or "imperialistic" in this context, which is a new phenomenon. Also, note the blame put on Israel for the Palestinian women's meager participation in economic activity.

Development in Palestine

The imperialistic policies imposed by Israel inside the occupied Palestinian territories have hindered human development through raising obstacles to education and pursuing repressive measures, which have led to the arrest of large numbers and the injury of others some of whom have become permanently disabled. Development has been also hindered in the fields of industry, agriculture, commerce and services.

The Israeli Imperialist authorities also seized the water resources and large portions of Palestinian lands and established on them a large number of settlements.

As a result of the imposition of military siege and the prevention of contact between the Palestinian economy and the external economies, whether Arab or foreign, the Palestinian economy has been subjected to the Israeli economy and has become subordinate to it. It [now] serves the Israeli Imperialist interests.

This subordination relation brought forth several obstacles, which together brought about the hindrance of development in Palestine. It is possible to present these obstacles as follows:

- Israeli colonialist Imperialism.
- The almost complete subordination of the Palestinian economy to the Israeli economy.
- The military closure, which prevents movement of goods and residents.
- Absence of [Palestinian] control over the economic resources such as land, water, etc.
- Absence of [Palestinian] control over the borders, the cross points and the Gaza port.
- Absence of [Palestinian] control over internal and external markets.
- Meager participation of women in the fields of economic activity.

In addition, the policy of Israeli occupation has brought about the increase of abuses, especially in human aspects. Military raids, assassinations and house demolitions increased. As a result of the military closure rates of unemployment and poverty increased. All these policies have led to the deterioration of Palestinian economy and blew up the illusions [of those who] had believed that comprehensive development could be achieved. Thus, continued human development is impossible under the hegemony of occupation.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 19

...This share [of the agricultural sector in Palestinian economy] diminished in the 1980s to about 22%, as a result of the policies of Israeli occupation, such as encouraging employment outside the agricultural field – in the sectors of construction and services, for example, and dumping the Palestinian markets with Israeli agricultural production surplus, in addition to monopolizing the handling of agricultural production requisites.

The people of Palestine and the land of Palestine have faced the most dangerous operation of uprooting, banishment and [foreign] settlement in modern times, which have remarkably influenced the agricultural section... The occupation of Palestine, both land and people, had an evident impact on hindering agricultural development especially so as Israeli occupation has focused its whole attention on swallowing up lands and on forcing their owners to emigrate by various means. We can summarize the most important problems of agricultural development in Palestine as follows:

First, denying the Palestinian people the capability of administering its own natural resources as a result of Israeli occupation's practice of land confiscation, closing large portions of it [to the public] and declaring them military zones, establishing settlements and building bypassing roads, in addition to the continuous practice of stealing Palestinian water. Another practice [by Israeli occupation] is the limitation of freedom of movement of goods and services between the [Palestinian] districts, on the one hand, and between them and the outside world, on the other hand, which has increased production costs and weakened agricultural marketing...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 12-13

The most important obstacles facing agricultural development in Palestine is:

...

2. Denying the Palestinian people the capability of utilizing its natural resources due to [Israeli] occupation.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 16

Palestinian social ills and cultural deficiencies are attributed to policies pursued by Israeli occupation authorities.

Social and Cultural Policy

The Palestinians suffered from poverty and unemployment because of occupation, which brought about the diminishing of work opportunities and the absence of stability and security, which drove many Palestinian youths to emigrate. In addition, the Israeli authorities isolated the occupied territories from one another. It implemented specific laws in the West Bank and designated others for Jerusalem. It also implemented other laws in the Gaza Strip, which created many social and livelihood differences between the inhabitants of these regions.²⁰ It also closed many Palestinian institutions, which had been servicing the inhabitants of the occupied land such as the closure of the Arab welfare department in Jerusalem in 1973.

Why did Israel try to fragmentize Palestinian society's unity?

As regards the education field the occupation authorities aimed at misleading the younger generation and intervened in anything related to curricula, schools, students and teachers and made some amendments in the Jordanian and Egyptian curricula, which were studied in each of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It prevented the circulation of hundreds of books in the occupied areas and omitted the chapters related to the Palestinian problem.²¹ Many teachers were subjected to arbitrary dismissal and to arrest. Many schools and universities were closed as a punishment for the students' protests [against the occupation].

What was the goal of the measures taken by the occupation authorities in the field of education?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 61-62

...The phenomenon of school dropouts spreads all over Palestine... It occurs due to educational, personal, social and economic, among which [being]... arrest and prison...

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 6-7

The Reasons for the Spread of the Phenomenon of Illiteracy in Palestine

There are several reasons for the spread of the phenomenon of illiteracy in Palestinian society:

Political reasons: The Palestinian people was exposed to difficult and overpowering political pressure. It has succumbed to Israeli occupation for long years, which has brought about regression of educational activity and increase of dropout rate from school, which leads to illiteracy.

Economic reasons: ...The difficult political situation, subjugation and occupation, under which the Palestinian people has lived, have had negative reflection on the Palestinian economy, which increased the poverty averages. This obviously reflected on the educational activity and the inability of many families to continue sending their sons to school...

Palestinian reality is characterized by special features, which distinguish it from other societies. This distinctiveness stems from the nature of the conditions in which the Palestinian people has

²⁰ With the annexation of East Jerusalem to Israel it came under Israeli law, while in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip Jordanian and Egyptian law systems still prevailed, respectively, which is the cardinal source of the differences.

²¹ The material struck out of the schoolbooks after 1967 included anti-Semitic references and incitement to violence against Israel.

lived for the last five decades, which led to the destruction of this people's social and economic structure, to its dispersion, to attempts at obliterating its political identity and to the prevention of its development, growth and prosperity...

Activity

Let us study and write in the school wall-magazine about the reasons for the spread of the phenomenon of illiteracy in our own town.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 20-21

The phenomenon of drug abuse appeared in the Palestinian society during the era of Israeli occupation...

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 6

One of the accusations against Israel says that it aspires to eradicating Muslim holy places in Jerusalem and rebuilding the Third Temple instead.

The Islamic Conference Organization

It was decided to establish it in a resolution [adopted] by the summit conference of the Muslim states in Rabat [Morocco] in 1969 following the crime of burning the al-Aqsa Mosque by the Zionists.²²

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 113

The following is an illustration of a hologram of the Jewish temple over the existing Muslim shrines on Temple Mount in Jerusalem. Though no explanation is given here, one may detect a hidden message intended to rouse alarm in the student's soul towards what is presented as Jewish hidden intentions regarding this place.



**Scientific Education,
Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p.
106**

²² The culprit in this arson incident was a Christian Australian tourist who was later found mentally ill and unable to stand trial and was therefore deported to his country and committed to an asylum there.

Israeli security measures vis-à-vis Palestinian violence since 2000 are portrayed as harmful to the resisting Palestinian youths.

The majority of Palestinian young men and women today face several problems as a result of Israeli occupation and its practices. They join more than others the political and combative action and, consequently, they suffer most, as most of the martyrs, the wounded and the arrested ones are young men and women.

...The generation of young men and women today lives in an economic, social and psychological crisis caused by the atmosphere of the stifling siege, which is a result of the closure, the check posts and the racist separation wall. These are practices imposed by Israeli occupation authorities. These conditions lead to the restriction of freedom of movement of the young men and women generation...

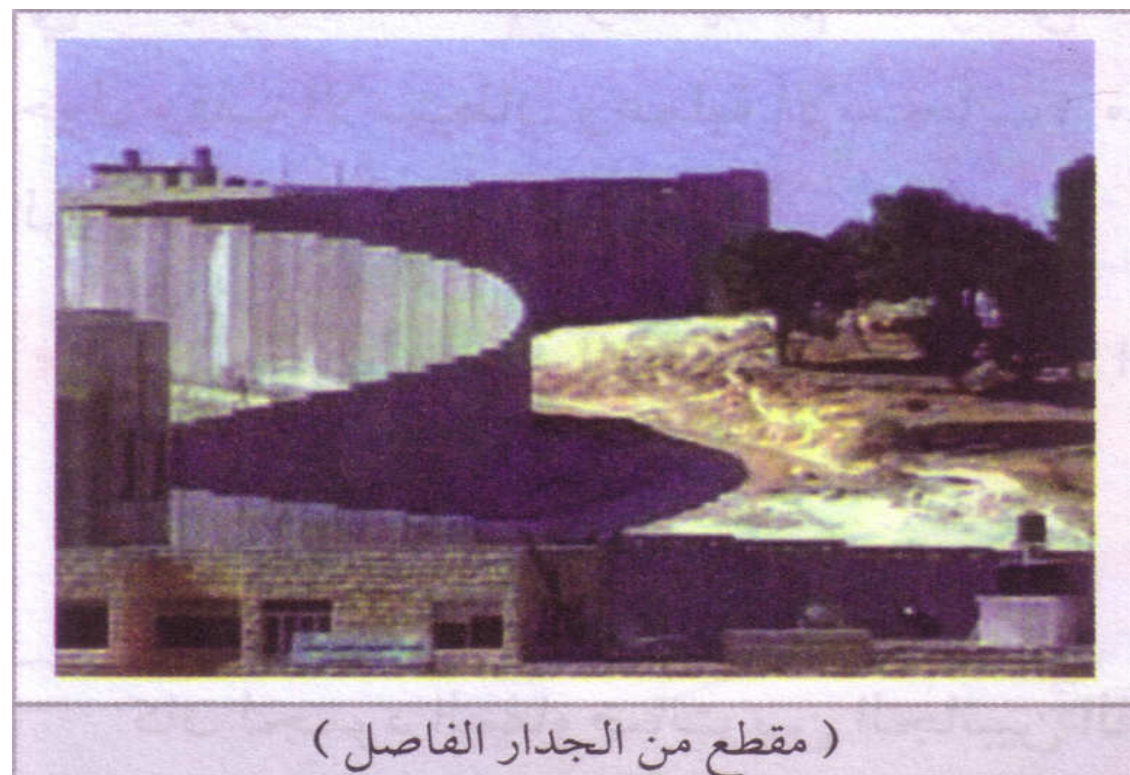
Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 4

I will study some of the problems facing transportation in Palestine.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 106

The Separating Wall

On June 23, 2002 Israel announced the beginning of the construction of a wall 600-1,000 km long and 7-8 m high to separate between the lands of 1948 and the lands of 1967. But it swallowed up vast tracts of lands in the West bank and the Gaza Strip. This is what is called "the Racist Separation Wall". In spite of the wall's illegality according to the International Court of Justice's decision on 9.7.2004 and the demand that Israel remove it, the Israeli government still continues its construction. [Some] of the most important impacts of the wall are the seizure of Palestinian lands and their dismemberment in most of its parts, not to mention the existence of some 274 thousand Palestinians who live in towns and villages in areas enclosed between the wall and the Green Line.



A section of the separating wall

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 92

Following are several quotations taken from poems, which depict the image of the enemy (that is, Israel) in a very negative light. Usurper, besieger, killer, etc. are some of Israel's images presented to the students.

I do not hate people and do not attack anyone
But if I am hungry I eat my usurper's flesh
Beware, beware my hunger and my anger

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 28

I am Ahmad, the Arab. So let the siege come!
My body is the walls. So let the siege come!
I am the terminal point of fire. So let the siege come!
I am besieging you
Besieging you
And my bosom is all the people's door. So let the siege come!

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 80

...O lover
Get up from the inattentiveness of death
At the old gate
How were you not cautious when their patrol passed
On the road?

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 80

Every newborn baby is a cloud
Every martyr is a tree...
Take my blood for you as ink
And compose praising poems
About the victorious massacres
And poison the [wheat] spikes
And demolish the houses
And open fire on peace
And smash the bones
It is not bad that they become a flowerpot –
Our smashed bones...

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 80

Israel's evil measures against the Palestinians include massacres and assassinations.

The Sabra and Shatila Massacre

After the exit of the Palestinian resistance [forces] from Lebanon, groups of the Lebanese [Christian] Phalanges Party rushed into the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in Beirut and, with the support and cover of the Israeli forces stationed at the outskirts of the camps, perpetrated a massacre in the two camps of Sabra and Shatila, which is considered one of the ugliest massacres in human history. It lasted for three days – on September 16th, 17th and 18th, 1982 – and its victims were some 3,500 Palestinian and Lebanese civilians.

Activity

I will write a report in the school wall magazine on the massacres of Sabra and Shatila.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 78-79

Israel resorted to all repressive means and measures in order to end the Intifada, which extended to the Palestinian leaders abroad, first and foremost among them being Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) whom Israel assassinated at his home in Tunis on 16.4.1988 because of his

direct role in the Intifada,²³ and [also] collective arrests, imposition of curfew and the expulsion policy. Among those expelled was the leader Fathi al-Shiqaqi.

Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad): A Palestinian leader, born in 1935 in the town of Ramlah, fled as a refugee with his family after the [1948] Catastrophe [*Nakbah*] to Gaza, joined the University of Alexandria but could not complete his studies [there], worked as a teacher in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, founded with some [other] fighters the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fath). Israel succeeded in assassinating him on 16.4.1988 at his home in Tunis.



Fathi al-Shiqaqi

A Palestinian leader, born in the village of Zarnuga in the Jaffa district and left with his family [in 1948] to the refugee camps in Rafah, worked as a teacher and then as a doctor in Jerusalem and founded the Islamic Jihad Movement. He was arrested more than once until he was expelled to Lebanon in 1988. Israel assassinated him in Malta on 26.10.1995.



Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 82

The Intifada adopted the method of popular war against the occupation with the consequent confrontations between the two parties. A number of Palestinian leaders were assassinated, among them Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), Hayil Abd al-Hamid (Abu al-Hawl) and Muhammad al-Umari.²⁴

Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad): A Palestinian leader who played a fundamental role in the struggle of the Palestinian people against Israeli occupation. He moved to Kuwait in 1959 to work there as a teacher. He formed with Yasser Arafat, Khalil al-Wazir [Abu Jihad] and others the Fath movement. Later he moved to Lebanon. He faced many attempts on his life until he was assassinated on 23.1.1991 in Tunis.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 86

I will explain the following:

- A. The numerous agreements between the Palestinians and Israel
- B. The construction of the separating wall by Israel
- C. The assassination of many Palestinian leaders by Israeli forces

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 95

²³ The immediate reason for the assassination was probably a Palestinian terrorist attack on a bus near the Israeli city of Dimona.

²⁴ They were killed in Tunis in January 1991, while the Desert Storm operation against Iraq was going on. Media reports attributed the assassinations to agents of the rival Palestinian faction of Abu Nidhal.

Grade 12

Israel is depicted as a state of foreign settlers who expelled part of the indigenous population and oppressed the others. It is compared to Colonialist cases such as South Africa and Rhodesia.

The Colonialist Imperialist phenomenon is, in its essence, the existence of aliens in the midst of the milieu of the original inhabitants of the country. They feel pure and superior, practice against the original inhabitants various types of racial discrimination and deny their [i.e., the original inhabitants'] national character. Colonialist Imperialism in modern times is found mainly in Palestine, South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Their existence constitutes a fateful challenge to the peoples on which they impose themselves in order to acquire land by whatever means, because land is the material foundation of the settlements as the settlers are their human foundation. It should be noted that the Imperialist entity's policy encouraging the immigration of settlers does not open the door to all those who wish to settle. Rather, it necessitates a certain type of settlers. This type in relation to South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) is the white-skinned European. As regards Israel, it is preferred that the Jew be a European or American.²⁵

The operation of attracting settlers was accompanied by the expulsion of the original inhabitants, by denying them citizenship and economically exploiting them as cheap working hands and servants among the settlers.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 6-7

Colonialist Imperialism is concentrated in modern times in:

- A. Egypt
- B. Palestine
- C. Uganda
- D. Chile

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 166

Israel is sometimes referred to as an Imperialist entity, which expelled the country's indigenous population.

[Questions:]

I will put a "V" sign next to the correct phrase and an "X" sign next to the incorrect phrase:

...

The Imperialists expelled the original inhabitants as happened in Palestine.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 9

Ethnic cleansing aims at uprooting ethnic groups related to resistance, or groups, which strive to change the political conditions and use the method of guerrilla warfare. Cleansing may be caused due to a certain doctrine aiming at getting rid of some groups. Ethnic cleansing causes on many occasions the creation of political problems difficult to be solved on the long run because it prevents the expelled groups from returning to their homeland, as the case is with the Palestinian refugees.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 124

The Arabs' victory on the sixth of October 1973 over the usurper of the Arab land...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 117

²⁵ As far as Israel's Law of Return and official policy are concerned, all Jews, of whatever origin, are welcomed. As a result of this policy, most Jews of Asian and African countries immigrated to Israel.

The usurpation of Palestine is not the only danger posed by Israel, which is presented as an expansionist entity.

They think out of their transgression that the Euphrates [River] is theirs
And that the Nile [River] and the noble Kaaba²⁶ are their borders

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 80

Accordingly, aggression is one of Israel's traits, which finds its expression in its relations with the Arab neighboring states (and see the description of these relations in the sub-chapter titled "the Palestinian Problem" above).

Apart from that, Israel is blamed of more specific crimes such as rape, murder of children, imprisonment, torture and killing of freedom fighters, house demolitions, etc. The obvious conclusion:

Do not consider the occupier human [or humane – *dha insaniyyah*].

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 51

Among the allegories [the poet uses in his poem] is his saying: "the virgins fall down like shooting stars", as he likened the [Palestinian] virgin girls after having been raped [by Israelis in 1948] to shining stars falling from the skies.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 111

The German journalist approached to deliver her testimony in the case of the killing of the school student in front of his fellow students.

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 17

Let us discuss: The Palestinian woman had a distinguished role in the popular resistance against British Mandate and Israeli occupation. Hundreds of struggling women were exposed to arrest, torture and martyrdom in the cause of the defense of the homeland.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) p. 53

Those Ones with Special Needs

These are the people who suffer from total or partial disability in one of the senses or in physical or mental capabilities... The proportion of these [people] within the Palestinian people exceeds that in other peoples due to the occupation's crimes, which result from injuries by various [kinds of] weapons used against the Palestinians and from acts of physical and psychological torture against them...

Islamic Education, Grade 12 (2006) p. 152

...We would not have been content with the prison cell torment
And with oppression's shackles and its bars
And would not have suffered from hunger and its deprivation
But for the sake of unbinding the crucified moon's bonds

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 25

Our blood on the barbed wires of Ansar²⁷
Is dancing in the flaring sun at noontime...

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 38

Did you think that they were killed, as you secretly contrived?

²⁶ The Kaaba in Mecca is the Muslim holiest sanctuary.

²⁷ An Israeli camp for Palestinian prisoners in Lebanon in 1982, which has become a symbol for Israeli detention camps in general.

But they came back and were marked by the Blood Flowers
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 54

The inhabitants' houses were demolished by the occupation forces.
The occupation forces demolished the inhabitants' houses.
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 56

We do not steal ancient monuments
We do not know what the taste of crime is
We do not burn books
And do not break pens
And do not rob the weak others
So, take your hands off our people
O deaf people who
Filled their ears with cotton and clay
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 66

You defeated armies but you did not defeat sentiment
You cut off the trees at their top and the roots remained
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 80

God may put the believers to a test with fear to which they may be exposed due to their enemies' gathering against them, and with hunger and lack of property due to the economic war against them or due to their expulsion and driving out of their land.

I will think: The noble [Qur'an] verses of [this] lesson touch the [present] reality of the Palestinian people. I will explain that.
Islamic Education, Grade 12 (2006) p. 10

Such policies have their psychological effect on the Palestinians and the students are requested to have their own input to the general picture in this respect.

The Psychological Stress Experienced by the Palestinian People
The Palestinian people is exposed to many internal and external psychological pressures. It suffered from numerous wars imposed on it, experienced many consecutive forced emigrations, loss of land, houses, sons and sources of livelihood, in addition to closures, the siege, and standing for long hours and being searched at the military road blocks. But it has managed to record the most exalted examples of steadfastness and patience vis-à-vis the hardships.

I will speak of a situation I faced due to the occupation forces, which caused me psychological stress.
Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) p. 62

Other damages caused by Israel are mainly economic, social and environmental.

...As a result of the increasing advance of built-up areas into agricultural lands and the confiscation of lands lately, the vanishing of agricultural lands has been accelerated.
Scientific Education, Grade 12 (2006) p. 24

Arab tourism in Palestine is non-existent due to the occupation circumstances and the political limitations.
Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 144

Poverty in Palestine

The poverty phenomenon in Palestine has been aggravated with the consecutive political catastrophes, which the Palestinian people has witnessed since the middle of the last century until the beginning of the present century. Its sharpness has increased in latest years with the rise of the arbitrary measures taken by Israeli occupation authorities.

The Reasons for Poverty in Palestine

[Some] of the reasons which have contributed to the aggravation of poverty in Palestine [are as follows]:

- The comprehensive closure imposed by Israel on the [Palestinian] territories, the increase of Israeli limitations and siege and the systematic destruction of Palestinian economy and social structure, which has become aggravated with the beginning of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000 and the ensuing limitation of the Palestinians' movement between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. To that one should add the elimination of the freedom of movement of [Palestinian] workforce and goods between the Palestinian territories and Israel, as more than 120 thousand Palestinian workers have been denied access to their places of work inside Israel. In addition, thousands of other Palestinian workers who were working in the local market have become unemployed as a result of the standstill of many [Palestinian] workshops and factories because of the closure or because they were subjected to destruction and ruin. That has brought about the rise of unemployment averages and, consequently, the expansion of poverty range among the Palestinians in the occupied Palestinian territories.
- Infliction of immense damages upon the productive sectors, the agricultural sector in particular, and putting obstacles in front of the movement of Palestinian products between the areas of the Palestinian National Authority and Israel, which prevents Palestinian agricultural products from entering it except with a special permit and to a very limited extent, and also between the West bank and the Gaza strip. On the other hand, the Israeli authorities dump the markets of the occupied territories with large quantities of Israeli agricultural products in order to protect Israeli farmers.
- Confiscation of lands in order to expand existing [Jewish] settlements [in the West Bank] and build new settlements, in order to construct many bypassing roads for the settlements' security, and in order to construct the racist separation wall, which has led to the swallow up of wide areas of Palestinian lands and inflicted heavy damages upon many Palestinian families, which have lost their only source of livelihood.
- Destruction of the elementary infrastructure and striking water and electricity networks, as well as institutions.
- Its [i.e., Israel's] control over Palestinian commercial transactions through its continued control over Palestinian seaports and airports, cross points and borders and trade policies.
- ...
- The Palestinian refugees phenomenon, as the highest average of the spread of poverty is found in the refugee camps where it reaches about 41.2%.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 44-45

Studies show a decline in the ratio of working women in Palestinian society due to the political circumstances emanating from the measures [taken] by Israeli occupation, which take the form of military checkpoints, isolating the Palestinian cities from one another, tightening the grip around the Palestinian economy and preventing Palestinian workers from working outside it, which have caused the spread of unemployment among men and women and the scarcity of work opportunities for women. The 2004 statistics showed that the rate of participation by women in the work market was 13.2% of the total Palestinian workforce.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) p. 54

Women's health in the Palestinian society, like that of other individuals of the [Palestinian] people, is affected by the repressive policy of the occupation, by the ensuing shortage of health services and by the increase of poverty.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) p. 54

Water in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is being polluted by way of increasing salinity rates, which is explained by:

- Increase of salinity rates of the Jordan River water as it has reached a point of 5224 milligram per one liter in 1991 because of Israel's diversion of a large portion of its water to the Negev region, on the one hand, and the diversion of water from the salty springs in Beisan [Beit Shean] and Tiberias to it.
- Increase of salinity rates of subterranean water [resources] in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip because of Israeli extensive and excessive pumping of subterranean water...

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 86

[Questions]:

3 – I will conduct a research on the impact of the Jewish settlements on the pollution of the Palestinian environment.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 95

*On the other hand, another book discusses water problems in Palestine with no reference at all to either the Israeli occupation or Israeli settlements as a source for such problems, contrary to what is encountered in other PA textbooks. See **Scientific Education**, Grade 12 (2006) from p. 122 onward.*

A new accusation against Israel, appearing for the first time in a history textbook for grade 12, is that it practices racial discrimination against the Palestinians. This new formula tends to incorporate as well old accusations, such as the occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967, which obviously do not relate to racism.

Zionist Racial Discrimination against the Palestinians

Since its establishment in 1948 Israel has taken a series of racist measures aiming at stressing the Jewish character of its state and at changing the geographic and demographic conditions of Palestine. Among these measures [are the following]:

1. Expelling the Palestinian people from its land and replacing it with Jews. In spite of Resolution 194, which was issued on 11.12.1948 regarding the Palestinians' right of return and compensation, Israel has not recognized this resolution and strives to remove the political character of the refugee problem, transform it into a humanitarian and social problem and include it in the framework of the projects of economic development in the region.
2. Enacting racist laws such as "the Law of Return" of 1950, by which every Jew has the right to return to Israel, "the Naturalization Law" of 1952, which grants the incoming Jew Israeli citizenship in order to give the state a Jewish character.
3. Treating the Palestinians who remained in their homeland as if they were minorities and denying them a national title with the accompanying collective rights. Racist terms are still used to this day in reference to them such as 'the Arabs of Israel' or "the Arab sector in Israel".
4. Controlling lands and enacting laws which accomplish that, among which [are]: The Absentee Property Law of 1950, the Israel Fund Law of 1953, etc. in order to regulate the operations of forced confiscation of property of the absentee Palestinians and transfer its ownership to Jews. The consecutive Israeli governments since 1948 up to this day have refused to open the file of the Palestinian absentees' property. This policy

continued following the occupation of the Palestinian territories in 1967 and it resorted to a series of measures of which the goal is strengthening racial discrimination:

- A. Confiscating lands and establishing Jewish settlements on them.
- B. Constructing roads, which cut the Palestinian territories and the use of which is restricted to the settlers under the protection of the Israeli occupation forces.
- C. Occupying Jerusalem and annexing it to Israel.
- D. Demolishing houses and destroying property.
- E. Imposing the siege, as well as the policy of closing the Palestinian territories for long periods, dismembering them by separating the West Bank from the Gaza Strip, the attempt to close the Gaza Strip after the Israeli unilateral withdrawal from it – which now takes place, and creating a sterile area under security pretexts. The Palestinian cities and villages have become very similar to the Bantustans,²⁸ having been encircled by [Jewish] settlements and camps of the occupation forces.
- F. Seizing control of water resources and depriving the Palestinians of their use.
- G. The wall, which Israel began to construct after the eruption of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000 and which has become known by [the epithet] “the Racist Annexation and Separation Wall”. It did not stop at the limit of annexing lands but exceeded that to dismembering the Arab settlements.

These racist practices by Israel since its establishment in 1948 prompted the United Nations to issue its resolution no. 3379 on 10.11.1975, which considered Zionism a form of racism and denounced all its racist practices against the Palestinians. It is worth noting that this resolution was abolished according to a proposal presented by the United States on 16.12.1991, following the implications of the second Gulf War and the beginning of the peace process...

[Questions:]

- I will explain the following:
 - H. Ethnic cleansing causes the creation of difficult political problems.
 - I. Israel’s rejection of Resolution 194 regarding the Palestinian refugees.
- Racial discrimination was prominent in Palestine and South Africa. I will explain:
 - A. ...
 - B. The foundations of racist policy pursued by Israel in the Palestinian Arab territories since their occupation in 1967.

Activity

Let us discuss the impact on the Palestinian people of the Racist Annexation and Separation Wall constructed by Israel on the Palestinian lands. It is possible to be guided by the following:

- Limitation of the Palestinians’ freedom of movement.
- Fragmentation of Palestinian places of inhabitation.
- Confiscation of lands.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 124-127

²⁸ A term used to denote the fragmented “homelands” of the Bantu Africans in South Africa under the Apartheid regime.

The United Nations issued its resolution no. 3379, which considered Zionism a form of racism in:

1. 1948
2. 1967
3. 1975
4. 1987

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 171

I will explain the racist policy pursued by Israel after its occupation of Palestine in 1948 until 1967.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 178

Its [i.e., the International Court of Justice's] verdict is final and cannot be appealed, such as its verdict given in the case of the separating wall constructed by Israel in the Palestinian territories in 2004, which it [the Court] considered legally null and void and that it should be removed. But Israel did not pledge to execute the verdict, and the Palestinians demand that the [UN] General Assembly and the Security Council guarantee the execution of that verdict.

Why cannot the International Court of Justice execute its verdicts?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 55

The formerly encountered accusation that Israel steals Palestinian water appears again in the history book of grade 12, with an addition attributing to Israel designs regarding outer sources such as the Nile.

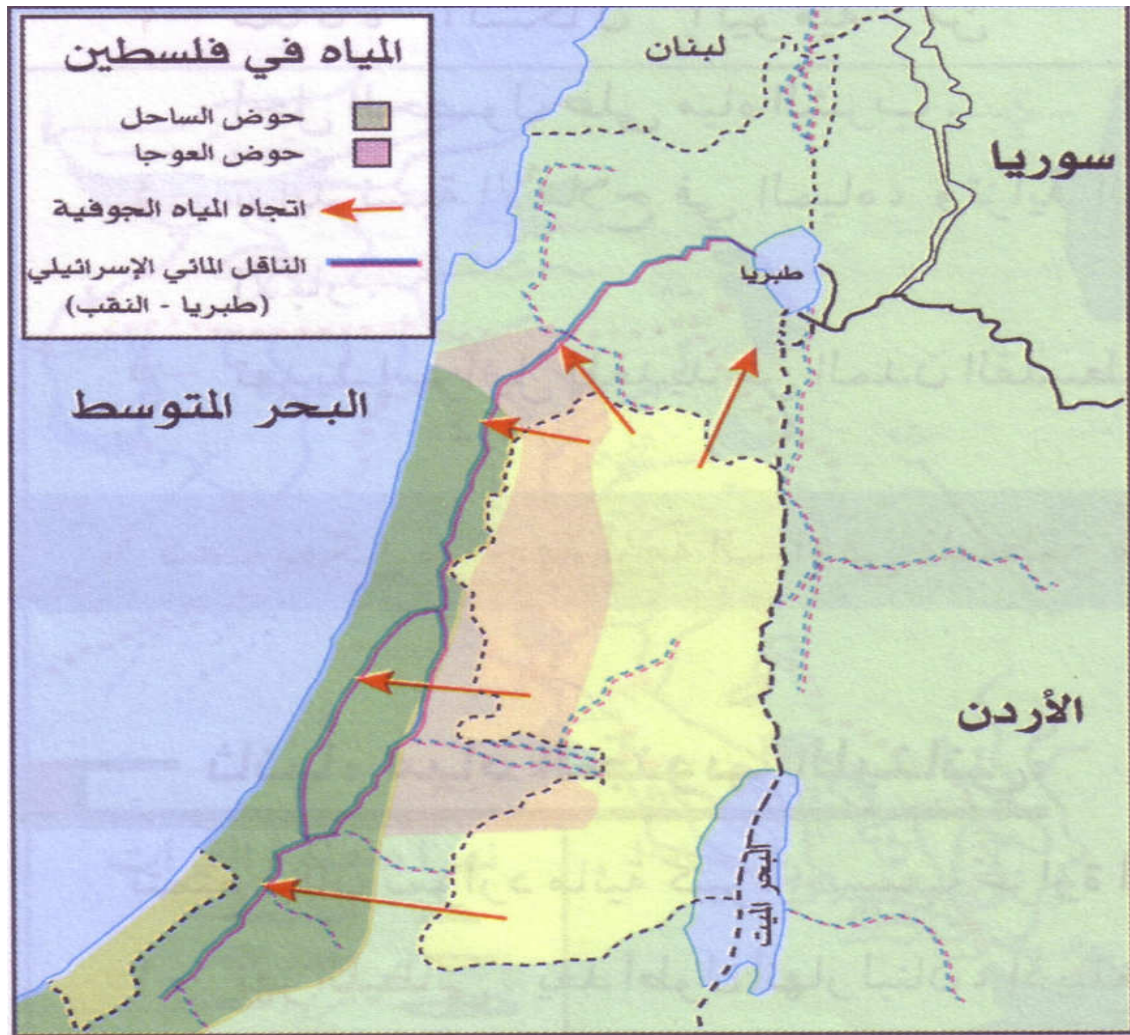
The Water Situation in Palestine

...Water has remained at the top of Israel's priorities. Accordingly, its decision in 1949 was to nationalize water, which was regarded by it as the state's public property. Following the 1967 war it was quick to issue several military ordinances regarding water, among which [were the following]:

1. Transferring all powers concerning water to the military governor.
2. Granting the military governor complete authority of controlling all issues related to water, as well as the right to refuse any license without giving reasons [for such refusal].
3. All sources of water in the Palestinian territory became state property.
4. Forcing every citizen in the Gaza Strip to obtain the military governor's consent if he wanted to carry out any water-related project.

Israel succeeded in strengthening its control over Palestine's water resources through [the following]:

1. Digging of agricultural wells was limited.
2. Israel dug wells along the [old] Armistice Line with the Gaza Strip in order to use up the fresh water and diminish the [quantity of fresh] water flowing to the coastal subterranean aquifer in the Gaza Strip.
3. Digging many wells inside the Israeli settlements.



Water in Palestine

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 149

One of the results of this policy was the increase of salinity in most wells of subterranean water in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which has prevented their use for agriculture and, consequently, reduced agricultural production.

Israel consumes 86.5% of the total of Palestinian water. Throughout its occupation period of the Palestinian territories it has not acted to develop water facilities. It also destroyed large portions of the [existing] water facilities such as the destruction of wells and the destruction of irrigation networks, reservoirs and water pipelines during the sweeping operations it conducted following the eruption of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in September 2000.²⁹

These measures resulted in the emergence of several problems of which the most important [ones were the following]:

1. The huge deficit in the subterranean aquifer.
2. Soil salification.
3. The inhabitants' daily trouble in getting drinking water.
4. Increase of water salinity rates and increase of the depths where it can be found, which has caused the closure of many wells.

²⁹ Sweeping operations – removal of trees and installations along rural roads used as cover for attacks against passing vehicles.

5. Israel's threat to stop water supply to many Palestinian cities.

For your Information: Water quantities in the Palestinian subterranean aquifer according to the Oslo Accord.

...The Oslo Accord defined the quantity of water consumption as follows:

<u>Region</u>	<u>Water Quantity – Million Sq. Meters</u>
The West Bank	127.4
The Gaza Strip	108
Total	235.4
[Israeli] settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	60
Final total	295.4

How is it possible – from your point of view – to confront the water crisis in Palestine?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 149-150

[Questions:]

Israel strengthened its control of Palestinian water after the war of 1967. I will explain:

- A. Israeli measures for taking possession of Palestinian water.
- B. The most important problems which have resulted from the exhaustion of Palestinian water by Israel.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 155

I will explain the following:

The impact of the Israeli measures on the Palestinian rights regarding water

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 179

Besides Palestinian water, Israel is involved in stealing Lebanese and Egyptian water and plays an important role in conspiracies aimed at stealing the Arabs' water by non-Arabs.

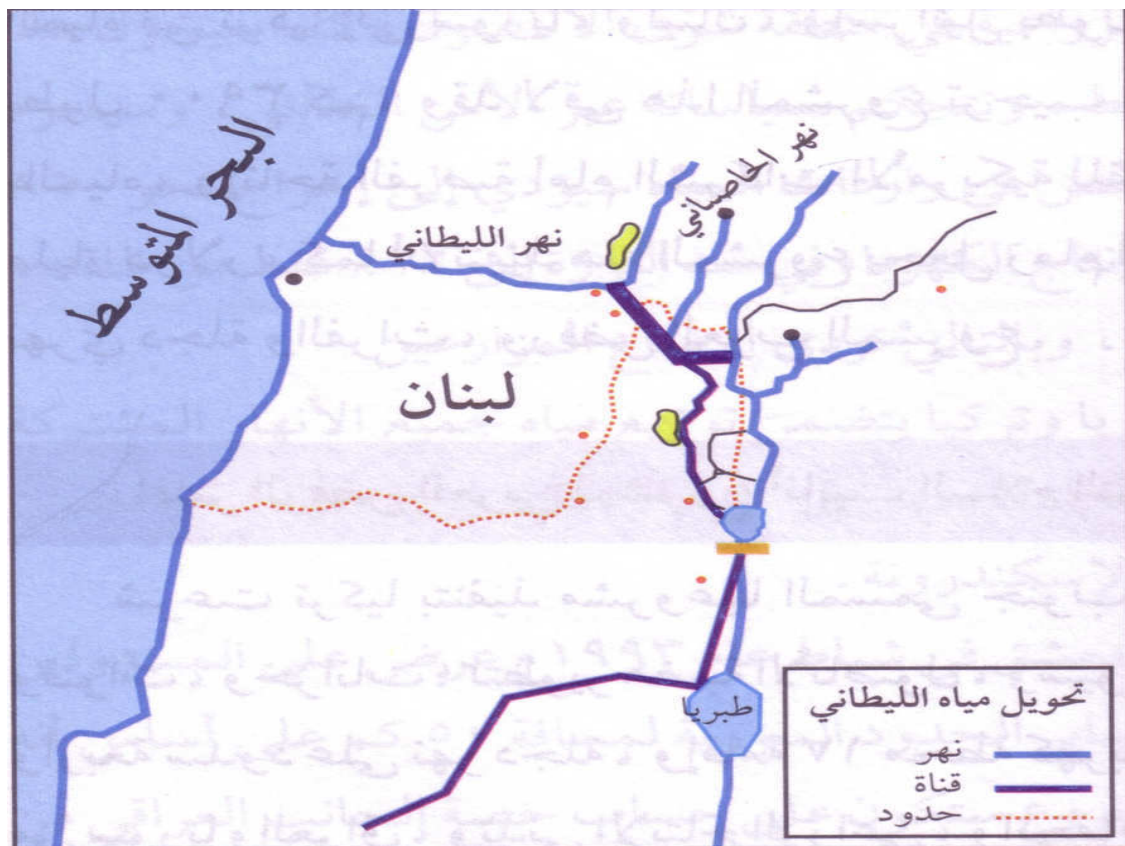
The Water of South Lebanon

Lebanon enjoys sizable water resources because of its rainfall abundance and its many rivers, among which [are the following]:

1. The Litani River, which is considered the longest river in Lebanon... Israel managed to control it following its invasion of Lebanese territories in 1978, and took some measures in order to impose its control over its water, such as:
 - A. Construction of huge pumps near the Khardali Bridge in the region of the Security Belt.³⁰
 - B. Construction of huge pipes 10 km long from the river watercourse to the town of Al-Tayyibeh [in southern Lebanon].
 - C. Israel constructed huge reservoirs south of the town of Eita al-Sha'b [in southern Lebanon] for storing the Litani water and distributing it to the [Israeli] settlements in the region of Upper Galilee. It began to divert the water of the Litani River to the Sea of Galilee [in Israel], using huge pipes. It proposed to buy 400 million sq. meters of the Litani water under the pretext that this quantity was not needed by Lebanon, because it did not have any legal claim, which would allow it to share the river's water [with Lebanon].
2. The Hasbani River, which originates from the slopes of Mount Hermon near the town of Hasbaya in Lebanon... Israel seized control of the Hasbani water following its invasion of Lebanese territories in 1982.

³⁰ The Security Belt – an area in south Lebanon, which was under the control of Israeli forces and the South Lebanon Army (SLA) between the years 1985-2000.

It is worth mentioning that Israel still controls the strategically important Shab'a Farms, which makes it dominate the Hasbani River and also overlook the course of the Litani River and the Wazan [springs], which has made it [i.e., Israel] cling to this position and establish settlements there.³¹



Diversion of the water of the Litani River³²

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 150-151

Geography plays an important role in the course of events and wars in the Middle East. In the light of this phrase I will explain:

- A. The motives, which directed Israel's eyes towards south Lebanon.
- B. The measures taken by Israel to control the water of the Litani River.

What are the results emanating from:

- The Israeli invasions of south Lebanon in 1978 and 1982?

How would you explain:

- The strategic importance of the Lebanese Shab'a Farms?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 155

³¹ The Shab'a Farms area was contested between Syria and Lebanon before 1967 and the Syrians used to have sporadic police presence there. The area was occupied by Israel in 1967. The Israeli withdrawal from south Lebanon in 2000 did not include the Shab'a Farms area, which was approved by the UN observers who considered it part of the Golan Heights. The Israeli settlements on the slopes of Mount Hermon are farther away from the Shab'a Farms area.

³² The story about Israel's taking water out of the Litani River for its own use is wholly imaginary, including the data on the map.

Israel's Role in the Conflict over the Nile's Water

Following the war of 1967 and its seizing control of Sinai Israel dug wells close to the Egyptian border. Egyptian engineers confirmed that Israel was stealing ground water from Sinai in a depth of 800 meter below ground surface.

An Israeli engineer called Elisha' Kali proposed a project in 1974 for bringing the Nile's water to Israel and published it under the title "Water of Peace". It aimed at widening the Ismailiyyah [fresh water] Canal in order to increase the flow of water in it in preparation for its transfer to the [Israeli] Negev region to irrigate 2.16 million *dunums*³³ in order to absorb Jewish immigrants.

Against this background Israel's interest in Ethiopia seems special, for Ethiopia is the fountain of the Nile River's water, on the one hand, and the most important African state as far as Israel is concerned security-wise, on the other hand. It is it [Ethiopia], which secures for it [Israel] a foothold on the [shores of the] Red Sea, as well as control over it and control of its northern and southern entrances. These Israeli convictions became concrete after it had learned the lessons of the October War of 1973, when Ethiopia allowed Israel to keep military bases on the Red Sea, which embodies the solid cooperation between the two states, with negative implications on the Arabs in all spheres – security, political and military. That cooperation became evident with the arrival of more than 400 Israeli experts to help Ethiopia construct the dams on the Blue Nile. Their joint water projects aim at developing the lands on the Ethiopian-Sudanese border.

I will think: How is it possible to guarantee the security of Arab water in the light of the preceding [material]?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 154

I will explain Israel's attempts at realizing its greedy ambitions regarding the Nile River.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 155

³³ A *dunum* roughly equals 900 sq. meters.

Chapter Four: The Conflict

The conflict starts with modern Zionism and with Jewish mass immigration into Palestine. Earlier historical contexts of this conflict are not discussed as such and Jewish historical presence in Palestine is mentioned as an episode with no connection to the present situation.

A. The Palestinian Problem

Grade 11

...The Jews started immigrating to Palestine [in the 19th century] where the Jewish quarter was established in the northeastern part of the city of Jerusalem in 1860³⁴. In spite of that, the number of the Jews in Palestine in that period did not exceed 11 thousand souls and they were scattered in various cities. But, following the intensification of the calls in Europe for making the Jews settle in Palestine, there started to appear some Jewish organizations in support of colonizing the Holy Land such as the school of Mikveh Yisrael (Israel's Hope) in 1870 on the lands of the [Arab] village of Yazur near Jaffa, which was established by the World Israeli Alliance [Alliance Israelite Universelle] (the Alliance association) for training the Jews in agricultural works in order to make them settle in Palestine. Britain [as well] established the Zion school in Jerusalem. The Austrian Jews had established there already in 1856 a Jewish school named "Evelina de Rothschild".

Question 5 – I will explain:

- The [phenomenon of] land slipping out of the Palestinians' hands into the Jews' hands during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 58-59

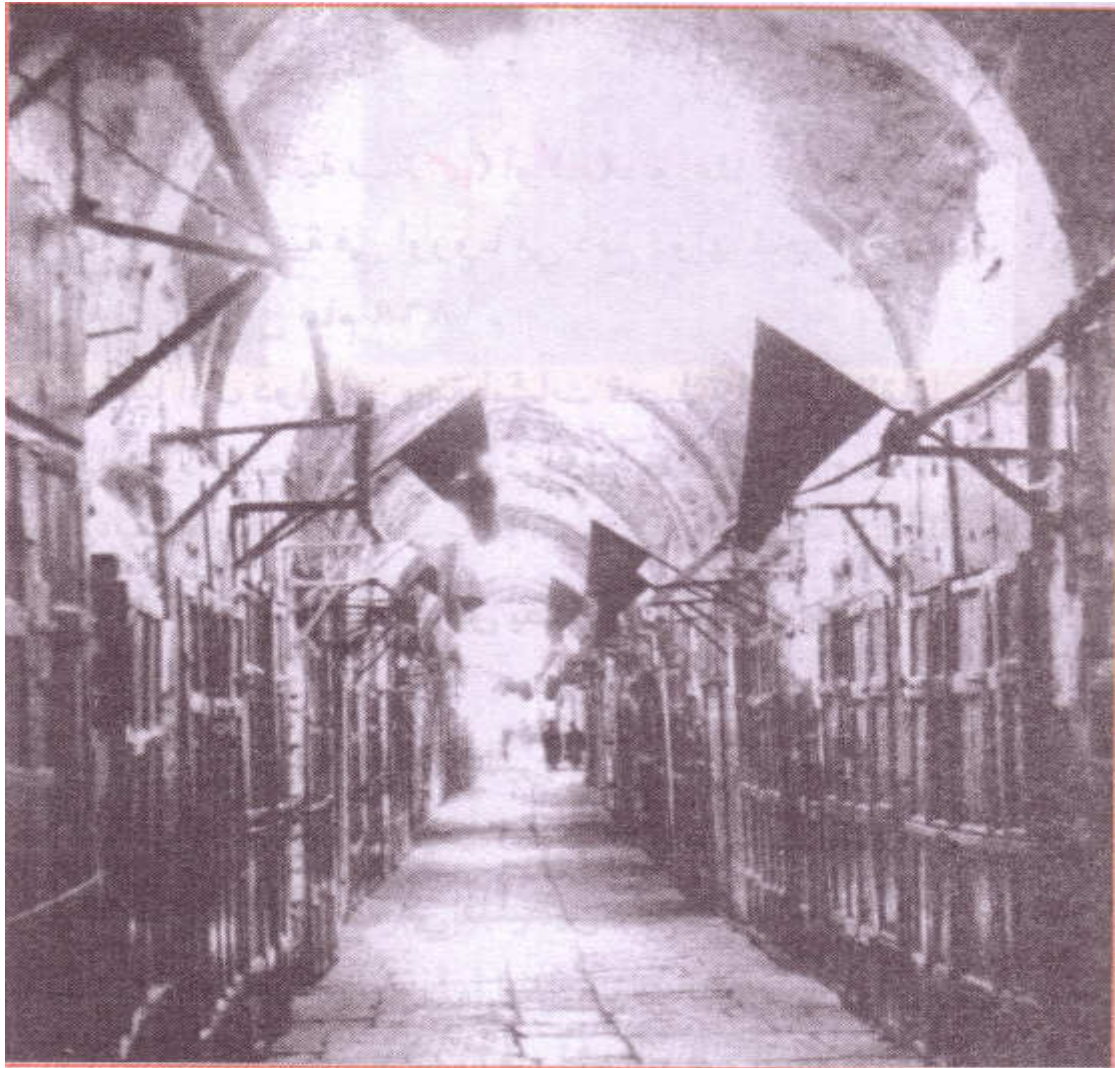
The First World War, the ensuing British occupation of Palestine, the Balfour Declaration, its approval by the League of Nations and the formation of British Mandatory government in the country were all fateful milestones – as seen by the PA textbooks – on the conflict course of development, which continued later as one between the Jewish state and its neighbors, chiefly the Palestinians.

Following is a poem written about the Palestine conflict in the 1920s by a Lebanese poet residing in America.

The country of peace and the land of bliss –
When it becomes sad everyone is grieved
For Palestine's mishap is the mishap of the highest ones
And the highest ones' calamity is never insignificant
We have been sleepless because of it, as if the swords
Cut into our livers over here [i.e., in America]
How would sleep visit eyes
Which see around them signs of destruction?
And how would life be pleasant to a people
Upon which the world's roads are closed?
Say to the Jews and their followers:
The glitter of desire has misled you!
If only had Balfour given you
A land of his, not a land of ours!
For London is more spacious than our Jerusalem
And London loves you more

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 78

³⁴ The Jewish Quarter is situated in the southern part of the Old City of Jerusalem and is much older.



Jerusalem flies black flags on the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration
Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 60

Activity

Let us discuss: The League of Nations' role in facilitating the establishment of the Jewish national home in Palestine.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 8

Jewish immigration to Palestine continued through facilitations [provided] by the Mandatory government, which helped the Jews to acquire land by a number of means such as:

1. It registered Arab land under the name of the Mandatory state and not under the name of the Arab landowner, even though he proved his ownership.
2. Britain used military force against the Arabs in order to compel them to leave their lands and depart, as happened in Wadi al-Hawarith [the present city of Netanyah] near Tulkarm and in the Marj bin Amer Valley [Jezreel Valley].³⁵

³⁵ These were mostly swamplands belonging to Syrian and Lebanese absentee landlords. The British government approved the transactions and saw to it that the Jews finance the resettlement of the tenants elsewhere.

3. Economic restrictions by imposing high taxes on lands, which put the land owner under the pressure of debt that he could not pay and, consequently, he had to sell it in order to pay the accumulating debts.
4. Lands registered under the names of Lebanese and Syrian families and bought by the Zionist Organization for a low price. They were assessed by thousands of *dunums*.³⁶ Some of these families are Sursuq, Tayyan, Khouri and others.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 17

Clashes erupted between the Arabs and the Jews [in August 1929]... The clashes spread to the cities of Hebron and Safed... Britain formed a martial court for the trial of those ones who had participated in the clashes and it issued its sentence in the Acre prison regarding the execution of Fu'ad Hijazi, Ata al-Zir and Muhammad Jamjum...³⁷

Why did the English execute three Arabs and did not execute any Jew?

Activity

I will research and write about the martyrs Fu'ad Hijazi, Ata al-Zir and Muhammad Jamjum.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 9-10

The pace of the Arab-Israeli conflict increased following the imposition of the [British] Mandate on Palestine in 1920... until Britain's announcement of the end of its Mandate on May 15, 1948.

...The period between the years 1948-1967 is the period starting with the Arab-Israeli war and Israel's success in establishing its state on the greater part of Palestine, which is considered larger than the area given to it within the Partition Resolution of 1947... The Israeli occupation of the rest of the Palestinian lands in 1967... the settlement proposals for ending the Arab-Israeli conflict and for creating a solution to the Palestinian problem, which were culminated by the Oslo Accord and the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the continuation of negotiations between the two parties, the Palestinian and the Israeli, the stumbling and standstill of which led to the eruption of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000...

Introduction, **Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) page not numbered**

The history textbook for grade 11 fully admits, contrary to former PA books and contrary to the subsequent books of grade 12, that it was the Arab side, including the Palestinians, who started the war in 1948 in defiance of the UN Partition Resolution of 1947 and with the professed goal of preventing the establishment of a Jewish state there.

The Arab League held several conferences in order to react to the UN commission which recommended the partition [of Palestine between Arabs and Jews] and took a decision to protest the partition of Palestine and oppose any resolution which would not decree the establishment of an Arab state there, in addition to decisions regarding the formation of a military committee and the gathering of Arab armies on Palestine's borders, as was decided in the city of Aley in Lebanon on 7.10.1947.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 29

³⁶ One *dunum* equals about 900 square meters.

³⁷ The clashes of 1929 were, in fact, Arab attacks on isolated Jewish settlements and on Jews residing in Arab cities. Some 70 Jews were massacred in Hebron and the rest fled the city. The British authorities tried and hanged three out of hundreds of attackers.

The Arabs' Position after the Issuance of the Partition Resolution

The Arab League decided... that the Partition Resolution is null and void and that it should be foiled. Also, the Palestinian people should be assisted.

The Palestinian Resistance

The Palestinians rejected the Partition resolution and the resistance intensified... Britain had announced that any intervention on the part of the Arab states in Palestine before May 15 will be considered an aggression against it... Therefore, the Political Committee of the Arab League decided... to enter Palestine on May 15, immediately following the British evacuation of forces. In spite of the continuation of the Palestinian resistance, many Palestinian cities and villages fell in the Jews' hands one after another, such as Safed, Deir Yasin, al-Qastal, Tiberias, Haifa, Jaffa and Beisan before May 15, 1948.

...The Jewish Agency held a meeting under the presidency of David Ben Gurion on 14.5.1948 in which it proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel on 15.5.1948.

Activity

I will conduct a research and write a report on the Palestinian resistance during the period starting in the issuance of the Partition Resolution No. 181 until the ending of the British Mandate on 15.5.1948.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 30-31

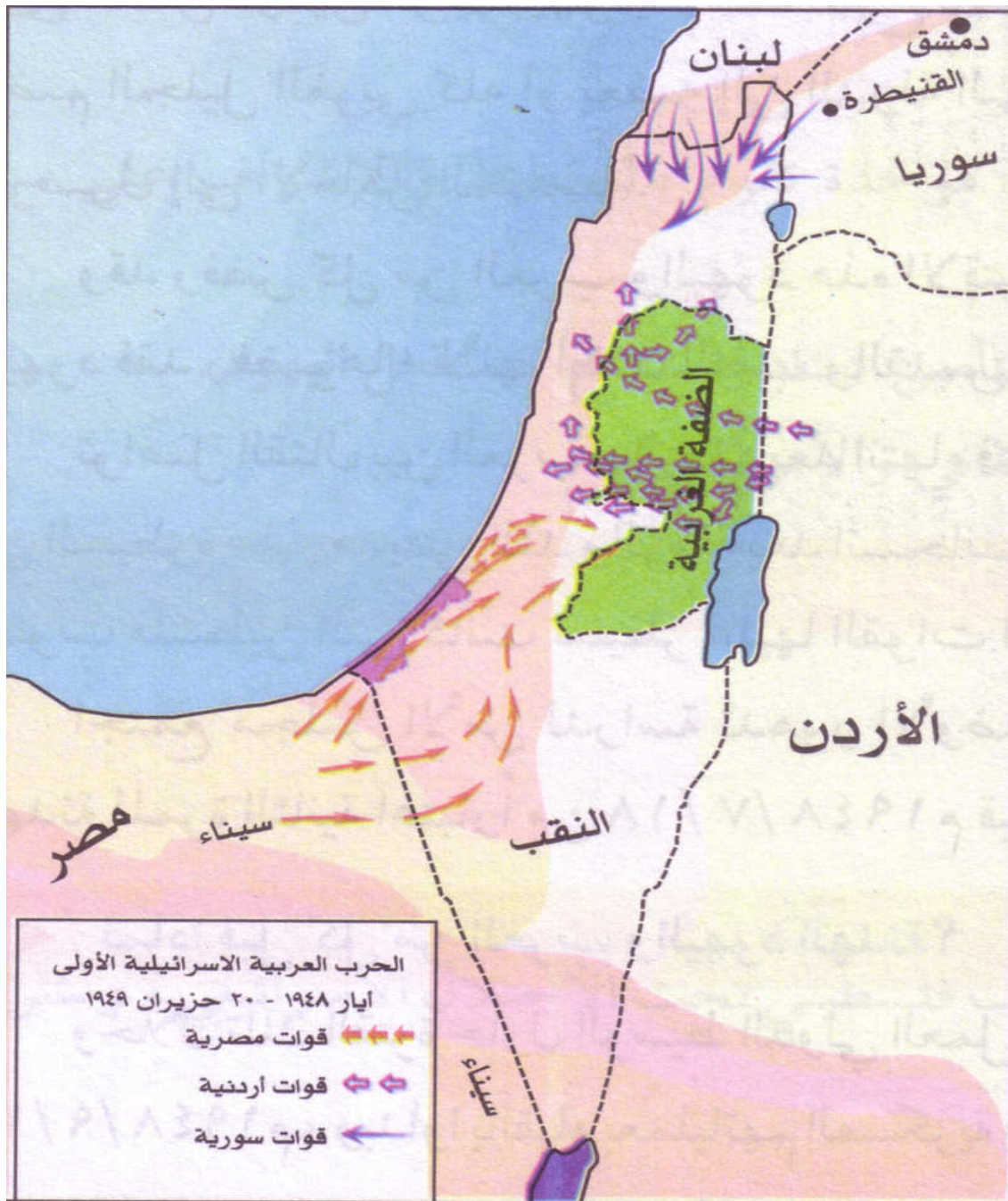
The Arab-Israeli War of 1948

The pace of military actions between the Palestinians and the Zionist forces intensified following the ending of the British Mandate over Palestine and the proclamation by the Jews of the establishment of their state on May 15, 1948. In the face of this situation the Arab governments decided to send their forces to Palestine in order to support the Palestinian people in defending its land and to prevent the establishment of a Jewish state there.

In a memorandum he sent to the UN Secretary General, Abd al-Rahman Azzam, Secretary General of the Arab League, explained the reasons, which caused the Arab governments' military intervention. The sixth paragraph read:

“Whereas the security of Palestine is a sacred trust tied to the neck of the Arab states, and out of desire to put an end to this situation and prevent it from becoming critical and turn into chaos, the extent of which no one knows, and out of desire to prevent the spread of disturbances and chaos in Palestine to the neighboring Arab states and fill in the vacuum existing in the Palestinian government apparatus as a result of the vanishing of the Mandate and the absence of a legitimate authority that would replace it, the governments of the Arab states considered themselves obliged to intervene in Palestine just for the purpose of helping its inhabitants to restore peace and security.”

The Arab armies entered Palestine on 15.5.1948 following the ending of the British Mandate. They consisted of about 14 thousand fighters from several Arab states among which [were] Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq, and forces from Saudi Arabia and Sudan joined the Egyptian forces later. Barely two weeks passed since their entrance into Palestine until they managed, with the Palestinian resistance, to take control over most of the regions there, which caused the Jews to ask for help from the United States of America and Britain in order to intervene immediately and stop the fighting.



Map of the Arab-Israeli war, 1948

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 43

Following that, the Security Council decided to stop the fighting between the Arabs and the Jews on May 29, 1948 for a period of four weeks... Both parties agreed to the truce, but the Jews violated it three hours after the announcement of its implementation.

Why did the Jews demand from both the United States of America and Britain to intervene for a ceasefire?

The Jews' Achievements as a Result of the Truce

The Jews had several achievements as a result of the truce, of which the most important ones were:

- Lifting the siege from the Jewish community in Jerusalem and providing it with water and provisions.
- Opening the road connecting Jerusalem with Tel Aviv. In addition, the Jews opened [another] road parallel to it.
- Being supplied with weapons and ammunition and bringing in fighters from the United States, England and South Africa.
- They occupied strategic positions and fortified them by digging trenches in preparation for the resumption of fighting.

The Arabs abided by the ceasefire and their armies remained in their posts. They did not respond to the Jews' violations of the truce and opened to them the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road.

...Fighting between the Arabs and the Jews was resumed after the ending of the truce period... The Jews managed during that period to take control of the cities of Lydda and Ramleh, after the Jordanian forces had withdrawn from them, in addition to taking control of some areas in southern Palestine, which were under the control of the Egyptian forces. They also took control of some posts in western Galilee.

The Security Council met to study the deterioration of the situation in Palestine and issued a resolution regarding the necessity to end the fighting and announcing a truce for a second time beginning in 18.7.1948, which was accepted by both Arabs and Jews.

Why did both Arabs and Jews accept the truce?

During that period the international mediator [Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden] tried to work on the implementation of his proposal, but the Zionists assassinated him in Jerusalem on 17.9.1948 and started their military operations against the Arab armies and managed to occupy the Negev and the Galilee region.

Why did the Jews assassinate Count Folke Bernadotte?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 33-34

The Armistice Agreements with Israel's Neighboring States

The Arab armies withdrew from Palestine and an armistice agreement was signed between each of Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria and Israel on the island of Rhodes in 1949 known as "the Rhodes Armistice". It gave Israel a territory in Palestine 1.5 times bigger than the area given to it by the Partition rejected by the Arabs who unanimously decided to oppose it and overthrow it even by force.

The Arabs and the Zionists differed in their view of the Rhodes armistice. The Zionists considered it the end of the war between them and the Arabs. The Zionists' goal behind that was pushing the Arab states to conclude a permanent peace with them based on the *fait accompli* in Palestine.

As for the Arabs, they adhered to the literal text of the Rhodes Armistice, which stipulated that it was an interim measure subject to the reconsideration of the issue of the future Palestinian government by the United Nations General Assembly. Accordingly, the Arabs were of the opinion that the armistice ended the military operations with Israel only, but it did not put an end to the existing state of war against it.

I will consider the reason for the Arabs' willingness to sign the Rhodes Armistice in spite of the fact that it gave Israel a territory of Palestine 1.5 times bigger than what had been given to it by the Partition [Resolution of 1947] which they [i.e., the Arabs] had rejected before.

The Reasons for the Defeat of the Arab Armies in the War

The defeat of the Arab armies in battle was a result of several reasons such as:

- Meager military capability and experience within the Arab armies participating in the war. Some of them were newly formed and others were under a foreign command.
- The fighting Arab armies lacked a unified military command that would plan and oversee the operations.
- The truce periods, which interpenetrated the war, were not used for the providing [the Arab forces] with equipment and weapons, as done by the Jews.
- The Zionist forces were superior in numbers and equipment and had British and American support.³⁸

I will consider other reasons for the defeat of the Arab armies.

The Results of the 1948 War

The war of 1948 brought about several results:

- The dispersal of the Palestinian people. Some 156 thousand Palestinians came under Israeli occupation and about a million Palestinians were expelled and forced to emigrate from it [Palestine].
- The establishment of the State of Israel on an area estimated at 77.4% of Palestine's territory while having been allocated about 56% [only] by the Partition Resolution, as clearly shown on the map.
- The West Bank was annexed to Trans-Jordan and the Gaza Strip was placed under Egyptian administration.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 35-36

Many have lamented Palestine and its cities under the shadow of Israeli occupation, among which has been the Palestinian poet Abu Salma (Abd al-Karim al-Karami).

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 48

...The Palestinians organized themselves in order to have their adequate share in the effort to reclaim their rights by all effective means dictated by the circumstances...

[Some articles of the Palestinian Covenant are given – without the ones referring to Israel, or the Jews, or to the armed struggle]

The Covenant was amended by striking out some of its articles after the signing of the Oslo Accord in a session held by the Palestinian National Council in Gaza on 14.12.1998.

I will find the stricken out articles.

Activity

Let us discuss the circumstances, which brought about the amendment of the Palestinian National Covenant.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 44-46, 48

³⁸ America imposed an arms embargo on both sides and Britain sided with the Arabs. The Jordanian army was under the command of British officers and was allowed to operate against Jewish settlements in Palestine (Gush Etzion, Hartuv) even before May 15, 1948. British aircrafts clashed with Israeli ones in an attempt to check the advance of Israeli forces into Egyptian Sinai towards the end of the war.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2005) p. 47

The June War in the Year 1967

...A clash took place between the Syrian and the Israeli forces on April 7, 1967 and six Syrian warplanes were downed... The Syrian leadership received the information of the Israeli threats with utmost seriousness and anticipated an attack at any moment... The situation became more dangerous on May 16, 1967 following Egypt's request that the United Nations [Emergency] forces [which had been deployed on the Israeli-Egyptian border after the Sinai war of 1956] withdraw from their posts on the border so that Egyptian forces be spread there instead. The Israeli prime minister Levy Eshkol accused Syria of being responsible for the tension and insisted that Egypt withdraw its forces from Sinai. He asked the United Nations to reaffirm its commitment to Israel's security and notify the Soviet Union about that. He [also] sent a letter to the French president [Charles] De Gaul in which he promised him that [Israel] would not initiate military actions unless Egypt closed the Tiran straits [at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba] to Israeli shipping. Egypt decided to close the Gulf of Aqaba to ships going to Israel in reaction to Israeli threats to occupy Damascus and topple the Syrian government. The [Egyptian] president Jamal Abd al-Nasser stated that in his speech saying: "The waters of the Gulf of Aqaba are Egyptian territorial waters." Israel considered that an act of aggression and asked the United States to intervene in order to reopen the gulf to Israeli ships.



Map of the Straits of Tiran

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 49

³⁹ *Fidai* is a traditional term denoting a man who is ready to sacrifice himself for a cause. In the Palestinian context it refers to members of the armed Palestinian organizations acting against Israel.

...The Israeli air force launched a stunning attack on Monday 5.6.1967 on the Egyptian, Jordanian, Syrian and Lebanese airfields and within three hours destroyed the airfields' runways and the Arab aircrafts, which were standing on them. It should be known that the United States of America had assured Egypt that Israel would not initiate an attack.

Syria and Jordan declared war on Israel on the first day of the attack and within six days Israeli forces managed to occupy the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and also took control of the Egyptian Sinai desert in its entirety and the Syrian Golan Heights. The Israeli army took positions on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal and on the Golan Heights and Mount Hermon up to [a line stretching] east of the Syrian town of Quneitra. Thus, the Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian forces were defeated in that war.



Map of the June War of 1967

It should be noted that the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip joined the Egyptian and Jordanian forces in resisting the Israeli forces, which had crossed the Palestinian borders according to the armistice of 1949. Thousands of Palestinians left the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to the Arab states. In the wake of the defeat of the Arab armies in the June War of 1967 the Arab kings and presidents held their fourth conference in Khartum between 29.8-1.9.1967, which was attended by twelve leaders. Syria was not present and Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia were content with sending representative [of a lower level]...

[The resolutions of the Khartum conference are quoted, including the “Three No’s”, namely, no peace, no recognition and no negotiations with Israel]

In your opinion, were the resolutions and the recommendations adopted by the fourth Arab summit conference sufficient for the elimination of aggression and for Israel’s withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories? Why?

[The UN Security Council resolution No. 242 of November 1967 is quoted, including a reference to the necessity of Israeli withdrawal from “territories occupied in the recent conflict” – as appearing in the English text, in comparison with the French version, which refers to “the territories”]

Is there a difference between the use of the word “territories” and “the territories” in the resolution? Why?

The Palestinian Liberation Organization [PLO] rejected this resolution having believed that it put an end to the state of war between the Arabs and Israel, opened the Arab maritime waterways to Israeli shipping and gave Israel secure borders recognized by the Arabs.

Did this position fit the Arab and international political situation at that time?

Activity

Let us discuss the reasons for the Arab states’ defeat in the June war of 1967.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 49-53

The West Bank and the Gaza Strip were subjected to Israeli military government in accordance with the Israel government’s decision, which appears in the ordinance issued on 7.6.1967 by the military governor of the West Bank [the translated text is quoted taken from an Israeli source]...

Why did the Israeli authorities not embark on the annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?

The West Bank and the Gaza Strip remained under military government until the signing in 1978 of the Camp David Agreement, which stipulated that a civil administration be established for the overseeing of the local inhabitants’ civil affairs. Civil affairs were separated from military and security matters. The Civil Administration’s chief was to be appointed by the commander of the Israeli army in the area. He was given the right of enacting secondary legislations and appointing senior officials and civil servants.

Do you expect Israeli policy to have been different after transforming the military government into civil administration? Why?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 54-55

The Israeli leaders expected that the Arab leaders would decide to surrender after the defeat of 1967, but the result dashed their hopes. The Palestinian resistance movement was active and the Israeli prime minister Levy Eshkol expressed that [disappointment] by saying: “Jordan does not

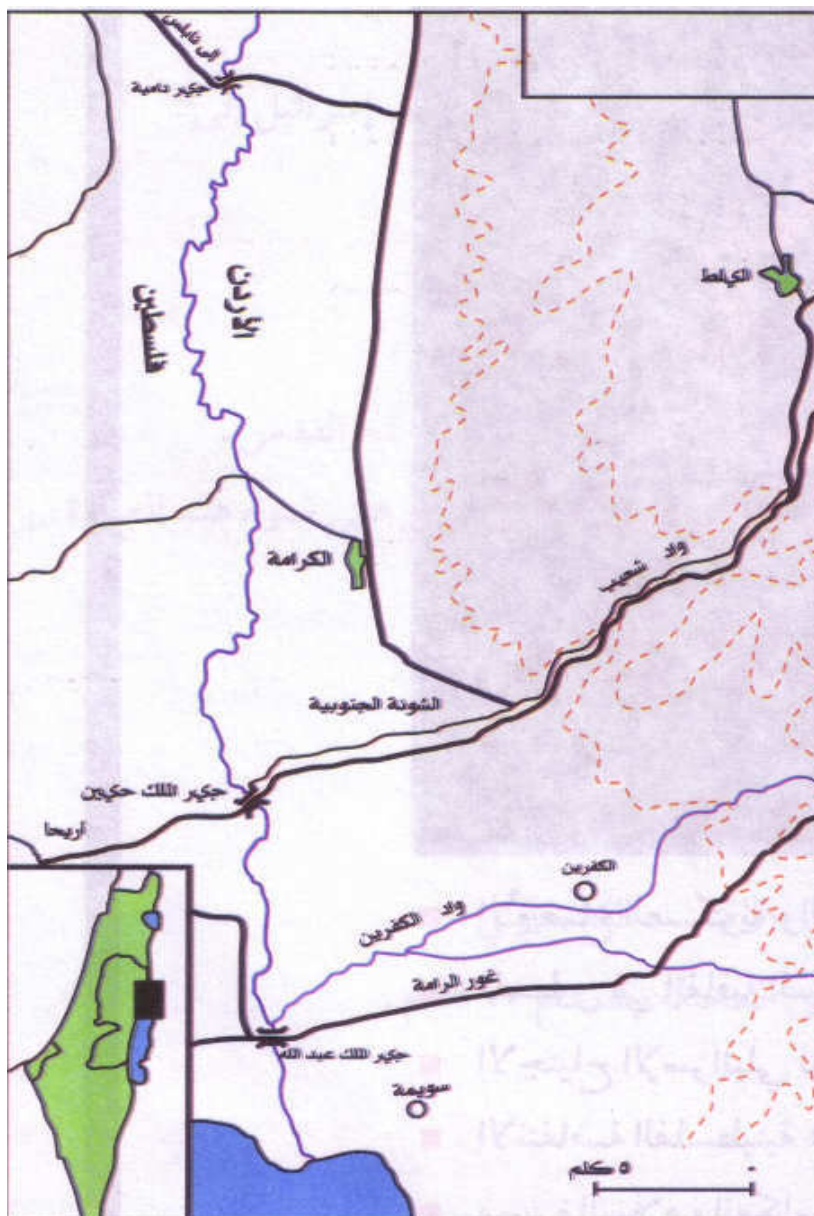
do anything to put an end to the *Fidais'* actions, which emanate from its territories, and we will be obliged to defend ourselves."

What do we conclude from the Israeli prime minister's statement?

The Battle of Karameh

The Israeli forces began to intensify their presence on the Jordan river on 19.3.1968 and on 21.3.1968 launched their attack on the eastern bank of the Jordan River in an area stretching from Prince Muhammad Bridge (Damia) in the north to the Dead Sea in the south in order to eliminate the *Fidais'* positions in the area of [the town of] Karameh and its refugee camp close to King Hussein Bridge (Allenby). The battle lasted for 16 hours.

The Israeli forces attacked with 15 thousand soldiers, four squadrons of warplanes and heavy artillery along the frontline. The Palestinian *Fidais*, with the cooperation of the Jordanian forces, warded off the Israeli forces, foiled their advance and prevented them from carrying out their plans. In the light of the fierce resistance, as cold steel was used face-to-face, Israel asked for ceasefire but that was not achieved before complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces.



The site of the battle of Karameh

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 64

The Karameh battle is considered a turning point with regard to the Palestinian resistance, as requests to volunteer in the resistance increased and so did its supplying with material and moral support.

What is the psychological and military impact left by the battle of Karameh within the Arab party?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 65-66

...In February 1969 the Palestinian National Council held its fifth session in Cairo and took several decisions one of which was [the following]: determinate opposition to all solutions, agreements and projects that contradict the right of the Palestinian people to its homeland. The Executive Committee of the Palestinian Liberation Organization was also elected and Mr. Yasser Arafat was chosen to be its chairman. [It was also decided] to support the *Fidai* activity materially and morally in [its] activity against the occupation...

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 65

The War of Attrition

The War of Attrition broke out on... the front of the Suez Canal in February 1969. The Egyptian leadership's goal in this war was not to allow the transformation of the ceasefire lines into permanent borderlines and to inflict on Israel human and material losses.

The Egyptian blows were concentrated on the Israeli military forces, which fortified themselves in the Bar-Lev Line⁴⁰ while the Israeli blows focused on Egyptian forces spread on the western bank of the Canal. Thus, fighting was transformed into mutual attrition in which the total of Egyptian casualties outnumbered [that of] Israeli casualties.

Israel intensified this attrition by making its air force participate in the military operations beginning on July 20, 1969 and then expanded the arena of its operations by bombing targets deep in Egyptian territory beginning on 7.1.1970. This situation could have continued for a long time had the Egyptian not built an effective system of air defense, which succeeded in downing the Israeli aircrafts that entered the Egyptian air space.

[The Rogers plan is then discussed]

Having studied the Rogers Plan, I will explain why it was rejected by the PLO.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 66-67

...As a result of the expanding activities of the Palestinian resistance in Jordan Israel strove to get rid of it by recurring raids on Jordan, which led to tension in the relations between the Jordanian government and the PLO to a degree of armed clashes [between them] in September 1970, which brought about the evacuation of the Palestinian resistance [forces] from Jordan to Lebanon

What impact did the departure of the [Palestinian] resistance from Jordan to Lebanon leave on the Palestinian arena and the [Arab] eastern front [against Israel]?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 67

The War of Ramadan (October 1973)

Israeli inroads on Egypt and Syria followed one another while the two states were planning to regain their territories [lost in 1967]. The Egyptian forces crossed the Suez Canal on Saturday October 6, 1973, destroyed the Bar-Lev Line and spread on the eastern bank of the Canal. The Syrian forces as well managed to take control of Mount Hermon and started advancing towards the Golan Heights.

⁴⁰ The Israeli defense line on the eastern bank of the Canal named after the Israeli Chief of Staff at that time.

But after the absorption of the [initial] shock and confusion among the Israeli command and [following] the arrival of American military supplies by air and sea bridges carrying the most advanced weapons, and with the participation of the American surveillance aircrafts, which were providing the Israeli forces with precise information about the movement of the Arab forces, the Israeli forces regained the initiative.

The Israeli forces pushed the Syrian army back to the ceasefire line of 1967 and crossed it occupying Syrian territory estimated at 500 square km and threatened the [Syrian] capital Damascus... Also, the spread of the Egyptian forces along the front east of the Suez Canal and the decision taken to develop the Egyptian land offensive towards the [Mitla and the Jiddi] Passes, without air cover and with the absence of sufficient reserve of the Egyptian army to defend its rear, made it possible for part of the Israeli forces to open the Deversoir breach at the Suez Canal and cross it over to the western bank and [thus] the Egyptian missile bases operating in that area were destroyed. [The Israeli forces] penetrated some 20 miles [into Egypt proper] with a view to surrounding the Egyptian third army and controlling the road leading to Cairo.

I will explain: The October war was not decided in favor of any of the parties.

The endeavors of the great powers began in order to bring about a ceasefire and the Security Council's resolution No. 338 was issued... The international efforts continued until ceasefire agreements were signed in 1974 between the Egyptian and Israeli forces and the Syrian and Israeli forces.

The Israeli forces violated the ceasefire in order to acquire new territories. They occupied Mount Hermon and strengthened their presence in the southern suburbs of Suez in an attempt to achieve political and strategic gains.

Why did the Israeli forces intentionally violate the ceasefire?

The Results of the October War

The October War had several results among which [were the following]:

- Oil's political and strategic importance became prominent, as the Arabs employed the oil weapon in battle through the decision to gradually decrease Arab oil production for every exporting Arab state in a monthly ratio not less than 5% until Israel's withdrawal from the Arab occupied territories.
- Recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in a resolution adopted by the Arab summit [conference] in Rabat on October 26, 1974.
- Increase of international recognition and acceptance of the PLO, as the UN General Assembly issued resolution No. 3236 in session No. 29 in November 1974 [the resolution is being quoted]. The UN General Assembly also adopted in November 1974 a resolution making the PLO a member of the organization as an observer with the right to participate in all UN bodies and international conferences.

Mr. Yasser Arafat delivered a speech at the UN on November 13, 1974 [quotations].

What are the gains achieved by the PLO after the October War?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 67-71

The Palestinian National Council had already held its twelfth session in the beginning of June 1974 in order to study the recent developments in the Palestinian arena after the October war and issued the phased political program, which said *inter alia*:

“The establishment of the people’s fighting independent national rule on any liberated part of the Palestinian land... Any liberation move that is to be done is a link [in the chain] for the continued realization of the PLO strategy regarding the establishment of the democratic Palestinian state...”

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 69

...In 1975 Israel was denounced by the UN General Assembly in its thirtieth session within Resolution No. 3379 which said: “The United Nations General Assembly affirms that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.”

This resolution was cancelled by the United Nations in 1991.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 71

Palestinian Resistance in the Lebanese Arena

...The Cairo Agreement

It was concluded between the Lebanese government and the Palestinian leadership in 1969 in Cairo and contained Lebanon’s agreement to [Palestinian] *Fidai* activity in specific areas of Lebanon, the freedom of movement and training within and across specified passageways within Lebanese territory and the abolishment of all limitations imposed on the refugee camps there...

Israeli aggression on the Palestinian [refugee] camps and positions increased and went beyond that into the villages, cities, infrastructure and economic centers in Lebanon, which drove the PLO in 1972 to freeze its operations from Lebanese territories. In spite of that, Israeli aggression and bombardment of Palestinian concentrations in Lebanon did not stop. These operations also included the assassination of leading Palestinian activists such as Muhammad Yusuf al-Najjar, Kamal Adwan and Kamal Nasser in Beirut in 1973.

The Maronite [Christian Lebanese] leaders and [the Maronite-led] Phalanges Party seized the opportunity and demanded that the Lebanese forces enter the Palestinian [refugee] camps in order to defend them, which resulted in clashes between them and the Palestinians, as happened in the massacre at [the Palestinian camp of] Tall al-Za’tar [during the Lebanese civil war which started in April 1975].

How would you see the future of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon in the shadow of these developments? And who benefits from that?

The Israeli forces swept through the Lebanese south in March 1978 in a military operation named “the Litani Operation” with a view to destroying the Palestinian forces’ infrastructure in Lebanon. It reached the vicinity of the Litani River.⁴¹

The [UN] Security Council issued on 19.3.1978 [its] Resolution No. 425 regarding ceasefire, withdrawal of Israeli forces and sending UN emergency forces to southern Lebanon. Having faced the fierce resistance of the joint Palestinian and Lebanese forces, the Israeli forces withdrew leaving the region under [the control of] the South Lebanon Army, which was Israel’s ally.

⁴¹ This operation came after a Palestinian terrorist attack from Lebanese territory on civil transportation on the Israeli coastal highway between Tel Aviv and Haifa in which close to 40 Israeli civilians were killed.

Activity

Let us conduct research, write a report about the massacre of Tall al-Za'tar and read it on the school radio.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 71-72

The Israeli Invasion of Lebanon in 1982

Israel planned to eliminate the PLO and abolish its political role in the region by putting an end to the armed Palestinian presence [in Lebanon] and [to] the Lebanese resistance [forces]. Israel impatiently waited for a pretext and that was accomplished when an assassination attempt of its ambassador in London took place on 3.6.1982. The Israeli government held an emergency meeting and decided to begin the attack. It paved the way for it by bombarding Beirut so that the invasion would start on 6.6.1982.

The Israeli government claimed that the operation was limited in its goals and aimed at pushing the Palestinian forces to a distance of 40 km [from the Israeli-Lebanese border], that is, to the Litani River, without provoking the Syrian forces [deployed inside Lebanon]. But on the fourth day [of the operation, Israeli] bombardment extended to the Syrian missile bases in the Beqa' Valley [in Lebanon] and destroyed them.

The Palestinian and Lebanese resistance confused the Israeli army but did not prevent its advance northward in the direction of Beirut and the Damascus-Beirut highway, engaging with the Syrian forces deployed there. The Israeli forces' advance continued until it laid a siege on west Beirut.⁴²

The Siege of Beirut

The Israeli forces entered east Beirut and, with the cooperation of the Phalanges Lebanese [Christian] militia, they managed to encircle west Beirut, which withstood the bombardment and destruction aiming at narrowing its encirclement and gradually advancing to complete the occupation of the western part of the [Lebanese] capital where the Palestinian and Lebanese resistance was present.

Water and electricity were cut off from the city and food, medicines and fuel were prevented from coming in. Israel massed three divisions in order to storm it. Bombardment reached its peak between 1-12 of August, as the Israeli army used various kinds of weaponry. The United States of America sent its special envoy Philip Habib during the siege in order to convince the Palestinian leadership to agree to withdraw from Beirut. The PLO accepted Philip Habib's proposals to withdraw from Beirut in deference to calls by Lebanese and Arab leaders.

Had you been given the power of making a decision, would you have agreed to withdraw or not? Why?

A multinational force was sent in order to oversee the evacuation of the Palestinian resistance forces from Lebanon. The first ship sailed from the Beirut harbor on 21.8.1982 carrying on board a group of Palestinian fighters after a siege that lasted some 80 days.

The Palestinian resistance forces were distributed among Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Sudan, Algeria and [also] Tunisia, which became the PLO headquarters. The PLO began to reassess its policy so that it would fit the new political and military circumstances.

What is the impact resulting from the expulsion of the Palestinian resistance from Lebanon and the dispersion of its forces?

⁴² Muslim west Beirut was the PLO stronghold at that time while Christian east Beirut did not resist the Israeli forces.

[President] Reagan's Initiative 1.9.1982

The American president Ronald Reagan presented a peace initiative after the dispersion of the Palestinian resistance forces in states far away from the confrontation lines, which stated:

- Mutual recognition between Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians and of the existence of Israel within secure and recognized borders.
- Establishment of self-rule for the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip connected with Jordan.
- Freezing of Israeli settlement during the transitional period.

The Reagan initiative was rejected by both the PLO and Israel. Why?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 77-78

The Palestinian Intifada in 1987

The Palestinian people embarked on its first Intifada on 9.12.1987. Some of the indirect factors [which led] to its eruption [were]:

- The PLO exit from Lebanon in the wake of Israeli invasion in 1982 and the dispersal of its forces in various Arab states.
- Israel's attempt to create local leaderships as an alternative to the PLO such as the League of Villages.
- Israel's feverish implementation of its repressive policy vis-à-vis the Palestinian people, which was called the iron-fist policy, such as arrests, expulsion, closing of schools and universities for long periods, house demolition, land confiscation, etc.
- As for the direct reason which led to the break out of the Intifada, an Israeli truck collided with two cars carrying Arab inhabitants from the Jibalya [refugee] camp in the Gaza Strip, which brought about the martyrdom of four Palestinian inhabitants. Confrontations erupted between the Camp's inhabitants and the occupation forces which soon spread all over the Gaza Strip and the West Bank and the Palestinian people embarked on it with all its sectors.

Why did the Intifada attract all sectors of the Palestinian people?

The [Israeli] iron-fist, force and humiliation policy did not help in deviating the Palestinians from their goals.

...How did the PLO endeavor to use the Intifada for the realization of the Palestinian people's goals?

Israel's Policy in Confronting the Intifada

Israel resorted to all repressive means and measures in order to end the Intifada, which extended to the Palestinian leaders abroad... and [also included] collective arrests, imposition of curfew and the expulsion policy...

Some foreign papers discussed these means and measures, among which was the British Guardian which criticized the Israeli policy of confronting the Intifada saying: "[The Israeli prime minister Yitzhak] Shamir waves his iron fist and declares his determination to cling to his position, but he avoids reason and reality, which is represented by the fast increasing limitations: bullets, [tear] gas, arrests, illegal expulsion, long curfews, censorship threatening with more actions in the future, which are considered by themselves a change of course and direction by both friend and enemy. For the first time Israel was forced by a bunch of angry youth to face the truth that it cannot remain a democracy and an occupying force for ever."

Did the iron-fist policy succeed in stopping the Intifada? Why?

In spite of this policy, the Israeli authorities could not stop the Intifada, and since the occupied territories became a security as well as an economic and moral burden on the Israeli government, what solution would the Israeli leaders propose?

[The Israeli veteran politician] Shimon Peres says: "Our image has become unbearable. Negotiations are better than showing [stone] throwing films [on TV]."

And the [Israeli] Minister of Science [Eizer] Weizmann stated: "The only way to stop the Intifada is to conduct negotiations with the PLO and he [sic] is ready to conduct negotiations with it and meet [its leader] Yasser Arafat if the organization recognizes Israel, declares a ceasefire and stopping of terrorist actions and recognizes the UN resolutions 242 and 338."

The Arab Position vis-à-vis the Intifada

The demonstrations supporting the Palestinian people became universal in most Arab capitals and committees for the support of the Palestinian Intifada were formed... The denouncement campaign of the Israeli practices against the unarmed Palestinian people intensified over the communication media...

The United Nations Organization denounced Israeli policy in many of its resolutions, demanded that it respect the fourth Geneva Convention related to the right of civilians and decided on 15.12.1988 to accept Palestine as a member instead of the PLO.

The United States tried to stop the Intifada through [the effort of] its foreign minister George Shultz who issued a declaration to the Palestinians on 26.2.1988:

The participation of the Palestinians is considered fundamental for the success of the peace process. I was hoping to bring this message to East Jerusalem and personally hear from Palestine's leaders about your hopes and opinions...

First, Palestinians and Israelis should work with one another in another form. The Palestinians should have control over political and economic decisions, which influence their own life. The Palestinians should actively participate in the negotiations for the determination of their future.

Second, This move should be part of a wider effort for attaining a comprehensive settlement and realizing it on the basis of the Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

The opportunity is available and knocks loudly on your door. Now is the time to start working. We have a workable plan and we are ready to be committed to it with our efforts. So let us turn our dreams into the reality of peace, rights and security for all. Thank you."

I will explain the intervention on the part of the United States of America.

In the light of the continuation of the Intifada and Israel's inability to create an alternative leadership to the PLO, King Hussein bin Talal of Jordan declared on 31.7.1988 the detachment of the West Bank [from Jordan].

How did the detachment decision influence the Palestinians?

The Intifada's Achievements

With the intensification of the Palestinian Intifada, the Palestinians and the Arab states aspired to the convention of an international conference to bring the Palestinian problem to a comprehensive and just solution for the sake of the establishment of the independent Palestinian state. Therefore, the Palestinian National Council issued in its fourteenth session, which was held in Algiers on 15.11.1988, the declaration of independence [quotations]...

How did the Declaration of Independence influence the course of the Palestinian struggle?

With the increase of international solidarity with the Palestinian people, the United States of America decided on 14.12.1988 to open a dialogue with the PLO.

Do you expect the United States of America to use its influence in order to pressure Israel in favor of the Palestinian problem? Why?

I will test myself:

Question 2: The force and oppression policy used by Israel in the occupied territories did not deviate the Palestinian people from the continuation of its struggle, which was culminated by the eruption of the Intifada in 1987. In light of this phrase I will answer the following:

- A. What are the factors, which brought about the eruption of the Palestinian Intifada in 1987?
- B. I will mention the goals, which the Palestinians endeavored to realize in their Intifada.
- C. I will explain the Intifada's impact on the Palestinian problem.

Question 3: I will explain the policy pursued by Israel in order to suppress the Intifada.

Activity

Let us discuss the need to diversify the methods of the Palestinian struggle.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 80-85

[On the peace process and the Oslo Accord, please see in the section titled "Peace with Israel" below.]

The Al-Aqsa Intifada, 2000

The freezing of negotiations between the Palestinian and the Israeli parties after the summit conference of Camp David [summer of 2000] and the attempt on the part of the Israeli party, with the support of the United States, to impose a solution on the Palestinians distant from the resolutions of international legitimacy 242, 338 and Resolution 194 [of December 1948] regarding the return of the Palestinian refugees, [and following] Israel's failure to carry out its written commitments regarding the national rights of the Palestinian people after it signed the Oslo Accord, and also the continuation of Israeli policy against the Palestinians such as the assassinations, the arrests and the refusal to release the prisoners-of-war – all that has a share in bringing the Palestinians to a state of despair and frustration regarding the benefit of the peace process to which it had resorted in order to realize its goals of national independence, removal of the [Jewish] settlements and the return of the refugees.

Then came [MK Ariel] Sharon's visit to the Al-Aqsa Mosque to become the spark that brought about the eruption of a popular Intifada on September 28, 2000, which spread to encompass all the people's segments and which was named the Al-Aqsa Intifada.

The Intifada was a wonderful example of Palestinian sacrifice and steadfastness vis-à-vis oppression and aggression and embodied the unity of the Palestinian people in its most wonderful form. The Higher Follow-up Committee of the National and Islamic Forces was formed and the Palestinian resistance's positions and efforts were unified. Since the eruption of the Intifada Israel tried by all means to destroy the Intifada infrastructure in order to stop it. It invaded the Palestinian cities, besieged the late president Yasser Arafat [in his Ramallah headquarters], assassinated many Palestinian leaders such as Abu Ali Mustafa, General Secretary of the Popular Front [for the Liberation of Palestine – PFLP] and Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, leader of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)

Abu Ali Mustafa: A Palestinian leader, born in 1938 in the town of Arabeh near Jenin, moved to live in Amman with his family in 1950, played a distinguished role in the establishment of

the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and occupied the position of deputy to the secretary general there during the period between 1972-1999. He then became secretary general of the Front in 2000 and returned the land of Palestine after the signing of the Oslo Accord. Israel assassinated him in Ramallah on 27.8.2001.

Sheikh Ahmad Yassin: A Palestinian leader, born in 1938 in the Jawrah village in the Majdal [Ashkelon] district south [sic and should be north] of the Gaza Strip, fled with his family to the Gaza Strip after the war of 1948, had an accident in his youth while practicing sports which resulted in total limb paralysis, worked as a head of the Islamic Center in Gaza and established with a number of Islamic activists the organization of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) in the Gaza Strip in 1987. He was arrested several times and faced attempts on his life more than once until Israel managed to assassinate him on 22.3.2004.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 91

...The Roadmap Plan

A political plan for the solution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been presented by the United States on April 30, 2003, which was known by the Roadmap Plan [Quotes].

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 92-93

Death of President Yasser Arafat (Abu Ammar)

President Yasser Arafat was subjected to a siege by the Israeli forces in his headquarters in the district building in Ramallah for a period of more than three years, which brought about the aggravation of his illness under unclear circumstances. He was moved to the Percy military hospital in France for treatment where he died on 11.11.2004... He was then taken in a helicopter... to be buried in Ramallah in a popular procession attended by tens of thousands of Palestinians.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 94

Israeli Withdrawal from the Gaza Strip

The Israeli forces withdrew from the Gaza Strip on 12.9.2005 in accordance with the unilateral withdrawal plan, which had been adopted by Ariel Sharon, the Israeli prime minister, following the evacuation from the Strip of the [Jewish] settlers and the destruction of the settlements.



**Modern and
Contemporary
History of Palestine,
Grade 11, Part 2
(2006) p. 94**

Some attention in the context of the Palestinian problem is directed at the role of Palestinian and Arab media.

The Palestinian informational activity [*I'lam*] succeeded in defining what has become known as the Palestinian national constants [*thawabit*] in the post-Oslo phase, which are: the independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital and the return of the Palestinian refugees to their lands and property in accordance with resolution No. 194 of the United Nations General Assembly.

Accordingly, the Palestinian informational activity in this stage is facing a fierce campaign by parties, which are not satisfied with the mission it fulfils and which started accusing it of what is called incitement against them and lack of objectivity in news reporting and event covering. Consequently, many Palestinian communication media have experienced many assaults, which were aimed at limiting their capability to reach the sons of the Palestinian people and to the rest of the world's peoples, by destroying buildings and property, or by broadcast jamming, or by confiscating equipment and printed issues, or limiting the capabilities of journalists and media people to move about and reach the sites of events and treat them [there].

But in spite of all this, the role played by the Palestinian communication media still remains important in the service of the just Palestinian cause, in introducing it to the younger generation and mobilizing Arab, Muslim and international public opinion to its support. It is also an important and continuous role clarifying the essence of the just struggle, which is engaged in by the Palestinian people and which is backed by international covenants and laws, and enlightening the world's peoples with regard to the Palestinian problem, so that they will not fall victim to the doubts raised by the communication media hostile to the cause of the Palestinian people...

Activity

I will write a letter in the Arabic or the English language and publish it in the Internet or in any other medium the issue of which will be the separating wall built by Israel on the Palestinian lands.

...If the Arabs possessed some [world] communication media, they could defend with them the Arab causes, chief among which being the Palestinian problem. ...The scarcity of [Arab] satellite television stations and web sites addressing the world's peoples, international bodies and communication organizations, especially in the West, and in particular those ones which specialize in defending human rights, which need real and true information about the situation of human rights in Palestine under the occupation with a view to activating international solidarity with the Palestinian cause.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 31-32

Grade 12

The Palestine problem has become the problem of the whole world.

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 72

Following is a brief description of the conflict in a literature textbook. It is extremely biased, ignoring any connection between the Jews and the land, the Arab side's responsibility for the war in 1948, which ended in a disaster for the Palestinians, the international recognition of Israel as a sovereign state lawfully established in accordance with UN resolutions, the Arab side's share of responsibility for the outbreak of the 1967 war, and the Oslo Accords, which facilitated the return of the Palestinian leadership to the West Bank and Gaza.

...The Balfour Declaration was issued on the second of November 1917. It promised the Jews to establish a national home for them in Palestine. In July 1922 the Council of the League of

Nations affirmed the instrument of the British Mandate, which deprived the people of Palestine of their right to administer their country's affairs and granted the mandatory state absolute power of administration and legislation. Consequently, it started preparing the political and economic conditions, which would guarantee the establishment of a national home for the Jews. It began facilitating the Jews' immigration to Palestine in order to transform it into a Jewish state after the expulsion of its people or their extermination. Facing this Imperialist-Zionist plan, the people of Palestine decided to struggle and perform the Jihad with their property, souls and pens, so that they would prevent Britain from establishing the Jewish state in Palestine... They staged several revolts of which the prominent ones were the Al-Buraq Revolt of 1929 and the Great Revolt in 1936. The conflict with the Mandatory government and Zionism continued until the Catastrophe [*Nakbah*] took place on the fifteenth of May 1948 and the Palestine war ended in a holocaust [*karithah*] unprecedented by history. The Zionist gangs usurped Palestine, expelled its people from their cities, villages, land and homes and established the state of Israel... On June 5, 1967 the tragedy became aggravated with the occupation by the Zionist entity of what was left of Palestine: the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, after a painful military defeat of some of the Arab armies in Egypt, Jordan and Syria. In spite of the peace treaties, which took off in 1991 between the Palestinians and the Israelis, the return of the Palestinian leadership to the West Bank and Gaza in 1994 and the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, most of the Palestinians still succumb under the yoke of occupation and others live a life of vagabondage and loss.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 103-104

...It [the Palestinian people] has been suffering for decades from poverty, Imperialist oppression, dispersal, exile and denial of intellectual and cultural rights...

...The [Palestinian] poets became more attached to Palestine's painful reality and [to] the portrayal of its calamities and of its sons' resistance to Imperialism and occupation...

Among the most important subjects dealt with by modern Palestinian poetry in its latest phases are the tragedy of Palestine in 1948 and the accompanying loss, vagabondage and tragedies [inflicted on] the people of Palestine, as well as the resistance in which [Palestine's] people have shown the most wonderful heroism and sacrifice, and which has become a lesson to be followed in resisting Imperialism, occupation and oppression in all parts of the world.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 104-105

...The Catastrophe [*Nakbah*], which took place in 1948, as the Jews occupied Palestine, established their state on its soil, and expelled the Palestinian people to exile and the neighboring states after having tortured it, killed it and robbed its land, homes and holy places...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 109

...The story of the Palestinian people's struggle against occupation and Imperialism and the stages through which the Palestinian problem has passed beginning in the loss of the land and the expulsion of the people and ending in a stubborn resistance to all forms of oppression and aggression.

...The illogical situation in which the Palestinian people lives after its expulsion from its homeland, the occupation of its land by the Zionist enemy and the world's utter silence vis-à-vis its problem...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 122

...The decision was in the hands of the Arabs who sent their armies to Palestine and then withdrew, losing it and its people.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 122

...Egypt took part in the Palestine war of 1948 and the Arab forces were defeated...

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 87

...Egypt prevented Israel from passing through the [Suez] Canal following the Arab-Israeli war of 1948.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 14

...The nationalization of the Suez Canal took place in 1956, which led to a tripartite British-French-Israeli aggression on Egypt. It ended in failure thanks to the resistance shown by the Egyptians and the intervention of the Soviet Union in Egypt's favor.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 88

Israel launched an attack in 1967 against the neighboring Arab states...

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 84

Syria faced an Israeli aggression in 1967, which brought about Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights, which is still subjected to occupation.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 81

Israel occupied part of the Egyptian territory (Sinai) in the 1967 war. The Security Council issued Resolution 242 which stipulated that Israel withdraw from the territories it had occupied. But Israel did not abide [by the resolution] and the [Egyptian] War of Attrition with it started... The Egyptian and Syrian forces attacked the Israeli forces in 1973. The Egyptian army shattered the [Israeli] Bar-Lev Line [on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal] and Israel suffered heavy losses. The USA intervened and supplied it with the most modern offensive weapons and [thus] it managed to stop the Egyptian and Syrian advance. There were negotiations, which ended in signing truce agreements between the two parties.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 88

...The Suez Canal was closed in 1967 following the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli war, as the Israeli forces were deployed on the eastern bank of the Canal and constructed the Bar-Lev Line alongside the Canal. The situation remained like that until the outbreak of the October war in 1973, when the Egyptian forces succeeded in crossing the Canal and storming the Bar-Lev Line. After that it was opened [again] to maritime transportation in 1975.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 14

Israel launched an attack in 1967 against the neighboring Arab states, including Jordan, and managed to occupy the West Bank.

Israel continued its aggression against Jordan in 1968 and the Jordanian and Palestinian forces clashed with it in the Karameh Battle.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 84

I will mention two results of... the following:

- The Arab-Israeli war of 1967

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 177

Israel seized the opportunity of the Iraq-Iran War in order to strike the Iraqi nuclear reactor... The Israeli planes attacked the nuclear reactor in 1981 and destroyed it.

How would you explain Israel's striking of the Iraqi nuclear reactor?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 144

Lebanon faced repeated Israeli aggressions, which weakened the economic situation within it. The Israeli forces occupied south Lebanon in 1982 and advanced towards Beirut, the

[Lebanese] capital, under the pretext of doing away with the Palestinian resistance [there], which led to the exodus of the resistance [forces] from Lebanon and their distribution in a number of Arab states. But the Palestinian refugees continued [to be] in the [refugee] camps [in Lebanon] where they were subjected to Israeli aggressions and several massacres were perpetrated against them of which the most famous one was the massacre of Sabra and Shatila in 1982.

Israel occupied south Lebanon and formed a Lebanese force named the South Lebanon Army in order to safeguard its northern borders. But the Israeli forces withdrew from it under the pressure of the Lebanese national resistance in 2000 except the Shab'a Farms area, which is still under Israeli occupation, and the Lebanese resistance for its liberation continues. The Syrian forces also left Lebanon In 2005 because of international pressure on the Syrian government.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 82-83

I will explain the following:

The Israeli withdrawal from south Lebanon in 2000

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 177

Note in the following quotation that the Arab League's major role in organizing the all-Arab attack against Israel in 1948 is totally ignored.

The Arab League and the Palestinian Problem

The Arab League has been interested since its establishment in the Palestinian problem. It adopted a resolution in 1945 in which it called upon the League's states to boycott Zionist products. Its first action on the international level was to follow the procedures of the Anglo-American investigating Committee in 1946, when it called for the convening of an [Arab summit] conference in Inshas in Egypt, which stressed that the Palestinian problem was the problem of all Arabs. The League had a significant role in reviving the Palestinian entity when the Secretariat-General announced the establishment of a Palestinian administration in the regions controlled by the Arab armies in 1948. It continued its call for the reorganization of the Palestinian people, and the Arab summit conference, which was held in Cairo in 1964, decided to make its [the Palestinian people's] entity manifest. One of the results was the convening of the first Palestinian national congress in [the then Jordanian part of] Jerusalem towards the end of May 1964, where the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization was proclaimed.

The Arab summit conferences began to work on a dialogue between the Arab and European groups, which dealt with the Palestinian problem alongside the other political and economic problems. These efforts yielded the Venice Declaration of 1980, which considered the Palestinian problem a political problem and not a refugee problem and confirmed the Palestinians' right to a just solution to their problem and to self-determination. The League gave special interest to the issue of Jerusalem, which was manifested by the emphasis on the Arab states' commitment to liberate it and to impose political and economic boycott on the states, which have embassies or consulates in the city of Jerusalem. The Arab states held a summit conference in 1988 following the eruption of the Palestinian Intifada in 1987, which declared its commitment to support and back the Intifada. The subsequent summit conferences endeavored to confirm their adherence to the principles of a just peace as a solution of the Palestinian problem, relying on the resolutions of the Security Council and on international legitimacy.

Do you think that the Arab League's support of the Palestinian problem reached the necessary level? Why?

For your information: The Addendum regarding Palestine

It was said in the addendum regarding Palestine in the League's Covenant: "...Since the end of the First World War, the Arab states which had been detached from the Ottoman State, including Palestine... have become self-existent and not belonging to any other state... Though Palestine has not yet been able to take charge of its own affairs... its existence and its international independence is unquestionable from the legal point of view, much the same as there is no doubt regarding the independence of the other Arab states. If the external manifestations of that independence are still hidden due to compelling reasons, it should not prevent its participation in the procedures of the League's Council... In light of Palestine's special circumstances, and until this country actually enjoys the practice of its independence, the League's Council will be in charge of selecting an Arab representative from Palestine to participate in its procedures.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 61-62

Algeria backed the Palestinian people in its struggle for the realization of its goals of liberation and independence. Palestine's Declaration of Independence was promulgated in Algiers in 1988.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 93

The Development of the Non-Alignment Movement and Its Position regarding the Palestinian Problem

...The Palestinian problem occupied an extensive space at the movement's conferences. Decisions, recommendations and statements were issued about it supporting the Palestinian people's rights, connecting the Palestinian problem to Imperialism and demanding that the United Nations [Organization] implement its resolutions related to guaranteeing the Palestinian people's permanent rights. It also agreed that the Palestinian Liberation Organization be present at its conferences as an observer beginning in the Lusaka Summit in Zambia in 1970. Later, it became a full member in the movement beginning in 1975. The movement emphasized the need to show solidarity with the Palestinian people and called for the extension of international recognition of the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

For your information: The Resolutions of the Havana Summit, 1979

The conference reaffirmed that the Zionist occupation and the usurpation of Palestine and of its people's rights constitute the essence of the conflict in the Middle East, which makes any solution to that conflict impossible if the Palestinian people would not enjoy its national rights, which cannot be compromised, including the right of return, the right of self-determination and the establishment of the Palestinian independent state in Palestine.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 76-77

B. The Refugee Problem

The main messages given to the students in this respect is that Israel is solely responsible for this problem and that the inevitable solution is the complete return of the refugees' descendants to their ancestors' former homes. The Palestinians' share of responsibility for the problem – as they declared war on the Jews in Palestine in order to prevent the establishment of a Jewish state in the land according to UN resolution – is not mentioned. Nor is mentioned the fact that not a single Jew was left in the places occupied by the Arab forces during the war, such as the Jewish Quarter in the old city of Jerusalem. The mass flight of Jews from Arab countries and their arrival in Israel as refugees is not mentioned too.

Grade 11

...Wars have influence on the distribution of the population and force people to emigrate from one area to another, as happened in Palestine after the Catastrophe [Nakbah] of 1948, when

thousands of Palestinians were forced to live in camps with high population density in what was left of Palestine and in the neighboring Arab states.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 42

The Refugees

The Zionist forces used various methods in order to empty the Palestinian lands of their original inhabitants. Among these methods is the psychological warfare on the radio belonging to the “Haganah” [Jewish clandestine organization during Mandatory times], which was airing rumors, in addition to killing operations perpetrated against the inhabitants of some cities and villages, as happened in Deir Yassin, Tantura, Lydda and elsewhere, which brought about the expulsion of about one million Palestinians to areas inside Palestine and outside it, such as the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq and [other] various regions in the world.

[The text of the UN General Assembly Resolution No. 194 on the Palestinian refugees is quoted]

The refugees lived under difficult political, economic and social conditions in their areas of refuge. They lived in tents provided by the United Nations Organization and suffered from [lack of] necessary means of subsistence, which prompted the United Nations Organization to establish the [UN] Relief and Work Agency for the Palestinian refugees...



Activity

Let us discuss the impact of the psychological warfare employed by the Jews on the Palestinians.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 38-40

...Why is the green orange grove dragged

To prison

To exile

To a harbor

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 37

[The Palestinian Poet] Mahmud Darwish said:

Where are my kinsfolk?

They went out of the exile tent

And returned

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 63

...Stare, and there is [the city of] Jaffa in the mirror

It will appear and then ask about the faces of the absent ones.

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 38

O lung pierced by the murderer and exile's bullet

O gates sealed with wax

O miracle

O my lover's face

O moon of tears

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 6

Grade 12

The emigration of the Palestinians from their homeland was compulsory and due to external force.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 110

A homeland whose people have been driven out and expelled by force.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 117

The Palestinians compulsively left their homeland to seek refuge in other homelands.

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 53

The United Nations Relief and Work Agency for the Palestinian refugees (UNRWA):

This is an organization established by the United Nations in 1949 for the supervision of relief and work projects for the Palestinian refugees who were expelled from their land in 1948. It works in cooperation with the Arab states, which host the refugees.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 56

C. Jerusalem

Grade 11

Two books of grade eleven feature, for the first time in the history of PA textbook publication, a new phenomenon, namely, recognition of Jerusalem as the Jews' capital in ancient history. There is even one mentioning of the Jews as inhabitants of the city in the war of 1948. Until now, the books mentioned the Jews in the context of Jerusalem as occupiers only.

After his [Solomon's] death his state was divided into two parts: the Kingdom of Israel in the north (Samaria) and the Kingdom of Judea in the south (Jerusalem).

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 9

The Kingdom of Judea was faced an attack by Shoshenq, an Egyptian pharaoh of Libyan origin, who besieged Jerusalem (al-Quds) and took possession of many treasures and golden plates. Palestine was subjected to Assyrian attack in 722 BCE under the command of Sargon II who imposed his rule over the northern kingdom (Samaria) and took most of the Jews who dwelt in the northern [part of the] country captive and laid a siege to Jerusalem but he did not enter it...

Palestine experienced in 586 BCE a ruinous attack by the Chaldean Babylonian commander Nebuchadnezzar who destroyed Jerusalem and took the Jews captive to Iraq.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 9

...The Jews in Jerusalem staged several revolts, which were met with force by the Romans. In 70 CE the Roman commander Titus attacked them and imposed his rule over Jerusalem by force...

In 132 the Jews rebelled again under the leadership of Bar Kokhba in the reign of the Roman emperor Aelius Hadrian who put an end to the revolt, destroyed Urushalim (al-Quds), established in its place the city of Aelia Caputlina [sic and should be Capitolina] and forbade the Jews to reside in it.

...Palestine submitted to Persian rule in 614 CE when King Khosrow II sent his famous commander Shahrbaraz to Palestine. His forces managed to take control of Jerusalem with the Jews' help.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 10-11

An Islamic Education textbook of grade eleven also mentions Jerusalem in history as a Jewish city.

Since the Children of Israel did not stick to God's order to do right and thank [Him] for His favors [bestowed] upon them and [since] their mischief continued in murder, violation of God's prohibitions and [in their] disobedience of Him, God sent upon them for the second time someone who entered upon them in Jerusalem, humiliated them, made the impact of misfortune, distress and humiliation apparent on their faces and destroyed what the Children of Israel had made themselves high with.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 15

The following quotation mentions the Jewish community in Jerusalem during the 1948 war, which constitutes a kind of recognition on the part of the Palestinian textbooks that the Jews were also an integral part of the population in that city.

The Jews had several achievements as a result of the truce, of which the most important ones were:

- Lifting the siege from the Jewish community in Jerusalem and providing it with water and provisions.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 34

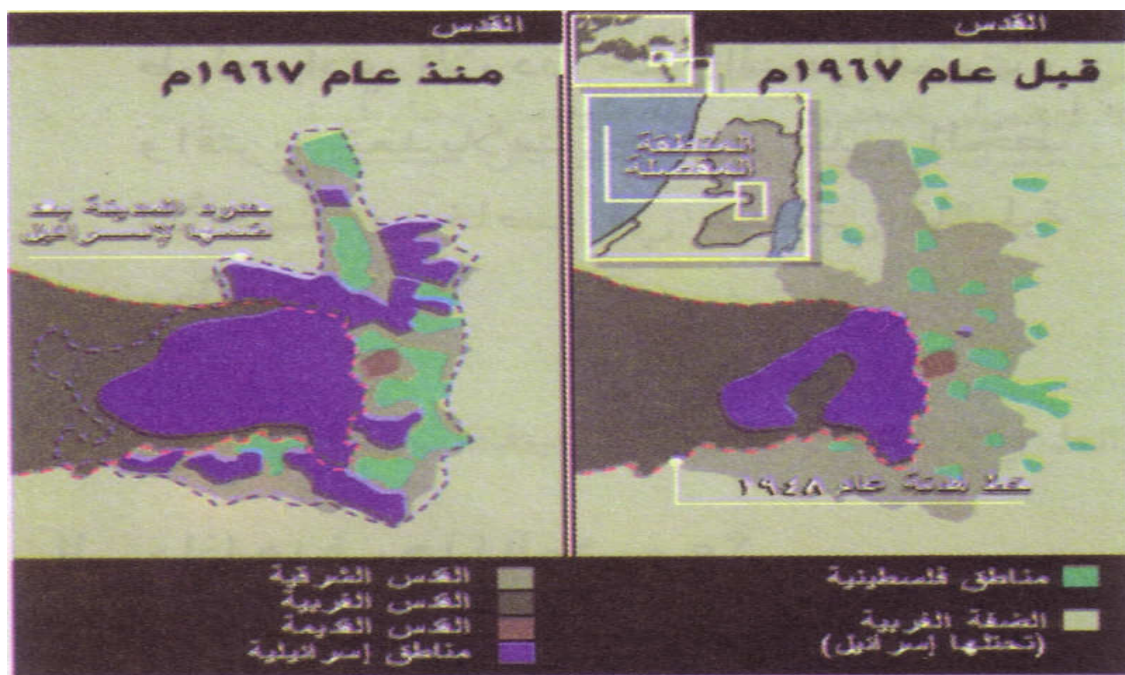
Following the June War Israel issued a [government] resolution on 27.6.1967 decreeing the annexation of Jerusalem and making it its own capital.⁴³ Accordingly, the municipal council of Arab Jerusalem was dissolved, the Arab departments and the courts were abolished and the public services utilities were connected to the municipality of Israeli Jerusalem. [East] Jerusalem was isolated from the West Bank economically and administratively, and Israeli departments and ministries were transferred to it. Also, the occupation authorities embarked on encircling the city with [Jewish] settlements and on emptying it of its Arab inhabitants.

What were the reasons, which drove the Israeli authorities to take these decisions regarding the city of Jerusalem?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 54

[Jewish] settlement in Jerusalem. Settlement in the Old City of Jerusalem started with the destruction of the Al-Magharibah [the Moroccans'] neighborhood [next to the Wailing Wall]... on June 9, 1967. It [Israel] also seized other sections in order to build the new Jewish Quarter⁴⁴ and compelled many Arab citizens in the city to leave their houses. In addition, [Israel] seized vast tracts of land in the Holy City and in the surrounding Arab cities and villages and built many [Jewish] settlements with a view to encircling the city with a belt of settlements.

The Moroccans' neighborhood [Harat al-Magharibah] is located at the southern side of the Old City, close to the Holy Sanctuary [al-Haram al-Sharif – Temple Mount]. Moroccans who had come from North Africa and Spain settled there in the Ayyubid period [12th-13th centuries] and [the Ayyubid ruler] Al-Afdhal Ali, son of Salah al-Din [Saladin], made it a religious endowment [*Waqf*] for the benefit of all its inhabitants. The Israeli authorities confiscated it in 1968 on the pretext of public interest in order to built the new Jewish Quarter on the ruins of the Arab-Muslim Quarter (the sections of Al-Shurafah and Al-Magharibah).



[Jewish] settlement in Jerusalem: before 1967, since 1967

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 58

⁴³ More accurately, the formerly Jordanian eastern part of Jerusalem was annexed and unified with the Israeli part of the city, which had already been declared Israel's capital on December 5, 1949.

⁴⁴ The Jewish Quarter in the Old City was built anew after it had been occupied and totally destroyed in 1948 by the Jordanians.

Activity

I will conduct a research and write about Israeli policy since 1967 to Judaize the city of Jerusalem.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 62

In spite of the fact that the Jews are sometimes mentioned as inhabitants of Jerusalem, both in antiquity and also in the context of the 1948 war, it is still presented in other cases as an exclusively Arab city under occupation.

Jerusalem is still captive and wounded and its captivity still causes grief among the Palestinian poets who have written hundreds of poems [expressing] love to it and longing for it... In the modern poems about Jerusalem the poets describe the suffering of Jerusalem the prisoner... praising its steadfastness and the Palestinian people's aspiration to its liberation...

...Jerusalem is not a silent geographic site in the modern poems about Jerusalem. Rather, it is a holy place talking, moving and full of life, interacting with time, space and events, whether the events depict the heroism of resistance and revolution or show the crimes of the usurping occupier.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 111

A poem in this context describes Israel's presence in Jerusalem as an owl living there, which is an ill-omen figure in Arab folklore.

...Today, the owl has set up its house on it [Jerusalem]...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 111

Jerusalem's minarets cry while they are motionless
And the kinsfolk are in distress and the adversary is a tyrant

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 4

Grade 12

None of the references to the Jews as inhabitants of Jerusalem, which appear in books of grade 11, is to be found in any of the books issued for grade 12. In these latter books Jerusalem is Palestine's capital awaiting its liberation.

...Jerusalem is Palestine's capital [city].

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 100

Question Eight – Explain the following:

...

3 – The selection of Jerusalem as Palestine's capital.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 102

Jerusalem is still lost in the crowd
It dies a thousand times in a year
But, as we have known it, it blows up steel in the veins of the oppressor

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 39

Jerusalem cries for the Muslims' help.

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 76

Is there among you, O people of Egypt, someone who will replace Jerusalem's humiliation with

glory and prosperity?

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 107

The League gave special interest to the issue of Jerusalem, which was manifested by the emphasis on the Arab states' commitment to liberate it and to impose political and economic boycott on states, which have embassies or consulates in the city of Jerusalem.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 62

The Islamic Conference Organization

The Islamic Conference organization emerged after the burning of the Al-Aqsa Mosque on 21.8.1969, as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia called for the convening of an Islamic summit [conference] to discuss the assaults on the [Muslim] holy places in Jerusalem. The leaders of twenty-four Muslim states gathered in the first Islamic summit conference in Rabat on September 8-12, 1969...

...The Palestinian problem is considered a cardinal problem by the organization and it constitutes one of the fundamental subjects on the agenda of its conferences. The organization called for holding emergency conferences for the sake of the Palestinian problem. As for Jerusalem, the organization considers it the Muslims' primary problem. It formed a permanent committee known as "the Jerusalem Committee" of which the mission is following the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Islamic Conference and the international bodies, which support the Conference's position. It created the Jerusalem Fund for the support of the city's inhabitants and the renovation of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the Ibrahimi Mosque [i.e., the Machpelah Sanctuary] and the archeological and historical buildings in Palestine.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 65-66

D. The Liberation Issue

The liberation issue is hardly mentioned in the books for grade 11. The books for grade 12, on the other hand, treat it relatively more extensively and passionately.

Grade 11

...The national goal of liberating Palestine from Zionist Colonialism...

[One of the resolutions of the Arab summit conference in Alexandria, 1964]

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 46

Grade 12

The [Palestinian] poet [Abd al-Krim al-Karami, in his poem "The Expelled"] sows hope in the souls of his people so that it will be able to live and reclaim its stolen homeland.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 110

Palestine will be liberated by its men, women, youth, and the elderly.

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 44

I swear by the Al-Aqsa Mosque and those plains

I shall not return the sword to the sheath and shall not lay down arms

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 85

Palestine is the blessed land... Its soil has been watered by the blood of the heroic martyrs who died in battles for its liberation and defense since the [days of the Prophet's] Companions to our own days.

Islamic Education, Grade 12 (2006) p. 113

Chapter Five: Peace

A. Tolerance

Grade 11

Tolerance as an ideal has always been present in the PA schoolbooks, but it was practically restricted to the Palestinian people, namely, tolerance was urged between Muslim and Christian Palestinians or between various groups among the Palestinians such as rival political groups or sports teams. The Islamic Education textbook for grade 11 mentions – for the first time – the Jews as well within this context.

...As regards the People of the Book [*Ahl al-Kitab*, a term used in reference to followers of the monotheistic religions, such as Jews and Christians], they enjoy special treatment detailed in the Qur'an. It has permitted us to dine with them and permitted the Muslim [man] to marry their women. This is considered the apex of religious tolerance towards them, for it is possible that a *Kitabi* woman would be a Muslim's wife, his life partner and his children's mother, and her kinsfolk would be his in-laws and his children's grand parents, uncles and aunts.

...What proves his [the Prophet's] tolerance towards the People of the Book is [the fact] that he allowed the Christian delegation of Najran to enter his mosque [in Medina] and stay there [as guests] and even pray there... The Prophet stood up one day in salutation and out of respect when a funeral passed in front of him and the Muslims [around him] stood up as well. It was [then] said to him that it was a Jew's funeral and he said: "Is it not a [human] soul?"...

Tolerance towards the People of the Book, which was urged by the Holy Qur'an and ordered by our Messenger [of God], has become a reality and an applied practice in Muslim society since the time of the [Prophet's] Companions to our present time.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 110-111

The opposite of tolerance is fanaticism and the same book refers to that too.

Some people describe that one who sticks to his religion and belief as fanatic. I will discuss this saying.

...It is not blameworthy fanaticism that a Muslim would side with right and work for the removal of oppression from his Muslim brethren... Rather, this is one of the matters that are obligatory upon a Muslim.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 127

Inter-religious tolerance is mentioned as well in the Christian Education textbook for grade 11 (this subject is studied by Christian students in the PA school system).

Dialogue among the religions: The greatest religions in the world exist on our country's land. Rapprochement among these religions on equal footing is the guarantee of man's dignity on this land, the land of prophecies. The Christian Churches are a witness to this hope by way of opening up to all religions, especially the Muslim brethren, because this relation forms a living example of the Muslim-Christian relations in the world.

Christian Education, Grade 11 (2005) p. 80

Grade 12

The following piece presents the traditional Islamic point of view regarding the relations with non-Muslims. Note the recurring distinction made in this context between hostile and non-hostile non-Muslims.

God has obligated the [Muslim] nation to keep a distance from anyone who shows enmity towards God, His Messenger and the believers. [God] has defined friendship with them a deviation from [true Islamic] belief...

Hating hostile unbelievers: The believer loves and hates according to [Islamic] belief. He hates those who fight God and His Messenger and does not feel towards them [any] cordial inclination, or love, or friendship...

Not having hostile unbelievers as entourage rather than the believers: The believer does not take hostile unbelievers as companions, does not let them know of the Muslims' secrets and does not trust them or take advice from them. For such enemies do not wish the Muslims well...

Not helping hostile unbelievers and [not] supporting them against the believers: God has forbidden the believers to assist the hostile unbelievers, support and back them. The believer does not take God's enemies as supporters and allies, [does not] assist them against the believers and [does not] support them against them [i.e., against the believers]. The believer does not lead God's enemies to the Muslims' weak spots and secrets and does not advise them and help them to harm the believers. The one who does that – God renounces him because of his apostasy and his entering [the realm of] unbelief...

Not being content with and an admirer of unbelief: The believer is distinguished by his belief and faith. The believer does not behave in a way that would show his admiration and approval of unbelief and its people, such as imitating the unbelievers in their rites, customs and clothes...

Being Nice to Non-Hostile Unbelievers

God has distinguished between two kinds of unbelievers:

- Those who are hostile to God, His Messenger and the believers, whom He has forbidden us to be friendly with.
- Those who are not hostile to the believers and do not attack them, whom He has ordered us to treat kindly and justly. That includes the non-Muslims who live among the Muslims, as well as the non-Muslim societies, which are not hostile to the Muslims... Treating those ones kindly and justly takes many forms such as: conversing with them gently, that is, speaking politely to them, not rudely and impolitely... giving them grants and charities – by being kind to the weak among them, feeding the hungry among them, covering the naked among them, visiting the sick among them and praying for their guidance [namely that they become Muslim]... giving them presents and receiving presents from them, treating them justly and not wronging them in their souls, property and honor. The Muslim should prevent any aggression against them... The Muslim should treat them without discrimination regarding their rights. Even if one of them is right [in his legal claim] against a Muslim – [the case] should be decided in his favor.

...The principle of being friendly and keeping one's distance [*al-wala' wa al-barra'*] unites the Muslims upon common goals, hopes and identity. The nation's individuals are proud of their religion and culture and distinguish themselves from others. They are not dazzled by the unbelievers, do not obey them and do not allow them to interfere in the Muslims' affairs...

The principle of being friendly and keeping one's distance is like a fence protecting the nation's religious, cultural and political identity from being dissolved and melted within other societies.

Question 8: One of the weakening factors of the Muslim nation in our time is its not being properly committed to the principle of being friendly and keeping one's distance. I will explain that.

Islamic Education, Grade 12 pp. 61-64

B. Peace in General

Peace is also an ideal taught in Palestinian schools and one can find references to that in the following quotations.

Grade 11

The basic rule in the Muslims' relations with others is peace.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 116

Peace upon the world, peace upon the desired ones

Peace upon the abode, peace upon the kinsfolk

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 26

But a reserved statement in this context is also found in the books.

If you want peace, be ready for war.

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 66

Grade 12

Peace is civilization's crown.

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 86

C. Peace with Israel

Grade 11

One grave deficiency found in the PA textbooks is the absence of open advocacy of peace with Israel. The only exception is found in Christian Education textbooks where remarks to that effect are implicitly made. But only Christian students read such books. In earlier grades even the peace process was not discussed and the Oslo Accord was once presented as a phase in the struggle against Israel.⁴⁵ In later years, however, more room was allocated for the discussion of the peace process, which reaches its peak in the books for grade 11. But one should note the general trend in the discussion, namely, the Palestinians make the move towards peace and Israel obstruct it. Nothing is said about the fact that an important Palestinian body – Hamas – continued its attacks against Israelis, which entailed Israeli reactions, to be regarded in their turn, as aggressive moves against peaceful Palestinians.

The peace initiative, which began in the historic visit by Egyptian president Anwar Sadat to Israel and ended in the conclusion of the peace treaty between the two countries is discussed in detail, but not a word is said in favor of this move.

⁴⁵ See National Education, Grade 5 (2004) p. 31 and also CMIP report: Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks – The New Textbooks for Grades 5 and 10 (June 2005) p. 91.

The political activity in the Arab arena increased after the October War of 1973 and after the signing of the second Sinai agreement between Egypt and Israel in September 1975 under US sponsorship. Among its articles was the parties' commitment not to use force and solve the conflict between them by peaceful means. The endeavors of Henry Kissinger, foreign minister of the United State of America, continued aiming at reaching a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict on the foundation of the [UN] resolutions 242 and 338.

In line with his political tendencies, Egyptian president Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat announced on 9.11.1977 his readiness to visit Israel for the sake of achieving peace and in an attempt to end the Arab-Israeli conflict. The American administration and the Israeli government welcomed this statement and, accordingly, Sadat visited Israel in 1977 and delivered a speech in the Israeli parliament (the Knesset) [some quotations are given from the speech referring to the Palestinian problem].

What is your opinion regarding Sadat's decision to visit Israel?

In the wake of this visit the American administration sent an invitation to Egypt and Israel to start the Egyptian-Israeli peace negotiations and a meeting was held in the American resort of Camp David attended by the Egyptian president Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, the Israeli prime minister Menahem Begin and the American president Jimmy Carter. It produced the signing of the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement according to which the Israeli forces were to withdraw from Sinai and political and economic relations were to be established between the parties. As regards the Palestinian problem, it included the following.

"Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the Palestinian people should participate in negotiations on the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. To achieve that objective, negotiations relating to the West bank and Gaza should proceed in three stages:

1. Egypt and Israel agree that, for the sake of a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority, and taking into account the security concerns of all parties, there should be transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding five years. Under these arrangements, and in order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants, the Israeli military government and its civil administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority is freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas to replace the existing military government. To negotiate the details of a transitional arrangement, Jordan will be invited to join the negotiations on the basis of this framework. These new arrangements should give due consideration both to the principle of self-government by the inhabitants of these territories and to the legitimate security concerns of the parties involved.
2. Egypt, Israel and Jordan will agree on the modalities for establishing elected self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza...
3. When the self-governing authority and the administrative council [sic. In the original the phrase "the administrative council" appears within parentheses] in the West Bank and Gaza is established and inaugurated, the transitional period of five years will begin. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional period, negotiations will take place to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and its relationship with its neighbors, and to conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan by the end of the transitional period. These negotiations will be conducted between Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the elected representatives of the West Bank and Gaza...

The negotiations shall be based on all the provisions and principles of [UN] Security Council Resolution 242[...] The solution [emanating] from the negotiations must also recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements. In this way, the Palestinians will participate in the determination of their own future through the negotiations between Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza [on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza] and other outstanding issues by the end of the transitional period..."

Does this agreement fulfill, in your opinion, the Palestinians' rights? Why?

Syria, Algeria, Libya, Yemen, Iraq and the PLO opposed this agreement and formed the Steadfastness and Resistance Front on 2.12.1977, which held the ninth Arab summit conference in Baghdad in 1978, confirming the following:

- The Palestinian problem is a fateful Arab one and it forms the essence of the conflict with the Zionist enemy.
- The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
- It is not allowed that any party will solely solve the Palestinian problem.
- The conference rejected the Camp David agreement.
- Egypt was called upon to abrogate the agreement.

The Egyptian president rejected the resolutions of the Baghdad conference and signed the peace treaty with Israel in Washington on 26.3.1979. It stipulated the end of the state of war between the two states and the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Sinai within three years since the signing of the agreement.

Because of Egypt's continuation of the peace process the Arab states cut their diplomatic relations with it and suspended its membership in the Arab League. The League's headquarters were temporarily moved to Tunis. Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat was assassinated on October 6, 1981.

What is your opinion regarding the position of the Steadfastness and Resistance Front?

Activity

Let us discuss the impact of the Egyptian-Israeli agreement on the Palestinian problem and the Arab position.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 73-76

The Camp David Agreement: An agreement, which was signed by Egypt and Israel in 1978. The first [part of the] agreement provided for:

- Exchange of diplomatic representation between Egypt and Israel
- Abolition of the economic boycott between the two states and the ending the state of war
- Israel's withdrawal from Sinai within three years

The second [part of the] agreement provided for granting the Palestinian people self-rule for the inhabitants [in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip].

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 54

The peace process between Israel and the Palestinians is described in detail, again, with no word of support. The whole move on the part of the PLO is attributed to the new world circumstances after the war against Iraq in 1991 and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Israel is blamed of acting against peace and of not fulfilling its part in the agreements.

The Peace Process and its Repercussions

...

Then, the second Gulf War erupted in 1991 between Iraq and the coalition forces that supported Kuwait under the command of the United States. The Soviet Union receded and collapsed as a major power in the world.

Under the shadow of these circumstances the PLO saw that there was no choice but to utilize the Palestinian Intifada in order to realize the Palestinians' political goals and the PLO agreed to enter negotiations and attend the Madrid conference in 1991.

The Madrid Conference, 1991

James Baker, the American foreign minister, made several tours [in the Middle East], which led to an agreement to convene the Madrid Peace Conference on October 30, 1991, which included the parties to the conflict in the Middle East (Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine within the Jordanian delegation). It took the form of a single meeting sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union followed by bilateral negotiations between Israel and each of the Arab states, in addition to multilateral meetings on special issues.

While the talks with any of the three neighboring Arab states (Jordan, Syria and Lebanon) aimed at concluding peace treaties, the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians adopted a two-phase shape. The first one: the talks intended to arrive at the conclusion of an agreement on the interim arrangements for the establishment of self-rule for a period not exceeding five years. The second: the negotiations dealt with the questions related to arriving at the decisive and permanent status.

But the Israeli authorities continued its repressive policy against the Palestinians and expelled in December 1992 415 Palestinians members of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) and the Islamic Jihad to south Lebanon.⁴⁶ It also decreased the number of workers from Gaza and the West Bank to a fifth of the number of workers who were allowed to work in Israel.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 86

The Israeli Knesset [parliament] abolished on January 19, 1993 the measure, which had prohibited contacts between Israelis and members of the PLO. That, in its turn, facilitated open and confidential negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians, which was culminated with the signing by each of Yitzhak Rabin, prime minister of Israel, and Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, of mutual recognition letters between Israel and the PLO on September, 10 1993, as follows:

Letter of recognition of Israel by the PLO, 9.9.1993:

“From Chairman Yasser Arafat
To Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister of Israel

Mr. Prime Minister,

The signing of the Declaration of Principles signals a new era in the history of the Middle East. Out of firm belief, I would like to confirm the following commitments of the Palestinian Liberation Organization:

⁴⁶ The negotiations were conducted between Israel and Palestinian representatives actually reporting to the PLO in Tunis. Concurrently, terrorist actions were carried out by Hamas, which rejected the ongoing negotiations. 415 Hamas and Islamic Jihad activists were deported to Lebanon after Hamas kidnapped and killed an Israeli policeman in the Israeli town of Lydda.

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to live in peace and security. The PLO accepts the Security Council Resolutions No. 242 and 338. The PLO commits itself to the peace process in the Middle East and to a peaceful solution of the conflict between the two parties. It declares that all fundamental issues related to the permanent status will be solved through negotiations. The PLO believes that the signing of the Declaration of Principles constitutes a historic event and opens a new era of peaceful coexistence and stability, an era devoid of violence. Accordingly, the PLO condemns [*tudin* in Arabic. The original text reads “renounces”] the use of terror and other acts of violence and will undertake to impose that on all PLO elements and individuals, in order to confirm their abidance, prevent violations and impose discipline in order to prevent these violations [in the original: “discipline violators”].

In the light of the announcement of a new era, the signing of the Declaration of Principles and basing on the Palestinian acceptance of the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the PLO confirms that the articles of the Palestinian National Covenant which deny Israel’s right to exist, as well as the Covenant’s articles which contradict the commitments appearing in this letter have now become irrelevant and no longer valid. Consequently, the PLO pledges to present the Palestinian National Council with a formal consent regarding the necessary amendments in relation to the Palestinian Covenant [in the original: “submit to the PNC for formal approval the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant”].

Sincerely,

Yasser Arafat
Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization”

Israel’s recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organization:

“9.9.1993

From Yitzhak Rabin
To Chairman Yasser Arafat

Mr. Chairman,

In response to your letter dated September 9, 1993, I would like to confirm to you, in light of the commitments of the Palestinian Liberation Organization included in your letter, that the government of Israel has decided to recognize the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people and that it will start negotiations with the Organization in the framework of the peace process in the Middle East.

Yitzhak Rabin
Prime Minister of Israel”

What were the commitments included within each of these two letters?

The Declaration of Principles Documents (Oslo)

Confidential negotiations took place between the Palestinian Liberation Organization and Israel which lasted about a year and a half with the objective of reaching peace between them on the foundation of the establishment of a Palestinian transitional government for a period not exceeding five years, which would bring about a permanent settlement on the basis of the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. They resulted in the issuance of the Declaration of Principles document (the Oslo Accord), which was signed in Washington on 13.9.1993. Some of what appeared there [is as follows]:

Article Five: The Transitional Period and the Negotiations for the Permanent Status

1. The transitional period of five years will begin upon the [Israeli] withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area.
2. The permanent status negotiations between the government of Israel and the representatives of the Palestinian people will start as soon as possible, but not later than the beginning of the third year of the transitional period.
3. It is understood that these negotiations will cover the remaining issues, including Jerusalem, the refugees, the settlements, the security arrangements and the boundary lines.

Why, in your opinion, were these issues postponed to the negotiations of the permanent status?

Article Thirteen: Redeployment of Israeli Forces

1. After the coming into force of the Declaration of Principles, and within a period not exceeding the eve of the election to the [Palestinian Legislative] Council, Israeli military forces will be redeployed in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
2. In redeploying its military forces Israel will be guided by the principle of redeploying its forces outside the [Palestinian] inhabited areas.

What is the difference between withdrawal of the Israeli forces and redeployment?

In accordance with the Declaration of Principles agreement the Israeli army withdrew in May 1994 from Gaza and Jericho and was replaced by Palestinian police forces. The PLO administrative apparatus moved from Tunis to Jericho. Following that, Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, moved from Tunis to Gaza on 5.7.1994 and assumed the position of Chairman of the Palestinian National Authority. On August 29, 1994 part of the civil authorities was transferred to the Palestinian Authority in the fields of education, health, welfare, finance and tourism.

Why was it agreed that Gaza and Jericho would be the first [to be handed over to the PA]?

The Washington Agreement of 1995

The Palestinian-Israeli agreement on the West bank and the Gaza Strip was signed in Washington on September 28, 1995. The agreement contained 31 provisions related to the legislative council, redeployment and security arrangements, judicial issues, various rules regarding security and the crossing points. Following the agreement the self-rule [area] was extended to include Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarm, Qalqilyah, Ramallah, Bethlehem and part of Hebron.

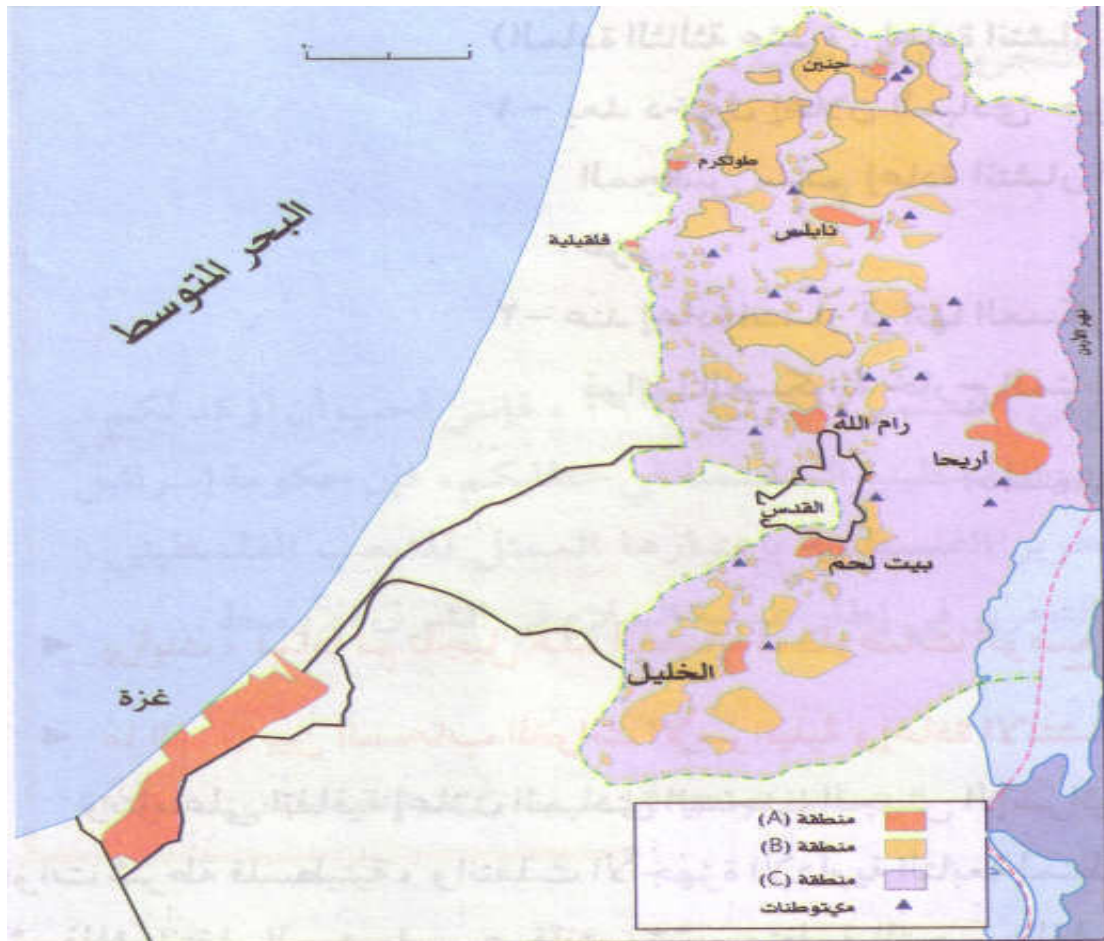
Why did the self-rule not include the city of Hebron in its entirety?

This agreement divided the Palestinian territories in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip into three areas, which were:

1. Area A – the self-rule [area].
2. Area B – civil responsibility is entrusted with the Palestinian Authority and the responsibility for security [matters] – with Israel.
3. Area C – under Israeli civil and military control.

[The agreement also provided for] safe passage from Ramallah to the Gaza Strip and from Hebron to the Gaza Strip.

I will define the area where I live according to this categorization.



Map of Palestinian self-rule areas

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 90

...In spite of the implementation by the Palestinians of the signed agreements, the Israeli government continued its policy, which rejected peaceful settlement, and tension between the Palestinian people and Israeli occupation continued.

The Wye River Accord

In order to enliven the peace process the Wye River Accord was signed in the United States by Mr. Yasser Arafat and the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu [Quotations].

Negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis continued under American, Egyptian and European sponsorship in Sharm al-Sheikh [in Egypt] on September 5, 1999 but they did not have any significant results due to the difference in the Palestinian and Israeli positions regarding the suspension of [Jewish] settlement [in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem] and the withdrawal process, which brought about a swift deterioration of the peace process, in addition to the unclear vision regarding the issues of the final status.

Is it possible, in your opinion, to reach an agreement on the issues of the permanent solution? Why?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 87-91

How were the occupied Palestinian territories divided in the Israeli-Palestinian transitional agreement? Why?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 95

The following is a lesson for the student from the Prophet's behavior with implications to the present situation within the peace process, namely, the rejection of compromise. "Half-solutions" is a term widely used in this context by the hardliners.

The Messenger showed us the highest example of patience, sacrifice and endurance of harm... He remained steadfast vis-à-vis temptation, bargaining and half-solutions. He did not bend and retreat vis-à-vis the challenges and the methods of intimidation and seduction.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 64

A sentence in the Christian Education textbook for grade 11 supports peace, with implicit reference to the other party as it uses the word "Peoples" in plural.

Working for justice and peace is a genuine Christian testimony for the preparation of a better future for our land and its peoples.

Christian Education, Grade 11 (2005) p. 81

Grade 12

References to the issue of peace with Israel are very few in the books for grade 12. None of them specifically supports the ideal of peace with the Jewish state.

The Egyptian president Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat visited Israel and signed the Camp David Agreement in 1979 [sic and should be 1978. He visited Israel in Nov. 1977 and the peace treaty was signed in March 1979] by virtue of which Israel withdrew from Sinai [in 1982]. As a result, the Arab states severed their ties with Egypt and the headquarters of the Arab League was transferred from Cairo to Tunis.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 88

I will mention two results of... the following:

- The signing by Egypt of the Camp David Agreement in 1979⁴⁷

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 177

⁴⁷ The Camp David Agreement was signed in September 1978. The peace treaty was signed in March 1979.

Chapter Six: War

A. War in General

Grade 11

One of the forms of solidarity among the Muslims is the obligation of a Muslim to:

...Work for the protection of the Muslim state's borders against external aggression and work for the liberation of the occupied Muslims' land.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 110

Islamic moderate rules of war are presented to the student in an Islamic Education textbook.

...Islam has encircled the rules of Jihad with a fence of mercy, humanism and morals, for it has enacted rules that soften its negative impact. It also treated all the problems related to war and established for that the highest systems of regulations and legislations which is harmonious with the spirit of the law:

1. Prohibition of sudden fighting and the obligation that a warning should precede the beginning of war...
2. Islam has prevented digression [from the rules] in war...
3. Islam has prevented the use of military means that involve ferocity and hideousness such as the mass destruction weapons nowadays, because they contradict Islam's kind and compassionate rules, which forbid [unnecessary] harm and ruin.
4. Islam has legislated the principle of reciprocity... In spite of that Islam has limited this principle with moral excellence and with respect for man's humanity. If the enemies commit [something] which contradicts man's dignity or contradicts morality, the enemies are not treated reciprocally but they are rather punished according to the [Muslim] commander or the ruler's discretion, like in cases of rape or mutilation of corpses.
5. Islam has legislated [rules] safeguarding the well being of messengers and ambassadors, because they enjoy what is termed diplomatic immunity...
6. Islam has not left a door leading to ending a war without entering it. Similarly, it has not left a door leading to war without closing it. It [Islam] expanded the reasons for ending a war: it ends with the conversion of the enemy to Islam, or with the conclusion of temporary peace between the enemy and the Muslims, which is armistice [*hudnah*], or eternal [peace], which is the protection [*dhimmah*] contract [of non-Muslims under Muslim rule], or with the Muslims' victory, or by the Muslim commander's decision...
7. Islamic law has taken care of the combatant prisoners of war and protected their lives and dignity. It also ordered to treat them with mercy, gentleness, humanism, kindness, righteousness, beneficence and respect and forbade their torture by hunger and thirst...

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 117-118

Nevertheless, war is still a reality talked of and sometimes praised, especially in poetical verses.

Through here armies like you had attacked
Through here armies like you had fled

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 11

O war front that rises above the enemies' heads
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 22

A stone – and the invaders' awe falls into the pits' mud
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 32

Grade 12

No specific material on the issue of war in general has been found in the books for grade 12.

B. Jihad

Grade 11

Jihad and martyrdom are part and parcel of most Arab curricula, including the Palestinian. However, the textbooks for grade 11 feature relatively few references to the issue of Jihad, which may signal a somewhat moderate approach.

Jihad's purpose in Islam:

The basic rule in the Muslims' relations with others is peace. Jihad was not enacted in Islam but for the purpose of safeguarding and protection of the call for [adopting] Islam and for the removal of obstacles separating between the individual and that call and prevent the realization of the inclusive virtuous Islamic regime, which is based on truth and justice and on the prevention of oppression and tyranny. This is done by argument and proof, not by sword and spear. And it is not achieved by coercion either... Jihad in Islam is therefore a means, not a goal, and it is not resorted to except after the failure of all peaceful means.

...Islam has encircled the rules of Jihad with a fence of mercy, humanism and morals, for it has enacted rules that soften its negative impact...

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 116-117

Jihad's reward:

...Jihad is one of the gates of Paradise...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 44

Jihad in poetry used for language exercises:

O brother, the oppressors have exceeded the limit
So Jihad and sacrifice have become necessary
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 78

Jihad poetry during the Crusades:

Jihad Poetry

Jihad poetry accompanied the Crusades from their beginning and lived with them in their [various] phases and developments until they ended with the Crusaders' departure from Muslim territory...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 95

Jihad in the Palestinian conflict against Britain:

The Jihad of Sheikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam

Sheikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam started his struggle in Palestine against Britain... He declared the Jihad at the end of 1935 and that was considered a fundamental change in the course of the Palestinian national movement, which had relied [until then] on political efforts... Many battles took place between the Qassamites and the British forces of which the last one was the Battle of Ya'bad forest near Jenin on November 20, 1935 in which Sheikh al-Qassam and some of his comrades became martyrs.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 18

Grade 12

Jihad is not mentioned much in the books of grade 12, quite the same as the books of grade 11. But it is invigorated by the ideal of "ribat".

[The Prophet] said: "The main thing is Islam, its pillar is prayer and the peak of its hump is Jihad."

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 60

The following quotation depicts Palestine as the land of Jihad and adds to it another title, that of "ribat", which is a traditional Islamic term denoting a state of taking up position against the enemy, such as that of a garrison. In this case, the term refers to the Muslim population of Palestine in its entirety. The use of the term in the PA textbooks is intended to intensify the religious aspect of the struggle against Israel. This issue first appeared in textbooks for grades 5 and 10⁴⁸ and it reappears here again.

Palestine is the land of *ribat* and Jihad.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 114

Ribat in God's cause: Islam has urged [the Muslims] to [perform] Jihad in God's cause in order to defend the [Muslim] nation's glory, dignity and land. *Ribat* in God's cause is [one] of the actions related to Jihad in God's cause. It means residing in regions where there is a conflict between Muslims and their enemies and the [Muslim] resident there is subjected to harm on the part of the enemies and lives in fear of them and in distress and [still] perseveres on this land in order to strengthen the Muslims vis-à-vis their enemies. The greater the fear in this country and the greater the harm suffered by its residents, the greater their reward would be...

The people of the Levant [Al-Sham] in general, and of Palestine in particular, are in a [state of] *ribat* to the Day of Resurrection... The reason for this [Divine] favor is that the decisive battles in Muslim history took place on its land. Its people are in a permanent conflict with their enemies and are in a [state of] *ribat* to the Day of Resurrection. History testifies to that, for the battle of Al-Yarmuk [636 CE] decided the conflict with the Byzantines, the battle of Hittin [1187] decided the conflict with the Crusaders and the battle of Ein Jalut [1260] decided the conflict with the Mongols.

There is no doubt that the people of Palestine's forbearance on their land these days and their perseverance vis-à-vis the harm and aggression they are facing are [one] of the greatest [forms of] *ribat* and theirs is God's great reward.

⁴⁸ See Islamic Education, Grade 5, Part 1 (2004) pp. 77-78, 79 and Islamic Education, Grade 10, Part 2 (2004) p. 50. See also CMIP report "Jews, Israel and Peace in the Palestinian Authority Textbooks – The New Textbooks for Grades 5 and 10", June 2005 pp. 56, 57, 59.

Question 4: The people of the Levant and Palestine are in a [state of] *ribat* to the Day of Resurrection. I will explain that.

Islamic Education, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 86-87

C. Martyrdom

Grade 11

Palestinian martyrdom is a repeating theme in the PA schoolbooks, but in the case of the books of grade 11 the number of references to martyrdom is really small, which may indicate an effort to play down this issue.

[The Palestinian poet] Fadwa [Tuqan], our great sister, bade farewell to her colleagues from her house window in Nablus. She also bade farewell to dozens of the beloved ones and the martyrs... She has almost become Khansa⁴⁹ of the Palestinian Arabs in a country where death has become the master of writing...

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 44

A language exercise with the word “martyrs”:

The school commemorated the martyrs.

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 56

Grade 12

The books of grade 12, on the other hand, include more references to martyrdom. Note the relatively extensive use of this issue in language exercises.

The killing which a Muslim may face in the cause of elevating God’s word and supporting His religion: The [Qur’anic] verse has made it clear that these martyrs are alive and provided for by their Lord, and cheerfully enjoy what they get from His favor, although we do not feel this life and do not know of its reality. Therefore, it [i.e., the verse] has forbidden us to describe them as dead.

Islamic Education, Grade 12 (2006) p. 9

Belief drives the believer to sacrificing soul and property and investing them in God’s cause, because the believer knows that God greatly rewards for investing in His cause and for sacrificing for the sake of His religion.

Islamic Education, Grade 12 (2006) p. 66

[The poet] likened the martyrs who light the road to liberty with their blood to stars which light the road... and they indicate the martyrs’ great number and their high status.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 12

The martyrs in the Negev prison vie with one another
To form with their blood the dialectics of death-life
And they baptize their bodies in sand

Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 13

The following reference compares martyrdom to a wedding party.

⁴⁹ Khansa’ was a poet of pre-Islamic times who was known for her lamenting poetry. She later became a Muslim and lost her four sons in one of the early conquest battles.

O my homeland, I would not cry in this wedding
For our Arabness refuses that we cry over the martyrs
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 13

I found the Palestinian mothers of the martyrs steadfast.
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 59

For the sake of Palestine our blood was spilt.
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 59

By your life! I see my death
But I hasten my steps to it
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 81

By your life! This is a man's death
And if one asks for a noble death – this is it
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 85 (and also 99)

Upon my word, I shall continue acting on the martyrs' path.
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 85

D. Terror

Terrorist activity against Israel is neither openly rejected nor encouraged in the PA books. But there are signs indicating implicit support of such activity in the framework of the national struggle for liberation. One of such signs is the recurring reference to Palestinians jailed in Israel for such activity as "prisoners-of-war". "Fidai" – a traditional Islamic term denoting a fighter who is ready to sacrifice his life for a cause is usually reserved for members of the Palestinian armed organizations, which carry out attacks against Israelis.

Grade 11

The prisoner-of-war's experience in contemporary Palestinian poetry is considered a rich and distinguished experience in its indications, meanings and forms which express the prisoners-of-war's suffering, their distress and tasting of all forms of trouble, humiliation, oppression and repression and their yearning for getting rid of the bond's humiliation and enjoying the moment of liberation and freedom which is not to be separated by any means from their homeland's freedom and independence...

...The prisoner-of-war has become older [or greater] and his eyes are shining
And the heart is yearning for life.
Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 72

...The continuation of Israeli policy against the Palestinians such as the assassinations, the arrests and the refusal to release the prisoners-of-war...
Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 91

Grade 12

Till when captivity, my homeland, till when
The prison's shackle has already gnawed at the bone
Our great prisoners-of-war are a beacon of pride
They have not bowed their head to the humiliation of the shackles
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 111

O *Fidai*, your abode is Paradise, God willing!
Arabic Language – Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 112

Chapter Seven: The West

Earlier PA textbooks did not contain specific references to the West. That was first done in grade 10 and it continues in grade 11 and 12. The higher the grade the more extensive and negative the material becomes. In grade 11 the West is a very significant “other” next to Israel and the Jews. In grade 12 a relatively large portion of the school material is dedicated to Imperialism and other Western evils.

A. The Crusades and Other Attacks

Grade 11

The Crusades are sometimes seen as the first Western attack against Islam.

The European West invaded the East in the Middle Ages... The Franks took control of several Palestinian cities among which were Jaffa, Ramleh, Hebron, Bethlehem and Jerusalem which most of its inhabitants were killed in a massacre perpetrated by the Franks in the city, of which the victims were seventy thousands according to the Muslim narrative and twenty thousands according to the Frankish one...

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 19

The Muslim East faced at that time [i.e., the Middle Ages] Crusader expeditions coming from the European West. These expeditions made the Levant [Bilad al-Sham] their destination with a view to colonizing and gaining possession of it... The Muslim gathering and rise for the liberation of Palestine began during the reign of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi [Saladin]...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 88

The Crusader invaders befall from Europe upon the Levant like a plague. The devil had blown in their noses and they thought that they would be victorious by falsehood... The usurpers set sail and disembarked on Palestine's shore as plundering gangs...

The Crusader throngs advanced towards Jerusalem and besieged it. Its defenders resisted them and defended it bravely. When it defied the malicious invaders they bombarded it with catapults and ruined its walls. Then, their armies savagely burst forth within it and killed its children, its women, its elderly and its scholars...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 99, 106

...The al-Aqsa Mosque, after having been liberated from the occupiers' filth...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 103

Another Western attack against Islam was that of the Spanish Reconquista.

...The evil [perpetrated by the] Spaniards who expelled the Muslims from Sicily and Spain...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 90

The following is a sole reference found in the textbooks to a calamity experienced by the Muslims in the Middle Ages, which came from the east, not from the west, namely, the Mongol invasion.

... In the Mamluk era the Muslim East faced a Mongol attack, which came from Central Asia under the command of Hulagu who sent his savage armies towards Baghdad, capital of the Abbasid Caliphate, and occupied it... He ruined the centers of knowledge and the monuments of civilization there... The evil [perpetrated by the] Mongols who launched savage attacks

against Iraq... What befell on Baghdad at the hands of Hulagu, who killed many of its scholars and ruined its libraries and centers of scholarship.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 88, 90

Grade 12

This issue is not referred to in grade 12 books.

B. Western Imperialism

Grade 11

Western Imperialism is talked of a great deal and blamed for almost all ills in modern Arab and Muslim societies.

The Muslim nation is in a critical phase in its history, for some of its lands are found under the yoke of direct Imperialism...

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 122

Modern Western Imperialism in the Muslim East began with Napoleon's expedition to Egypt. The PA narrative makes Palestine the main goal of that expedition and presents Napoleon's failure in Acre vis-à-vis the Ottoman forces assisted by the British navy as a Palestinian victory over Napoleon.

The French Expedition against Egypt

It began... under the leadership of Napoleon... and occupied Egypt... It was motivated by several factors the most important of which [was] Imperialist competition, especially between Britain and France. One of its results was that it turned the eyes of the Imperialist states to the importance of the Arab homeland in general and Palestine in particular. It was the first direct cultural friction between East and West in the modern era and demonstrated the East's backwardness scientifically and militarily.

The Jaffa Massacre

The French army succeeded in occupying the city of Jaffa, after fierce resistance. Following [its] entrance into it, it perpetrated a big massacre the victims of which were more than three thousand prisoners of war, having claimed its inability to feed them and guard them in a land far from its own bases...

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 47-48

The Expedition's End

After Napoleon's failure in conquering Acre and [due to] the continuation of the Palestinian resistance, he decided to withdraw and return to Egypt... With his withdrawal the French expedition to the Levant came to an end, while having made the inhabitants of the region attentive to the dangers of European Imperialism... apart from the firmness and power of endurance manifested by the Palestinian people in defense of its country. The people of Palestine managed through preparedness and steadfastness to stop Napoleon's forces...

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 50

Another phase in Western Imperialism in this region was the action taken by some Western powers to stop the attack on the Ottomans by Egypt's ruler Muhammad Ali. Although a non-Arab of Albanian origin with dynastic aspirations of his own, Muhammad Ali has been regarded by modern Arab historiography as an early advocator of Arab nationalism.

[Muhammad Ali's victory over the Ottomans in 1840] prompted the European states, especially Britain, Russia and Austria [France supported Muhammad Ali but that is not mentioned here], to create an alliance among them in order to stand against Muhammad Ali. They moved their fleets and armies towards the Syrian coasts, imposed by force the London Agreement on Muhammad Ali in 1840 and forced him to withdraw from Syria in November of that year. Thus the first unification attempt between Egypt and Syria came to an end due to the position of the European states.

What was the European states' goal in putting an end to the Arab state, which Muhammad Ali tried to establish?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 55

Under Western direct and indirect pressure, the Ottoman government started in the 19th century a series of reforms in government in order to better face the requirements of modern times, with partial success. There was, however, a bitter argument within it regarding their usefulness, which is reflected in the following PA text.

Did these reforms emerge from the state's [true] needs or from the desire to comply with the interests of the great powers, especially Britain and France? Why?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 56

...European Imperialist competition over the Arab East and the attempt to impose political and economic hegemony...

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 56

The Muslims' solidarity in the modern era: Foreign Imperialism and the fall of some parts of the Muslim world in its hands were a spur which awakened the Muslims from their indifference, as calls for solidarity in the form of reformist movements came to life. They were then followed by the notion of the Islamic Union proclaimed by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani who was joined by his disciple Sheikh Muhammad Abduh. This notion was not successful because of the appearance of the national idea among the Turks and the Arabs...

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 112

The partition of the Muslim world by Imperialism into regional states separated from one another by artificial borders had a negative impact on its unity... Nationalist fanaticism means blind association with one of the modern regional states that were established on a national basis and discrimination against the other states and peoples...

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 127-128

...The entering of the Arab and Muslim world into the whirlpool of European Imperialist greedy ambitions.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 56

International Conspiracies against Palestine

The Sykes-Picot Agreement, 1916

While Britain was negotiating with the Arabs over the declaration of revolt against the Ottoman Empire, it held secret negotiations with each of France and Russia with a view to dividing up the Arab lands [of the Ottoman Empire]... A secret agreement was the result of these negotiations which was known by the name the Sykes-Picot Agreement...



Sykes-Picot 1916

[Dark blue:] French zone

[Dark red:] British zone

[Black:] International zone

[Light blue:] French influence zone

[Light red:] British influence zone

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 76

Look at the map which shows how the Arab land were divided between Britain and France according to the Sykes-Picot Agreement.

...Russia did not have ambitions in the Arab countries but it was promised by the Allies that in return for its signing the agreement it would obtain the Armenian provinces in Turkey and northern Kurdistan, and its rights in Constantinople and the Straits (Bosphorus and the Dardanelles), and would be given the right to defend the interests of the Orthodox [Christian community] in Palestine.

France would obtain the Syrian littoral including Lebanon's coast and also southern Anatolia including the provinces of Adana, Mersin and Alexandretta... as well as the establishment of an Arab zone under French administration... This zone would include northern Iraq and the cities of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo...

Britain would obtain the lands of Mesopotamia and Basra on the Arab Gulf... In addition Britain obtained the ports of Haifa and Acre in Palestine... and the establishment of an Arab zone under British influence similar to the Arab zone that belonged to France...
International administration would be established in Palestine...

How could this agreement be considered contradictory to Britain's promises to the Arabs in the correspondence between [the ruler of Mecca] *Sharif* Hussein and [the British High Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry] McMahon?

The Sykes-Picot Agreement basically corresponded to the Imperialist states' economic and commercial interests and was an example of the deceit and cunning in the politics of these states. They embarked upon the fragmentation of the Arab lands within the Ottoman Empire and dividing them up between Britain and France with a view to robbing their resources and wealth and preventing the establishment of a strong unified Arab state.

[Following the disclosure of the agreement by the Russian Bolshevik government] Britain resorted to diplomatic deception and trickery and alluring promises. It announced that this agreement is nothing but a lie and fabrication on the part of the Communist government of Russia and one of the Turks' intrigues aimed at breaking the alliance between Britain and the Arabs... *Sharif* Hussein was convinced by the British position.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 76-78

Various ideological currents in the Arab world in the 19th and 20th centuries are described in the context of Western Imperialism (and other factors). The Islamist vision is given first followed by the nationalist and the socialist ones.

...The people's getting farther from religion weakened the state and the social institutions and that weakness led to the beginning of foreign penetration into the nation intellectually and economically. The West began to impose itself economically and thence culturally and intellectually and ended up as colonizer of the Arab and Muslim region, having claimed that it endeavored to save it from its backward self and to promote it so that it would become like it [i.e., the West].

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 40

The Arab nationalist current started to crystallize at the end of the Ottoman period vis-à-vis two fundamental variables, The first one was the Turkification campaign [by the Ottoman authorities in the Arab provinces]... The second one was the beginning of European economic, political and Colonialist-Imperialist penetration in the Arab region...

...The nationalist currents and the parties that sprang from them played a pioneering role in resisting European Imperialism for the achievement of independence and in keeping the particularity of the Arab identity and the Arabic culture alive vis-à-vis the obliteration and dissolution attempts made by the European powers and the Turkification policy by the Ottoman state during its latest period.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 42-43

...Various socialist currents crystallized in the Arab world in the last century under the influence of world socialist ideas, on the one hand, and as a reaction to the reality of feudal oppression and exploitation, which was prevailing in the Arab world and was supported by world Imperialist Capitalism, on the other hand.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 45

The Tripartite Aggression against Egypt in 1956

Britain, France and Israel committed an aggression against Egypt on October 30 following the nationalization of the Suez Canal by the late Egyptian president Jamal Abd al-Nasser... The

tripartite aggression failed to achieve its goals due to the steadfastness of the Egyptian people and its leadership, and the support of the Soviet Union, and the three states were forced to withdraw as an implementation of the Security Council's resolution...

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 42

Grade 12

The history textbook for grade 12 contains whole chapters on Western Imperialism and the struggle against it.

Foreign Penetration into the Arab Homeland



The Imperialist states used many methods to penetrate into their spheres of influence, such as missionary work and Imperialism.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 2

Imperialism

What is Imperialism? When did it start? What are its motives? What means did it use to realize its goals?

Imperialism: An action, or a series of actions, which may lead to control or influence by a state or an organized group of people over a piece of land, which did not belong to them, or over the inhabitants of that land, or over the land and the inhabitants at the same time...

Imperialism's Goals

The Imperialists' goals in taking control of other countries were numerous:

The Imperialist states' need for raw materials to be used in [their] industry and for making international and regional markets available for the distribution of [their] surplus materials produced beyond the need of their own societies; securing transportation routes, lines of supply and transport stations in some countries, which have strategic positions overlooking seas and rivers, etc; the Imperialist states' need for cheap working hands in industry; the Imperialist commercial companies' resort to investing their capital in strategic projects, which would bring them profits outside their own countries.

I will think of other reasons for Imperialism.

Manifestations of the Imperialist Tendency

The manifestations of the Imperialist tendency became evident in [the following]:

1. Growth of monopolistic capitalist institutions in various fields with a view to exploiting sources of primary materials, especially those ones needed for iron and coal production, and with a view to possessing a large stock of gold.
2. Transformation of financial banks into Capitalism's monopolistic institutions and their spread in various places of the world.
3. Export of capital to facilitate [Western] political, military and economic penetration and to shackle the will of the weak peoples.

These manifestations resulted in [Imperialist] control over certain countries and [Imperialist] expansion through them at the expense of territories of other countries, as well as the creation of methods for dealing with the people of the colonized region on an unequal basis. [Other manifestations were] the emergence of competition among the Imperialist states with the aim of obtaining as many colonies as possible, and the arrival at agreements [between them] to divide world spheres of influence, such as the agreements of Sykes-Picot in 1916 and of San Remo in 1920. In addition, Imperialism penetrated into the old empires with a view to weakening their institutions, [state] apparatus and elements and then dismembering them, as happened to the Ottoman State. [Other manifestations were] the emergence of regional problems and crises, either on the borders or in regions in several places in the world, which contributed to the eruption of world problems such as the Moroccan crisis and the Balkan crisis before the First World war and the [problems of the] Polish Corridor and the port of Danzig [Gdansk] before the Second World War.

Forms of Imperialism

European Imperialism for controlling the world took various forms, of which we will mention [the following]:

First: Military invasion. The European states [first] equipped their forces in order to impose their domination by military force. But the Imperialists [later] began substituting that for covert methods, which would hide their goals.

Let us discuss the reasons for the pursuance of new methods of penetration by the Imperialists.

Second: Colonialist Imperialism. The Colonialist Imperialist phenomenon is in its essence the existence of aliens in the midst of the milieu of the original inhabitants of the country. They feel pure and superior, practice against the original inhabitants various types of racial discrimination and deny their [i.e., the original inhabitants'] national character. Colonialist Imperialism in modern times is found mainly in Palestine, South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Their existence constitutes a fateful challenge to the peoples on which they impose themselves in order to acquire land by whatever means, because land is the material foundation of the settlements as the settlers are their human foundation. It should be noted that the Imperialist entity's policy of encouraging the immigration of [new] settlers does not open the door to all those who wish to settle. Rather, it necessitates a certain type of settlers. This type in relation to South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) is the white-skinned European. As regards Israel, it is preferred that the Jew be European or American.

The operation of attracting settlers was accompanied by the expulsion of the original inhabitants, denying them citizenship and economically exploiting them as cheap working hands and servants among the settlers.

Third: Economic control [See in Section D below].

Fourth: Cultural invasion [See in Section E below].

Why, in your opinion, were Imperialism's forms [so] numerous?

Imperialist Policy and its Impact

The various Imperialist states pursued similar policies for the realization of their interests in their colonies, as follows:

- Using repressive methods in [the process of] subjecting the colonies to their rule, such as murder, arrests, demolition, exile, collective punishments, etc.
- Annexing and subjugating the colonies to their direct rule, as happened when France annexed Algeria and considered it a part of its own [territory], Italy annexed Libya and Britain – India, when it placed its administration under London's direct rule.
- Expelling the original inhabitants, settling [in their stead] subjects of the Imperialist states and presenting them with all [necessary] facilitation [means] in order to guarantee the continuation of their flow to the colonies and their remaining there.
- Abolishing the political regime and the manifestations of national government in the colonies and administering them by governors and advisors from the Imperialist states.
- Plundering the country's wealth through the imposition of the Imperialists' economic control through land confiscation and control of the mineral, industrial, commercial and other economic resources, in addition to imposing taxes, which led to the spread of poverty among the inhabitants of the colonies.
- Fighting the local and national culture, imposing the Imperialists' culture by way of fighting the Islamic religion and the Arabic language in the Arab homeland, and pursuing the policy of de-education vis-à-vis the inhabitants by way of fighting [local] education.
- [Practicing] racial discrimination and apartheid among the original inhabitants. An example of that is France's attempt to impose the Berber Zahir Law in the Arab Maghreb in 1930, which was aimed at discriminating between Arabs and Berbers through the revival of some Berber customs and traditions for the sake of segregating the Berbers from their religious origins and transforming them into French subjects.
- Neglecting health conditions, and thus causing the spread of diseases, which killed the inhabitants.
- Neglecting labor affairs, depriving the workers of labor legislation, preventing them from establishing trade unions and oppressing their rights.

These Imperialist policies entailed several impacts: [First], the elimination of political unity and the division of the colonized areas into numerous political entities. The best example of that is the division of the Arab homeland and the deterioration of [its] economic conditions as the Imperialist states transformed their spheres of influence into markets for their own products and exhausted their [natural] resources, oil in particular, which led to their becoming dependent [on them] economically. That hindered their development policies during the phase of liberation and construction [i.e., after they became politically independent], which entailed political subordination that would secure for the Imperialist states the continuation of their penetration into these regions even after their independence. [Second,] the emergence of the phenomenon of sectarian and communal chauvinism in the Imperialists' spheres of influence – as the case is in Lebanon, and the problem of minorities such as the Kurds in Iraq and the Negroes in Sudan, which plays a role in their political instability. [Third,] the scientific and technological backwardness of the Imperialists' spheres of influence as a result of their neglected education, which keeps them weak and makes [the Imperialist states] continue their interference, in spite of the fact that they [i.e., those spheres of influence] are independent and sovereign states.

I will think of other impacts left by foreign Imperialism in the Imperialists' spheres of influence.

[Questions:]

I will put a “V” sign next to the correct phrase and an “X” sign next to the incorrect phrase:

...

The Imperialists expelled the original inhabitants as happened in Palestine.

Activity: How is it possible to confront the continuing attempts by the Imperialist states to penetrate into the world’s various regions?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 5-10

What is the policy pursued by the Imperialist states in each [of the following]:

1. Military invasion
2. Colonialist Imperialism
3. Economic control
4. Cultural invasion

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Some of Imperialism’s goals [are]:

- A. Brains emigration to outside countries.
- B. Expelling the Arab citizen from his homeland.
- C. Working for the subordination of the Arab region to the West.
- D. All the [answers] mentioned [above].

Colonialist Imperialism is concentrated in modern times in:

- A. Egypt
- B. Palestine
- C. Uganda
- D. Chile

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 166

Foreign Penetration into and Competition over the Arab Homeland

The Arab homeland was a stage for foreign penetration, as several foreign states competed to control it. This competition brought about the becoming of most of its parts a prey for Imperialism in the following manner:

The Arab Maghreb

Foreign penetration into the Arab Maghreb began in the nineteenth century, since the fall of Algeria under French occupation in 1830, and expanded in the twentieth century to include:

Tunisia

France coveted the control of Tunisia after it had occupied Algeria, for it desired to protect its position in Algeria and exploit Tunisia’s agricultural and mineral resources, in addition to the importance of its strategic position and its control of the transportation routes in the Mediterranean. In order to realize these goals France endeavored to obtain the support of several states. It recognized British rule of Cyprus, Austrian [rule] of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Russian expansion in the Balkan and demanded proper compensation. These states then unofficially allowed it to take control of Tunisia. France took advantage of Tunisia’s financial crisis and the accumulation of foreign debts and started to interfere in its internal affairs. It prepared sizable forces and attacked it under the pretext that some of the Tunisian tribes raided the Algerian borders. The French forces succeeded in extending their control over the cities of Le-Kef and Bizerte and then over the capital [Tunis] and imposed [French] protectorate on Tunisia in 1881.

Morocco

France endeavored to extend its control over Morocco but collided with the ambitions of the other Imperialist states. It therefore concluded an agreement with Italy in 1902 in which it

agreed to the occupation of Libya by Italy in return for the latter's turning a blind eye to French ambitions in Morocco. As for Germany, it well grasped [the fact] that French control of Morocco was a matter impossible to avoid. Therefore, its interference in [this matter] was for the purpose of achieving two things: First, warning France that Germany was a power which no one could ignore and convincing it that an alliance with Britain [against Germany] was useless. Second, defeating France diplomatically. The German emperor Wilhelm II visited the port of Tangier in 1905 and declared that he would defend Morocco's sovereignty as well as German interests there. The sultan of Morocco was encouraged by this declaration and announced that the French proposals regarding Morocco should be submitted to an international conference. Germany supported the sultan's demand and France rejected it.

The German position startled the European states, especially after the German chancellor insisted on the [issue of] convening an international conference concerning Morocco, having believed that most of the great powers would stick to Morocco's independence. France agreed to the convening of the Algeiras Conference [in Spain] and Germany considered it a diplomatic victory. Several states participated in it among which were France, Germany, Britain, Spain and Morocco. The Algeiras Covenant, which was adopted in 1906, emphasized Morocco's independence and [territorial] integrity and granted all states the freedom of trade with Morocco. France and Spain were entrusted with the task of maintaining security in the Moroccan ports. It was also decided to establish an international bank in Morocco with the states attending the conference as partners. In addition, France was entrusted with the missions of inspecting the Algerian-Moroccan border and establishing a police force in the Moroccan hinterland, and Spain – in the Moroccan Rif [region]. The Imperialist states later agreed that the port of Tangier would be international and open to all states. Disturbances spread in Morocco and resentment was universal [there] on account of the conference's resolutions. There occurred several incidents and assassinations, following which France submitted strong protests to Morocco and its government.

France made use of the Algeiras Conference to realize its ambitions in Morocco. It hurried to occupy the Moroccan cities beginning in 1907. It occupied Oujda, Casablanca and Rabat, and then it occupied the capital Fez in 1911. Spain hurried to land its troops on the Moroccan Rif.

Germany considered these actions taken by France and Spain contradictory to the resolutions of the Algeiras Conference. It hurriedly sent in July 1911 a [naval] boat to the [Moroccan] port of Agadir on the Atlantic Ocean. Germany announced that the boat would leave Morocco after matters would return to normal. After negotiations among the three parties Germany agreed to French and Spanish occupation of Morocco in return for some territories in African Congo relinquished by France to Germany.

Mauritania

France aspired to occupy Mauritania (Land of Shanqit) since 1830 due to its location on the route to French colonies in Africa. It actually managed to impose its control over it in 1905. After that it was annexed as a distinct colony to [French] Western Africa. France endeavored to accommodate the [Mauritanian] tribes, coordinate with their leaders and divide the country administratively in a form that would serve its Colonialist interests.

Libya

Italy was striving to occupy Libya. To realize that it began to improve its relations with France in order to guarantee its support for Italian expansion in Libya. France, on its part, wished to reach a compromise with Italy and it also began considering its interests in Morocco. France gave assurance to Italy that Libya was included within the Italian sphere of influence and that it [Italy] should recognize French influence in Morocco. Basing on the Franco-Italian mutual understanding Italy secured the possibility of its gaining a new colony. It started working for the increase of its influence in Libya and used political and economic penetration as its means

[for that purpose]. It established a post office in Benghazi and opened several tuition-free schools and some asylums and hospitals there.

Italy began interfering in Libya's internal affairs. It seized the opportunity of the Ottoman State's weakness and sent it an ultimatum to cede Libya. In 1911 it attacked Tripoli. The Ottomans were forced to leave Libyan territory after the conclusion of the treaty of Ouchy (Lausanne) with Italy in 1912, which stipulated the end of fighting between them.

I will think: Conflicts between Imperialist states end when they settle the [conflicting] interests between them.

Egypt and Sudan



British penetration into Egypt and Sudan

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 13

The digging of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the establishment of the Suez Canal joint-stock company with the participation of France, Britain and Egypt brought about the intensification of [the Imperialists'] greedy ambitions in Egypt, which resulted in Britain's taking possession of Egypt in 1882. The British [commander] Kitchener seized Khartum in 1898 and Britain became Egypt's partner in ruling Sudan by virtue of the 1899 agreement...

I will think: Why did Britain give Egypt a share in the rule of Sudan?

...The First World War gave Britain an opportunity to tighten its hold of Egypt, which it proclaimed as a British protectorate... British protectorate over Egypt became part of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919...

I will think: Why were there consecutive attempts to take possession of Egypt?

Somalia and Djibouti

Britain began having its eyes fixed on the African eastern coast since its occupation of Aden in 1839. The opening of the Suez Canal led to a competition among the European states for taking control of East Africa. Britain took possession of Zeila and Barbara in 1883. As regards Italy, it turned to Somalia in the second half of the nineteenth century, concluded a series of

protectorate treaties and leased the towns of Kismayu and Mogadishu. It also bought the port of Assab in Eritrea and proclaimed its protectorate over southern Somalia in 1896. France did not stand idly as far as Somalia was concerned and hurried to buy the port of Obok (in Djibouti). When the Suez Canal project ended France deemed it necessary to have a harbor for its fuel supplies on this maritime route. It managed to conclude an agreement with the sultan of Tadjoura, by which he ceded his country to France.

The Italian forces took advantage of the outbreak of the Second World War and extended their control over British Somaliland in 1940. But Britain succeeded in defeating Italy heavily in 1941. Thus, the region of Somalia was divided between France, Britain and Italy. There was French Somalia (Djibouti), British Somaliland and Italian Somalia. Ethiopia succeeded in regaining its control over the Ogaden [area]...

I will think: Why was Somalia divided between the Imperialist states and not given exclusively to one state?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 11-15

How was the crisis of Morocco settled between the Imperialist states coveting it?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 174

The Arabs stood by the Allies' side in the First World War with a view to liberating their country from Ottoman rule. They suffered poverty and hunger during [the war] because of the maritime blockade imposed by the Allies on the Ottoman State. In spite of that, the Imperialist states consolidated their influence in the Arab regions, which submitted to them before the war, and the inheritance of the Ottoman State was divided-up between them in the Sikes-Picot agreement of 1916 and the San Remo agreement of 1920. France received Syria and Lebanon while Britain received Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq, having discarded the promises given by it to *Sharif* Hussein [of Mecca].

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 35

The Levant [Bilad al-Sham] and Iraq



Foreign penetration into the Levant and Iraq

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 15

The countries of the Levant and Iraq were divided between Britain and France according to the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, which stipulated the establishment of French administration in Lebanon and Syria, British administration in southern Iraq and Trans-Jordan and the establishment of international administration in Palestine while Britain was to keep the seaports of Haifa and Acre.

Britain issued on November 2, 1917 the Balfour Declaration, which stipulated the establishment of a national home for the Jews on the land of Palestine. After that, the San Remo conference agreed in 1920 to place Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate and to place Iraq, Jordan and Palestine under British Mandate.

Britain took possession of Palestine by military force at the end of 1917 and at the beginning of 1918 and became the Mandate holder over Palestine by the decision of the League of Nations in 1922. The British Mandate lasted until 15.5.1948...

The Emirate of Trans-Jordan was established on the basis of an agreement signed in Jerusalem in 1921 between Winston Churchill, British minister of the colonies and Prince [*Amir*] Abdullah bin al-Hussein. It stipulated that the Emirate would be administratively independent and [politically] dependent on the British High Commissioner in Palestine.

As regards Syria and Lebanon, they fell under the administration of the Allied forces following the end of the First World War. France wanted to monopolize the rule of the country for strategic purposes and under the pretext of protecting the Christians. As an implementation of the decisions of the San Remo conference France took possession of Syria and Lebanon after the Battle of Maysalun in 1920. It separated the region known [today] as Lebanon from historical Syria in 1920. As regards the rest of the region, it established there separate governments and started to practice its rule as Mandatory state over Syria before the League of Nations approved the mandate's form in 1922.

In 1921 the Franco-Turkish agreement was concluded in Ankara. It included the delineation of boundary lines between Turkey and Syria and stipulated the establishment of a special administrative regime for Alexandretta, by which Turkey agreed to place the Alexandretta district under French Mandate. Later it reconsidered [the matter] and opposed its annexation to the Syrian Arab government under the pretext that it is a non-experienced government. It was therefore decided to hold elections for the district's administration. The League of Nations sent in 1937 a commission for the supervision of the elections there. It was obvious that the Turkish community would not win the elections because the percentage of Turkish speakers [in the district] did not exceed 39%. But the Turks managed to have the supervision of the police authorities and of the governmental administration, which was in charge of the elections, because they were not confident of gaining the majority [of votes]. They continued their pressure on France, which wanted to keep the Turks' friendship in order to help it repel the Italian threat in the Mediterranean. An agreement was concluded between France and Turkey in 1938, which allowed Turkish forces into Alexandretta to assist the French forces in keeping order [there]. They achieved that on the basis of their claim that they had gained 63% of the votes. The National Assembly of the District of Alexandretta announced [its] separation from Syria and the establishment of a republic by the name "Hatay", which started, beginning in 1939, to apply Turkish legislation and the Turkish monetary regulations, after the formation of a government by the Turkish minority. The French and Turkish governments issued a joint statement, which allowed Turkey to annex Alexandretta [to its territory].

As for Germany, it entered the field of Imperialist expansion in the regions under the control of the Ottoman State, especially those ones where German capital started to be present. It was manifested in the railway projects such as the Berlin-Baghdad railway project, which aimed at connecting Anatolia and the Basra seaport. It managed to obtain the concession of this line in 1899. The British government did not initially oppose [that], but few years after the signing of the agreement it considered Germany's obtainment of the concession a threat to its own

political and economic interests in the Gulf and in India. Therefore, it tried to obstruct the project. But the outbreak of the First World War prevented its implementation.

The British forces entered Iraq during the First World War, remained there after the end of the war, imposed on it the [British] Mandate in accordance with the San Remo resolutions of 1920 and appointed Faisal bin al-Hussein king of Iraq under their control.

I will try to explain the manner in which the settlement in the Levant and Iraq was accomplished between the Imperialist states.

[Questions:]

- I will enumerate the Imperialist states, which coveted the Arab Maghreb.
- What were the reasons, which drove France to occupy Tunisia?
- Italy coveted the occupation of Libya... How did Italy prepared for Libya's occupation?
- I will follow the European Imperialist penetration into the African Horn [region].
- I will explain the following historical events:
 - The problem of the Alexandretta district.
 - The Sudan Condominium Agreement of 1899.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 15-18

Some political borders have been delineated by the Imperialist states by which a part of a state's territory was detached and annexed to another state in order to leave the region in a state of tension, which would serve the Imperialist states, such as the delineation of the borderline between Turkey and Syria, which put... the Syrian district of Alexandretta within Turkish territory.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 120

I will mention two results of... the following:

Detachment of the Alexandretta district from Syria in 1939

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Foreign Penetration into and Competition over the World

...The Philippines

The Philippines was subject to Spanish Colonialism from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century CE. During that period many revolts broke out there until one of them succeeded, with the Americans' help, in putting an end to Spanish rule in 1898, and the independence of the country was proclaimed. But the Americans' covetousness to make the Philippines a new market for their products led to the outbreak of war between the Filipinos and the American forces. The Americans won following fierce battles in which the Filipinos defied death, and their submission was announced in 1901.

The Americans took possession of the Philippines and the [American] Commission of the Philippines became the highest authority, holding the legislative and executive authority there. Its members were Americans headed by the Governor-General. Later, in 1913, Filipinos appointed by the president of the United States became its members [too]. He also appointed the higher officials in the central government and they reported to him.

The Philippines Autonomy Act was passed... in 1916. According to [this act] a legislative body was established – a Congress – constituting two chambers, most of the members of which were elected by the people. In 1934 the American Congress passed a law, which enabled the

Filipinos to draft a constitution for their country and form a Filipino Commonwealth, which prepared for the establishment of the Republic of the Philippines ten years later. The American Congress had absolute authority over the Philippines during that [transitional] period. The decisions of the Philippine Congress, which related to the country's internal affairs, were subject to the American president's approval before coming into force. The United States of America controlled the Philippines' foreign relations and retained the right of intervention there.

The Americans spread education, improved health and development services, acted to prepare the Philippines for independence and introduced the Protestant denomination into it.

I will think: What was America's goal behind this policy?

Japan seized control of the Philippines in 1942 and interrupted the movement towards independence. The Japanese formed a military government, which dissolved the political parties. The people of the land confronted it with violent resistance, which took the shape of guerrilla warfare. In the midst of these wars the Americans managed to return to the Philippines following Japan's defeat in the Second World War in 1945. The Republic of the Philippines was established in 1946 with the United States of America retaining military bases there.

What does the continued penetration into and the competition over the Philippines mean to you?

Ethiopia (Abyssinia)

Italy invade Ethiopia in an attempt to expand its colonies on the African continent and entered Addis Ababa in 1936. Emperor Haile Selassie fled to Sudan and thence to Britain. The Ethiopian forces succeeded, with the help of the British armies, in driving the Italian forces out of the country during the Second World War in 1941 and Emperor Haile Selassie returned to rule Ethiopia...

I will try to explain the reason for Imperialist interest in Ethiopia.

The Panama Canal

The United States of America felt the need to dig a canal in Central America in order to secure a connection between the American Atlantic coast and [America's] seaports on the Pacific Ocean, especially after the expansion of the American military and commercial interests related to the countries overlooking the Pacific Ocean. In that it was helped by the transformation of the Caribbean Sea into an American lake and the expulsion of Spain from its colonies [there by America at the end of the 19th century]. In addition, digging the canal would spare the USA the [need] to form two independent fleets, one in the Pacific and another in the Atlantic.

The American Congress voted in 1902 in favor of digging this canal. It was supposed to pass through the territory of Panama, which belonged to the state of Colombia. A treaty was signed between the Colombian government and the American government, which allowed the digging of the canal in return for ten million Dollars as an initial payment and a quarter of a million Dollars a year as a rent for a strip of land stretching for five miles on both sides of the Canal. But the Colombian Senate considered these conditions insufficient and refused to ratify it [i.e., the treaty].

The American reaction was swift and violent: a separatist revolt broke out in Panama against Colombia on 3.11.1903 by American instigation, which brought about the appearance of the Republic of Panama, which agreed to that treaty and to granting the USA the right of sovereignty over the rented territories on both sides of the Canal, which became navigable on 15.8.1914. The behavior of the USA vis-à-vis Colombia and its encouragement of Panama's separation from it caused fears among the small American states as well as suspicion regarding

their big neighbor's conduct, which prompted the USA to pay the government of Colombia 25 million Dollars as indemnities for its loss of the territory of Panama.

[Questions:]

- I will explain the impact of American Imperialism on the Philippines.
- I will give reasons for the following:
 - A. The siding of the USA with the Philippines for ending Spanish rule [there].
 - B. The need [felt] by the USA for digging the Panama Canal.
 - C. The backing by the US of the separatist revolt in Panama in 1903.

Activity

Let us discuss: Foreign penetration and competition was not restricted to a limited region in the world.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 19-22

The Impact of the Second World War on the Arab World

The Imperialist states proclaimed martial law in the Arab world, imposed censorship on newspapers and publications, appropriated for their use the public utilities such as railways and airports and sent many nationalist leaders to exile.

The Arab countries were a scene of battles between the Allies and the Axis states. Many Arabs fulfilled their commitments towards the Allied states having regarded the promises given by the Allies during the war as auspicious. But after the war had ended the Allies temporized the fulfillment of their promises and placed most of the Arab states under military rule again, which brought about the renewal of the revolts and of the armed struggle, which ended in the proclamation of independence of most Arab states.

It should be noted that the Italian colonies were placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations Organization, which set a date for the independence of Libya in 1951 and of Somalia in 1960. The Arabs lost because of the war the District of Alexandretta, which was detached from Syria and annexed to Turkey in 1939.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 47

The Phase of Liberation and Construction in the Developing States in the Twentieth Century

The peoples, who were subjected to Imperialist control, initiated a comprehensive liberation movement with a view to achieving independence and getting rid of foreign control, which controlled the destinies of these states and exploited their resources and wealth to its own benefit. There were several reasons, which pushed these peoples to initiate the liberation movements. The most important ones [were]: achieving national independence and uncovering Imperialism's bad sides and methods of control and wealth plundering... The liberation movements became clearly stronger after the end of the Second World War in 1945, following the change of international balance of power and the diminishing of the role played by each of Britain and France as the largest Imperialist states in the world, as well as the emergence of international organizations, which played an evident role in realizing the independence of many states. These states started a phase of extensive construction after independence in order to advance [their] economy, improve their inhabitants' living conditions and get rid of political and economic subordination to the Imperialist states.

The Phase of Liberation and Construction in the Asian Arab States

...The Arab states witnessed a liberation movement for the achievement of independence. Then they entered the phase of construction and advancement in various fields in order to get rid of what had been left by Imperialism. Palestine is an exception, as it still struggles to achieve its independence...

Syria

After the fall of their country under French Mandate in 1920 the Syrians did not submit [to it]. Demonstrations took place and disturbances intensified and turned into organized revolts in various Syrian locations... which made the French High Commissioner retreat from the [former] policy of fragmenting the country into mini-states. He was forced to agree to the establishment of a union between the Syrian mini-states in 1923.

Why, in your opinion, did the French commissioner retreat from the policy of the country fragmentation?

The great Syrian revolt erupted in 1925... France arrested some nationalist leaders and exiled others. The revolt lasted two years during which France used all methods to put an end to it... The French authorities attempted to draft a constitution for Syria, but the people rejected it and protest demonstrations against the French took place...

Why, in your opinion, did the Syrians reject the constitution?

France signed the agreement of 1936 with Syria ... among its articles there was France's recognition of Syria's right to independence within three years following the signing of the treaty. But that was not implemented.

France detached the district of Alexandretta from Syria in 1939 and the local government and president of the republic resigned. Disturbances returned to the country and demonstrations became universal in the various Syrian cities, denouncing French injustice. In spite of that France did not back off from its decision and this district is still subject to Turkish rule to this day.

...France proclaimed Syria's independence in 1941 as a result of the political change, which took place there during the Second World War. But it was slow in carrying out its promise before the war ended... When the war ended the Syrians demanded the evacuation of French forces and then France arrested some of the Syrian leaders and bombarded the Syrian cities... The United Nations approved the complete evacuation of French [troops] from Syria, which was accomplished on 17.4.1946...

Lebanon

Lebanon was subjected to French Mandate in 1920 and the Lebanese started to demand from the French more local autonomy. After the Syrian revolt of 1925 the French promulgated the Lebanese constitution and the Lebanese Republic was established in 1926...

France feared the extension of the Syrian incidents' impact into Lebanon, so it signed with the Lebanese the agreement of 1936 in which it undertook to abolish the Mandate after three years... [But] it retained the right of intervention in [Lebanon's] foreign affairs and keeping military bases [there].

France proclaimed Lebanon's independence in 1941... The Lebanese prime minister announced the abrogation of the French Mandate. The French became angry, arrested the president of the republic, dissolved the House of Representatives, suspended the constitution and bombarded Lebanon. There were battles between the two parties and the demonstrations continued in all Lebanese cities.

...The demonstrations against French occupation continued until Lebanon became independent on 31.12.1946...

Jordan

Prince Abdullah requested Jordan's independence from Britain in 1922 but Britain claimed that the circumstances were not suitable. Therefore, the sheikhs of the [Jordanian] tribes became agitated and revolted in numerous regions of Jordan. Britain then sent an armed force supported by the British air force and they suppressed any revolt and insurrection.

The Jordanian government came into conflict with the Mandate authorities because [it wished] to diminish the powers of the [British] High Commissioner, who rejected the election bill drafted by Prince Abdullah. The situation exploded again against Britain. In 1928 the British-Jordanian treaty was signed. The most important point within it was that the Mandate government ceded to Prince Abdullah the legislative and executive powers. But Britain retained its right of controlling the foreign and economic affairs, the military bases and the financial affairs. The people did not like the treaty and demanded its amendment. The first national congress was convened in Amman and demanded that Britain recognize Jordan's independence and sovereignty. But Britain refused their demands... Opposition to the Mandatory government continued but the British increased their suppression. The Jordanians then reacted by blowing up in 1936 the Iraq-Haifa oil pipes, which were passing through Jordanian territory, in order to pressure Britain...

[Questions:]

3 – What are the results of the annexation of the Alexandretta district to Turkey?

The Phase of Liberation and Construction in the African Arab States

Egypt

The Egyptian nationalist movement was actively rejecting the British occupation and demanded independence. It was led by Mustafa Kamel who narrowed down the demands of the Egyptian people into two issues – “evacuation [of troops] and constitution”. He issued the Al-Liwa newspaper in Arabic, denounced Imperialism and its evils and made use of some incidents in order to arouse nationalist sentiment, especially the “Entente [Cordiale] Agreement” of 1904. That agreement gave Britain the right to rule Egypt. He also benefited from the incident of Dinshaway [in his efforts aimed at] arousing world opinion against British occupation.

For your information: The Dinshaway incident of 1906

Dinshaway is an Egyptian village the inhabitants of which were subjected to maltreatment and arrest and four persons were executed without [just] trial. That happened when a group of British officers was shooting pigeons and [as a result] one of the village's women was injured and one of the wheat barns took fire. The villagers hurried to put the fire out in their barns and attacked the British. One of the British officers died and the British authorities accused the inhabitants of his killing, although the pathological examination showed that sunstroke had been the death's cause.

Mustafa Kamel established the Nationalist Party in 1907... He died in 1908 and Muhammad Farid succeeded him at the party's leadership. He continued the struggle and called for independence, evacuation [of British forces] and constitutional life and urged the people to resist the occupation. As a result of his demands he was exposed to repression and imprisonment and was later forced to leave the country and continued defending his country's cause in exile.

British protectorate over Egypt was proclaimed in 1914 following the eruption of the First World War.⁵⁰ Britain also deposed the Khediv [Egypt's local ruler] Abbas II, appointed in his stead Prince Hussein Kamel, isolated Egypt from the Arabs [in the Ottoman provinces], maltreated the liberation seekers and threw them into jail and detention camps. Britain thought

⁵⁰ Egypt was until then under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire. When Turkey joined the war on Germany's side, Britain severed that connection and deposed the pro-Ottoman Khediv.

that by that it had annihilated the Egyptian nationalist movement. But the revolution was resurrected anew as the nationalists called for the convening of a meeting in 1918 in which they decided that the people elect representatives to go to Paris in order to present their case to the peace conference in 1919. They elected a popular leadership headed by Sa'd Zaghlul.

The British Commissioner rejected their demands and Sa'd Zaghlul proclaimed in 1919 the British Protectorate [status of Egypt] null and void. The British authorities arrested him and expelled him to the island of Malta in the Mediterranean, which caused the explosion of a popular revolt. Facing that, Britain was compelled to release Sa'd Zaghlul and permit him to travel and attend the peace conference, which confirmed the British protectorate over Egypt. After that Britain invited the Egyptian delegation to London in order to appease the Egyptian people and conduct negotiations with its representatives... The negotiations with the Egyptian delegation failed... The government resigned and the revolt was renewed, which drove Britain to arrest Sa'd Zaghlul and his comrades and expel them to the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean in 1921.

...Britain announced Egypt's independence and the end of British Protectorate over it in accordance with the February 1922 Statement... The Wafd [Delegation] Party headed by Sa'd Zaghlul manage to form a government and tried to negotiate with Britain in order to amend the Statement [which left certain fields under British control] but the latter acted to foil the negotiations and took advantage of the rivalry among the [Egyptian] parties...

When the Second World War broke out Britain imposed martial law on Egypt. After the war had ended the Egyptians demanded independence and demonstrations erupted in 1946. They decided in 1947 to present their case to the Security Council, which avoided taking any decisions in Egypt's favor.

...The negotiations with Britain were almost halted in 1951, which pushed the Egyptian government to abrogate the 1936 agreement. Britain then occupied some posts in the Suez Canal area...

[After the evacuation of British forces from the Canal zone in 1956] the Suez Canal was nationalized in 1956, which led to a tripartite British-French-Israeli aggression on Egypt. It ended in a failure thanks to the resistance shown by the Egyptians and the Soviet Union's intervention in Egypt's favor...

Egypt played a pivotal role in the Arab world by supporting and backing the liberation movements there, as happened with Algeria, Libya and Yemen. It presents the Palestinian people in its struggle for liberation and independence with all kinds of support and backing.

Libya

The Libyans started resisting Italian Imperialism under the leadership of the Sanussi movement [headed by Muhammad Idris Al-Sanussi, leader of a popular religious Sufi stream] and with the support of the Egyptian nationalist movement. The Sanussis continued to resist the Italians for a long time until Italy was forced to conclude the Al-Rajma Agreement with the Sanussi movement in 1920.

When the Fascists came to power in Italy they abolished in 1923 all the agreements, which had been made with the Libyans and increased their repression of the Libyan revolt, which drove ...Al-Sanussi to leave the Libyan territory and go to Egypt. Umar al-Mukhtar was then handed the banner of resistance and continued his Jihad some nine years until he was captured and executed in 1931...

...The United States of America tried to intervene in Libyan affairs under the pretext of [Libya's] manufacturing of weapons of mass destruction. As the Libyan government rejected

this intervention American planes bombarded some Libyan posts in 1986. It also accused it of destroying one of its planes in what was known as the Lockerbie Incident in 1988 and acted to obtain a resolution by the UN Security Council for the imposition of economic blockade on Libya, which lasted several years. But Colonel Muammar Qadhafi [ruler of Libya] settled the problem with the USA by compensating the families of those who were killed in the incident.

Algeria

The Algerian nationalist movement lagged behind its counterparts in Tunisia and the Arab East [*Mashreq*]... due to the isolation of Algeria by the French from the countries of the Arab East...

[During the Second World War] France declared martial law and a state of emergency in Algeria and continued arresting some nationalist leaders... The Algerians demonstrated in 1945 demanding independence, freedom and the release of political prisoners. The French counteracted against them, which caused the falling of 45 thousand martyrs and the destruction of many villages and cities...

...The great Algerian revolution exploded in 1954...

France tried to contain the revolution and showed its desire to negotiate with the leaders of the Algerian revolution. While the Algerian leaders were headed towards Tunis in order to attend a conference with the French and discuss the Algerian problem France hijacked them.

...The parties hostile to the Algerian revolution tried to obstruct the construction of the new state by way of concocting discord and disturbances in the country. The reaction of the government and the Algerian people to these activities was resolute – the nationalization of all lands, which had remained in the hands of the French Colonialists...

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 79-92

The Arab states obtained their independence except:

1. Jordan
2. Somalia
3. Palestine
4. Morocco

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 168

After the departure of the British forces from Egypt in 1956 in accordance with the evacuation agreement, the late Egyptian president Jamal Abd al-Nasser nationalized the Canal, which led to the creation of the Suez crisis. Britain and France, as well as some [other] European states, protested the nationalization of the Canal and launch an aggression against it known by the tripartite aggression, with the participation of Israel, for regaining international control over this maritime passageway. But the intervention of the United Nations and the pressure [exerted] by the Soviet Union ended the war on November 6 [1956].

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 14

I will explain... the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 18

The Phase of Liberation and Construction in the World

For your information: The states of Indo-China

They included North and South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand. They were subjected to British and French Imperialism.⁵¹

⁵¹ Thailand is not part of Indo-China and was never colonized, except for a brief period of Japanese occupation in WW2.

Vietnam

France managed to seize control over Vietnam in 1883 and divided it into three parts – southern, central and northern.

I will think: What was France's goal in dividing-up Vietnam?

[After WW2] came the French forces, which strengthened their control of South Vietnam in spite of the continuation of the resistance. Relations between France and the Viet-Min became worse and tension reached its peak when the Viet-Min started its attack on Hanoi...

The rebels continued striking French interests and striking all Communism's adversaries in the region, which prompted France and the United States of America to change their policy and pursue a hostile policy vis-à-vis the government of Ho Chi Min.

...The Vietnamese managed to defeat the French army in the battle of Dien-Bien-Phu in 1954 in which the French army lost some 16,000 soldiers, which compelled France to sign a truce in Geneva in 1954 under which it quickly gave up South Vietnam...

The United States was not satisfied with the Geneva agreement because it stipulated Vietnam's division into two regions until the holding of elections. It impeded that out of fear lest the Vietnamese Communist Party under the leadership of Ho Chi Min would win. It was striving to replace France in this region. Therefore, it intervened militarily in order to defend South Vietnam and stop Communist advance...

The United States failed in establishing a stable government in South Vietnam, so it opened a war on North Vietnam, which continued until 1969, when negotiations between the United States and North Vietnam started... Later a gradual withdrawal of the American forces from South Vietnam took place. But the war between the Americans and the Vietnamese revolutionaries was resumed again. Under the pressure of the American public opinion and the victories of the forces of the [South Vietnamese] National Liberation Front with the support of the North [Vietnamese] forced the United States to sign the Paris Agreement in 1973 under which the American forces withdrew from South Vietnam.

I will think of the factors [which led to] the success of the Vietnamese in [the struggle for] liberation and unification.

Angola

Portuguese influence in African Angola started beginning at the end of the fifteenth century with a view to obtaining raw materials and taking control of the slave trade, due to Portugal's need of them for working in the mines or the sugar cane farms in its colonies in Latin America (Brazil and Argentine).⁵²

...The Portuguese occupation [of Angola], its policy vis-à-vis the inhabitants and their exploitation and maltreatment had their impact on the eruption of rebellions, which lasted many years and compelled the Portuguese forces to retreat, especially the rebellion of 1904 in southern Angola, which inflicted a heavy defeat upon the Portuguese forces... The resistance continued until 1915... The Portuguese government then sent military expeditions... in order to subdue the people's revolts, which could not stand against European modern military power. But the popular revolts were renewed after the end of the Second World War and significantly strengthened during the 1950s, especially in 1959, when they reached the degree of armed clashes. The Portuguese military forces resorted to [measures such as] arresting the leaders, exiling some of them, killing demonstrators and destroying villages.

⁵² Argentine never was a Portuguese colony.

...The liberation war of 1961, which ended in the achievement of the country's independence, was the longest struggle of an African people against Imperialism and it is considered the longest guerrilla warfare witnessed by the modern world, except the Vietnam War, which lasted many decades.

...Several factors accumulated and brought about the explosion of the revolt, among which [were the following]:

1. The [Portuguese] occupation and its policy, which was founded on the inhabitants' exploitation and on racial discrimination in favor of the white-skinned settlers, the plunder of the country's wealth and robbery of its resources for the Imperialists' benefit...

...The Angolan war of liberation started in an attack carried out by the fighters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola on one of the prisons and on police stations in [the Angolan capital] Luanda, which entailed an extensive repression campaign against the Blacks on the part of the settlers and the occupation forces...

Chile

The Spaniards' rule in Chile lasted from the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century... The Spaniard had forced the Indians to work for them as slaves...

[The story of the military coup against President Allende is later told without mentioning any US involvement].

Activity

Let us discuss the conditions, which contributed to the success of the Vietnamese in their struggle against the American occupation of their country.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 95-103

The new element of racial discrimination has been added to the PA curriculum in the history textbook of grade 12. It is presented as an aspect of Western Imperialism, but most of the material in this respect is dedicated to Israel (and see in the sub-chapter titled "Israel's Image" above). Note that the discussion of Nazi Germany's racist ideology does not mention the Jews at all.

Racial Discrimination

The emergence of racial discrimination coincided with the beginning of modern European Imperialism faced by the peoples of the Third World.

...Imperialism practiced various forms of racial discrimination by granting the colonialists political, economic and social privileges in the colonies such as holding the important positions, possession of lands, [freedom of] movement and education, etc. while the [original] inhabitants of the colonies were deprived of their simplest rights.

The racist theory crystallized during the 1930s when the Nazi movement emerged in Germany in 1933, divided the peoples [of the world] into superior and backward and proclaimed the superiority of the Aryan race, from which the Germans descended. It enacted racist laws and restricted [public] positions to Germans alone, having considered them equal in rights and duties while the others were subjected to special laws applied to them, as they were considered alien there. In spite of the power achieved by Germany during the rule of the Nazi Party, the Nazi theory collapsed and failed because of Germany's defeat in the Second World War in 1945...

Forms of Racial Discrimination

Racial discrimination assumed various forms of which we will mention [the following]:

1. Racist repression, which uses force, brutality and deprivation against peoples for political or religious reasons, etc.
2. Ethnic cleansing, which is regarded as a war crime and uses violence to the point of expulsion and mass annihilation. The term ethnic cleansing first appeared in 1990, as members of the Yugoslav army used it to describe the military operations they were carrying out in enemy territories and it was [then still] restricted [in use] to the military alone. Later, this term spread in the [mass] communication media in 1992 when the Serbian war against the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina started, which lasted three years. Ethnic cleansing aims at uprooting ethnic groups related to resistance, or groups, which strive to change the political conditions and use the method of guerrilla warfare. Cleansing may be caused due to a certain doctrine aiming at getting rid of some groups. Ethnic cleansing causes on many occasions the creation of political problems difficult to be solved on the long run because it prevents the expelled groups from returning to their homeland, as the case is with the Palestinian refugees.
3. Racial segregation (Apartheid) indicates especially the racial segregation policies, which were practiced in South Africa since the coming to power there of the Nationalist Party (white people of British and Dutch descent) in 1948. It used a brutal method to annihilate opposition by the Blacks, Asians and the Colored. The racial segregation policy found expression in political, economic and social fields, including places of residence and work, property rights, marriage, movement, schools, universities, voting rights and the restriction of government to white people. The government enacted a racist law in 1953 segregating the white people from others in places where contact might take place between a person and another in residential areas, public places, transportation means, etc. The Colored and the Asian inhabitants were granted in 1984 some political representation while the Blacks were denied that. They had to live in secluded geographic regions (the Bantustans) for long periods and did not have the right to have contact with white people. The racial segregation regime remained in force in South Africa until 1994...

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 123-124

C. Western Support of Zionism and Israel

Grade 11

One important aspect of Western attack against the Arab world is the West's support of Zionism and Israel. Following are texts, which indicate such support in various historical instances.

Modern Zionism is presented as a European innovation.

The idea of establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine spread in England during the nineteenth century, as a number of English politicians and some influential people adopted this idea. An example of these was the English [non-Jewish] Zionist Shaftesbury who was one of the propagandists of Jewish settlement in Palestine. He is the author of the famous saying: "There is a land without a people and God now directs us with His wisdom and compassion toward it."

By that he was meaning that Palestine is a land without a people and that the Jews are a people without a land. This saying was later adopted by the Zionist movement and became [one] of its slogans. Is this saying correct? Why?

Shaftesbury also tried to convince some of the European politicians with his idea of Jewish settlement in Palestine such as Palmerston who held the office of British foreign minister and

later prime minister and who established a consulate in Jerusalem in 1838. He defined the goals of this consulate in his letters, which he sent to his ambassadors in the Ottoman Empire, including his memorandum which he sent in 1840: "Among the Jews scattered all over Europe there exists a strong feeling that the time in which their nation will return to Palestine is imminent. It is well known that the Jews of Europe possess immense fortunes. It is obvious that any country a great number of Jews will choose to settle in will obtain much benefit from the wealth these Jews will bring along with them. If the Jewish people returns under the protection and with the blessing of the [Ottoman] sultan, this will be a barrier between Muhammad Ali [of Egypt] and those who will succeed him [in power] and between the realization of his vicious plan in the future."

What was Palmerston aiming at by his call for making the Jews settle in Palestine?

There are many Englishmen who worked for the purpose of Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine. This matter was not restricted to Britain alone but rather circulated to France where it found people who promoted this idea.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a turning point in the history of the Zionist movement as the idea of establishing the Jewish national home spread from the European circles to the Jews themselves who began to work for the realization of this aim. Thus, the interests of the great Imperialist states joined with the Jewish interests and that was the decisive factor in the realization of Zionism's dream of establishing the state of the Jews on the land of Palestine.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 61-62

Western support of Zionism is presented as part of the Western internal Imperialist struggle over Palestine.

...During this period [the 19th century] the growing Imperialist competition over Palestine became evident... Britain made use of the Jews for the realization of its imperialistic greedy ambitions and therefore the Jews started to immigrate to Palestine...

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 58

...Zionist penetration into Palestine by encouragement from the European states, especially Britain which started to encourage the Jews to settle in Palestine, establish there the Jewish state under British protection and make it a means to safeguarding its [i.e., Britain's] interests and transportation [routes] to the East.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 56

...Several factors contributed to the success of the Zionist movement's efforts and the failure of the Ottoman efforts to prevent Jewish immigration, such as:

- Intervention on the part of foreign ambassadors in Istanbul, Jerusalem and Beirut, their protests and their adherence to the privileges hindered the carrying out of the limitations against Jewish immigration to Palestine

The Foreign Privileges: Facilitations and guarantees granted by the Ottoman government to the foreign subjects residing on its lands. They were granted [originally] by [Sultan] Suleiman the Magnificent to the French in 1536 [and included privileges] such as the freedom of residence, acquirement [of property] and resort to their consuls in order to solve their [judicial] problems.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 66

The Balfour Declaration

After the Zionist movement's failure in obtaining the consent of Germany and the Ottoman Empire to [Jewish] settlement in Palestine, it turned its eyes to Britain having considered it the

biggest Imperialist state, which might have helped the Zionist movement in the realization of its goals. The confluence of British Imperialist interests and the interests of the Zionist movement had great influence on this movement's success. The British foreign ministry issued the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917 in the form of a letter from Arthur Balfour, British foreign minister, to Edmond Rothschild, one of the Jews' wealthiest people. Following is the text of the letter in Arabic and English:

The Arabic text mostly conforms to the English one. Following is the English text.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have such [sic and should be "much"] pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of his Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favors [sic and should be "favour"] the establishment in Palestine ["of"] a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavourer [sic and should be "endeavours"] to facilitate ["the"] achievement of this object it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration on [sic and should be "to"] the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

[Questions:]

- Does Britain have the right to grant this declaration regarding Palestine to the Jews? Why?
- Who are those ones intended by the phrase 'non-Jewish communities' which appeared in the text?
- Did this actually apply to the population in Palestine when the declaration was issued? Why?
- Britain was conducting negotiations with three parties at the same time over the same region. How would you explain that?

Drafting the Balfour Declaration

The preparation for this declaration took several years. As for the formulation of the text alone, it lasted for two full years under the supervision of the Zionist organization. The declaration in its final formulation was issued after it had been amended six times.

Britain's Motives behind the Issuance of the Balfour Declaration

1. The political factor, i.e., winning over the Zionist elements in Germany and Austria, acquiring [the solidarity of] the Jews of Russia who played a role in the Communist revolution with a view to keeping Russia in the war on the Allies' side, and making use of the Jews in the United States to pressure the American government in order to push it into the war.
2. The Strategic and Imperialist factor: The First World War demonstrated the importance of Palestine's position due to its proximity to Egypt and to the Suez Canal, especially after the success of the Turkish forces in crossing the Sinai desert...
3. The strong alliance between Imperialism and Zionism. That was expressed by Winston Churchill, British minister of colonies, who is considered among the builders of the Jewish national home:
"If we are destined in our lifetime – and this is what is surely going to happen – to witness the birth of a Jewish state not only in Palestine alone, but rather on both banks of River Jordan, which will rise under the protection of the British crown and will

embrace three or four million Jews, we shall witness an event fully corresponding to the real interests of the British Empire.”⁵³

What may the establishing of a Jewish state in Palestine achieve for the British Empire and the West [in general]?

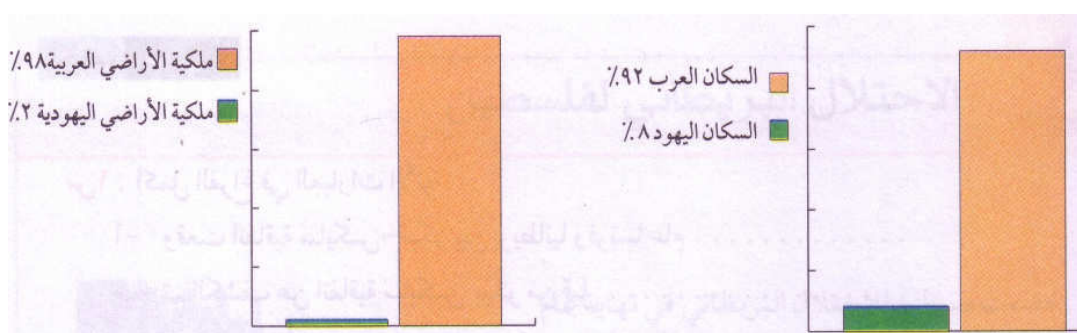
Whatever has been said about Britain’s motives in its issuance of this declaration, the [following] pivotal question still remains: Why did the issuance of the Balfour Declaration come that late, rather than why the Balfour Declaration was issued. I will think of this question and answer it in the light of the following:

- The Zionist movement’s birth and coming to maturity.
- The eruption of the First World War and the defeat of the Ottoman Empire of which dominions Palestine was a part.

The Legal and Historical Dimensions of the Balfour Declaration

Although the Balfour Declaration was but a political document unbinding legally or internationally, this document is still engulfed by obscurity, much the same as many [other] British documents and treaties. The phrases in this document can be interpreted in various ways, such as the following:

- “The Jewish national home”. The Declaration did not openly say “the Jewish state”. Why?
- “The non-Jewish communities”, although the literal translation of the English text was “the non-Jewish groups”. In both cases, the Declaration denies the existence of the Palestinian Arab people which constituted 92% of the total population, while the Jews’ percentage did not exceed 8% when the Declaration was issued and did not own more than 2% of the total land in Palestine, as illustrated in the following graph:



Percentage of the population and of land ownership in Palestine in 1917⁵⁴

[Orange:] Arab land ownership 98% [Orange:] Arab population 92%

[Green:] Jewish land ownership 2% [Green:] Jewish population 8%

- That could also be said regarding the civil rights the safeguarding of which was promised and which the [British] Mandate’s period over Palestine and its repressive policies [later] proved that even the guarantees that were given the Arab Palestinians were not fulfilled.
- The text [of the Declaration] stressed the Jews’ political guarantees and rights in the European states. This is the greatest proof that Britain was planning the establishment

⁵³ Notwithstanding this statement, it was Churchill himself who, in 1921, detached Trans-Jordan from the area designated for the establishment of the Jewish national home.

⁵⁴ No one would refute the fact that at that time the Jews were a small minority in Palestine and they owned a small portion of the land only. The numbers given here, though, are partly conjectural, as exact statistics of population and land ownership did not exist at that time, and partly distorted, as most lands in Palestine at that time were owned by the state and not by individuals, communities or organizations, either Arab or Jewish.

of a Jewish state. Had the phrase “national home” meant that Palestine would be their spiritual center, these guaranties would not have been necessary.

As much as the Declaration was legally null and void it was also invalid historically, for the following reasons:

1. Britain did not have the right to issue this Declaration because Palestine was [then] under the sovereignty of the Ottoman State and was not [part] of Britain’s possessions, so that it would give it to the Jews. The Jews were not controlling Palestine and did not have the right of possessing it.
2. The Declaration fully contradicted the liberation appeals emanating from the great powers, whether during the First World War or after its cessation, those appeals, which focused on the peoples’ freedom and on their right for self determination, as appearing in the principles [introduced by] the American president Woodrow Wilson.
3. The Balfour Declaration fully contradicted what had been agreed upon with *Sharif* Hussein [ruler of Mecca who had started the Arab revolt against Turkish rule in 1916] within the Hussein-McMahon correspondence, where Palestine was included within the borders of the [promised] independent Arab state [under Hussein].

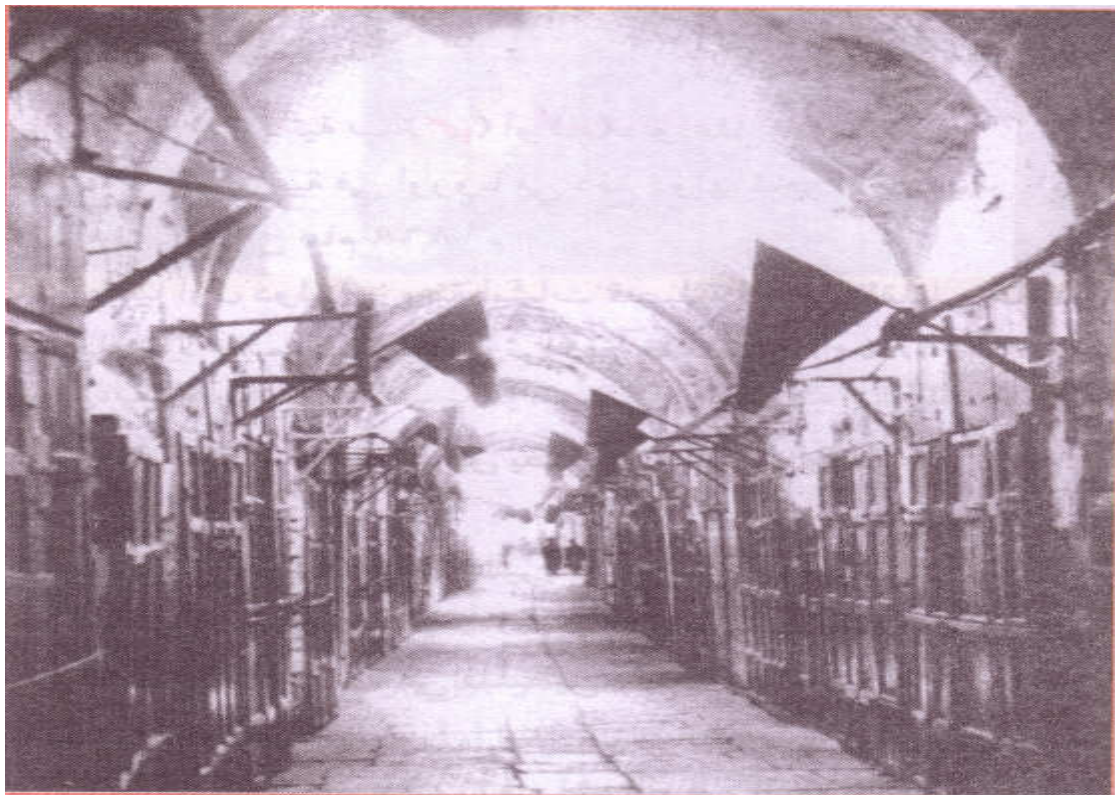
Why is the Balfour Declaration considered invalid legally and historically?

Activity

Let us study and discuss: How did the British internal conditions emanating from the First World War contribute to the issuance of the Balfour Declaration?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 78-82

Unit 3 – Foreign Penetration into Palestine



Jerusalem flies black flags on the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration
Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 60

Palestine in the Peace Conference in Paris, 1919

From the International legal point of view Palestine was waiting for the determination of its destiny in the conferences that would be convened after the First World War. Therefore, Britain prevented the Palestinian delegation from traveling to Paris in order to be present at the proceedings of the peace conference and at the same time permitted the Jews to participate in it. It also approved the participation of Faysal, [*Sharif*] Hussein's son, as representative of the Arabs in the conference. [The Zionist leader] Hayim Weizmann demanded in the conference to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, Trans-Jordan and southern Lebanon. The delegation of the Zionist Organization presented to the peace conference a memorandum in which it demanded:

1. Recognizing the Jewish historical right in Palestine and establishing a national home for them in Palestine.
2. Establishing fixed borderlines for Palestine so that it would include the southern part of Lebanon and Mount Hermon (Jabal al-Sheikh), al-Aqaba and Jordan.
3. Placing Palestine under British mandate.
4. Recognizing the Balfour Declaration and working for its realization.
5. Facilitating Jewish settlement in Palestine.
6. Establishing a representative council for the Jews of Palestine.

...The Palestinians convened their first conference in Jerusalem on 27.1.1919 by invitation from the Muslim-Christian Association. The participants sent a telegram to the peace conference in Paris. [Following is] part of its content:

“We are presenting the Conference (the peace conference) a detailed report of the injustice which will befall upon the interests of the inhabitants of this country, [both] Muslims and Christians, who constitute the absolute majority, as a result of the Zionists' immigration to it, its colonization by them and its making a national home for them.”

What would you expect the conference's response to the Palestinian telegram of protest to be?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 84-85

The San Remo Conference, 1920

In order to realize Britain and France's goals in the Arab region, the Allies gathered in San Remo for the purpose of realizing their greedy ambitions. The assembled took important decisions as appeared in the documents, among which [were the following]:

- Partitioning of Greater Syria into three parts: Palestine, Lebanon and what was left of [Greater] Syria.
- Placing Iraq under British mandate.
- Placing Syria and Lebanon under French mandate.
- Placing Palestine under British mandate with the inclusion of the text of the Balfour Declaration in the Mandate Instrument.



San Remo, April 1920

[Yellow:] Under French mandate – each of Syria and Lebanon

[Green-yellow:] Under English mandate – each of Jordan, Palestine and Iraq

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 86

I will compare between what had appeared in the Sykes-Picot Agreement and what was [actually] carried out in the San Remo agreement.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 86

...Britain asked General [Sir Louis Jean] Bols, the British military governor in Jerusalem, to notify the Palestinians of the decision by the Allies Council in the San Remo conference to impose a British mandate over Palestine and to insert the Balfour Declaration in the Mandate Instrument. General Bols invited the dignitaries and the heads of the [religious] communities in Palestine on 20.2.1920 to a meeting held in his house and read to them the following statement:

“The Allies Council has decided to put the state of Palestine under a mandate and to insert the Balfour declaration regarding the establishment of a national home for the Jews in the peace treaty [which was about to be signed] with Turkey. This mandate was proposed to Britain and it accepted it and will govern the country for the good of its inhabitants. I will [now] read to you the Balfour Declaration and tell you: Its insertion in the Mandate Instrument means that the religious customs and the holy places will not be interfered with and none of the religious freedoms will be limited, on condition that order and public safety be kept. Immigrants will be allowed to enter the country according to its need for growth and progress. The government of Britain will control immigration. The present property owners [i.e., land] will not [be compelled to] leave their property, nor will it be taken away from them. No economic privileges will be granted to individuals or groups if such granting would prove harmful to others. The rule will be the British government’s and by no means will a minority be allowed to have control over the majority of the population. When time arrives for the establishment of a form of representative government, in that case great hopes will be pinned on the increase of prosperity among all the inhabitants of the country. This resolution has been taken after a long waiting and, therefore, political disputes and disturbances should be terminated and all true Palestinians should vie in the service of Palestine and for the benefit of the forthcoming generations.”

What, in your opinion, was Bols' goal in proclaiming this statement?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 87

The Position of the Palestinian People vis-à-vis the British Military Rule

The leaders of the Palestinian people protested to General Bols' statement and sent a telegram of protest to the Allies Council expressing their rejection of the mandate and of the Balfour Declaration, which said:

"We, the members of the Muslim-Christian Associations which represent all the Arabs of Palestine, protest the decision taken at your conference regarding the future of Palestine and totally reject it because of the injustice it contains regarding our sacred rights. We announce that we shall not give up our demands summarized in [full] independence for unified Syria from the Taurus [mountains] to Rafah. We categorically reject Zionist immigration and [demand] that Palestine will not be separated from Syria, for the following reasons:

1. Because we did not fight the Turks, who are connected to us by the Eastern bond, and fought on the side of the Allies, so that our country be given as a present to people foreign to it who have no right of taking possession of it, but rather for obtaining our right of independence in [our] life.
2. Because the separation of Palestine from Syria is bound to harm the country's economic and cultural interests as well as the natives' national and local interests.
3. Because the country's lands are insufficient for its indigenous people who continuously increase, especially so when it is intended to take care of making the Bedouin tribes that inhabit it settled and civilized.
4. Because immigration will increase the population, will cause famine and will expose the country to incessant unrest and riots.
5. Had the foreigner's entrance [to the country] not harmed the country's economic and moral interests, the most advanced states of the world and the most courageous ones, such as the two states of Britain and America, would not have prevented the entrance of foreigners into their [own] countries, let alone Palestine, which has been worn down by the grinding [last] war."

Was the protest sufficient, in your opinion? Why?

The [British] military administration came to an end in July 1920, to be followed by a civil administration which undertook to pursue the carrying out of the British policy of making Palestine a national home for the Jews...

Is it possible to accommodate the demands of the Zionist movement and the Arabs' demands appearing in Prince Faysal's memorandum? Why?

Herbert Samuel [the first British High Commissioner in Palestine]: A Jew of British citizenship who strove to Judaize Palestine, opened the gates for [Jewish] immigration and confiscated [Arab] lands... He made Hebrew an official language alongside Arabic and English. In his term the phrase "the Land of Israel" was written on banknotes and coins, as well as on stamps, side by side with "Palestine" in Arabic and English⁵⁵... At the end of his rule in 1925 the Jews came to possess about one million *dunums*.⁵⁶

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 3

⁵⁵ More accurately, the name "Palestine" was added in Hebrew with two Hebrew letters in parentheses representing an abbreviation of the traditional Jewish name of the country. This Hebrew inscription is deleted from a Mandatory stamp reproduced in a PA textbook. See National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2001) p.7 and also the relevant CMIP report "Jews, Israel and Peace in Palestinian School Textbooks" November 2001 pp. 20-21.

⁵⁶ One *dunum* equals about 900 square meters.

Jewish immigration to Palestine continued through facilitations [provided] by the Mandatory government, which helped the Jews to acquire land by a number of means such as:

1. It registered Arab land under the name of the Mandatory state and not under the name of the Arab landowner, even though he proved his ownership.
2. Britain used military force against the Arabs in order to compel them to leave their lands and depart, as happened in Wadi al-Hawarith [the present city of Netanyah] near Tulkarm and in the Marj bin Amer Valley [Jezreel Valley].⁵⁷
3. Economic restrictions by imposing high taxes on land, which put the land owner under the pressure of debt that he could not pay and, consequently, he had to sell it in order to pay the accumulating debts.
4. ...

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 17

Activity

Let us discuss: British postponement and procrastination policy towards the Palestinians.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 24

Why did America become supporting Zionism more than Britain?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 27

...Voting on the partition resolution [at the UN in 1947] took place after the United States had pressured some of the member states of the United Nations to change their position and vote for the partition resolution. It alluded to [the possibility of] not granting economic assistance to the states that would abstain. It then succeeded in changing the position of some states such as Haiti, Liberia and the Philippines. The Partition Resolution No. 181, which decreed the partition of Palestine into two states, as can be seen in adjoining map was thus issued. Thirty-three states voted in favor of the Partition Resolution and thirteen states voted against the resolution. Ten states abstained...

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 29

Barely two weeks passed since their entrance [of the Arab armies] into Palestine in May 1948] until they managed, with the Palestinian resistance, to take control over most of the regions there, which caused the Jews to ask for help from the United States of America and Britain in order to intervene immediately and stop the fighting...

Why did the Jews demand from both the United States of America and Britain to intervene for a ceasefire?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 33-34

...The Israeli air force launched a stunning attack on Monday 5.6.1967 on the Egyptian, Jordanian, Syrian and Lebanese airfields and within three hours destroyed the airfields' runways and the Arab aircrafts, which were standing on them. It should be known that the United States of America had assured Egypt that Israel would not initiate an attack.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 50

But after the absorption of the [initial] shock and confusion among the Israeli command [in the October War of 1973] and [following] the arrival of American military supplies by air and sea bridges carrying the most advanced weapons, and with the participation of the American surveillance aircrafts, which were providing the Israeli forces with precise information about the movement of the Arab forces, the Israeli forces regained the initiative.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 67

⁵⁷ These were mostly swamplands belonging to Syrian and Lebanese absentee landlords. The British government approved the transactions and saw to it that the Jews finance the resettlement of the tenants elsewhere.

The United States tried to stop the Intifada through [the effort of] its foreign minister George Shultz...

I will explain the intervention on the part of the United States of America.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 83-84

Do you expect the United States of America to use its influence in order to pressure Israel in favor of the Palestinian problem? Why?

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 85

The PA textbooks sometimes differentiate between the US and the EU in their respective types of support of Israel today.

“The Jewish Question” is a European problem first and foremost. What befell the Jews at the hands of Nazism made “Anti-Semitism” a moral and political burden on the European Union and contributed to the delineation of its Middle Eastern policy. Europe had a significant role in establishing Israel and supporting it, especially under the circumstances of the cold war. But after the initiation of the [specific] European course, which culminated in the European Union, the EU tried to adopt a balanced attitude towards Israel and the Arabs, sometimes successfully and – most of the time – not.

Israel’s strategic alliance with the USA and the attempts by the EU to take its decisions independently of America, by creating a second pole parallel to the American one, has made it [i.e., the EU] unacceptable to both of them [i.e., Israel and America] as a chief contributor in defining the course of the Arab-Israeli conflict, although the EU occupies the central position among the granting states, which offer their help either to Palestine or to other Arab states.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 41

Grade 12

... Following the imposition of the Mandate over Palestine Britain took practical steps for the implementation of the Balfour Declaration, which was issued during the [First World] War in 1917 and which stipulated the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. [It did] so by facilitating Jewish immigration and taking possession of Palestinian lands.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 35

...The Balfour Declaration was issued on the second of November 1917. It promised the Jews to establish a national home for them in Palestine. In July 1922 the Council of the League of Nations affirmed the instrument of the British Mandate, which deprived the people of Palestine their right to administer their country’s affairs and granted the mandatory state absolute power of administration and legislation. Accordingly, it started to prepare the political and economic conditions, which would guarantee the establishment of a national home for the Jews. It began facilitating the Jews’ immigration to Palestine in order to transform it into a Jewish state after the expulsion of its people or their extermination. Having faced this Imperialist-Zionist plan, the people of Palestine decided to struggle and perform the Jihad with their property, souls and pens, so that they would prevent Britain from establishing the Jewish state in Palestine... They staged several revolts of which the prominent ones were the Al-Buraq Revolt of 1929 and the Great Revolt in 1936. The conflict with the Mandatory government and Zionism continued until the Catastrophe [*Nakbah*], which took place on the fifteenth of May 1948...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 103-104

The Impact of the Second World War on Palestine

Britain ruled Palestine directly using the war emergencies as a pretext. It continued disarming the Arabs and prevented the [Palestinian] national movement from taking any action. In order to calm the situation it tried to satisfy the Arabs by implementing the articles of the White

Paper, which was issued in May 1939 and which limited Jewish immigration and the acquisition of Arab lands by Jews, while the Jews [themselves] acted to smuggle arms and immigrants into Palestine and their military activities increased. Also, the Jewish Agency started to train the “Hagana” [Jewish clandestine] army. Churchill, Britain’s prime minister, decided to have a Jewish brigade in Palestine within the Allies’ army.⁵⁸

The Zionist movement strove to combine the efforts of the United States with those of Britain, so that they would both work for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Accordingly, they both formed the Anglo-American committee in 1946 in order to investigate the situation in Palestine. It recommended that Palestine be left under the British Mandate until the question is brought to the United Nations Organization. Its decisions backed as well the Jewish interests in the sphere of immigration and lands [purchase].

The international committee, which belonged to the United Nations Organization, recommended the partition of Palestine [which was adopted] in 1947 by virtue of Resolution 181 issued on 29.11.1947.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 47

The [British] Mandatory authorities secretly placed in the Zionists’ hands the fortified positions [in Haifa in 1948] while they were falsely maintaining that they would not give up the city until [several] months after the end of the Mandate period. But suddenly they announced that they were forced to evacuate the city. Horror poured down from [the Jewish neighborhoods on top of] Mount Carmel on the Arabs who lived on the slopes [of the mountain]. The [British] authorities paved the way to a state of panic by [staging] a war of rumors and then opened the harbor and released their ships to carry anyone who wished to go. They were piled up within them while the fire was spitting its terror on them from the mountain. The ships spitted them out on the shore of Acre...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 138-139

...The connivance of the British occupation authorities with them [the Zionist gangs] by secretly surrendering them the fortified positions [in Haifa] at the time they were falsely maintaining that they would not evacuate the Palestinian cities until [several] months after the end of the occupation period. They also paved the way for a state of panic and a war of rumors, which caused the people to live their cities and villages by force...

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) p. 143

The Egyptian and Syrian forces attacked the Israeli forces in 1973. The Egyptian army shattered the [Israeli] Bar-Lev Line [on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal] and Israel suffered heavy losses. The USA intervened and supplied it with the most modern offensive weapons and [thus] it managed to stop the Egyptian and Syrian advance.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 88

It is impossible to study the relation of the United States of America with the Palestinian problem without looking into the nature of its relations with Israel, because they are relations of mutual interest and strategic alliance in [both] internal and external American policy. For Israel finds in America the primary support and the most important ally in all fields and the United States, on its part, heavily relies on Israel in its Middle Eastern and world strategy. It is possible to say that American strategic stiffness in Israel’s favor is the characteristic by which American policy in the Arab region could be described to this day. It made use of all its capabilities in order to obtain international support for the idea of establishing the Jewish state in Palestine, recognizing it upon its establishment, making it a member of the United nations and regularizing its position in the region by normalizing its relations with all the Arab states

⁵⁸ The Jewish Brigade was formed towards the end of the war and was sent to fight the Germans in Italy. It was not deployed in Palestine.

neighboring it. [The United States] strove to safeguard the new situation, which stemmed from the establishment of Israel. The United States embodied the principle upon which its policy was based in that phase in the Tripartite Declaration.

For [Your] Information

The Tripartite Declaration: The United States, France and Britain issued on 25.5.1950 the Tripartite Declaration, which was aimed at securing Israel's borders. These states [also] emphasized their opposition to [any] arms race between the Arabs and Israel and [their] rejection of sending arms and military equipment to the region.

Between the years 1967-1973 the United States expressed its total siding with Israel on all levels, as it finally and officially renounced the Tripartite declaration and [even] went farther, ignoring the total occupation of Palestine's territories as well as other Arab territories and pursuing a new policy based on exchanging Israeli withdrawal from some of the occupied territories for total Arab recognition of Israel, on the protection of its [i.e., Israel's] security and on granting it military and financial aid directly. Following the outbreak of the October War in 1973 the United States extended military support to Israel to compensate it for what it had lost in the war and to augment its stock of arms and developed equipment in order to create a balance in the course of the war.

After that, American foreign policy emerged out of the following general principles:

- Considering the balance of power a political basis for reaching a possible realistic solution, and for solutions to be reached by the parties on the basis of reality, not on the basis of legal and historical claims.
- Long-term negotiations are an essential basis for reaching stable and accepted results. That necessitates the acceptance of contacts, which are cut off at times and resumed at other times and which are decided on the long run. Lengthy negotiations, from the American point of view, lead to a change in the balance of power militarily in favor of one of the parties, or to a change in the political options during the negotiations. It pushed Egypt towards peace with Israel in 1978.

As a result of the political circumstances of the Arab region after the second Gulf War [against Iraq in 1991], the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] and Israel reached in 1993 the [agreement of the] Declaration of principles (the Oslo Accord) for the solution of the Palestine problem. [The United States] plays the main role in the attempt to end the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Its latest political proposal has been the Roadmap Plan.

Let us discuss: How is it possible to deal with the American policy towards Arab and Muslim issues generally and the Palestinian problem in particular?

Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 22-23

The United States... presently overuses it [the veto privilege] to Israel's advantage. An example of that is its resort to using it twice within fifteen days in March 1997 to protect Israel while the [other] fourteen members [of the Security Council] accepted a proposal regarding the cessation of [Jewish] settlement in the Palestinian territories, particularly in the city of Jerusalem. This is the reason for the UN organization's total failure in finding a solution to the Palestinian problem although it adopted many resolutions in favor of the Palestinian people, for it could not force Israel to implement them.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 56-57

The United States is implicitly said to have twisted the UN's arm in order to reverse a resolution against Israel and Zionism.

...These racist practices by Israel since its establishment in 1948 prompted the United Nations to issue its resolution no. 3379 on 10.11.1975, which considered Zionism a form of racism and

denounced all its racist practices against the Palestinians. It is worth noting that this resolution was abolished according to a proposal presented by the United States on 16.12.1991 following the implications of the second Gulf War and the beginning of the peace process...

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 125-126

D. Western Political and Economic Hegemony

This is the main characteristic of Western dominance in the world today, following the disappearance of direct Imperialism.

Grade 11

What increased the importance of economic geography was its relation to the development of world Imperialism and the redefinition of international relations on the basis of the existence of resources and consumption markets, like the greedy ambitions of the Western states regarding the oil producing regions in the Arab homeland and the interest of Western states in the states of the developing world, which constitute a market for their [i.e., the Western states'] industrial products.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 67

Copy into your notebook and put a "V" sign next to the correct phrase and an "X" sign next to the incorrect phrase:

- The interest of the Western states in the Arab region originates from [the fact] that it is one of the most famous regions of the world in terms of oil production.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 71

...The subordination [*tab'iyyah*] theory regards the relations between the states of the periphery (the Third World) and the states of the center (the Western industrial states) as relations of subordination, which emerged during the Imperialist era in the Third World. Such relations cause partial or overall hindrance of growth in the periphery. Some of the subordination manifestations are the periphery's export of raw materials and agricultural products to the center and the center's export of finished goods, machines and some technology to the periphery. Among the subordination forms in the Arab world [are] commercial, financial, technological, military, cultural and [also] food subordination.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 18

Globalization is sometimes presented as one of the tools in the West's hands for world dominance.

...Globalization does not transform the world into a homogeneous and unified edifice acknowledging cultural pluralism. Rather, it dismantles the local cultures by imposing its own value model, invites the others to enter its own [frame of] time – its modernism – and strives to reshape the other in its own form and pattern, so that he would become dazzled and consume the goods and the images of itself [i.e., Globalization's] or himself [i.e., the other's] which it [i.e., Globalization] presents him [i.e., the other] with.

...By that, Globalization makes man a mere number and image, like [the one] appearing in the media description of the Palestinian victims. The Globalized world of today is based on the militarization of Globalization, so that the mechanism of hegemony would become a mechanism of control, because hegemony [still] assumes acceptance on the part of the one under hegemony, while control does not seek that [acceptance].

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 53

Globalization is clear interference in economic, social, political, cultural and behavioral matters with no regard for political borders of sovereign states and for the peoples' cultural distinctiveness. It is based on the hegemony of the great powers over the world and on [their] attempt to impose their culture and patterns of life style.

Some of the manifestations of modern Globalization are as follows:

1. In the economic sphere:
 - A. Hegemony of the economically advanced states over the weak states and the imposition of their economic policy on them.
 - B. Control of the markets by the larger companies, which weakens the competition capability on the part of the smaller companies and subsequently leads to their bankruptcy and closure.
2. In the Political sphere:
 - A. Interference with the political regimes of the weak states and attempts at having hegemony over them.
 - B. Imposition of the advanced states' political regimes on the weak states and their promotion through glittering guises such as democracy, political pluralism and freedoms.
3. In the cultural sphere:

It is expressed by the great powers' attempt to impose their culture, values, customs and cultural systems on other nations and peoples, ignoring the distinctiveness of these peoples and their values and beliefs. It is done through the channel of contemporary media, which constitute communication empires controlled by the great powers.

...The difference is thus great between Islam's internationalism, which is based on strengthening the values of mutual understanding, cooperation, good and love among all the peoples on the basis of Islam and its humane teachings, and between Globalization, which is based on glorification of profits, plunder of [others'] wealth and making Western culture triumph over Islamic values.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 96-97

The Globalization Order: Many experts have differences regarding the definition of the globalization order. Some consider it economic, political and cultural merger of all states of the world, or American hegemony over the world. Others consider it the fundamental incentive for economic growth, prosperity and the prevalence of democracy in the world.

...One of the negative manifestations of that [the multi-national companies] is the hegemony of these companies and the bankruptcy or acquisition of small local manufacturing firms by these [multinational] companies. For example, we notice the control of oil production and marketing by few companies.

Administration and Economics, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) pp. 14-15

An important factor of Western hegemony in the world is its control of international communication media.

The New Communication Order

Although the age in which we live is the space age, as informational material spreads in the whole world instantly and the (advanced) states of the North have no longer an opportunity to possess more information than the states of the South (the Third World), we still see that the advanced states of the North are the ones in control, as long as they possess the technology controlling [the flow of] information, especially when the possession of that technology requires high economic and scientific potential unavailable in many of Third World countries.

Therefore, the new communication order is characterized by inequality and imbalance within the process of free flow of information between the world's various regions...

I learn: The United States of America controls more than 65% of the flow of news in the world, 3% of publication activity, 63% of communication, 45% of recordings, 90% of cassette and news tapes, 28% of radio [broadcast] songs and 75% of viewed programs. It also controls 72% of computer and [other] electronic equipment production and more than 90% of the information deposited in the information bank and the information centers in the world.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 30

The PA textbooks sometimes present views differentiating between the United State and the European Union and calling for more cooperation with the latter.

While Britain and France already ruled the East [in the past], the United States is the one who occupies in our present time the primary position with a view to spreading its influence in the world.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 51

The European Union and the Arab World

The relations between Europe and the Arab world are old and our interest in them stems from its [that is, Europe's] proximity to the Arab world. These relations were not of a single type in all their phases. They sometimes were warm relations, having included cultural exchange and political alliances, and not always did they take the form of war.

The Arabs in their initial rise benefited from Greek and Roman heritage and the Europeans in their Renaissance benefited from Arab heritage, not only as a bridge connecting them to the Greco-Roman period. Rather, they benefited from the Arabs' achievements. Avicenna's "the Book of Healing" was one of the most important authorities at the medical faculties in Europe until the nineteenth century.

Europe's relations with the Arab world in other periods were relations of conflict and war, of which the most difficult ones were the phase of the Frankish Wars [the Crusades] and the phase of modern Imperialism. A conception has prevailed that the hostility between us and Europe is an eternal hostility and, consequently, some people in Europe still look at the Arab world as a fierce neighbor while others look at it as a cultural border which has contributed to the making of common European identity, which necessitates the formulation of a unified European policy towards it and towards its problems, independent of the far away United States' policies and, at the same time, taking into account the historical and cultural differences with it.

"The Jewish Question" is a European problem first and foremost. What befell the Jews at the hands of Nazism made "Anti-Semitism" a moral and political burden on the European Union and contributed to the delineation of its Middle Eastern policy. Europe had a significant role in establishing Israel and supporting it, especially under the circumstances of the cold war. But after the initiation of the [specific] European course, which culminated in the European Union, the EU tried to adopt a balanced attitude towards Israel and the Arabs, sometimes successfully and – most of the time – not.

Israel's strategic alliance with the USA and the attempts by the EU to take its decisions independently of America, by creating a second pole parallel to the American one, has made it [i.e., the EU] unacceptable to both of them [i.e., Israel and America] as a chief contributor in defining the course of the Arab-Israeli conflict, although the EU occupies the central position among the granting states, which offer their help either to Palestine or to other Arab states.

In return, we find in the Arab world itself contradicting positions, official and unofficial, regarding the EU, approving and opposing Arab-European cooperation. The differences between these opinions stem from the concept [prevailing] among some people who believe that the European role is a complementary role to the American one. On the other hand, [others]

believe that the EU will inevitably form a parallel pole to the American one and, therefore, it is an Arab interest to strengthen the relations with it...

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 41

Grade 12

Neo-Imperialism has employed a method of political, economic and cultural dominance over a state or a group of states while acknowledging their independence and sovereignty and keeping away of Imperialism's traditional methods. It used special means for the realization of its goals, such as:

1. Concluding unequal agreements, which would guarantee Imperialist interests in these states.
2. Binding the developing states by conditions limiting their freedom.
3. Taking advantage of the economic and administrative problems of the newly independent states.
4. Establishing military bases [in these states].
5. Stimulating internal disturbances as well as sectarian, regional and national divisions.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 5

The Imperialist states resort to controlling the economy of the weak states and their resources instead of [direct] military occupation. On other occasions military control paves the way for economic hegemony. An example of that is the establishment of the Suez Canal Company as a preparation for the Imperialists' control over Egypt's internal and foreign affairs, in addition to the control by British and American monopolistic oil companies of oil production in the Arab homeland, [their] monopoly of the [oil] industry and [their] determination of oil's prices. They did not hesitate to interfere in the internal affairs of the Arab countries.

I will think of the reasons facilitating the economic control by the Imperialist states within the penetrated areas.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 7

The companies participating in [the pre-1914] Turkish Petroleum Company agreed in 1924 to cancel Iraq's share in the company, which was 20% of the shares, and give the Americans a share in the company, which would be equal to that of the other parties... The Iraqi government refused to that and negotiations began between it and the TPC. The Iraqi delegation insisted on its country's right to some 20% of the shares, which had been secured for it by the San Remo agreement, and on Iraq's [right] to have representatives in the company's directorate.

These negotiations coincided with the Mosul problem the essence of which was Turkey's claim to it... The companies participating in the TPC and their governments took advantage of that to pressure Iraq and force it to grant the oil concession in accordance with the conditions they desired, including giving up its rights in the company, or else, it would lose Mosul. The Iraqi government was compelled to sign the concession agreement in 1925 with the conditions desired by the company, having guaranteed that Mosul remained within Iraq. The Iraqi nationalists rejected the concession's conditions...

...Britain wanted to lay the pipeline and the [parallel] railway [from Kirkuk] through the region under its influence in Trans-Jordan and Palestine to Haifa, in order to encourage the Jews' immigration to Palestine and to provide them with work opportunities there, in addition to its getting rid [by that] of French control over its own oil supplies...

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 137

I will trace the Imperialist control of oil resources in the Arab Gulf by each of:

1. Britain
2. Germany
3. France

4. The USA

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 179

What are the measures, which the Arab states may take in order to encounter the global economic order?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 179

...If a state falls under the influence of world powers, which makes it a target for those states' greedy ambitions, as the position of the states of the Arab homeland and Iran presently is vis-à-vis the United States of America and Russia.

Physical and Human Geography, Grade 12 (2006) p. 107

...The arms race, which was imposed by the United States on the Soviet Union... exhausted a large part of the state budget and came at the expense of the peoples' welfare in the Socialist countries.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 115

...The collapse of the Soviet Union as a great power in the world and the United States exclusive delineation of world politics following the second Gulf War in 1991, under the shadow of a new one-poled international order, as it imposed its political hegemony on the international organizations in order to realize its interests.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 104

The United States pursued a competitive policy vis-à-vis the West European countries in order to force them to open their markets to American goods and products, and in order to seize control over the primary resources and the energy resources so that it would dominate the economies of the industrial states through economic projects and signing of trade agreements under the slogan of freedom of trade, free exchange of goods and capital and safe investment in all countries. The large economic blocks have become the United States' means of control of world economy.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 115-116

...The United States began its leadership role in the new international order with clear attempts at imposing its political and military hegemony some of which [were] the economic and political siege imposed by it on Libya and Cuba and the constant threat to Iran, Syria and others. The United States makes use of its communication [media] for paving the way to [American] comprehensive world hegemony and imposition of the new international order... It may also resort to imposing this new order by force on the peoples and states of Asia, Africa and Latin America...

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 118

...The American president George Bush Sr. also used it [the term "the New World Order"] in 1990 while preparing for the war against Iraq. He stressed that the new international order is founded on the abundance by international legitimacy, respect of international law, guarantee of democracy and human rights and peaceful solution of international and regional disputes. But in reality he was preparing for the appearance of a new international order in which supremacy and leadership would be the United States' in the cause of [its] world dominance.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 114

...The second Gulf War paved the way for the appearance of the new international order, for Iraq had a military power, which might have threatened the interests of the United States and the West's friends in the Middle East. Therefore, the United States and Britain began to take measures against Iraq with a view to containing it, such as diminishing its armed forces and stopping the development of its military capabilities. A political isolation was imposed on it,

accompanied by an immense communication attack. These measures led to the invasion of Kuwait in 1990, which provided the United States with the opportunity to move and form the anti-Iraqi international coalition and force it to withdraw from Kuwait.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 116

...The United States found out that the situation on the war fronts [in the Iraq-Iran War, 1980-1988] had turned in Iraq's favor. Having desired to lengthen the war, it became necessary to supply Iran with arms in order to create a balance of power between the two parties, as became clear from the following statement by the American president Ronald Reagan regarding the Iraq-Iran War: "Supplying Iraq with arms at times and supplying Iran with arms at other times is a matter related to the state's top policy."

I will try to explain the United States' position of supplying the two fighting parties with arms.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 143

Iraq accepted the United Nations' resolutions, which called for the withdrawal of its forces from Kuwait and started to withdraw its forces. In spite of that President George Bush Sr. declared that the war would not end except with the fall of the Iraqi regime and the deposition of President Saddam Hussein, and intensified its attacks on the Iraqi forces, which were retreating from Kuwait. It [also] strengthened its [military] presence in the region although it had announced that it would withdraw its armies from the Gulf region once the Iraqi forces are driven out of Kuwait. It [also] imposed air and economic blockade on Iraq and sent... an international committee to look for weapons of mass destruction.

...In spite of the withdrawal of the Iraqi forces the sanctions still remained in force under the pretext of assuring that Iraq was free of weapons of mass destruction... The United States strengthened the pressure of its blockade on Iraq and intensified the arms search campaigns [by UN teams there]. The blockade lasted for ten years and the American policy invented the "Food for Oil" formula.

I will think: How did the blockade impact Iraq?

America claimed that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, which might endanger its interests and the neighboring states. So it was quick to obtain UN resolutions forming teams in order to look for these weapons. They started their work in various areas within Iraq. Following their failure in finding such weapons, the United States fabricated a new crisis in 1997 by claiming that large quantities of the fatal Fe-X gas existed in Iraq. When it did not find any trace of it, the remnants of the Iraqi missiles, which had been used in the Gulf War, were examined and it was proven that they did not contain any trace of the poisonous gas. In 2000 the Iraqi authorities expelled the UN searching teams.

The United States and Britain were still claiming that Iraq had rebuilt its military power and that it possessed nuclear bombs, in preparation for making war against it and in order to obtain international legitimacy for their aggression against Iraq.

What is the impact, in your opinion, of the presence of the American military bases in the Arab Gulf?

...In spite of the positive cooperation shown by Iraq towards the weapons of mass destruction searching team, which was emphasized by the chief of the weapons searchers in Iraq in his report to the UN Security Council, Washington still insisted on threatening [Iraq] with war, without paying attention to the Security Council's approval [or disapproval]. Many important states expressed their opposition to war against Iraq, such as Russia, France and China. The French president [Jacques] Chirac stressed that war was the worst solution to the Iraqi crisis.

Raging demonstrations swept the world denouncing the war. The most prominent ones took place in Palestine, Egypt, Spain, Italy, France, Denmark and Britain.

The American president George Bush Jr. sent an ultimatum to the Iraqi president in 2003 in which he gave him a period of 48 hours to leave Iraq, or else he would face a war in order to disarm him. The Arab League rejected this ultimatum. The United States and Britain ignored the official and popular positions and started their military strikes on Thursday 20.3.2003 against Iraqi positions and installations. Their forces rushed at the Iraqi cities with the participation of military forces from various nations. Baghdad fell. The Iraqis did not submit to this occupation. Rather, they managed to organize themselves and start a courageous resistance to liberate Iraq. The American forces succeeded in capturing the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein as a preliminary step to his trial and a new government was formed under the shadow of the increasing violence of the Iraqi resistance against the continuation of occupation.

What are the results of:

- The flow of American arms to Iran?

How would you refute the United States of America's claims that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction?

Activity

Let us discuss the Arab position vis-à-vis the Anglo-American aggression against Iraq.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 145-148

...Hence the great powers' demand that the developing states open their borders, abolish custom barriers, implement democracy, be devoted to human rights, etc. aiming at the elimination of their independence and sovereignty and their submission to the will of the stronger ones.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 115

[The United States] withdrew from several international treaties such as the missiles treaty of 1972, and did not join other treaties such as the ban on nuclear tests, the ban on chemical and biological weapons, the ban on production of anti-personnel mines, the International Criminal Court, etc.

As for its policy regarding the Arab world, it is based on the following:

- Controlling [Middle Eastern] oil, preventing any Arab or foreign hegemony over its sources and guaranteeing its flow to the Western and industrial world for reasonable prices.
- Siding with Israel as a strategic ally in the region and supporting it politically and economically.
- Not allowing the possession of nuclear arms.

Its siege of Libya and Sudan and its occupation of Iraq, and the ensuing problems in all spheres of life, are but a translation of this policy.

Let us discuss: How is it possible that the USA change its policy vis-à-vis the Arab world?

Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 21-22

The United Nations succeeded in solving some of the political problems in the world, but it failed in solving some other problems such as the problem of Palestine...

The veto privilege of the five permanent member states in the Security Council has contributed to the inequality of votes among the Council's members. Its overuse has caused the Council's failure to accomplish its duties. The states probably using this privilege most are the Soviet

Union (Russia) and the United States. The Soviet Union used the veto [privilege] excessively on many occasions in the late 1940s and the 1950s since its government felt that most members were siding with American policies. The United States as well presently overuses it to Israel's advantage. An example of that is its use of it twice in fifteen days in March 1977 to protect Israel while the [other] fourteen members accepted a proposal regarding the cessation of [Jewish] settlement in the Palestinian territories, particularly in the city of Jerusalem. This is the reason for the UN organization's total failure in finding a solution to the Palestinian problem although it adopted many resolutions in favor of the Palestinian people, for it could not force Israel to implement them.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 56-57

...The emergence of the United States of America as the sole pole in international politics, as it began to dominate international decision-making and to impose evident control on the resolutions of the United Nations and of the UN Security Council, which has been transformed from a global organization for the establishment of peace and security into a tool moving in the orbit of American foreign policy. It became clear to the world that it [i.e., the United States] exclusively controls the United Nations Organization in its entirety. That was clearly revealed in a series of resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council shortly before the second Gulf War. In addition, it rejected in 1992 the French proposal to establish an international army belonging to the United Nations to be used by it whenever necessary for the implementation of the Security Council resolutions. Its [i.e., the United States'] rejection stemmed from the fact that the formation of that army would limit its own control of the United Nations Organization, because its command would be under the supervision of the UN Secretary-General.

What prompted the United States to bring the United Nations to this stage was [the concept] that reliance on the resolutions adopted by the UN meant the limitation of the opposition to American policy on the international level. That was strengthened by [the fact] that the UN could not perform its duties without relying on American support, financial support in particular. That explains its inability to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict and implement the decisions of international legitimacy adopted by the UN Security Council regarding the Palestinian problem, because the United States resorts to using its veto privilege... It was [also] careful to keep this international organization away from the participation in the Middle East peace conference under the shadow of the new international order...

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 117-118

The United States of America has used this organization [Organization of American States] for the realization of its goals and interests. It has also used it as its support in [the field of] UN resolutions in order to oppose the adoption of any resolution not to its liking. Therefore, the American states strive to get rid of American supremacy over the organization and to drift towards a [more] global and international arrangement.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 63

The Controversy over Human Rights

...Since the issuance of the World Proclamation of Human Rights in 1948 controversy has taken place whether to accept this proclamation or reject it. The tone of this controversy has increased in the Arab and Muslim world.

Those who support the principles of human rights rely on [the fact] that these principles protect human dignity and do not contradict in their essence anything called for by the Islamic religion and the other divine [monotheistic] religions. They originally came to protect man and his dignity.

As regards those who oppose these principles, they base their rejection on the following factors:

- Absolute suspicion of anything coming from the West and from the states of international hegemony.
- Pre-conviction that the West employs the principles of human rights as a means for cultural invasion of the world.
- Belief that human rights are nothing but a pretext used by the West and the great hegemonic powers in order to interfere in the affairs of other states, as happens in Afghanistan, Iraq, Darfur, etc. At the same time the hegemonic states ignore the violations of human rights in other places such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chechnia, Palestine, etc.

But in spite of [one's] understanding of the justifications [raised by] the rejecting party, there are several facts, which support this world movement [i.e., for human rights]. The human rights movement – though exploited by the Imperialist states – is not a state movement, but rather a world popular and humane one undertaken originally by popular organizations. Also, the malpractice of the principles of human rights by the hegemonic states does not prove this idea's incorrectness. Rather, it is incorrect practice. Had we judged the correctness of ideas according to their practice we would have abolished all ideas, beliefs and religions practiced wrongly by their followers. What is needed is confronting those who exploit the slogan of the human rights movement and not becoming alienated to it.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) p. 101

International Law and [its] Application

...The main problem in applying human international law is that most international bloody conflicts in present time are conducted by the great powers, which signed the four Geneva conventions and which protect the principles of human international law. This schizophrenia is one of the factors of the international law's weakness. On the one hand, they sign agreements limiting the impact of armed conflicts and limiting the use of weapons of mass destruction, and at the same time these [same] states conduct international wars and conflicts, as happened with regard to the Israeli violations of human international law in Palestine, the violations by the United States of America of human international law in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the violation by the Serbs of international law in Bosnia-Herzegovina and elsewhere.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) p. 108

Economic issues play an important role in influencing regional and international relations and are considered one of the reasons, which have made the Arab world the world's most tense region on the level of economic relations, due to its possession of enormous economic wealth, chief among which being its oil wealth, which has caused the coveting industrial states to show special interest in controlling the sources of this wealth for the purpose of serving their industries and investing their capital. As a result, the Arab world has faced attempts in the past and at present to impose [on it] political, military and economic hegemony, which has reflected negatively on the peoples of these states in the form of political instability and the deterioration of living conditions.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 135

...Industry in the Arab world faces several problems such as... the Imperialist policies, which strive to keep the Arab states as a market for their goods...

...There is no doubt that the previously mentioned problems led to the backwardness of industry in the Arab world and have made it subordinate to the foreign industrial states...

...The Arabs' lack of consensus on a coordinated economic policy has led to the absence of a real economic power that would face the Israeli economy and its presence in the world market comparing to the Arab [economic] presence [there].

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 158-159

Note in the following piece the emphasis on Western Imperialism and domination in explaining the problem of poverty in the Arab world.

The Reasons for the Spread of Poverty in the Arab World

- Imperialism and regional division of the Arab homeland [by Imperialism].
- Subordination of the Arab world's countries to the West, flooding of the Arab markets with Western products and burdening their budget with debts.
- Corruption plays an influential role in increasing the percentage of those who sink below poverty line.
- Concentration of wealth in a certain Arab country and its lack in another [Arab] country, and it is also concentrated within a certain sector in these societies.
- Spread of unemployment.
- Absence of pan-Arab economic integration.

I will think of other reasons for poverty in the Arab world.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 43-44

[Egyptian president Anwar] Sadat began his rule with economic openness to foreign investments and the private sector and increased Egypt's reliance on foreign loans and grants, especially from the United States, which financed the construction of oil pipes in Egypt, which caused the accumulation of debts... and the exposure of the country to an economic crisis...

I will think: How did the economic openness policy impact Egypt?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 88

The West and also non-Arab neighboring countries, including Israel, are partially blamed for problems related to shortage of water in the Arab world.

Arab national security faced a number of challenges in the twentieth century among which was the crisis of shortage of water as a result of irregularity of rainfall, the [fact that] the sources of most rivers of the Arab homeland are outside its political borders and due to the great population increase in it and its developmental needs, in addition to the foreigners' covetousness of water and [their] endeavor to control and exploit it.

First: Water Conditions in Palestine

[See in the sub-chapter titled "Israel's Image above]

Second: The Water of South Lebanon

[See in the sub-chapter titled "Israel's Image" above]

Third: The Water of the Euphrates and Tigris [Rivers]

...Israel started to work for finding solutions to its anticipated water crises by initiating joint projects with Turkey. The Turkish president Turgut Özal visited the United States in 1987 and proposed there to make use of Turkish water through a project named "the Peace Pipes Project", 2,700 km long, which would carry water from Turkey to Syria, Lebanon and Israel, and an eastern pipe, 3,900 km long, stretching to the states of the Arab Gulf. The United States welcomed this project because it contributed to supplying Israel with water, it provided an opportunity to American companies to have a principal role in these projects... and the execution of this project would put the reins of Arab politics in the hands of the West through the control of the water of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers. The Arabs rejected the project.

I will explain the Arab rejection of the Turkish “Peace Pipes Project”.



The Turkish “Peace Pipes Project”

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p.152.

Turkey began to carry out its project called “South-East Anatolia” [GAP], which strives to execute [a series of] projects of dams, canals and reservoirs in order to develop the Anatolian plateau. This project, which requires the construction of 17 dams on the Euphrates River and four dams on the Tigris River and the construction of 17 electricity power plants on the [banks] of the two rivers and their tributaries, will cause the lowering of water level in each of Syria and Iraq and the reduction of agricultural production, as well as the reduction of electricity production. It will also cause real problems on the level of soil and climate.

The Turkish government used the Euphrates River as an effective weapon against Syria and Iraq, although it enjoys an international status denied by Turkey, as appeared in a statement by Özal that it is a Turkish river, not an international one, although the length of the course of the Euphrates [River] in Turkey is 442 km only, while the length of its course is 675 km in Syria and 1,213 km in Iraq.

The Impact of the Turkish Water Projects on Iraq and Syria

Hydrologists have shown that a decrease of a billion sq. meters a year of the Euphrates water would impact agricultural lands in Iraq. In case the construction of the Turkish dams in the Anatolian plateau is completed, about 40% of the [present] agricultural lands in the Euphrates basin will be outside the range of agricultural use, in addition to the complete standstill of the power stations at the Qadisiyyah Dam.

As for Syria, the execution of the Turkish water projects, which outwardly assume a hydrographic-economic character, indeed have a political-security-military nature, as the Euphrates River constitutes the Turkish blackmailing card, bearing in mind that its source is found outside the scope of Arab control. This is where the main danger embodied by the phenomenon of “water politicization” is hiding, which entails the use of water as a tool of bargaining, threat and compulsion in political dealings.

The fact is that the benefit to Turkey from the Atatürk Dam, which was inaugurated by the Turks during the first Gulf War, is not restricted to the production of inexpensive electrical power, which would satisfy Turkey's needs and beyond, but it rather aims at obtaining hard currency by way of selling the food surplus resulting from the irrigation of vast agricultural lands in the region of eastern Anatolia. The project will thus transform Turkey into a food-exporting state, which will finance the Middle East and dominate its politics by [providing] food-security. This project will deprive Syria of 40% of its need for water and the decrease of the incoming water will cause the subtraction of about 860 thousand *dunums*⁵⁹ from the [total] scope of land actually cultivated [today]. It will also diminish the production of electricity at Al-Thawrah Dam to mere 12% of its capacity, which means the standstill of hundreds of industrial installations and, consequently, the deterioration of the farmers' conditions.

The Turkish side insists on a comprehensive agreement on water between Syria and Turkey, which will include the distribution of the water of all the rivers shared by the two parties, particularly the water of Al-Asi River, which flows from Syria and ends in the [formerly Syrian and presently Turkish] Alexandretta district with a view to [thus] obtaining Syrian official recognition of Turkish sovereignty over the Alexandretta district.

During his visit to Damascus in February 1993, the Turkish prime minister Süleiman Demirel proposed to the Syrian leaders to compensate them for [the loss of water from] the Euphrates River with the water of the Tigris [River], which flows along the Syrian border for a distance of 50 km, on account of its being richer in water than the Euphrates, bearing in mind that a Syrian consent on this project would be at the expense of Iraq's share of the Tigris water, which was rejected by Syria.

Fourth: The Water of River Nile

The Ethiopian expansionist greedy ambitions regarding the Nile water concentrated on three axes:

1. Ignoring the agreements, which had been concluded between the states of the Nile basin and which guarantee the historical rights of Egypt and Sudan to the water of this river, under the pretext that these agreements belonged to the era of [Colonialist] occupation.
2. Building dams extensively on the Blue Nile's tributaries with a view to decreasing the quantity of water descending to Sudan and Egypt.
3. Rejecting cooperation and coordination with the rest of the states of the Nile basin and not allowing any [foreign] control of the Ethiopian Nile tributaries...

[Questions:]

- What are the results of:
 - Turkey's execution of the South-East Anatolia Project?
 - The Turkish-Israeli rapprochement?
- How would you explain:
 - Turkey's insistence on distributing the water of Al-Asi River?
 - Turkey's proposal to Syria [to have] the water of the Tigris [River] in return for giving up the water of the Euphrates [River]?
 - The Arabs' rejection of the Turkish "Peace Pipes Project"?
- The Ethiopian expansionist greedy ambitions regarding the Nile River concentrated on a number of axes. I will mention them.

⁵⁹ A *dunum* roughly equals 900 sq. meters.

Activity

Let us discuss the dangers [emanating from] the location of the Arab water sources outside the borders of the Arab world.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 149, 151-155

Another accusation against the West and against America in particular is related to issues of the environment.

...The United States of America did not approve it [the Tokyo environmental protocol, 1997] although it is the first state in the world causing [the emission of] greenhouse effect gases.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 26

E. Western Religious and Cultural Attack

Grade 11

...In our own days Muslims (individuals, preachers and groups) face insult, persecution and hardships and they are described by various [negative] traits...

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 48

...Following that the missionary delegations appeared. They played an important role in spreading Christian teachings through the schools they established in Palestine, in addition to spreading the influence of the states to which these delegations belonged, for they were numerous and belonged to various states such as France, Britain and Russia... At any rate, these delegations played an important role in spreading education and in the diffusion of intellectual, political, patriotic and national awareness.

Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine, Grade 11, Part1 (2005) p. 57

...One of the greatest problems faced today by the Muslim nation is Western cultural invasion. Local papers rely on Western global news agencies, which monopolize the market, formulate the news item and use terms that express their own view of the [various] events and incidents. Also, there are many Western radio stations broadcasting their programs in the Arabic language in order to convey their own perceptions and concepts regarding the matters [discussed]. But most influence comes through television, which broadcasts entertaining programs and films using sex and violence in order to spread its merchandise and which often reinforces the negative stereotypical images of the Arab or Muslim's personality.

Some of the Arab stations have lately broadcast many programs, which are considered an Arabic version of Western programs. They belong by ownership to Western companies and rely in their income on the people's phone calls, which are done by contacting special numbers so that they pay doubled phone rates for the benefit of these programs. The one who pays these amounts is but a gambler on the one hand and a supporter of worthless programs, which include forbidden [material] on the other hand...

The resistance to the flow of information from the West to the East is a resistance to [their] contents. There is no objection to cultural exchange provided that it does not include matters that one should be cautious to from an [Islamic] legal point of view... Cultural exchange must be [done] with awareness and in a manner, which will not lead to the dissolution of the self because of the incoming informational material.

...The Muslim nation is exposed to cultural invasion and the governments of the Muslim states are exposed to foreign pressure to change and alter their values. Actually, these governments, due to their disunion, have gradually relinquished their fixed positions... There are hostile

communication media which broadcast a distorted image in purpose, as this image helps the decision makers in the West to pass oppressive policies related to the Muslims, whether regarding those ones who live in the West, or regarding the Muslim states.

...[Muslim] communication [media] should assume their prospective role in consolidating the nation's identity, building its culture and confronting the invasion of the Westernization culture...

[Questions:]

- I will mention the negative impact of the non-Muslim communication [media] on the Muslim nation and its sons nowadays.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 123-125

The recommendations of the [Arab] Linguistic Academy Conference in its 66th session in Cairo in 1998:

...

- That the ministers of education in Egypt and the [other] Arab countries work on the Arabization of university education and [other] higher [education], so that the nation's youth would become free of the scientific subordination to the West just as the nation has become free of the political subordination to it.

Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 17

The youth sector is the most influenced one by the negative aspects of globalization and of the incoming civilizations, which compete with our Arab values and customs...

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 8

Dealing with Modernism

Dealing with modernism in contemporary Arab thinking is done in various ways such as:

- Some think that modernism means following the advanced societies in terms of industry and information [technology]. Accordingly, it is necessary to imitate these societies and transfer their experience and apply it to our own society. This theory pushes the Arab societies to become consumptive markets for the products of the advanced societies and leads to a state of technological and informational and, consequently, political dependence on these societies. This transformation is also accompanied by consumptive culture [in which] anything produced by the West – art, music, fashion, etc. – is copied in order to resemble the powerful and the advanced one.
- Another vision believes that modernism will never emerge except in a totally internal form through the rejection of anything coming from the world and [through] self-closure, in order to defend ourselves against perversions caused by openness to a world that tried to rule us in the Colonialist period and tries to rule us in the post-Colonial phase by way of incorporating us in world markets and world culture and stripping us of our distinctness and heritage.
- As for the third vision, it regards modernism as a position, which we should enter armed with the understanding of [our] heritage, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, [armed] with understanding of the spirit of the age we live in. Therefore, modernism is a product of a producing society and [of] an informational society, not just a society of consumption and imitation. A society that can build itself and utilize what is available on the global level, in order to become a producing society, a society that pushes informational production forward, taking into account [the text ends here].

Activity

Let us split into groups. Each group will adopt one of the forms of dealing with modernism. Each group will try to convince the other groups to accept its opinion.

Activity

Is it possible to imagine a Muslim-Arab modernism? How?

Write about this issue.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 56-57

Grade 12

Missionary Work [tabshir]

The foreign states used the missionary work as a method of penetration and extension of their military and political control over the regions they coveted to subdue and rule.

What is missionary work?

Missionary work is an attempt by the European West to spread the Christian religion and Western culture in various regions of the world and transform their inhabitants into Christians. It was especially active in the Arab and Muslim world in order to confront Islam and prevent its expansion and spread. It was a prelude to Imperialism...

Goals of the Missionary Work

Samuel Zwemmer, one of the fanatic missionaries in the East, laid down the goals of the missionary work in a speech in a missionary conference held in Jerusalem in 1935 saying:

"...But the missionary work's mission which the Christian states have appointed you to perform in the Mohammedan countries is not to bring the Muslims into Christianity... Rather, your mission is to take the Muslim out of Islam so he would become a creature with no connection to God... By that you will be, through this work of yours, the pioneers of Imperialist conquest of the Islamic realms. This is what you have perfectly done for the last hundred years... We have taken hold of... all curricula in the Islamic realms..."

What are the goals of the missionary work as they appear in the text?

The goals of the missionary work were manifold in accordance with the historical circumstances, which it came under since its emergence. Among them [were the following]:

Spreading Western culture among the Muslims and calling [upon them] to become civilized, destroying Islam with its doctrine, rites, institutions and morals, supporting Imperialist invasion of Muslims countries and working on smashing Muslim resistance, circulating division and conflict among the Muslims by stimulating ethnic, sectarian and regional chauvinism, etc.

Do you expect the missionary work to succeed in realizing its goals? Why?

Means of the Missionary Work

The missionaries used various means such as:

First: Social institutions. The missionaries exploited society's need for social services and endeavored to establish institutions for the poor, the aged, the disabled and orphanages.

Second: The various communication media such as the press, radio and periodicals.

Third: [Medical] treatment and nursing. The missionaries established several hospitals and clinics. They also sent medical delegations with a view to getting closer to the people and taking advantage of them.

Fourth: Educational delegations to the Western Christian states. The missionary associations send Muslims to study in the West.

Fifth: Educational institutions. The missionaries contributed to the establishment of schools and

universities, which are considered among the most useful means to which they resorted in order to realize their goals...

The Results of the Missionary Invasion

The missionary invasions paved the way for modern European Imperialism to penetrate into the Muslim world politically, after having penetrated it culturally. The missionary schools contributed to the graduation of some educated people as sons of Western culture who carry its ideas and as its propagandists, especially those ones who studied history and wrote about it in the states subjugated to missionary invasion. Also appeared a group of politicians whose ideas were influenced by Western political and philosophical opinions, which brought about the confusion of ideas in various aspects of life, as happened in the Ottoman State.

In spite of the efforts made by the missionaries in order to spread the Christian religion, they failed in harming the Islamic faith. But they contributed to paving the way for Imperialist penetration and control in numerous regions of the world.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 3-5

The missionary delegations are regarded as one of the most destructive means of the intellectual and cultural invasion in the life of a nation. I will explain:

1. The goals of the missionary work
2. The difficulties faced by the missionaries
3. The results of the missionary work

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 9

Missionary work paves the way for:

1. Military control
2. Political control
3. Economic control
4. All the [answers] mentioned [above]

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 167

The Imperialist states opened schools, institutes, colleges and universities and sent missionary delegations, as France's policy in Syria, Lebanon and the Arab Maghreb [was], in an attempt to eliminate the Arabic language and the Muslim religion. These delegations left an impact by spreading division and sectarian and communal conflicts in the Arab homeland. It is possible to summarize the most important goals of cultural Imperialism by the following:

- Striving to make the Arab region subordinate to the West.
- Alienating the Arab citizen from his region and its problems and creating a model of educated people who cannot understand the problems of their society and confront them.
- Brain emigration to foreign countries.
- Preparing local leaderships and talented people supporting Imperialism and opposing national liberation.

Among its [i.e., cultural Imperialism's] manifestations as well are: consolidation of its presence in the Arab region, endeavors to make its cultural and educational institutions superior to local institutions, encouragement of foreign educational system while generally fighting state education embodied in the national universities, and creation of culturally diverse groups in society, which threatens its unity and [its mere] existence.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 7

Cultural Imperialism is considered Imperialism's most dangerous form. What are its goals and manifestations?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p.10

...There appeared global communication foundations, which are able, due to their immense capabilities and resources, to transfer news and cultures between nations and peoples and compete with the national communication media. Among these are Reuters, etc. and the press foundations such as the New York Times. They belong to the Capitalist states, which direct them to serve their interests, spread their ideas and promote the Capitalist regime in the style of the United States, which considers itself sponsor of the new international order.

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 116

I will mention two goals of each of [the following]:

Missionary Work

Cultural invasion

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 174

How do the Imperialist states endeavor to lay the foundations for their cultural presence in the Arab region?

History of the Arabs and the World in the Twentieth Century, Grade 12 (2006) p. 174

F. Western Orientalism

Western Orientalism, or rather, Islamic and Middle Eastern studies, is viewed as part of the cultural attack against Islam and the Arabs.

Grade 11

Orientalism [Istishraq]

I will consider the following questions and answer them at the end of the lesson:

- What is Orientalism?
- What is Orientalism's impact on the relations between East and West?
- How is it possible to confront contemporary Orientalism?

It is important to study the issue of Orientalism in order to clarify one of the most important obstacles to dialogue and interconnectedness between East and West, which has become a central requisite for development in the East.

The Concept of Orientalism

There are many definitions of Orientalism, among which [are the following]:

- Studying thoroughly Eastern languages and literatures.
- An intellectual process relying on Western cultural standards.
- There are those who think that it is the study of the East, especially Arabs and Muslims, as far as their history, customs, languages, geography, regimes, religions and peoples are concerned, basing on the West's outlook and civilization and on its interest in spreading its influence in the East.

The Beginning of Orientalism

Scholars differ in [their] opinions regarding the defined starting point of Orientalism. Some of them trace it back to:

- The emergence of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula.
- The Vienna clerical synod in the thirteenth century CE, with the establishment of several chairs of the Arabic language in European universities.
- The Muslim conquest of Spain and some of the Mediterranean islands.
- The Frankish wars [i.e., the Crusades] against the Arab-Muslim East.

- Napoleon's expedition against Egypt in 1799, as a number of scientists in various fields accompanied the expedition for the purpose of studying Egypt and the Arab East.

I learn: A number of chairs of Arabic language (specializing departments) were established in five European universities: Paris, Oxford, Yolodhyah [sic and should be Bologna) in Italy, and Salamanca in Spain, in addition to the papal university in Rome.

Activity

Let us study and write down:

Napoleon's expedition against the Arab East is regarded as a decisive phase in the history of Orientalism.

At any rate, Orientalism exists. The first beginnings paved the way for its appearance in an institutionalized and organized form in the sixteenth century, and it later developed until it became an official European institution. Its first conference was convened in Paris in 1873 and its conferences have become an annual tradition to the seventies of the last century [in fact, they still continue], where a debate took place regarding the importance of its existence. Then it changed into new terms such as: Middle Eastern Studies, Regional Studies [-] the Middle East [and] North Africa. Departments have also been dedicated to Chinese, Indian and Japanese and other studies, which were included within the Orientalists' studies, which remained alive in one form or another.

Activity

Let us discuss the impact of the transformation of Orientalism from an individual to institutional [occupation].

The States which Took Interest in Orientalism

Immediately following the beginning of Orientalism it was approached by the West, which made of it a distinct science. The goals of all its states were the same. Following are the prominent states, which had a prominent Orientalist role and which had an Imperialist presence in the Arab homeland:

Holland

Holland did not have a direct Imperialist role in the Arab countries, but its influence in the Arab Gulf replaced Portuguese Imperialism following its confinement. Holland was preoccupied in southern Asia. Despite that, it had a distinguished Orientalist role and its relation to Orientalism is very old. Leiden University is perhaps one of the most famous universities, which have been interested in these studies. There appeared in Holland many books about Arabic grammar and Arab-Latin dictionaries, and many manuscripts were studied there. But Oriental studies there [today] no longer reach the high level of former times because of the elimination of its [international] political role.

Britain

Orientalist studies began in Britain early, as a large number of its scholars in the Middle Ages focused on studying the Arabic language and its literature. The first chair of Arabic studies was established at Cambridge University in 1623 and at Oxford University in 1626. The English Orientalists were working in the fields, which served British Imperialism. But in spite of the disappearance of Britain's role in the latest era on the Imperialist level, Oriental studies in Britain's universities are still developed. The University of London, for instance, is interested in the Arabic language, in addition to modern Arabic literature and contemporary history. As regards Cambridge University, it has relations with the present-day Arabian Peninsula and its study is especially focused on Yemen, North Africa and political affairs in Iraq. Oxford University is interested in contemporary Arab studies, Arab modern politics, modern Syrian history and, prominently, in the origins of Arab nationalism in the region.

France

France was unique among the rest of the European states in that Orientalism went beyond its borders early. [French] Orientalist institutions were opened in Arab countries such as Algeria, Tunisia, Cairo, Damascus and Beirut, where the University of Saint Joseph [renamed as the Arab University of Beirut] is. Later, America, Britain and Germany followed suit and opened institutions and universities in the East.⁶⁰

America

Orientalism assumed there a different role, as it focused from its beginning on contemporary studies – political, economic, environmental and other. Studies of modern and contemporary Arab history encountered wide interest at the American universities in California, Chicago, Washington, New York and New Jersey. There is an institute in California for various political studies belonging to the American ministry of foreign affairs, from which some students specializing in the Arabic language and local dialects, as well as in Arab politics graduate and [then] are appointed in the diplomatic corps.

Germany

Germany did not have direct Imperialist interests in the Arab homeland in spite of its Imperialist aspirations in the past. But German Orientalism helped in serving the Imperialist goals pursued by most European states. There are fifty-two universities in Germany and in most of them there are Oriental departments headed by an Orientalist. Each university specializes in a certain Orientalist field. The University of Frankfurt, for example, specializes in translations [or: biographies] and Arab history of science. The Free University of Berlin [specializes] in the study of contemporary Arab society. The Germans' role in the Orientalist field is distinguished by the seriousness of [their] researches and the seriousness of [their] investigations. By that they have offered [great] services to the Arab nation and the world regarding [Oriental] heritage, both in linguistic or intellectual research...

Activity

Let us discuss: Why was the German role in Orientalism distinguished by seriousness?

Italy

Italian Orientalism was interested in the beginning in religious matters in the Renaissance age. But it changed and acquired political, economic and cultural goals. When Italy began to have expansionist Imperialist goals, Orientalism there began having interest in life style and economic aspects. There are twelve universities in Italy interested in Arab and Islamic studies. There is also a center for dialect studies at the University of Rome, which especially focuses on the Egyptian dialect.

Spain

Spain has been connected to the Muslim Arab nation by centuries-old history. The Muslim Arabs ruled it eight centuries and left there treasures of books and manuscripts. But the Orientalist movement did not develop there before the nineteenth century.

Almost all Spanish universities are interested in Arab and Islamic studies. Among them are the Independent University of Madrid, Central University of Madrid, the University of Barcelona, the University of Granada, the University of Zaragoza and the University of Seville.

The Soviet Union

Orientalism in the Soviet Union passed through two important phases which are the Russian phase, as books talking about the Arabs and Islam and focus on Arabic dialects spread in the eighteenth century, and Russian Orientalism preceded others in this field, and the Soviet phase,

⁶⁰ The American University of Beirut [originally named “the Syrian Protestant College”] preceded the Saint Joseph College by almost ten years.

that is, after the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. Orientalism at that time was distinguished by interest in contemporary issues and it started focusing its interest on the situation of the Arab homeland today, contemporary history issues in particular.

The development of relations between the Soviet Union and the Arab states necessitated the training of Soviet agents in the Arab countries in various cultural, economic, social and political fields.

Activity

Let us discuss the interest of different [foreign] states in Orientalism under different circumstances.

The Methodology of Oriental Research

The Orientalist presented a distorted image of the East. This is what many Orientalists who tried to be objective or sympathetic to the East were emphasizing. The Orientalist Montgomery Watt says: "Ever since the eighteenth century, researchers were striving to improve the distorted image which had been bred in Europe about Islam. In spite of the scientific effort made in this cause, the impact of this truth-offending position created by writings of the Middle Ages in Europe still exists. Objective research and studies have not yet been able to steer clear of it."

This is so because the Orientalists have relied in their studies on foundations distinguishing them from the Eastern researchers themselves:

- Their reliance on their own personal views with no consideration of the views of the Arab or Muslim society. Thus, their views should be regarded as one-sided, leading them to results that differ from reality.

It is apparent in the Orientalist Smith's view of the Arab human being in the following text:

"The Arab traveler is different from us. The effort of moving from place to another is for him pure trouble and he does not feel the pleasure of making an effort as we do. He complains about hunger and fatigue with all his strength, unlike us... In addition, the Arab is little influenced by the natural sceneries, while we are deeply influenced by them." (Edward Said, *Orientalism: Knowledge, Domination, Formation*, p. 244)

I learn: Edward Said: A Palestinian writer and intellectual. He was born in Jerusalem in 1935 and worked as a professor of literature at Columbia University. Edward Said has left a precious intellectual legacy and one of his books is "Orientalism". He died in New York in 2003.

- Casting doubt is the foundation of Orientalist methodology: Some Orientalists used the method of casting doubt regarding the facts of our heritage. They sanctioned false arguments, which had been rejected by Muslim scholars with scientific evidence, and ignored [both] rejection and evidence. Their interest focused on specific fields of Eastern sciences for study, such as philosophy. The Orientalists' efforts were directed at presenting the East to Westerners.

- Their reliance on the Machiavellian principle in the Orientalist studies: The Orientalists followed the Machiavellian principle that says: the goal justifies the means. And the primary goal pursued by the Western states was exploring the Arab and Muslim countries and spreading their Imperialist control over them.

I learn: [Nicolo] Machiavelli: An Italian politician and writer, one of the most important political thinkers in the Renaissance age. He expounded most of his views in his book “the Prince”. He thought it advisable that the leader should resort to [any] necessary means in order to keep the state [safe], including cruelty, treachery and force.

- They disregarded the accounts that contradicted the results they confirmed. Sometimes Western concepts are used for the purpose of interpreting historical texts and events, because of their [i.e., the Orientalists’] ignorance of the true nature of Muslim society. So those Orientalists judge it according to their own moral and cultural criteria.

Activity

Let us discuss: Was it [ever] possible that the West would have a different view of the East? Why?

The Goals of Orientalism

Orientalism has many goals and this is not the place for enumerating them [all]. But it is possible to say that [some] of the Orientalism’s most important goals are [the following]:

- A religious goal, namely, studying Islam in order to know it out of fear for the Christian religion professed by Europe, because many Christian Europeans converted to Islam. Many Orientalist works appeared for this reason.

Activity

Let us split into groups. Each group will study and write down examples of each of the following:

Extremist Orientalist works
Moderate Orientalist works
Fair Orientalist works

- A scientific goal, namely, studying the achievements of the Muslim-Arab civilization in the various spheres of life and transferring them to the West in order to benefit from them and build upon them. As a result, an extensive European movement of translating Muslim-Arab thinking appeared.
- An economic-commercial goal, as the scientific and industrial progress which Europe has experienced necessitated [the import of] primary raw materials to feed its factories. And these factories were in need for markets to distribute their goods... and that was available in the Arab and Muslim East.
- A political-Imperialist goal, as many Orientalists were subservient to Imperialism, presented the [foreign] rulers with their detailed information about the Arabs and the Muslims and urged them to

invade them. Thus, the term “Orientalist” became inseparable from the term “Imperialist”.

- A cultural goal, namely, the spread of Western culture in the Muslim-Arab East, out of the patronizing view held by many Orientalists with regard to non-European and non-American nations. That was done by spreading European languages and by coloring the [local] societies with Western cultural characteristics.

Activity

Let us discuss: Orientalism’s goal was educating the East. Why?

The Orientalists used many means to realize their goals, such as penetrating into university education, establishing global institutions for education and training, convening dialogue conferences, organizing debating groups on many issues, publishing periodicals and printing articles that deal with the issues they want [to deal with], collecting Arabic manuscripts, writing books and scientific Islamic encyclopedias, writing political reports, radio and television programs and press articles – all that for the purpose of realizing the goals they wanted to realize, which would leave the East under the control of the West in all spheres of life.

In order to succeed in realizing their goals, the Orientalists have employed the best possible means. They showed devotion in their work and persistence on doing it with utmost earnestness and with a strong desire to seek knowledge. They expended on their research immense sums of money through their governments and benevolent societies established for this purpose.

The Impact of Orientalism

Orientalism has left much impact on Muslim-Arab societies. It encouraged secularism by promoting Western political [type of] regimes and by clarifying the ethnic and cultural boundary lines between the minorities, so that it would find for itself a foothold between the segments of Muslim-Arab societies. It formed a negative image of woman’s status in Arab and Muslim society, which prevailed in European education about the East.

The Orientalists tried deliberately to attribute to Islam the weakness and backwardness in the Arab and Muslim societies, rather than to the political-historical development in the region.

But Orientalism [also] had a positive impact:

- It contributed to the increase of the number of researchers.
- The quantity of studied and translated manuscripts increased.
- In many cases it provided for European students who expressed [their] solidarity with it [but] had genuine interest in issues of the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Arab East.

The Arab and the Muslim has just to select from their works what is appropriate, paying attention to the spots of distortion there, in order to avoid them, or expose them, or refute them.

Activity

Let us discuss: Let us look for Orientalism’s other [types of] impact.

The Success of Orientalism

While Britain and France already ruled the East [in the past], the United States is the one who occupies in our present time the primary position with a view to spreading its influence in the world.

But, why has American Orientalism succeeded at present?

- Because the Arab and Muslim world is in a secondary rank in terms of culture, knowledge and research production.
- Due to the existence of dozens of organizations in the United States for the study of the Arab and Muslim East.
- There is almost no institution of [good] standing in the East for the purpose of studying the East itself in order to be an alternative to Orientalist thinking. There is not a single main periodical for Arab studies published in the Arab world today. There is not a single Arab educational institution for the study of the Arab world capable of being compared to Oxford and Harvard.
- The predominance of American consumption culture over the Arab and Muslim world, which includes consumption of the American culture provided by the American communication media.

Activity

Let us discuss: How can we confront Orientalism?

[Questions:]

- I will define Orientalism in my own words.
- How did the methodology followed by the Orientalists contribute to the distorted image of the Arab East in European mentality?
- Orientalism has many goals. I will mention three of them.
- In spite of its negative aspects, Orientalism [also] had a positive impact. I will explain that.
- I will explain American Orientalism's success in our present time.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) pp. 44-52

Some pagans accused the Messenger that he had received the Qur'an from someone else... This accusation is still heard from the enemies of [the Islamic] religion and the Orientalists.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 38

Another aspect of this issue is the image of Arabs and Muslims in the West.

Cultural, intellectual and religious bias in the West against Arab and Muslim societies due to a history of old and new conflicts between the Arab and Muslim countries and the West, as was the case with the Frankish Wars [i.e., the Crusades] in the Middle Ages and modern Imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The supremacy of the negative stereotypes in the Western citizen's mentality, due to the impact of the information media hostile to the Palestinian cause, which depicted the Arab individual in the media and in motion pictures in various images. Some of these images are that the Arab [individual] is a terrorist, backward, oppressor of women and that he has a monopoly over oil.

In spite of these obstacles and others, we have started to see very important developments, especially in Europe, in which the European citizen started to free himself from this distorted informational education and has shown great solidarity with the Palestinian cause and with other Arab causes such as the Iraqi one.

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 32

Grade 12

It is erroneous to focus [in the study of our history] on weaknesses and problems such as internal wars and divisions and ignore the elements of power [in our history], as the method of many Orientalists is...

Question 1: I will answer with “Yes” or “No” any of the following:

- The method of many Orientalists is based on focusing on weaknesses and problems in our history.

Islamic Education, Grade 12 (2006) pp. 116-117

G. Western Society and Culture

There are several references in the PA textbooks presenting Western society and culture in negative light.

Grade 11

...The one who looks at the life of human societies in our time, especially the Western ones, is startled by what he sees: disintegrated familial relations, increased rates of divorce, decreased rates of marriage, youth problems such as confusion, anxiety, scandalous deeds, disorientation, cases of misdemeanor, perversion, drugs, cohabitation and sex. This is the result of the absence of a just and integrative social order, which would organize family relations, as is the case with Islamic social system.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 70

...Western societies... put one aspect above the other. Western Capitalism focused on individualism. As for Communist Socialism – it put the group first. So, their societies tasted various kinds of damage, harm and disorientation, which is apparent to all.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 2 (2006) p. 70

Question 7 – I will explain:

- The rate of suicide in non-Muslim societies is high while it is almost rare in Muslim society.

Islamic Education, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 104

Western society now lives a moment of civilizational revision, as modernism brought forth some negative aspects in man's life such as the sense of Western superiority and the ensuing Imperialism and hegemony over the [non-Western] peoples and their powers, which resulted in world wars, collective exterminations and destruction of the environment. Therefore, the West has benefited from the modernism experience and surpassed it into the phase of post-modernism...

Contemporary Issues, Grade 11, Part 1 (2005) p. 55

Grade 12

Islam has urged to reproduce and multiply because a sound progeny in its health, mind and education is [one] of the society's elements of power. It is noticed in the Muslim societies that the rate of the youth within them is high, because the [Muslim] family generally enjoys stability. As regards the societies suffering from social problems such as the spread of [the tendency of] marriage avoidance and [of] being content with forbidden sexual relations, the collapse of the family [as a social unit] and the increase of divorce rates – reproduction there decreases, which reduces the proportion of youths within these societies. That is what drove some of the advanced states, which suffer from these problems, to propagate the call for birth control in Muslim societies in order to deny them one of the elements of their power.

Islamic Education, Grade 12 (2006) p. 148

Conclusion

The schoolbooks for grade 11 follow the fundamentals set in earlier phases of the PA textbook publication process, namely, rejection of any rights the Jews might have in Palestine – including to their own holy places there, which are presented as Muslim holy places the Jews attempt to take possession of, presentation of Zionism as a movement connected to Western Imperialism with expansionist aspirations stretching from the Euphrates to the Nile, non-recognition of Israel as a legitimate sovereign state – a title reserved for Palestine, which includes, according to the books, regions and sites within pre-1967 Israel of which the very establishment in 1948 by virtue of UN resolution 181 is dubbed “occupation”, and the absence of open support for peace with Israel, the latter being presented as wholly evil and as a source of tremendous harm to the victimized Palestinians: occupation both in 1948 and 1967, oppression of Palestinians following both occupations, expulsion of the refugees, massacre of Palestinian civilians in Palestine and Lebanon, assassination of Palestinian leaders, responsibility for social ills among the Palestinians such as drug abuse, illiteracy, and meager participation of women in Palestinian economic activity, etc. The books for grade 11 also feature a new development of using the term “Imperialist” with regard to Israel, with the accompanying connotation of illegitimacy.

In addition, the books of grade 11 continue, or rather intensify, an earlier trend, which began in grade 10 and which presents the West as an enemy of Islam and the Arabs. Western Imperialism is responsible for most, if not all, present maladies of the Arab world; it supported Zionism in the past – actually invented it – and supports Israel at present; it aspires to world hegemony politically and economically through means such as Globalization and the communication media; it is responsible for religious and cultural attack against Islamic societies through missionary work and the so-called Orientalism, while its own culture and society are plagued by materialism, immorality and decay.

Yet, these very books also include several interesting features, which constitute a certain change of attitude regarding both the “other” and peace. Jewish ancient history in Palestine is presented to the student, though no connection is made between it and the Jews of present times, which might explain to the student one of the most important elements of the present conflict. Some information is given as well about the Jewish Holy Scriptures, though with some distortion. The Jews’ negative description as far as their relations with Prophet Muhammad are concerned has not changed but the number of references to this issue has decreased. The Jews’ presence in the country is somewhat acknowledged by showing their cities on the map once, while in earlier books even Tel Aviv was absent from the map. The Jews’ historical relations to Jerusalem are mentioned and they are referred to as inhabitants of this city in 1948, while in earlier books they were mentioned only as occupiers there. On the other hand, Jerusalem is still considered an Arab city under occupation, which the Jews try to Judaize. Contrary to former usage whereas advocacy of tolerance was restricted to Muslims and Christians, it now includes the Jews as well.

The old habit of reference to Israeli pre-1967 territories by circumlocutions such as “the lands of 48” still exists. But there are cases in which they are just called “Israel”. More importantly, Israel’s name appears on two maps – something not to be found in earlier books. Those two maps, however, are Israeli maps reproduced in a PA history textbook. Criticism of Israel is abundant but it is mostly rationalistic and far less emotional than before, and demonizing descriptions of Israel are relatively few.

The story of the conflict is told from a Palestinian point of view, with a biased approach, but one can find there some glimpses of objective description such as the admission that it was the Arab side which opened the 1948 war in order to prevent the establishment of a Jewish state,

and again contributed a great deal to the outbreak of the 1967 war. The course of the 1973 war is described objectively.

Though peace with Israel is never openly advocated, the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians is described in detail, far more than in earlier books. One can discern, however, an attempt to show the Palestinians as the side sticking to peace while Israel is depicted as the one who obstructs peace with its belligerent actions against the Palestinians. The attacks against Israelis, which cause Israeli reactions, are not mentioned. In addition, there are very few references – comparing to earlier PA textbooks – to the issue of liberation, to Jihad and martyrdom and to issues that may be interpreted as implicit support of terrorist activity against Israel, though such references do exist.

One is tempted to explain these new phenomena by the change which took place at the end of 2004 with the passing away of Yasser Arafat and the coming to power of his successor, Mahmud Abbas, who seems to be a more pragmatic person. If this is the case, it is understandable why these initial signs of a possible change for the better in the PA schoolbooks' attitude to the "other" and to peace are missing from the books issued a year later for grade 12 under the Hamas government. In fact, one can see in the PA textbooks for grade 12 two types of development.

First, none of the nuances of change traced in the books a year earlier has remained in force, except continuous use of the term "Israel" to denote Israeli territory rather than "the Lands of 1948", etc. The return to former patterns of narration includes the following phenomena: more demonizing expressions relating to the Jews and Israel, with the criticism against Israel being more emotional than rational; more fervor in the context of the liberation issue, which assumed a very minor character in the grade 11 books; repeated emphasis of the religious aspect of the struggle embodied in the "Ribat" principle, which was first introduced into the PA curriculum in 2005 within the books for grades 5 and 10 and did not appear in the books of grade 11; the return to complete non-recognition of Israel and the Jewish presence in the country; the absence of direct references to the peace process with Israel as well to the issue of tolerance with regard to the Jews specifically; and also the disappearance of any attempt to reveal to the students – as done in the history textbook for grade 11 – that the Arab side shared some responsibility for the present situation of the conflict.

Second, the books for grade 12 feature an intensified outlook of Israel, which makes it more difficult to ever overreach the gap existing between the two parties to the conflict. The tendency to see Israel as part of the Imperialist camp, initiated in the books for grade 11, continues in the books for grade 12 too. Israel is thus presented not just as a usurping entity who has inflicted enormous disasters upon the Palestinians. It is rather an integral part of the wider world phenomenon of Imperialism, which is wholly evil and should be fought uncompromisingly.

Another new development in this context is the extensive use of the theme of racial discrimination as a new definition of Israel. A whole sub-chapter is dedicated to this issue, which is far bigger than the rest of the chapter about racial discrimination in general. It should be noted that Israel was already accused of racial discrimination against the Palestinians in an experimental edition of the PA National Education textbook issued in 1995,⁶¹ but later editions omitted this accusation and it did not reappear until this latest edition of PA textbooks. A formidable effort is made to "adjust" the definition of racism to the particular case of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Thus, the List of Israel's racist crimes include as well the occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967 and its annexation to Israel, which by all scientific criteria, would be considered a political and not a racist act. The presentation of all of Israel's

⁶¹ See Palestinian National Education, Grade 6 (1995) p. 55, and also CMIP report "Jews, Israel and Peace in Palestinian School Textbooks 2000-2001 and 2001-2002", November 2001, p. 33.

actions as racist aims at further making its existence illegitimate much the same as the extinct Apartheid regime in South Africa.

In short, the promising beginnings of change seen in the books for grade 11 were nipped in the bud by the books of grade 12, which have worsened the PA books' attitude to both Israel and peace.

But there is more to be said about the PA books of both grades. They have intensified the negative attitude to the West to a point of sheer hatred not only politically, but also culturally and religiously. Western Imperialism in history and Western political and economic hegemony these days under the cover of Globalization, including the US and British involvement in the Middle East, and also Western cultural influence in the Muslim world is presented as a threat that should be confronted. There is only a short distance between such indoctrination and actual anti-Western activity. A new generation is being raised in the PA territories in such a way, which may well prove disastrous to world peace in the near future.

Appendix:

The Attitude to the "Other" and to Peace in Books Issued by the PA Ministry of the Endowments and Religious Affairs

Introduction

The PA Ministry of the [Religious] Endowments and Religious Affairs has been reprinting old Jordanian schoolbooks for use by 7-12 grade students in Palestinian religious institutions. The books teach subjects such as Qur'anic and Hadithic texts, Islamic Jurisprudence, doctrine, culture, systems and history, as well as methods of preaching and Islamic missionary work. The books available to CMIP (see the list below) provide us with a unique opportunity of becoming acquainted with the attitude to the "other" and to peace prevailing in the said institutions, which actually reflects Jordanian attitudes of the 1990s, when the books originally appeared – before and after the signing of the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel in October 1994. Following are few examples of the vast amount of references to the two above-mentioned issues found in those books.

The Attitude to Other Religions and Sects and their Followers

The books talk on several occasions of the common principles shared by all monotheistic religions, as is seen in the following examples.

Man in the Divine [Monotheistic] Religions

...All the Divine religions have shown interest in man's position and rights. They are unanimous that Sublime God has honored man and preferred him to most of His creatures...

All the religions brought legislations confirming man's rights... The Torah revealed by Sublime God forbids [any] assault against the human soul... The Gospel has confirmed these laws...

Islamic Culture, Grade 11 (1996) pp. 17-18

The Importance of Family in the Divine Religions

...The Jewish family is a mutually loving family where the child respects his parents and loves them...

...The Christian family is a mutually loving family where every member loves one another...

Consequently... we see that the Divine religions in their essence protect the family and care about its members and about love and friendship relations among its members...

Islamic Culture, Grade 11 (1996) pp. 43-44

But although the monotheistic religions were all Divinely revealed – according to the books, Christians and Jews are said to have deviated from God's path by changing their Divine holy scriptures.

Distortion of the Torah by the Jews

The noble [Qur'anic] verses also tell that the Jews distorted the word of Sublime God and changed [things] in the Torah, which He had revealed to them. They interpreted its meanings in accordance with what they want and desire, so that it would suit their whims and answer their wishes. By that they have deviated from Sublime God's religion. The [Qur'anic] verses tell that the result of this distortion has been the denial of Muhammad's prophethood, whose

mention had appeared in the book of the Torah and Moses – peace upon him – had ordered his people to follow and obey him.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) pp. 37-38

Distortion of the Gospel by the Christians

The noble [Qur'anic] verses explain that the Christians, like the Jews, renounced a large portion of what they had been told by Jesus – peace upon him – and preferred unbelief to belief, so they denied Muhammad's prophethood although it was mentioned in the Gospel. God punished them by creating hatred and hostility between their communities and sects, until it has become an inherent quality stuck to them to the Day of Resurrection...

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 38

Following are some references denouncing Christian beliefs (for the material referring to the Jews – see below).

[The Qur'anic verses] reveal more of the Jews and Christians' errors and lies, which are not concealed from Sublime God, who warns the People of the Book [namely, Jews and Christians] against the continuation of these attitudes.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 41

The Christians believed in the divinity of Jesus – peace upon him – and [by that] they fell into unbelief and deviated from the doctrine of monotheism, which necessitates God's exclusiveness of divinity.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 41

Non-Muslims who do good are not to be rewarded for that in Heaven because they are unbelievers.

The one who embarks on a good deed while being an unbeliever – his deed has no value and he will not be rewarded for his deed and will have no share in the after world. Rather, he will be rewarded in this world by the people's thanks and praise for his deed.

Religious Subjects for Grade 8, Unit 3: Noble Prophetic *Hadith* (?) p. 31

Islamic official attitude to non-Muslim throughout history has traditionally been tolerant in general on the condition that they be relegated to an inferior position in the Muslim state's life and pay a certain tax called "Jizyah". This approach is reviewed in the following texts.

The Rights of Non-Muslims in Muslim Society

...The non-Muslim who lives in Muslim society is considered one of the members of the subject body of the Muslim state, with the same rights and duties of the Muslims. These were named "Protected People" [*Ahl al-Dhimma*] because the Messenger [Prophet Muhammad] has given them Sublime God's protection and covenant for their lives, property, community and anything they hold, be it meager or abundant. The protected person [*Dhimmi*] enjoys Muslim patronage. He is one of the people of the realm of Islam [*Dar al-Islam*], much the same as the Muslim who deserves that because of his belief, while the protected person deserves that because of his permanent residence within Muslim society. The Protected People have the same rights and duties the Muslims have.

Freedom of Belief

Islam rejects [the notion of] forcing people to embrace it. It does not compel anyone to adopt it...

Freedom of Worship

Islam has established for non-Muslims in Muslim society the freedom of worship and the freedom of performing [their] religious rites and celebrating on their own religion's occasions.

Islam has made it a duty upon the Muslims to protect this right in Muslim society where Islam has kept for them their places of worship. All the treaties, which were written during the time of God's Messenger and his [subsequent] caliphs, included this right for non-Muslims. One example is what appeared in the document written by God's Messenger to the people of Medina. It included this right for the Jews...

Freedom of Regulation of Personal Status

Islam has allowed the Protected People to regulate their [affairs of] personal status according to their beliefs and religious laws. They may regulate matters of marriage, divorce, support [of one's wife] and the relations between husband and wife according to their religion's teachings. They are not bound by Muslim law in regulating these matters.

The same applies to food and beverages. Islam has permitted non-Muslims to eat whatever they consider permissible according to their religion... Islam has not prevented the People of the Book from [continuing] their habit of drinking wine and eating pork...

Islamic Culture, Grade 11 (1996) pp. 144-146

The Protected People [*Ahl al-Dhimmah*] generally enjoyed legal rights under the Muslim state in the times of God's Messenger and the caliphs after him. The non-Muslims enjoyed good citizenship rights, like the Muslims...

Islam protected the non-Muslims' honor in Muslim society and protected their rights. They lived under Islam's tolerance and justice a respectable life and had good relations with the Muslims. Islam has permitted [the Muslims] to visit them, tend to their sick, give them presents, conduct selling and buying transactions with them and other such social relations...

Islam has made the Protected People and the Muslims equal before the law...

Aggression against them or against their property and honor has been forbidden... The Muslim scholars defended the rights of non-Muslims whenever they were wronged by a ruler or someone else.

Islam has guaranteed for non-Muslims the right of managing their own affairs in a way that would ensure them a respectable life, such as regulating their own matters of [personal] status and being responsible for their own rights in [the fields of] education, security, health and providing for their members' needs of food, clothes and domicile...

The right of patronage includes the use of public utilities provided by the state for the benefit of the subjects, protection of their places of worship, protection of their souls, property and honor from abuse and securing the right of commerce, movement, education, travel and residence everywhere in the Muslims' lands except Mecca and Medina...

The Protected People have the right to hold administrative and technical offices if they are qualified and trusted. But the office of state presidency and any office directly emanating from that, such as commanding Muslim armies, are to be held by a Muslim only...

Islamic Culture, Grade 11 (1996) pp. 148-149

Why did Islam imposed the *Jizyah* tax on non-Muslims in Muslim society?

Islamic Culture, Grade 11 (1996) p. 150

Nevertheless, socializing with non-Muslims beyond the limited spheres mentioned above is forbidden.

The noble [Qur'anic] verses forbid [the Muslims to] befriend Jews and Christians...

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 104

The noble [Qur'anic] verses guide to the following:

...Befriending the unbelievers is prohibited. Whoever befriends Jews or Christians becomes one of them. He goes out of the fold of Islam and renounces it.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 107

Instead of having friendship relations with Christians and Jews, the students are told to be cautious against their deception and hostility.

The believers are cautious against the People of the Book's deception and hostility.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 38

An interesting issue with far-reaching implications as far as the relations with non-Muslims are concerned is the following one:

The Muslim is permitted to break his oath and withdraw from it if it becomes clear to him that there is something better than what he has taken an oath for...

Religious Subjects for Grade 10 (?) p. 248

The Books do not openly criticise non-Sunni Muslim, but there are cases in which an implied rejection of Shiism is discerned, as seen in the following quotation. Heretic sects such as Bahaism are denounced as Imperialism's creation (see below in Chapter Seven).

Shiism was a garb behind which hid anyone who wanted to stir dissension against Islam and the Muslims and a refuge for anyone who wanted to introduce [into Islam] his forefathers' teachings, whether Jewish, Christian, Zoroastrian, etc.

Prophetic Biography and Muslim History, Grade 11 (1996) p. 207

Jews, Zionism and Israel

The Jews are negatively referred to in the books not only on account of their unbelief – like the Christians – but also as a blasphemous and a stubborn people rejecting the prophets in general and Muhammad in particular. In addition, they are described as enemies of Islam and the Muslims and also of God Himself. The books present in this context various episodes showing the Jews' hostility to the early Muslims. The description, supported by commentary of Qur'anic verses, is full of derogative terms attributing to the Jews negative traits such as selfishness, greediness, cunning and treachery. In the context of the present conflict the Jews' historical presence in the Holy Land is mentioned in brief while the ancient Canaanites, having been "Arabized" in the books, are made the sole legitimate inhabitants of the country. Not a single reference appears in the book to any Jewish holy place in the country and their aspirations based on their historical ties to that country are described as "greedy ambitions". The Jews are also demonized in the context of the conflict and blamed of killing innocent people, expelling people from their homes, desecrating holy places, demolishing people's houses and robbing the Muslims' lands. Zionism, the Jewish national movement in modern times, is depicted as a creation of Western Imperialism, British Imperialism in particular. Israel is not recognized as a sovereign state, only as an occupying power of Palestine since 1948, and is demonized as well. Its name does not appear on maps, which carry, instead, the name "Palestine". Palestine is regarded as the sole sovereign state in the country.

The [Qur'anic] verses explain to the Prophet that that is the Jews' deep-rooted nature, which does not change: they violate treaties, oppose the truth, accuse the prophets of lying and

disbelieve what Sublime God revealed to His prophets and messengers. That was the Jews' attitude to Jesus – peace upon him – to a point that they plotted to kill him,⁶² and that was their attitude to Muhammad, as they were hostile to him, assisted the polytheists against him and tried to kill him more than once.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 38

The noble [Qur'anic] verses then portray the Jews with ugly characteristics of which the believers should be cautious and from which the pious worshipers of God should keep away. Among these characteristics:

...They listen a great deal to lies, and desire that.

...They strive to pass information about the Muslims over to their enemies.

...They often enrich themselves with forbidden money with no heed of the fate awaiting them.

...They alter and change God's verses and laws according to their desires and whims.

...They have been put to trial, which is the trial of torment in this world at the hands of the believers and the torment of the other world on the Day of Resurrection.

...They reject [Divine] guidance, which would purify their heart, because they do not believe in the mission of Islam and do not accept Sublime God's religion.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 66

The Jews' Corruption

...The preceding [Qur'anic] verses shed light on some of the qualities of the People of the Book and their disobedience, sinning, legalizing forbidden money and their scholars' neglect of the duty of ordering good and forbidding evil. The present verses came to show other traits, which were the cause of the Jews' corruption in the land and their boldness against Sublime God and against His Messenger.

...The noble verses show that the Jews reached a point of describing God as miser and poor. They expressed this notion in a way proving [their] moral digression and boldness of [uttering] falsehood, which confirms their corrupted belief and stray thought. Sublime God brings back to them what they said and curses them... He curses them with what they described Him... For this reason, the Jews have been known among the people as being greedy, avaricious, coward, weak, envious and humiliated. If you penetrated into the depths of their souls you would find out that hostility, hatred and desire for corruption and for making others corrupted gnaw on their society and divide their ranks...

...The noble verses explain that it was envy, which blinded the Jewish groups. They envied God's Messenger and denied him the position to which Sublime God has selected him. They wanted the concluding messenger to come from their own ranks... Therefore, their oppression increased and their unbelief became greater. They did not find in front of them [any means] except the means of creating corruption in the land, stirring up dissension and igniting wars among the nations...

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 116

What the [Qur'anic] Verses Guide to

...Misery and avarice are among the Jews' prominent traits, alongside cowardliness and desire for this world's life.

...Stirring up dissension and creating corruption in the land are among the Jews' traits.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 117

The Jews' Hostility to the Believers

The noble [Qur'anic] verses began with the description of the Jews' relations with the believers. [The Jews] were described as the most hostile people to the believers. Why is this

⁶² According to Islamic belief, Jesus Christ was saved by God at the last moment and someone else was crucified.

hostility to the believers, which is deeply rooted in the Jews' souls, the trace of which we feel to this very day?

The Holy Qur'an informs us more than once of the reason for this hostility: The Jews are people of stubbornness and rejection of truth. They are enemies of [Divine] guidance and good. Selfishness and egoism have subdued them. Therefore, they are malicious towards the Muslims out of envy due to the guidance to the religion of truth, with which Sublime God has honored them.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 136

Activity

Extract three verses from among the preceding verses of this Surah [Qur'anic chapter], which show the Jews' hostility to the prophets and their attempt to kill God's Messenger, and write them down in your notebook.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 139

In another reference to the Jews in this context they are described not only as enemies of Islam and the Muslims, but also of God Himself.

What the [Qur'anic] Verses Guide to

...Caution against the Jews' trickery and deception, for they are enemies of Sublime God, of His religion [i.e., Islam] and of the Believers [i.e., the Muslims].

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 49⁶³

The history of the Jews in ancient Palestine is not discussed. In the following text they are briefly mentioned, alongside others, as ephemeral inhabitants of the land, while the Canaanites are presented as the native population and "Arabized" as a means to emphasizing the Arab nature of Palestine since antiquity.

The Arab Canaanites were the first inhabitants of Palestine and they were the ones who gave it its Arab identity through language,⁶⁴ civilization and inhabitants. It [Palestine] was also inhabited for limited periods by various waves of peoples : Hebrews, Philistines, Persians, Greeks and Romans, until the Muslim Arabs came to it during the Muslim movement of expansion and affirmed its Arab identity and Muslim faith. Palestine has remained to our own days Arab by language and civilization and Muslim by thought and belief.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 105

Most references to the Jews in the historical context deal with their relations with Prophet Muhammad in Arabia. The political and religious conflict between the two parties have deepened anti-Jewish feelings among the Muslims, which finds expression in the books.

Shas bin Qays the Jew ordered one of his followers to attend a gathering of [the formerly rival Muslim tribes of] Al-Aws and Al-Khazraj [in Medina] and remind them of their past hostility... He recited to them some of their [old] poems and stirred all members of the two groups one against the other... The people [finally] understood that it was a Diabolic tendency and an artifice by their enemy...

⁶³ The verse related to this issue does not include anything of that.

⁶⁴ The ancient Canaanites, much the same as the Phoenicians, Moabites and other nations of that period, spoke a Semitic language closer to the present Hebrew than to Arabic.

Have you seen the Jews' trickery and their attempt at corrupting the Muslims and casting dissension in their ranks? But God's Messenger was watchful against them, foiled their trickery and terminated the dissension they had ignited.

Prophetic Biography and Muslim History, Grade 11 (1996) p. 140

Sublime God supported the believers against their enemies and protected their Prophet from the Jews' conspiracy... The Jews of [the tribe of] Nadir [in Medina] plotted against the life of God's Messenger during his visit to their place. They ordered one of their people to climb above the wall under which God's Messenger was sitting and throw a big grinding stone on God's Messenger's head. But Sublime God informed His Prophet of what the Jews had decided upon and the Prophet got up from his place, returned to Medina in order to lead an army, which would expel the Jews of Nadir from Medina.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 33

What the [Qur'anic] Verses Guide to

...Caution and awareness [are needed] in dealing with the Jews for fear of [their] treachery and betrayal.

Holy Qur'an and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) p. 38

The Jews [of the Qurayzah tribe in Medina] tried to stab the Muslims in their back. The Jews and the rest of the groups of unbelief took [the War of the Groups] as a good omen and thought that that was the end of the rising Muslim tide... When the Muslims passed the trial of the Groups and the armies of aggression retreated [from Medina], God's Messenger turned with the Muslims to settle the account with the people of Qurayzah... He besieged their positions twenty five days after which they surrendered to the sentence of Sa'd bin Mu'adh, the Ansarite, who had been their ally before Islam. He issued his sentence on them [which decreed] that their fighters be killed and their property be seized. This way Medina got rid of the last den of treachery and corruption.

Noble *Hadith* and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) pp. 99-100

The annihilation of the Jews' last bastion (Khaybar): After the failure of the Groups campaign and the annihilation of the [last Jewish] Qurayzah [tribe in Medina], which followed, Khaybar became the center of conspiracy and artifice against the Muslims. All the Jews gathered in it and in the villages and fortresses around it. Their crowd dazzled them and they thought that they could prepare an army of over twenty thousand fighters in order to crush Islam and annihilate it. The [temporary] Hudaibiyyah peace treaty [with the Meccan pagans] in 6 AH [628 CE] had granted the Muslim state tranquility on the state's southern front. The Prophet heard of the conspiracy by the Jews who were gathering in Khaybar and the chain of villages and fortresses stretching northward towards Tayma'. So he set out towards Khaybar at the beginning of the seventh year AH in the month of Muharram with a thousand and four hundred footsoldiers and two hundred horsemen. In spite of the Jews' human and economic capabilities God cast terror in their hearts. The Muslims managed to overcome them, leveled their fortresses and occupied them all... Thus the Jews' power in the Arabian Peninsula was broken...

[Questions:]

Enumerate the phases in which the Jews' conspiracies against the Muslim state in Medina were foiled.

Prophetic Biography and Muslim History, Grade 11 (1996) pp. 100-102

A famous Prophetic Saying (Hadith), often quoted by radical anti-Israeli Islamists, has ominous implications within the context of the present conflict, which the books do not try to conceal.

The Conflict with the Jews

...God's Messenger said : "The Hour of Resurrection will not come until the Muslims fight the Jews. The Muslims will kill them, and when a Jew would hide behind a rock or a tree the rock or the tree would say: 'O Muslim, O worshipper of God! There is a Jew behind me; come and kill him', except the salt bush, which is the Jews' tree."

...This Prophetic Saying [*Hadith*] is one of the Prophet's evident miracles. It is a prophecy of a concealed matter, which is to take place at the End of Days. It is certain good news for this nation that victory will be its ally and that its trial with the Jews is bound to end in victory over them...

...When Imperialism spread its influence over the Muslim world and partitioned the Muslims' lands, it brought the Jews from the various countries of the world and made them settle in Palestine, which was groaning under British Imperialism. The Imperialist states started encouraging the Jews to immigrate to Palestine, facilitated their living there, enacted laws and provided for the circumstances, which would enable the establishment of the Jews' state in Palestine, until it was actually accomplished in 1948.

Thus began the modern conflict between the Arabs and the Jews over the land of Palestine. Several wars took place between the two parties in the years 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973. Most Arab inhabitants were expelled from their country and Jews came in their stead. The Jews took control of the whole land of Palestine and the Muslims' holy places fell into captivity: the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock, the Sanctuary of Abraham [the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron], as well as other mosques and places of worship. The Jews also seized the Christian holy places in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth. The conflict still goes on in spite of the present attempts to find a political solution, which would return the rights to their owners and end the state of conflict and war.

The noble *Hadith* carries to the Muslims the good tidings of victory, makes their hearts confident and sends hope into their souls...

In this *Hadith* the Prophet also notifies that the fighting between the Jews and the Muslims is approaching and that it will end in the Muslims' victory and in the Jews' defeat, to a point they – due to their intense fear – will not feel safe vis-à-vis the Muslims' attack, and will not feel secure in any place of hiding. No tree and no rock would shelter them – due to their intense fear of the fighting believers...

Noble *Hadith* and Its Studies, Grade 11 (1996) pp. 200-203

There are cases in which the Jews are demonized in the context of the conflict.

...The Jews who occupy the land of the Muslims in Palestine and part of the Levant [*Al-Sham*] and create havoc in the land. They shed the blood of the innocent ones, expell the people of the country, desecrate the holy places, demolish houses and take control of the Muslims' lands.

Religious Subjects for Grade 8, Unit 3: Noble Prophetic *Hadith* (?) p. 13

Write down in your notebook how the Jews treat the Muslims in occupied Palestine and what they do to the mosques and the Muslim holy places.

Religious Subjects for Grade 8, Unit 3: Noble Prophetic *Hadith* (?) p. 50

The Jewish national movement of present times is portrayed as part of Imperialism's schemes. The Jews' historical ties to their ancient homeland is described as "greedy ambitions" [atma'].

The Jewish Greedy Ambitions in Palestine

The Jews' greedy ambitions in Palestine stem from their religious beliefs that Palestine is the promised land given to them by God. This belief remained hidden in their souls and was

expressed by them in their rites and prayers. It did not assume the dimensions of establishing an independent entity for themselves until the nineteenth century, when a number of factors emerged, which aroused this hidden sentiment within the Jews and brought about its realization in an organized way.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 105

Britain thought that securing its interests in India, the Far East and the Suez Canal would not become attainable except through opposing any unification attempt in the Arab region... In order to guarantee that, the British government adopted the idea of establishing an alien entity friendly to it in the southern Levant [*Al-Sham*], especially Palestine, which would separate the Arab eastern and western parts, exhaust its [i.e., the Arab world] energies and prevent the unification of its peoples and lands... This idea found affection in the souls of the Jews' leaders and they started to work for its realization...

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 106

...The Zionist movement, the product of Western Imperialism, especially British Imperialism...

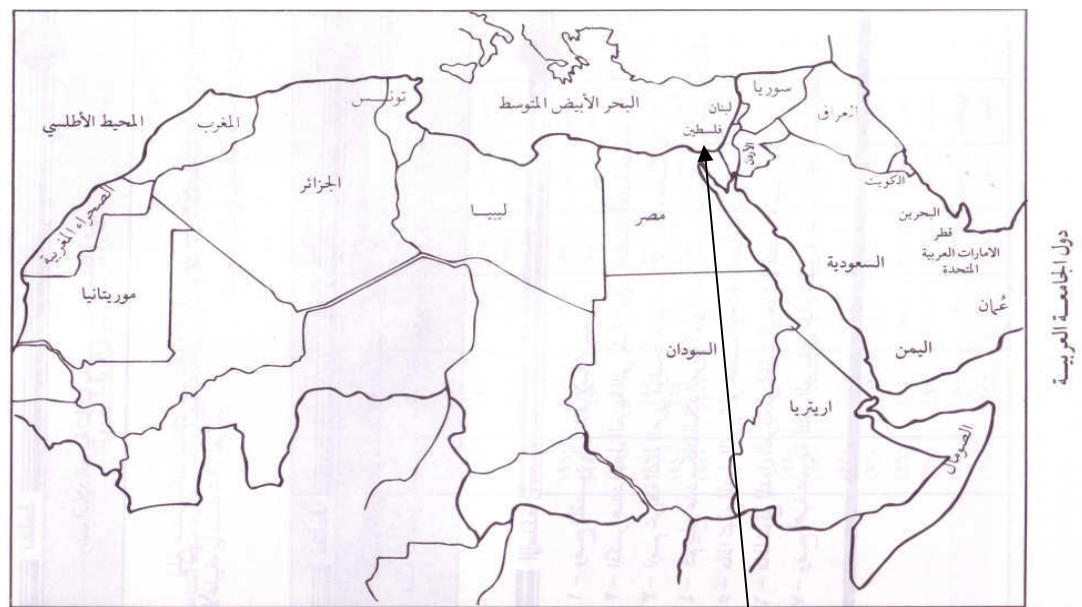
Religious Subjects for Grade 10 (?) p. 168

Although Israel, as well as the phrase "the State of Israel", are mentioned in the books, Israel is not recognized officially as a sovereign state, unlike Palestine, whose name appears on the map instead that of Israel and covers the whole territory between River Jordan and the Mediterranean.

The Group of the Arab Countries

This group consists of twenty-one countries among which is the State of Palestine...

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 10



The states of the Arab League- "Palestaine"

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 12

Israel is depicted as a usurping, aggressive and expansionist state who has military superiority over the Arab countries, which makes it a grave threat to the latter.



Palestine in 1949 after the Jewish Occupation.

[Dark coloring] The non-occupied territory of Palestine

[Light coloring] The occupied territory

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 117

Explain the Jews' greedy ambitions of expansion at the expense of Arab land in Palestine and elsewhere.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 118

...Building a strong state in all fields: politically, economically, socially, educationally and militarily. The fruit of [all] that is the superiority enjoyed by Israel in most fields and the victories and achievements it has realized with the backing of the great powers.

...Military superiority over all Arab states. The Jews made use of all occasions and circumstances to obtain the most modern weapons and equipment from Britain, France, the United States and others, in addition to its own arms industry, which produces various kinds of weapons, especially nuclear, biological and chemical [weapons]. By that it has guaranteed military superiority over all Arab states [together] in order to realize its intentions and expansion.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 113

The West

The West features mostly in one book for grade 12 titled "the Muslim World at Present", which is a textbook of history from an Islamic perspective. The West – including the Russians and the Balkan states – is depicted therein negatively in various ways: as an Imperialist power in history, which subjugated Muslim lands and plundered their resources, as a hegemonic world power today, both politically and economically, to the detriment of the Muslim countries, as the

main supporter of Zionism and Israel, as an entity oppressing Muslim minorities (that is, in Russia and the Balkans), as a power threatening to eradicate Muslim culture and as an unbalanced civilization based on materialism.

By connecting the Crusades to modern Imperialism the West is transformed into an eternal enemy of the Muslim world.

Explain the relation between the Crusaders' invasion of the Muslim world in the past and the Western invasion in modern times.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 61

Following are some quotations referring to Western Imperialism. Note the inclusion of the Russian expansion in Sibiria and the Medieval Spanish Reconquista as parts of this phenomenon.

The Western states gushed out in their military invasion of the Muslim world, killing and destroying, using the harshest means of repression, destruction, conspiracy and cunning in order to eliminate the Muslims' power and resistance and in order to spread their control and influence...

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 62

The European states, which aspired to occupying the Muslim world and controlling it, used numerous methods in order to weaken the Muslims and then seize control over them, such as :

1. Encircling the Muslim world, controlling the commercial routes and reaching the raw materials found there in order to develop the prosperous industrial movement in Europe at that time. The European states made use of the geographic discoveries at that time in order to attain this goal...
2. Stirring conflicts among the Muslim [leaders] who rule the Muslim world...
3. Controlling the international navigation routes, establishing footholds and fortresses on the African coasts with a view to securing commerce with India and East Asia, and extending military and commercial control over these regions.
4. Putting an end to the Muslim presence in the land of Al-Andalus [Spain]. The Spaniards managed to eliminate the last Muslim bastion in that country.
5. Raising the issue of the Ottoman State's weakness and convening conferences among the competing European states for the partition of the Ottoman State's possessions under names and attributes such as "the Eastern Question" and "the Sick Man [on the Bosphore]". The Europeans suggested not less than a hundred projects for dividing up the Ottoman State, which was considered the Muslims' [leading] state, due to [their] strong enmity to Islam.
6. Invading the Muslims' countries militarily and taking control of their regions, as Russia did in Sibiria, in the Crimean Peninsula and in the lands of Turkestan and the Caucasus, and as the European states did in the Balkans, Bulgaria and elsewhere.
7. Stirring up dissension in the lands of India and instigating the non-Muslims there against Muslim presence, encouraging movements which strive to weaken the Islamic faith in the hearts of the Muslims there, and casting doubt regarding the legitimacy of Jihad, which was most feared by Britain and the [other] European states.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) pp. 40-41

Questions following the story of the Muslim conquest of Spain (Al-Andalus in Arabic) in the 8th century CE implicitly call for reconquest:

Where is Al-Andalus? What is its name today? What is the Muslims' duty towards it?

Religious Subjects for Grade 7, Unit 2: Pious Forefathers (1991/2) p. 46

Part of the Western Imperialist effort was the support of "destructive movements" within Islam.

In the preceding lesson you learned how the Imperialist states were behind the destructive movements,⁶⁵ which strove to distort the Muslim faith and weaken it in the Muslims' souls so that it would make it easier for them [i.e., the Imperialist states] to colonialize them [the Muslims], enslave their people and exploit their resources. One of these destructive movements is Bahaism...

Islamic Doctrine, Grade 11 (1996) p. 138

The Coveting States

The Portuguese were the first [Europeans] to reach the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa and thence – India, through the Indian Ocean, without passing through the Mediterranean, which was under the control of the Ottoman State. This success encouraged the Portuguese to utilize their influence and spread their hegemony over parts of the Muslim world. Holland and Spain competed with Portugal. Holland occupied the two islands of Java and Sumatra (today's Indonesia) and Spain occupied the Moroccan Rif zone in Arab Morocco.

Britain and France led the European states in their competition for the colonization of the Muslim world... Russia as well seized control over vast territories of countries of the Muslim world adjacent to its borders...

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 41

America bought the Philippines from Spain in 1900 for an amount of 200 million dollars. America pursued a policy of repression, violence, Christianization and seizure of control over the Muslims' lands. It used for that purpose biological war and the number of [Muslim] victims reached more than 200 thousands...

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 121

The West is the creator of Zionism and a supporter of Israel.

Britain thought that securing its interests in India, the Far East and the Suez Canal would not become attainable except through opposing any unification attempt in the Arab region... In order to guarantee that, the British government adopted the idea of establishing an alien entity friendly to it in the southern Levant [*Al-Sham*], especially Palestine, which would separate the Arab eastern and western parts, exhaust its [i.e., the Arab world] energies and prevent the unification of its peoples and lands. Britain's prime minister Palmerston expressed that [view] in 1840 in a letter he sent to his ambassador in Istanbul... This idea remained the pivot of British policy until it was realized in the Balfour Declaration of 1917.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 106

...The establishment of a Zionist colonialist entity, which would prevent the unity of the Arab countries and work for the consolidation of Western Imperialism in the Muslim world...

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 62

Britain helped the Jews settle in Palestine and establish a state for themselves on its land.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 58

⁶⁵ A term denoting what is considered heretical sects, such as Bahaism.

Questions

- Enumerate the measures taken by the British Mandatory authorities for [the purpose of] facilitating the transfer of Palestinian land to the Jews.
- What was the United States of America's role in Judaizing Palestine?

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 111

Even after the end of the Imperialist era, Western hegemonism still exists.

Neo-Imperialism

The Second World War signalled the end of Imperialism in its old form and the emergence of a new kind of Imperialism based on the imposition of political and economic foreign control on a certain state while recognizing its formal independence and sovereignty, without direct confrontation with the patriotic elements in such states.

Neo-Imperialism used new methods such as :

1. Bilateral agreements between the Imperialist state and another state, which is not equal to it, with a view to limiting the developing state, imposing [on it] conditions, which would deprive it of the freedom of action, and pressuring it by way of aid and loans offered by the Imperialist state.
2. Establishing military bases and encouraging the developing states to join international alliances under the pretext of protecting them from external dangers threatening them.
3. Pursuing a policy of racial discrimination and encouraging the white minorities to seize control of the government and direct the country's policy according to the interests of the Imperialist states.
4. Using the international organizations, such as the Security Council and the UN departments, in order to pressure the developing states... and prevent them from acquiring the power which would enable them to get rid of the Imperialist powers' influence.
5. Encouraging foreign investments and establishing industries and economic projects in the states of the Muslim world in order to control their resources and have sway over their economic policies.
6. Striking the Islamic movements and stirring up internal disorder and sectarian divisions in the developing states in order to weaken them and throw them into confusion, which would compell the ruling power to seek help with the Imperialist states for the [purpose of] diffusing security and ruling the country.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) pp. 64-65

Western economic influence over the Muslim world is grossly exaggerated.

A simple look at the mineral wealth of the Muslim world will show that most this wealth goes to the foreign states and their monopolistic companies, which do not compensate the Muslim states except for a very meager percentage of its value. Even this modest part returns to those foreign states for their goods, which they promote in the Muslim countries, or returns to the foreign banks in the form of deposits. It should be added that this mineral wealth often becomes a misfortune as far as the Muslim states are concerned due to the competition between the foreign states for controlling them. The Gulf War, which broke out in 1990, is but a clear example of that. Also, the foreign states' planning and formation of economic blocks become a pressuring factor on the countries producing this wealth, especially oil. These [foreign] states determine the prices policy and hold sway over it, so that the Muslim states, which produce this wealth, would not be masters of their own affairs at all.

Questions

2. Explain what is meant by economic subordination to foreign states.
5. Demonstrate the foreign states' influence over the Muslim world's mineral wealth.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) pp. 95-96

Foreign debts were and still are one of the Western states' means to spreading their influence, imposing their hegemony and control over the Muslim countries and using these debts as a pretext for becoming acquainted with these states' economic secrets, striking their local currencies, creating economic disorder there and directly interfering in their affairs.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 55

The following is an attempt at "killing two birds with one stone", namely, present the West as a power hostile to the (rather symbolic) Ottoman Muslim caliphate and depict Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey who actually abolished this institution, as the West's puppet.

Abolition of the Muslim Caliphate

...The Western states... conditioned at the Lausanne conference in 1922 their recognition of Turkey's independence on the following four conditions:

1. The Muslim caliphate should be totally abolished.
2. The caliph and his supporters should be expelled outside of the [country's] borders and his property should be confiscated.
3. Turkey should be declared a secular state and all its ties with Islam should be severed.
4. A secular constitution should be introduced instead of the old constitution of the Ottoman State.

Mustafa Kemal [Ataturk].. started working on the execution of the Allies' conditions and on the execution of the Western scheme in toto. He declared in 1923 the establishment of the Turkish republic... In the following year Mustafa Kemal gave Western Imperialism the greatest present by abolishing the Muslim caliphate. He promulgated a new constitution for Turkey, expelled the Ottoman caliph and confiscated his property, led Turkey's Westernization operations and its alienation from Islam...

[Questions :]

3. Mention Britain's conditions for recognizing Turkey's independence.
4. What was Mustatfa Kemal's position regarding Britain's positions...?

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 66-69⁶⁶

This same book presents cases of repression against Muslim minorities in some Western states, such as Czarist and Communist Russia, Bulgaria and former Yugoslavia. The persecution accusations against these states include physical annihilation, forced Christianization, destruction of Muslim mosques and closure of Muslim schools and other cultural institutions, mass deportation, forced labor, ban on Muslim costume – especially for women, prohibition of performing religious rites and enforced adoption of non-Muslim names. The suffering of Bosnian Muslims at the hands of the Serbs – massacres, expulsion, rape – with Western encouragement is also described. The American initiative against the Serbs in Bosnia in favor of the Muslims there is ignored.

The Muslims in Former Yugoslavia

...The Muslims faced harsh waves of persecution and Christianization operations under the Austrian Crusader rule...

⁶⁶ Mustafa Kemal Ataturk indeed did all that and more, but presenting his actions as submission to Western directives, as done here, is a gross distortion of historical facts. Turkey entered the Lausanne conference at the peak of its military and political victories and it was it who dictated much of the outcome of that conference rather than the opposite.

After the Communists came to power following the Second World War the Muslims faced repression activities and mass massacres in which more than 24 thousand Muslims were killed and many mosques were destroyed... The Muslim higher academy of [Islamic] law in Sarajevo and all other Muslim schools were closed as well, except one, which was kept for propaganda [purposes].

...At the beginning of 1991 the [Bosnian] Serbs staged an armed revolt against the Muslim republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina... They killed, expelled, maimed and raped them [the Muslims]. [Even] women, children and the elderly were not spared. The Serbs did not leave intact anything, which reminded them of Islam and the Muslims, such as mosques, schools and monuments all over the republic...

That was done with the encouragement and support by a number of Western states... Matters are about to reach their destiny, which is the extermination of Islam and the Muslims in Europe...

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 143-144

Similar examples of repression against Muslim minorities are given in the same book with regard to the Philippines, Thailand, India and China.

A major part of Western invasion against Islam takes place at the cultural level.

The Method of Intellectual Invasion

Within its conflict with the Muslim world, the West turned to another method, after its failure in the military confrontation [i.e., the Crusades]. Its intellectuals started planning for an invasion of a new kind, which would safeguard for the West its presence and leave for it a kind of loyalty [in the region]. The method of intellectual invasion appeared, which is considered one of the most prominent influencing factors in the Muslim world at present...

The Concept of Intellectual Invasion

Intellectual invasion is a systematized action for alienating the Muslims from their religion, raising doubts regarding its values, laws and civilization and inducing the Arabs and the Muslims to accept Western civilization and live according to Western pattern.

The intellectual invasion of the Muslim world started approximately at the beginning of the nineteenth century relying on methods and institutions, which undertook to carry out Western Imperialism's plans and to realize its goals in preparation for spreading its control over the Muslim world and occupying it militarily. Some of these methods and institutions are [as follows]:

Missionary Activity

This is a movement with institutions outwardly calling for the adoption of Christianity under the slogan of humane activity. In fact, it strives to cast doubts among the Muslims regarding their own religion, history and civilization and spread division and conflict among them so that their power be weakened and consequently it would become easier for Imperialism and its armies to occupy their countries.

Orientalism

These are Western institutions, which study the East's faiths, civilizations, literatures, history, and languages, including those of the Muslim world, in order to become acquainted with the strong points – to destroy them, and the weak points – to use them with a view to plotting against the Muslim world and discrediting it.

Westernization

Educating the Muslims in the Western culture, introducing them to secular ideas, making them accustomed to Western patterns of social, economic, intellectual and cultural life and encouraging them to adopt the West's morals and copy them in living and life style. The West has established special institutions for this purpose...

Goals of the Intellectual Invasion

By its intellectual invasion of the Muslim world, Western Imperialism sought to attain the following:

1. Partitioning the Muslim world, dividing it into small pieces and establishing a number of states there according to Western patterns.
2. Distorting Islamic civilization and Islamic history and striving to weaken Islamic belief in the Muslims' souls, spreading secular ideas, Western culture and ideals, values, morals and systems emanating from it.
3. Preparing for the occupation of the Muslim countries militarily, spreading Western influence over them and colonizing them intellectually, economically and socially.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) pp. 43-44

Means of the Intellectual Invasion

In its intellectual invasion, Western Imperialism pursued various methods, such as:

1. Denigrating the Islamic faith's purity, casting doubt regarding Islam's laws and contesting their suitability to contemporary life... They called for separation of religion from life, state and politics...
2. Speaking evil of Islam's personalities and leaders and distorting the Muslims' history...
3. Calling for writing the Arabic language in Latin characters and substituting the colloquial dialects for the literary language... That would weaken the linguistic and conscious unity within the nation, weaken the Muslims' understanding of their religion and separate them from their heritage.
4. Creating ideas and movements, which work for the poisoning of the Muslim nation's thinking and substituting this alien thinking for its original thinking. For this purpose, they introduced it to the materialist ideologies such as Existentialism and Communism, circulated Darwin and Freud's theories and supported the Masonic, the Babi, Bahai and Kadiyani [Ahmadi] movements...
5. Reviving the pre-Islamic inclinations such as Pharaonism in Egypt, Phoenicianism in Lebanon and Berberism in North Africa, reviving regional and racist [i.e., ethnic] inclinations, which shatters the Muslims' unity... Therefore, they [also] encouraged the Turkish Turanian trend [in the late period of the Ottoman Empire]...
6. Spreading Western customs which contradict Islamic principles...
7. Infiltrating through the educational, social and humane institutions into Islamic society...

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) pp. 45-46

The Imperialists also attacked the Islamic values and tried to alienate the nation by using the missionary and Orientalist institutions for the purpose of distancing the Muslims from their religion under the pretext of civilization, development, progress and adjustment to the spirit of the age. The Imperialists used the communication media for spreading their influence in the Muslim world and achieve intellectual subordination. They established newspapers and magazines; built cinemas and theaters, exploited radio and television broadcasts; encouraged Western[-style] literature, which calls for liberation from religion and separation from the Muslim nation's past; circulated ideas carrying the slogans of secularism and Capitalism; distorted the image of Islam in the eyes of its own people by attacking some of its notions such as polygamy, permission of divorce and the spread of Islam by [way of] Jihad; circulated social

diseases in the Muslim countries such as drinking alcohol, playing cards, unveiling [of women] and licentiousness; and broke into the Muslims' houses in the name of woman's liberation, just treatment and realization of her equality with man. By its intellectual invasion, Western Imperialism managed to remove Islam away from directing the Muslims' life and made them ready to accept its civilization, ideas, systems, laws, and way of living. Thus, the Muslim world has fallen into the claws of Western Imperialism and has become subordinate to it in its thought and culture...

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 174

Western civilization itself is lacking compared to the Muslim one.

Western civilization, which prevails today, represents the apex of material life attained by man. But what this civilization is blamed of is that it has deprived man of his confidence and stability and has neglected human ideals and the high-ranking values as it made material prosperity its ideal, material profitability the measurement of deeds in this world and made happiness not exceed satisfaction of [human] passion and taking pleasure in material things.

The world today is in need for Islamic civilization, because it is the one, which is capable of continuing the material progress produced by Western civilization, and [is] the one, which can take the people to a high-standard spiritual life alongside that material progress... Will it be possible for the Muslim nation to grasp this truth, play its role and [fulfil] its mission in the people's life?

[Questions:]

Why is Islamic civilization capable of delivering mankind from its suffering?

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 36

Peace and War

Peace is an ideal to be pursued in the field of international relations, but the main governing principle there is spreading Islam.

The foundation of the relations between the Muslim state and other states and peoples is peace. State of peace is the primary state with other states and neighboring peoples... The Muslim state builds its relations with other states in accordance with what is dictated by the interest of the Muslim nation... The fundamental goal of establishing relations with other states is spreading Islam ...

Islamic Systems, Grade 12 (1996) pp. 198-199

War was not prescribed in Islam for the sake of enslaving peoples or annihilating human beings, or due to a desire for corruption and for taking control of the resources of other nations. War [in Islam] has been prescribed for an exalted goal, which is warding off aggression, safeguarding the lands of Islam and working for the people's transfer from worshipping [God's] servants to worshipping Sublime God...

Islamic Systems, Grade 12 (1996) pp. 199-200

The following is a paragraph trying to explain the peace process with Israel from the Jordanian perspective (the books were originally published in Jordan) and implicitly justify Jordan's move within the larger Arab context. This is a significant effort to present the possibility of a peaceful solution to the conflict as an option, bearing in mind that military liberation and Jihad are also advocated (see below).

The Peaceful Inclination in Dealing with the Palestinian Problem

The attempt to deal with the Palestinian problem before 1948 took a military nature, in spite of some peaceful inclinations. That was the case as well until 1967 and after. But after 1970, Arab, Palestinian and international events led to factual inclination towards a peaceful solution in dealing with the Palestinian problem. Israel has proven its military superiority and victory over the Arab states. Egypt, the largest of the Arab states, concluded a peace treaty with Israel, and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] could not realize its goals by military means. Also, international balance became disturbed with the collapse of the Soviet Union and with it – the Socialist states, and the United States of America became the great power controlling international politics. The Iraqi-Iranian War [1980-1988] exhausted resources and energies and the Gulf War [1991] brought Western presence back to the region. All that led to the convening of the Madrid conference in 1992 and to the peace agreements with the PLO in Oslo and Washington and the peace agreements with Jordan. The Palestinian problem thus entered a new phase – the phase of peaceful solutions.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 114

On the other hand, liberation of Palestine and the holy places by way of Jihad is the obvious solution.

The Muslims' countries today badly need Jihad and Jihad fighters in order to liberate the usurped land, evict the usurping Jews from the Muslims' land in Palestine and the Levant [*Al-Sham*] and eliminate oppression against the Muslims in all the countries controlled by the enemies. You, young men, are the anticipated army of tomorrow and the Jihad fighters in God's cause to raise His word, strengthen His religion and liberate the holy places and the usurped land with His permission.

Religious Subjects for Grade 8, Unit 3: Noble Prophetic *Hadith* (?) p. 12

Activity

Prepare an essay of not more than ten lines for the wall magazine in which you will mention the things, which should be at the Muslims' disposal these days so that they realize the liberation of Jerusalem from the Jews.

Religious Subjects for Grade 9, Unit 2: Pious Forefathers (1993) p. 67

Jihad is referred to numerous times in the books. Representative examples are given below. Some central recurring points are: Jihad is the highest degree of obedience to God, one of the most loved deeds in God's eyes and a proof of the believer's love for God; Jihad is a fundamental pillar of Islam – "the Sixth Religious Duty" – and the highest peak of Islam; every Muslim should actually participate in Jihad or – if he is unable to do so – at least wish for such participation; refraining from participation in Jihad is an abominable sin; Jihad is an indispensable necessity for Muslim society in any age and especially nowadays, in view of the attack it is subjected to on the foreigners' part; the Muslim state should adopt Jihad as a way of life and be a Jihad-fighting nation, not only for defense purposes but also for the purpose of spreading Islam worldwide, which is its main obligation decreed by God;

Jihad is the making of an effort in fighting the unbelievers in the battlefield and is the highest degree of obedience to Sublime God as it means the spread of Islam, the strengthening of religion, protection of the Muslim nation against its enemies and defense of its religion and its homelands. It is a great religious duty and [one] of the best deeds in God's eyes and of the most loved ones by Him. The Jihad fighter [*mujahid*] has a high position in Sublime God's eyes, with the prophets and the righteous ones, in Paradise.

Religious Subjects for Grade 7, Unit 3: Noble Prophetic *Hadith* (1991/2) p. 36

Explain the importance of Jihad in our present life.

Assignment, Religious Subjects for Grade 7, Unit 3: Noble Prophetic *Hadith* (1991/2) p. 37

What the Noble [Qur'anic] Verses Guide to

...The believer's Jihad in God's cause is a proof of his love for God and His Messenger.

Holy Qur'an, Grade 12 (1996) p. 20

Jihad is considered a fundamental pillar of Islam and some of the jurisprudents consider it "the Sixth Religious Duty".⁶⁷ Moreover, it is the highest peak of Islam. Those who neglected Jihad were humiliated...

Prophetic Biography and Muslim History, Grade 11 (1996) p. 161

The Messenger warned against the consequence of this abominable act, namely, staying away from the honor of Jihad and refraining from participation in the fight against the enemies...

Religious Subjects for Grade 10 (?) p. 207

Jihad is an indispensable necessity for Muslim society in any age. The neglect of Jihad brings upon the nation weakness and humiliation, exposes it to aggression and makes the enemies covet its land and resources and burst forth to occupy it and plunder its wealth, as the case of the Muslim nation is these days in most of its countries.

Islamic Culture, Grade 11 (1996) pp. 129-130

The Preparation of the Jihad-Fighting Nation

God's Messenger educated the Muslims for Jihad and created from them a fighting military nation. He urged the nation – men, women, children and the elderly – to learn fighting methods and take their share in Jihad...

Prophetic Biography and Muslim History, Grade 11 (1996) p. 131

The Muslim nation should be bent on constantly preparing for Jihad, as it is a Jihadic nation. The construction of the Muslim state's military power is not merely for defensive preparation [purposes]. It is rather a definite matter so that it will be easier for the [Muslim] state to perform what God has imposed on it, namely, carrying the Islamic mission and announcing it to mankind...

Islamic Systems, Grade 12 (1996) p. 183

The praise of martyrdom is part and parcel of the education for Jihad.

The Favor of Martyrdom [Shahadah]

If the Jihad fighter is killed in Sublime God's cause he is granted martyrdom and God forgives him his sins, grants him His favor and lets him enter Paradise.

Religious Subjects for Grade 9, Unit 3: Noble Prophetic Hadith (1993) p. 19

The issue of terror is never discussed as such. Attacks by Palestinian armed organizations on Israelis, both civilians and military, are usually referred to in the Arab world as "armed struggle" and "Fidai activities". "Fidai" is a traditional Islamic term denoting a warrior who is ready to sacrifice his life for a cause and is nowadays applied to members of the Palestinian organizations. The following quotation mentions this kind of activity pursued by the PLO.

The PLO first pursued "Armed Struggle" in its relations with Israel and waged a *Fidai* war with it on a number of fronts, which cost much money and many human casualties. But it could not realize its goals through military methods, which made it turn to other peaceful methods.

The Muslim World at Present, Grade 12 (1996) p. 114 [the quotation marks are in the original]

⁶⁷ In addition to the traditional five pillars of Islam: Testimony of Belief, Prayer, Fast of Ramadan, Alms-Giving and Pilgrimage to Mecca.

Conclusion

There are two main conclusions arrived at on the basis of the preceding material: the attitude to the "other", that is, non-Muslims (and to a certain extent – non-Sunni Muslims as well) is generally negative, often hostile, and Jihad against the unbelievers is advocated and urged a great deal.

In spite of the fact that the books recognize the religious and moral foundation shared with the other monotheistic religions and emphasize Islam's traditional tolerance towards their followers, they warn the students to remain cautious vis-à-vis Christians and Jews and not have friendly relations with them on account of their unbelief and perceived hostility to Islam.

The Jews bear the brunt of the books' hostile attitude, due, perhaps, to their historical conflicts with Prophet Muhammad in Arabia in early Islam and, more probably, because of the present conflict over the Holy Land. The books present various episodes, which portray the Jews in negative light, produce negative commentaries against the Jews based on Qur'anic verses and attribute to the Jews negative traits.

Among other things, the Jews are accused of rejection of truth, love of untruth, hostility to the prophets, blasphemy, distortion of their holy scriptures, violation of treaties, hostility to the Muslims, espionage, conspiracy, quarrel-mongering and of enriching themselves unlawfully. They are presented as selfish, envious of others, greedy, miserly, sly and treacherous. Finally, they are God's enemies. Accordingly, they have been sentenced to a life of eternal torment and humiliation in this world and in the hereafter.

The Jews are demonized as well in the context of the present conflict. They are presented as occupiers, killers of innocent people, expellents of people from their homes, desecraters of holy places, usurpers of Muslims' lands, demolishers of Muslims' houses, etc. This demonizing campaign reaches its peak with a traditional Prophetic Saying (Hadith) practically calling for the annihilation of the Jews as one of the events preceding the End of Days.

The Jews' historical legitimacy in Palestine is rejected and the ancient Canaanites are "Arabized" and made the sole legitimate inhabitants of the country. The Jews' religious and national ties to the country are dismissed as "greedy ambitions". The Jews' holy places in Palestine are never referred to, which is an expression of non-recognition and rejection of the Jews' religious connection to the country. The Jewish national movement of modern times – Zionism – is depicted as an invention of Western Imperialism, British Imperialism in particular, with which it is said to have collaborated.

Israel's sovereignty is not recognized. Although the books admit that it enjoys extensive international recognition, it is presented as an occupying power in Palestine and its name is not to be found on maps. It is Palestine, which is given the status of a sovereign state instead, both in the text and on the map.

Israel is also demonized. Apart from its "primary sin" of occupation, it is presented as expansionist and aggressive. Besides, it is a powerful country enjoying military superiority in the region, which makes it a threat to its Arab neighbors.

The West, including Czarist and Communist Russia and the Christian Balkan states, is depicted as a source of evil both materially and spiritually. On the material level it occupied Muslim lands, subjugated their peoples and plundered their wealth; it partitioned the once united Muslim world into rival states; it uses its world hegemony politically and economically to the Muslim world's detriment; it supports Israel against the Muslims; and it has a history of oppression against Muslim minorities in some of its countries. On the spiritual level it has aimed at destroying the power of Islam in various ways, such as distancing Muslims from their

religion and distancing Islam from public life by way of Westernization, destroying Muslim unity by the encouragement of other loyalties – ethnic and territorial, by the establishment of “destructive movements” within Islam, such as Bahaism, and also by forcing Turkey to abolish the Ottoman Muslim caliphate – as falsely claimed by one of the books. A major aspect of Western cultural attack is the circulation of foreign ideologies and theories, such as Communism, secularism, Darwinism, the concept of women liberation, etc.

As regards the books’ attitude to peace, especially in the context of the Middle East conflict, there is some ambivalence. On the one hand we have a book emphasizing the need to solve the conflict peacefully, due to Israel’s military superiority in the region, which has so far foiled the attempts to decide the conflict militarily, and due to the new world constellation following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the universal recognition of Israel’s right to exist. On the other hand, much emphasis is put on Jihad as a means to liberating Palestine. In fact, Jihad is elevated to a degree of the sixth pillar of Islam, besides the other, more familiar, five ones (testimony of belief, prayer, fasting of Ramadan, alms giving and pilgrimage) and made the highest degree of obedience to God and a proof of the believer’s true love of Him. It is made a personal obligation of every Muslim who can carry it out and an indispensable necessity for Muslim society in all times. The Muslim state should adopt Jihad as a way of life – not only for defensive purposes, or for the purpose of liberating Palestine from the Jews – but rather for the purpose of spreading Islam worldwide, to which God has destined it. This notion is very much similar to its counterpart in Iranian school textbooks, which have been recently studied by the author of this report.

These are the books used by the students at the PA religious institutions. They express hostility to non-Muslims in general, with special emphasis on anti-Jewish and anti-Western attitudes. Together with the heavy emphasis put on the ideal of Jihad, they constitute an explosive material with immediate impact on the minds of young Palestinian students, which is bound to have its grave effect on the ground sooner or later.

And a final note regarding the original publisher: the material quoted in this Appendix has been taken from books published by the Jordanian government in the 1990s. These are relatively old books and the big question, which should be asked in this context, is whether they have undergone some changes in the wake of the conclusion of the peace treaty with Israel in October 1994. It seems that an up-to-date study of Jordanian school textbooks is inevitable and we hope to start such a project towards the end of 2008.

List of Sources

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3. Arabic Language – Reading, Literature and Critique, Grade 12 (2006) 196 pages
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