

Lund University

Center for Language and Literature

Department of Arabic and Middle Eastern Studies

ARAK01 – Arabic: Bachelor's Course – Thesis

Supervisor: Maria Persson



**LUND UNIVERSITY**  
Humanities and Theology

## Portraying the Antagonist

The depiction of Zionism and Israel in a Syrian Education

Textbook

By

Johan Rosell

## **Abstract**

This bachelor thesis is a discourse analysis of a chapter about “the Arab-Zionist conflict” in a Syrian upper secondary school textbook in the subject of National Socialist Education. The purpose of the thesis is to examine if Zionism and Israel are described in an unbiased or biased way to Syrian students. The analysis is performed by examining contexts in which the words “Zionist”, “Israeli”, and “Jewish” are used, and if these contexts and the used terminology contribute to a biased and value-laden meaning. The thesis concludes that the words Zionist, Israeli, and Jewish are used in contexts that are value-laden and biased and that the contexts contribute to a biased narration of the conflict in general, and Zionism and Israel in particular.

## Table of Contents

1.	Introduction.....	4
1.1	Purpose and Research Question.....	4
1.2	Current Research .....	4
1.3	Relevance of Study .....	6
1.4	Material .....	6
1.5	Note on Translation and Transliteration.....	7
1.6	Disposition .....	8
2.	Theory and Method .....	9
2.1	Discourse analysis.....	9
2.2	Method .....	10
2.3	Delimitation.....	11
2.4	Definitions .....	11
2.5	Ethical Considerations .....	12
3.	Background.....	14
3.1	Syria in the Arab-Israel Conflict.....	14
3.2	Arab Socialism – The Baath Party.....	14
3.3	Syrian Educational System and National Curriculum.....	15
4.	Analysis .....	16
4.1	Category 1: Approach .....	16
4.2	Category 2: Characteristics .....	25
4.3	Category 3: Antagonism .....	27
4.4	Category 4: Other .....	34
5.	Discussion.....	38
6.	Conclusions.....	40
	Bibliography .....	41
	Appendix I: Transliteration Key .....	44
	Appendix II: Coding Spreadsheet.....	45

## 1. Introduction

I have an interest in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and since I have lived and studied in Syria, I have encountered and spoken to many people about the subject. Naturally, due to Syria's geographical position and contemporary history with Israel, the conflict is a frequently discussed topic in the country. During discussions with my Syrian friends I sometimes noted the use of harsh language about the "Zionists" and, at times, unbalanced picture of the history of the conflict. I also discovered that some people I spoke to were unaware of the Holocaust and reasons behind the Zionist movement.

All this made me wonder about the Syrian way of teaching about the relationship between Israel and Syria in school. How was the Arab-Israel conflict taught to students? Was it taught at all? If it was, in what grades did the students learn about it, and how?

These questions were the stepping stone to what eventually would become this research paper. In this introductory chapter I will discuss the research question and some ethical considerations. There is also a brief discussion on the research already written on the subject, a description of the empirical material, and a note on the translation and transliterations used in this paper. The chapter ends with a disposition.

### 1.1 Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of this thesis is to examine if Zionism and Israel is described in an unbiased or biased way to Syrian students in the subject of National Socialist Education. That will be done by looking into the contexts in which the words "Zionist", "Israeli", and "Jewish" are used, and if that context provides a value-laden and biased meaning. For this purpose I have formulated the following research question:

*Are the words Zionist, Israeli, and Jewish used in a context that gives them a biased and value-laden meaning?*

### 1.2 Current Research

During the course of this research, numerous journals, books, and articles have been read in order to find out more about what is already written on the subject. The most comprehensive work found was Meyrav Wurmser's *The Schools of Ba'athism: A Study of Syrian Schoolbooks* from year 2000.<sup>1</sup> In it, some forty Syrian textbooks for children between the fourth and eleventh grades have been studied in order to examine how Israel, Zionism and the Arab-Israeli conflict has been portrayed.<sup>2</sup> Wurmser

---

<sup>1</sup> Meyrav Wurmser. *The Schools of Ba'athism: A Study of Syrian Schoolbooks*, (Washington D.C.: Middle East Media and Research Institute, MEMRI, 2000)

<sup>2</sup> Wurmser, *Schools of Ba'athism*, xi.

concludes her study by stating that the Syrian textbooks reveals “[...]an integrated totalitarian ideology that is anchored, ultimately, to relentless conflict with Israel and the West.”<sup>3</sup>

Wurmser’s book is in many ways thorough when it comes to qualitative studies of the subject, yet some questions can be raised when it comes to the credibility of the book. The publisher of the book; The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), where Wurmser is one of two co-founders, is according to their webpage “an independent, non-partisan, non-profit organization”.<sup>4</sup> However, MEMRI has been criticized for not being the non-partisan organisation it claims to be, with the allegation that it aims to “further the agenda of Israel”.<sup>5</sup> On a further note, the second co-founder of MEMRI, Yigal Carmon, spent 22 years in the Israeli military intelligence.<sup>6</sup> In addition, Wurmser is herself an Israeli-born and has been criticized for her participation in American neo-conservative organizations such as the think tank Hudson Institute.<sup>7</sup>

A similar study to Wurmser’s was conducted for the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (CMIP) in 2001 by Dr. Arnon Groiss. The article “Jews, Zionism and Israel in Syrian School Textbooks”<sup>8</sup> is less extensive than Wurmser’s study and uses actual examples from the textbooks, translated and pasted in the article under different paragraphs depending on their themes. Groiss’ article is based on the study of 26 Syrian School textbooks ranging from grade one to twelve in various subjects, including National Socialist Education. CMIP is today known as the Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT-SE) and is a non-profit, non-political organization, focusing on textbook analysis. According to its website, IMPACT-SE “endeavors to present a clear picture of how different countries instruct and educate their youth with regard to different religions, societies, cultures, democratic values and the ‘other.’”<sup>9</sup> Dr. Arnon Groiss, the author of the article and director at IMPACT-SE, also works at the Israel Broadcasting Authority.

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>4</sup> “About MEMRI”, MEMRI, accessed January 22, 2013, <http://www.memri.org/about-memri.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Brian Whitaker, “Selective Memri”, *The Guardian*, August 12, 2002, accessed May 23, 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/aug/12/worlddispatch.brianwhitaker>

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Unknown author, “Panorama – Meyrav Wurmser,” *BBC News: World Edition*, accessed May 23, 2012, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/panorama/3034221.stm>

<sup>8</sup> Arnon Groiss, *Jews, Zionism and Israel in Syrian School Textbooks*, (Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education, IMPACT-SE, 2001), accessed May 23, 2012, <http://www.impact-se.org/docs/reports/Syria/Syria2001.pdf>

<sup>9</sup> “IMPACT-SE’s Mission Statement”, IMPACT-SE, accessed May 23, 2012, <http://www.impact-se.org/about/mission.html>

A more recent academic work that discusses the Syrian educational system is the bachelor thesis *Critical Thinking in Syrian Secondary School History Education* by Isaac Heinrich.<sup>10</sup> The thesis' focal point is to qualitatively evaluate whether a Syrian schoolbook in the subject of history promotes critical thinking. It focuses on history education and no actual parallel can therefore be made to the textbook studied in this thesis. Heinrich's thesis still proves a valuable source in the sense that it provides greater understanding of the pedagogics in Syrian textbooks in general and level of promoting critical thinking in history textbooks in particular.

### 1.3 Relevance of Study

Ever since the announcement of the state of Israel and the following Arab-Israeli war in 1948, the topic of the Arab-Israeli conflict has been a constant matter of discussion, both in the region as well as internationally. It continues to be so today, more than 60 years after the foundation of Israel, without any imminent signs of a solution to the conflict albeit constant efforts. Some of Israel's neighbors have signed peace treaties with Israel. Syria and Israel, however, are still technically in a state of war with each other.<sup>11</sup> In order for a future peace agreement between Israel and Syria to become reality, both societies will have to undertake efforts to truly reconcile. This study is meant to highlight one important area where such efforts need to be done – the educational system. The educational system is crucial to create normalized relations between two countries. The school literature of a nation reflects what that nation values and considers to be important information to teach its pupils. It also shows how the adversary is portrayed, and how the nation sees itself in a broader perspective, both ideologically and socially.<sup>12</sup>

### 1.4 Material

The main source material in this research is a Syrian textbook for public school in the subject National Socialist Education. The book, *at-Tarbīa al-Qawmīya al-Ishirākīya* (National Socialist Education) was published by the General Foundation for Printed Material and Textbooks under the supervision of the Ministry of Education of the Syrian Arab Republic in 2008. The textbook is used in a wide range of editions all the way through university.<sup>13</sup> The edition used in this thesis is authored for students of second grade in upper secondary school, also referred to as eleventh grade, and was published and used for the school year of 2008/2009. It is authored by Doctor 'Aīšā aš-Šamās, Doctor Mağīda Bidūr, Ḥadīğa ar-Raḥīa, Fārūq al-Ġūrī, Būlus Sam'ān, Muḥammad Ḥaīr Sulaīmān, Wafā' Sulṭān, Āšif Sa'īd, Muḥammad Muḥalliš aš-Šabbāğ, and 'Išām Ḥamidān (it will here on after be referred to as *aš-Šamās*

<sup>10</sup> Isaac Heinrich, "Critical Thinking in Syrian Secondary School History Education", *Lunds universitets publikationer (LUP)* (2011), accessed May 24, 2012 <http://www.lu.se/o.o.i.s?id=19464&postid=2172250>.

<sup>11</sup> Groiss, *Syrian School Textbooks*, 6.

<sup>12</sup> Allan Smith, "The Influence of education on conflict and peace building", UNESCO, Education for All Global Monitoring Report (EFA GMA), 2010, accessed January 28, 2013, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001913/191341e.pdf>, 18-19

<sup>13</sup> Groiss, *Syrian School Textbooks*, 9.

*et al.*). The subject National Socialist Education focuses on the Syrian state ideology and is regulated in the Syrian national curriculum.<sup>14</sup>

The textbook comprises 166 pages and is divided in six chapters. Each chapter consists of a number of lessons. Chapter four, which is the one analyzed in this thesis, consists of two parts: “The Arab-Zionist Conflict 1”, and “The Arab-Zionist Conflict 2”, consisting of nine and 13 pages respectively.<sup>15</sup>

The first part of chapter four begins with a description of the emergence of the “Arab-Zionist conflict”. It starts by providing five bullet points with what the student is expected to have knowledge about after reading it. It then continues by showing how colonialist ideas are the most important reason to the conflict. In four bullet points it explains how the Zionist movement and the “colonial countries” (الدول الاستعمارية<sup>16</sup>) cooperated in order to achieve a permanent presence in the Arab region. This will be treated more in to depth in the analysis section.

The chapter then proceeds with listing the Zionist congresses that led to the forming of the state of Israel. The first part of the chapter ends with a discussion about the “Zionist entity” and how the Zionist movement exploited World War II to reach its goal of a state in Palestine.<sup>17</sup> This, too, will be treated in the analysis.

The second part describes the time after the foundation of the state of Israel. It begins by discussing the Arab resistance to the newly founded state and how the Arabs joined their efforts to defend the people of Palestine. It proceeds by listing the wars that were fought between Israel and the Arab people. The lesson continues by listing massacres committed by “the Zionists” on the Arab people and thereafter proceeds with a discussion, based on the previous sections, on how Israel and its actions bear full responsibility to the situation in the Middle East. The last part of the lesson lists the different political parties in Israel.<sup>18</sup>

### 1.5 Note on Translation and Transliteration

Transliteration from Arabic in this thesis is based on the transliteration system DIN31635. The transliteration key can be found at the end of the study in Annex I: Transliteration Key. However, transliteration from Arabic to the Latin alphabet is only used when referring to the authors and the name of the Arabic textbook. Specific names such as *Assad* or *Ba'ath* are written in accordance to their common English encyclopedic spelling. Due to technical issues, all citations use Arabic numerals

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Aīšā aš-Šamās et al., *at-Tarbīa al-Qawmīya al-Ištirākīya: al-‘Ām wa al-Mihnīy aš-Šar‘īy* (“National Socialist Education: General, Professional and Legal”) (Damascus: General Foundation for Printed Material and Textbooks, 2008), 95-116.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 96.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 96-103.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 104-116.

instead of, as in the original text, Eastern Arabic (also referred to as Arabic-Indic) numerals. Please note that all translations in this thesis made from Arabic to English are the work of the author.

### **1.6 Disposition**

To make it easier for the reader to browse this thesis, its disposition is here presented. In the chapter “Theory and Method” the chosen method is presented together with information on how the analysis has been conducted and delimited. A discussion of some ethical considerations follow and a few helpful definitions to terms used in this essay are given. The background chapter that follows is meant as a tool for the reader to understand the thesis in its contextual setting. Some information about the Syrian role in the Arab-Israeli conflict is provided as well as information about the Ba’athist ideology and national curriculum in Syria. After the background, the analysis chapter is presented. The analysis consists of four subchapters. The analysis is followed by a “Discussion” chapter in which the analysis is discussed and summarized. The sixth and last chapter of this thesis is the “Conclusion” chapter. As a final note the bibliography is presented as a help to the reader for further reference.



## 2. Theory and Method

In the following chapter, a discussion about the choice of method and theory is presented, beginning with information about the theory and method of choice, continuing with delimitations, definitions, and ending with a short discussion on ethical considerations.

### 2.1 Discourse analysis

A commonly used method in the field of humanities and social science are different varieties of discourse analysis.<sup>19</sup> The basis of all discourse analytic approaches is that the access to reality always comes out of language. That means that everything we see, hear, and learn is transformed into words and language in our minds and we thereby “create” reality, applying words and meaning on everything. In that way everything gains meaning through discourse. According to Phillips and Jørgensen (2006) this can be described by four criteria that all discourse analytic approaches have in common. These criteria are: 1) Language is not a reflection of a pre-existing reality; 2) Language is structured in patterns or discourses where meanings change from discourse to discourse; 3) Discursive patterns are maintained and transformed in discursive practices; 4) The maintenance and transformation of the patterns should therefore be explored through analysis of the specific contexts in which language is in action.<sup>20</sup>

In order to concretize, we can use an example from this study where the Jewish settlement in Palestine during the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is explained by the studied textbook as “a Zionist colonial attempt” (محاولة استعمارية صهيونية<sup>21</sup>). This same event is, on the other hand, described by many Jews as “the return to their Holy land”.<sup>22</sup> This shows two different discourses of the same event. In the view of the Syrian textbook, this was a settlement attempt made in a colonial pretext, but in the view of the Jews, it was a natural return to the land that they once considered theirs. The essence of the two examples, however, is the same; one group of people moved from one place to another.

According to Phillips and Jørgensen, some scholars mean that discourse analysis does not provide definite answers but merely gives insight and knowledge to continue a debate or a discussion in the subject.<sup>23</sup> Another common critique against the method is that it is not stringent enough to produce conclusive results and that it lacks techniques that are based on “positivist epistemology” and quantitative data analysis. The critics mean that without these techniques, the researcher is free to subjectively interpret the data since there are no standards to separate what is “right” and “wrong”.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Louise Phillips and Marianne W. Jørgensen, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2006), 4.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-12.

<sup>21</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 106.

<sup>22</sup> Alan Unterman, *The Jews: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*, (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1996), 82-84.

<sup>23</sup> Phillips & Jørgensen, *Discourse Analysis*, 132.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

However, this critic can be countered with the argument that all results are subjective in some way since the results are interpreted by the reader. What we can do is to critically review the results and form an opinion.

## 2.2 Method

As a consequence to the above discussion, this thesis will use a discourse analysis that is based on ten steps used within discursive psychology analysis specified by Potter and Wetherell (1987) as described by Phillips and Jørgensen (2000). The ten steps are, in this thesis, adjusted into five steps in order for the method to be applicable to the subject and empirical material used in this thesis, rather than to interviews in the subject of psychology as in the example provided by Phillips and Jørgensen.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, the five steps “Production of Naturally Occuring Material”, “Production of Material Through Interviews”, “Transcription”, “Determination of Validity”, and “Applying Research Results” are excluded from the method used here.

The five steps included in this thesis are: 1) Research Question, 2) Choice of Sample, 3) Coding and categorization, 4) Analysis, and 5) The Research Report.

*Step one* was to decide the research question and *step two* to choose the material to research. These steps are dealt with in “1. Introduction” and “1.1 Purpose and Research Question”, as well as in “1.4 Material”.

*Step three*, “coding and categorization”, began with a read through of the material and aimed to find and categorize the occasions where the words “Zionist” (الصهيوني/ة), “Israeli” (الإسرائيلي/ة), and “Jewish” (اليهودي/ة), with and without definite articles are used. The words and phrases that were found are in this thesis called “codes” or “examples”. They were then documented and transferred into a spreadsheet database in order to get a better overview over them.

When the coding was done and the codes were listed in the database, the next step was to categorize them according to theme. These categories were under constant modification as there was no “right” or “wrong”. After a few perusals, five different categories had emerged, they were called: “Names”, “Approach”, “Characteristics”, “Antagonism” and “Other”. For example, codes that included any reference to antagonism such as “Zionist enemy” or “Zionist invasion” were included in the category “Antagonism”, and so forth.

*Step four* constitutes the analysis of the codes and categories. Although five categories were found, only four of them are analysed in this thesis. The first category, “Names”, was excluded due to its sole inclusion of codes that are proper names, and which therefore cannot be rephrased without losing their

---

<sup>25</sup> Louise Phillips and Marianne W. Jørgensen, *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*, (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000), 116-123.

actual meaning. The category “Names” includes codes such as: “the Zionist movement” (الحركة الصهيونية), “the Zionist congresses” (المؤتمرات الصهيونية), and “The Israeli Labour Party” (حزب العمل الإسرائيلي). However, some of these names can occur in the examples in the analysis, but then because they occur in contexts where other codes are analysed. The full list of codes can be found in “Appendix II: Coding Spreadsheet.

The remaining four categories are then analysed one by one. The codes in each category are analysed by their *terminology* and their textual context, here called *textual analysis*. In order to better understand, here is an example: The code “Zionist idea” (الفكر الصهيونية), was during the coding and categorization process placed in the category “Other”. First the *terminology* is analysed by looking at the meaning of the word “idea”, “الفكر”. In the *textual analysis* that follows, the contextual meaning is analysed in order to see if the context together with the terminological use might contribute to a biased and value-laden meaning.

Some of the examples, as will be seen in the analysis, are used more than one time and might occur in different categories. The reason to this is that the same example can include more than one instance where the word “Zionist”, “Israeli” or “Jewish” is used. When the code comprises more than just the single sentence where it is mentioned, the entire paragraph is provided in the analysis in order to understand the context in which the code is used.

*Step five* is the discussion of the analysis and will focus on discussing the different findings from the analysis and weave it together in order to reach a conclusion.

### 2.3 Delimitation

The reason why the textbook National Socialist Education was used in order to answer the research question is that it includes a chapter that treats the Arab-Israeli (“Arab-Zionist”) conflict specifically. The textbook thereby offers a chapter where it would be likely to find frequent use of the words Zionist, Israeli and Jewish.

This thesis does not take into account how the subject of National Socialist Education is taught in the classroom. A previous study, however, has pointed towards a lack of classroom discussions and analytical exercises in both primary and secondary education in Syria, emphasizing the importance of the quality of the textbooks.<sup>26</sup>

### 2.4 Definitions

The distinction and difference between the words “Zionist”, “Israeli” and “Jewish” might seem clear from the outset. However, different interpretations and understandings can result in a shady demarcation of where to draw the line of what is what. In a Western common understanding, the

---

<sup>26</sup> Heinrich, “Critical Thinking.”, 2.

words represent a political (and perhaps ideological) approach, a national approach, and a religious approach respectively.

The definition of word the “Zionism” used in this paper is borrowed from Encyclopædia Britannica. The word refers to the Jewish nationalist movement’s belief in, and support of, the quest by Jews to return to Zion. “Zion” is the name of a hill near ancient Jerusalem but is widely used as a symbol of what in Hebrew is called “Eretz Yisra’el”, meaning “the Land of Israel”.<sup>27</sup> However, historically the perception of the word “Zionism” has shifted. One example is the now rescinded UN resolution from 1975 that equated Zionism to racism; another example is the association between Zionism and the anti-Semitic hoax “The protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion”.<sup>28</sup> The word “Israeli” on the other hand, describes someone or something from the land of Israel. Since the state of Israel was announced in 1948, the word “Israeli” could therefore only be used after this date if it is a reference to the nation state. The word “Jewish” is a reference to something or someone connected and identified to Judaism, the religion practiced by Jews.

One of this essay’s keywords is “value-laden”. The definition of the word “value-laden” is borrowed from the electronic version of Oxford Dictionaries where it is described as something that is: “presupposing the acceptance of a particular set of values”.<sup>29</sup> A value-laden word can be an adjective, i.e. a word used to describe something which also adds a certain value to it.

Another keyword in this essay is the word “biased”. It is defined as a view or a word that is “unfairly prejudiced for or against someone or something”.<sup>30</sup> The problem with this definition is that it forces us to define what constitutes as “unfairly prejudice”. That however, will be dealt with by discussing the context in which the example is used and by checking other sources to verify the given information.

## 2.5 Ethical Considerations

To study whether words are value-laden biased or unbiased, it is appropriate to outline what a neutral or unbiased word or statement really is. That it easier said than done. According to Brian Fay, professor of philosophy at Wesleyan University and author of the book *Contemporary Philosophy of Social Science: A Multicultural Approach*, it is impossible to reach an objective and unbiased understanding to anything if one claims to emanate from an objective point of view. Since the term “objectivism” exists in a cultural context, and the writer assumes that he or she can study and understand something in an unbiased way, the writer unintentionally practice a biased and subjective

<sup>27</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica Online, s. v. "**Zionism**", accessed May 29, 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/ludwig.lub.lu.se/EBchecked/topic/657475/Zionism>

<sup>28</sup> Neil Hagel, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories*, (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 6.

<sup>29</sup> *Oxford Dictionaries*, Oxford University Press, s. v. "**Value-laden**," accessed January 22, 2014, [http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american\\_english/value-laden](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/value-laden).

<sup>30</sup> *Oxford Dictionaries*, Oxford University Press, s. v. "**Biased**," accessed January 22, 2014, [http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american\\_english/biased](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/biased).

view of the surroundings.<sup>31</sup> In order to avoid what appears to be a complicated catch 22, one can look at objectivism as a starting point and a sort of ideal rather than aiming at (the utopia of) absolutely objective results.<sup>32</sup>

On a further note, there is also the question whether a word in itself is value-laden or neutral or if it is the context as a whole that is value-laden. Words in a sentence can be neutral but the context, and the result of the words, is biased. In the same way, value-laden words in a sentence do not necessarily mean that the context is value-laden. It is therefore necessary to analyse both context *and* terminology.

Another hurdle in the aim of reaching academic results is interpretation. Interpretation is needed to some extent when it comes to translations from one language to another since a word in one language may carry different values in another. One obstacle when translating is also the multiple different meanings that a word in Arabic can have. It is, at times, very difficult to translate a word in one language to a word with the exact same meaning in another language. It is here only possible to choose the word that is closest to the original by reading and rereading the sentence again and again, until the most accurate word is found.

---

<sup>31</sup> Brian Fay, *Contemporary Philosophy of Social Science: A Multicultural Approach* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 219.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.

### 3. Background

In the following part, a brief background about Syria's role in the Arab-Israeli conflict is presented. The chapter then continues with a discussion about the Ba'ath Party and the Assad rule of the country. Finally there will be an introduction to the Syrian educational system and the Syrian school curriculum.

#### 3.1 Syria in the Arab-Israel Conflict

Similar to many countries in the Middle East, and especially in what is commonly called the Levant, Syria is a relatively young country in its present geographical format. After the First World War and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Syria was governed through a mandate by France until 1946.<sup>33</sup>

After a few years with political turmoil and instability in the country, Syria joined hands with Egypt in 1958 and formed a union called the United Arab Republic (UAR). The union only lasted a few years and Syria announced its secession in 1961. In the political disorder that followed in Syria, a group of young military officers took power in a coup d'état and brought the Ba'ath party into power. One of the coup makers was the young officer Hafez al-Assad who eventually became president in 1971.

When al-Assad took power in 1971, the conflict with Israel had been ongoing for many years and it became his priority in foreign policy considerations. He believed that it was his and Syria's duty to resist Israel in what he saw as expansionist claims by the latter. Al-Assad's primary concern was to retake the Golan Heights which had been lost to Israel in the war of 1967 and he therefore planned, together with President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, the military action of October 1973 against Israel. The war, despite what initially looked as an Arab advantage, ended with defeat for Syria, and the Golan Heights is still under Israeli control.<sup>34</sup>

The Syrian role in the Arab-Israeli conflict took an unexpected turn when Syria intervened in the Lebanese civil war in 1976 and took the side of the Maronite Christians against the Palestinian PLO, somewhat contradictory to its claims to be the Palestinians closest ally.<sup>35</sup> In 1982, the conflict took yet another turn when the Israeli army invaded Lebanon in order to drive the PLO out of Lebanon so that Israel could annex the already occupied West Bank.

#### 3.2 Arab Socialism – The Baath Party

The Arabic Socialistic Ba'ath Party is a pan-Arabic party founded in Syria in 1940 by Michael Aflaq and Salah ad-Din al-Bitar.<sup>36</sup> Its ideology can be summarized by looking at the slogan of the Ba'ath Party; "Unity, freedom and socialism – One Arabic nation, with an eternal mission". The slogan refers

---

<sup>33</sup> William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Boulder and Oxford, Westview, 2004), 230.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 404.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 385, 405.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 325.

to the Ba'ath Party's pan-Arabic mission of uniting all Arab nations under one banner. Islam was made an integral part of the party and was equated with Arabism. The ideology combined nationalism, socialism and pan-Arabism into one doctrine.

### **3.3 Syrian Educational System and National Curriculum**

The education system in Syria consists of four levels: pre-primary education (age 3-5 years), primary education (age 6-12 years), lower secondary school (age 12-14 years) and upper secondary school (age 15 and beyond). Primary education is the only level that is compulsory.<sup>37</sup>

The acceptance level to enter the upper secondary school is decided through examination tests made in the last year of lower secondary education.<sup>38</sup>

The Ministry of Education is the authority which decides the national curriculum. The curriculum consists of Arabic, mathematics, religion, science and social and national education, among others. Not all schools are run by the Ministry of Education but all schools need to follow the national curriculum.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Groiss, *Syrian School Textbooks*, 8-10.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

## 4. Analysis

The following chapter constitutes *step four* out of the five steps described under 2.2 Method. The analysis includes the categories: 4.1 Approach, 4.2 Characteristics, 4.3 Antagonism, and 4.4 Other. The categories are meant to make the analysis more easily overviewed and each one therefore begins with a short explanation of what codes they include. Under each category the different codes are presented and exemplified by citations from the studied chapter in the textbook. They are then analysed by looking at the terminology used and their contextual meaning.

### 4.1 Category 1: Approach

In this section examples are given of words/codes that are described as Zionist, Israeli or Jewish in connection to what I call the “approach” used to reach the goal of a Jewish home in Palestine. Emphasis marked in gray is added in order to more easily see the code.

#### 4.1.1 Zionism described as colonialist

Example 1:

مقدمة:

ظهرت الحركة الصهيونية في نهاية القرن التاسع عشر و بداية القرن العشرين في أوروبا، و تراكمت مع عمليات التنافس الاستعماري من أجل السيطرة و التوسع على مناطق النفوذ في العالم.

**أولاً: الاستعمار محرك الصراع العربي الصهيوني:**

وضعت الصهيونية كل قواها للحصول على الدعم الأوربي الاستعماري. وقدمت الدول الأوربية مساعداتها لتؤدي الصهيونية دوراً في حماية مناطق النفوذ الاستعماري.

وتبرز مظاهر الارتباط في تبادل المصالح بين الحركة الصهيونية و الدول الاستعمارية على النحو التالي:

1. وجدت الدول الاستعمارية في المشروع الصهيوني الاستيطاني وسيلة أساسية لترسيخ نفوذها و تحقيق مخططاتها وبديلاً استراتيجياً لوجودها الدائم في المنطقة العربية.
2. وجدت الحركة الصهيونية في الدول الاستعمارية و مخططاتها الواسعة ركيزة أساسية و عاملاً هاماً في تنفيذ أهدافها ومدتها بمظاهر العون اللازم وتأمين متطلبات وجودها و سيطرتها و توسعها مادياً و بشرياً و سياسياً و عسكرياً.
3. استطاعت الحركة الصهيونية نقل و لائها ومركز نشاطها و عملها و قاعدة دعمها وتأييدها من دولة استعمارية إلى دولة أخرى وذلك انسجاماً مع قوة الدولة استعمارية الجديدة. حيث اتجهت أولاً نحو بريطانيا ثم تحولت إلى الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية لأنها أصبحت الأقوى وذات المصالح الأوسع في الوطن العربي. و إن البترول العربي جعل الولايات المتحدة تواصل مهمة بناء الدولة الصهيونية.
4. وجدت الدول الاستعمارية في المشروع الصهيوني حاجزاً بشرياً يحقق عملية الفصل الدائمة بين مشرق الوطن العربي و مغربه، و المانع لأي وحدوي عربي محتمل بالمنطقة العربية.<sup>40</sup>

Translation:

**Introduction:**

The Zionist movement emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe, [a time that] is associated with the acts of colonial rivalry for control and expansion of spheres of influence in the world.

**First: Colonialism is the Arab-Zionist conflicts motor:**

Zionism put in all its efforts to receive colonial European support. The European countries provided aid to the Zionists [so that they] could play a role in protecting the colonial spheres of influence.

<sup>40</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 96.



The aspects of connection appeared in the exchange of interests between the Zionist movement and the colonial powers, as follows:

1. The colonial powers found in the Zionist settlement project an essential tool to consolidate their influence and to achieve their plans and strategic alternative of a permanent presence in the Arab region.
2. The Zionist movement found in the colonial countries, and their extensive plans, fundamental support and an important factor in the implementation of its goals, the necessary help and aspects to secure the requirements of its [the Zionist movements] existence and its control and expansion [both] materially, humanly, politically, and militarily.
3. The Zionist movement was able to transfer its loyalty, center of activity and work, and base of support and backing, from one colonial state to another and in that way be in harmony with the power of the new colonial country. Where it first turned to Great Britain [for support] it then turned to the United States of America because it had become stronger and had the widest interests in the Arab world.

Arab oil was the reason the United States continued the task of building the Zionist state.

4. The colonial powers thought of the Zionist project as a human barrier to achieve a permanent separation of the eastern and western parts of the Arab world, and thereby deter any Arab unitary potential in the Arab region.

### *Analysis – Example 1*

#### *Terminology*

Throughout the studied chapter the word “colonialism”, “استعمارية”, or one of its derivatives, is mentioned all in all 25 times. Its first appearance is in the first paragraphs of the chapter, after the table of content as seen in the example above. As shown in the title of the paragraph above, the Arab-Zionist conflict is described as a direct result of colonialism. The word “colonialism” is related to eighteen and nineteen century imperial demands by Western European countries on weaker countries in order to reach new markets for their products, cheap labor and a source of raw materials.<sup>41</sup> In Arabic, the word “استعمارية” is derived from the verb in stem form X that means “to settle” or “to colonize”.<sup>42</sup>

#### *Textual analysis*

The emergence of the Zionist movement in the nineteenth century is in the above paragraph described to be the result of an alliance between the Zionists and the colonial powers. This alliance is shown to go both ways where the authors of the text alternate the order of who gains from it. The first and last bullet points state what the colonial powers gained from the Zionist movement, and the second and third bullet points, describe what the Zionist gained from the alliance. Here follows an analysis of each bullet point:

<sup>41</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1997), 16-17.

<sup>42</sup> Hans Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary – The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, (Urbana: Spoken Language Services, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 1994), 754.

**Bullet point 1** –The textbook here implies that the colonial countries used the Zionist settlement project to continue their influence in the region and the “strategic alternative” is likely meant as an alternative for the colonial powers to be directly present in the region themselves through mandates and protectorates. By stating “...permanent presence in the Arab region” ( لوجودها الدائم في المنطقة ( ...العربية) the authors of the textbook cement the idea that the “Zionists colony” is a permanent Western outpost on Arab soil.

**Bullet point 2** – This paragraph instead turns to describe what the Zionist movement got out of the colonial countries and why they were used as a tool for them in order to reach their goals. The aid and support from the colonial countries is specified to have contributed to the Zionist movement both politically and militarily, showing that the aid was not only in rhetorical terms.

**Bullet point 3** – The third bullet point focuses on the Zionist movement’s change of allegiance from Great Britain to the United States of America. The reason given in the text is that The United States is described as to having become stronger and to have wider interests in the Arab world. One of these interests is elaborated further in the sentence after, where it is specified to be in Arab oil.

**Bullet point 4** – The last bullet point describes that the colonial powers’ viewed the Zionist project as a way of creating a human barrier that separates the eastern Arab countries from the western Arab countries and thereby deter any Arab unitary potential in the Arab region. The reference to eastern and western Arab countries is likely a reference to the Levantine countries and the North African countries respectively. The prevention of unitary potential in the Arab region is a sensitive subject in Syria since the Ba’ath Party’s ideology is based on the principal of pan-Arabism, the objective to unite all Arab countries under one national identity.<sup>43</sup> By stating that “the Zionist project” worked as a divider, or human barrier, the textbook shows that Israel and its geographical position contribute to making the idea of pan-Arabism more difficult or even unachievable. At a first glance this does not seem like a prodigious statement, (considering the fact that Syria and Israel until this very day officially are in a state of war) but taking the ideological fundamentals of the Ba’athist state into consideration, it must be viewed as a serious accusation and a powerful argument in the eyes of the Syrian student who reads the paragraph since the thought of pan-Arabism is so fundamental in the Syrian state ideology. According to the Syrian constitution, one of the main goals for all people in Syria, is to achieve a pan-Arabic state.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Youssef M. Choueiri, *Arab Nationalism: A History: Nation and State in the Arab World* (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 166-172.

<sup>44</sup> Yale Law School Website, Syrian Constitution, Chapter 1, Part 1, Article 1(3), accessed May 2, 2012, [http://www.law.yale.edu/rcw/rcw/jurisdictions/asw/syrianarabrep/syria\\_constitution.htm](http://www.law.yale.edu/rcw/rcw/jurisdictions/asw/syrianarabrep/syria_constitution.htm)

Colonialism as a reference to the Zionist movement is reoccurring throughout the chapter. Yet in the above example, Zionism is never explicitly called “colonialism”, although the insinuation is clearly there. However, further on in the chapter the book states:

*Example 2:*

محاولة استعمارية صهيونية قامت بها بريطانيا وفرنسا وإسرائيل للأسباب التالية:<sup>45</sup>

Translation:

A Zionist colonialist attempt which was executed by Britain, France and Israel for the following reasons:

and,

*Example 3:*

وكان هذا العدوان محاولة استعمارية صهيونية ضد أمتنا لاحتلال المزيد من الأراضي العربية و تحقيق أهداف إسرائيل التوسعية بإقامة الدولة التوراتية من النيل إلى الفرات.<sup>46</sup>

Translation:

This aggression was a Zionist colonialist attempt against our Ummah to occupy more Arab land, and to achieve the Israeli objectives to expand and establish the biblical<sup>47</sup> country from the Nile to the Euphrates.

### **Analysis – Example 2 and 3**

*Terminology*

See under example 1.

*Textual analysis*

By equalizing Zionism to colonialism the textbook determines that the Zionists, like other colonialist countries, took over land that did not belong to them and which they did not have any rightful claim to. They do this without problematizing the issue by taking the Jewish history into consideration. Zionism, as shown in the examples above, is defined as both being an ally to colonialist countries and a colonialist movement itself.

#### **4.1.2 Zionist exploitation**

*Example:*

**النشاط الصهيوني خلال الحرب العالمية الثانية**

استغلت الحركة الصهيونية الحرب العالمية الثانية لتنفيذ مخططاتها في فلسطين و ذكر بعض قاداتها أن الحرب العالمية الأولى أدت إلى الاعتراف الرسمي بفكرة الوطن القومي اليهودي، وإن الحرب العالمية الثانية يجب أن تؤدي إلى إقامة الدولة اليهودية في فلسطين، و استهدف التحرك الصهيوني في مرحلة الحرب العالمية الثانية إلى تحقيق ما يلي:

1. الاستمرار في رفض الكتاب الأبيض

2. وضع إمكانات الحركة الصهيونية تحت تصرف بريطانيا خلال الحرب العالمية الثانية كوسيلة للحصول على المساعدات و الدعم البريطاني لتوسيع القوة العسكرية الصهيونية.

<sup>45</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 106.

<sup>46</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 107.

<sup>47</sup> In Arabic it says “at-Tūrāfīa” which is derived from the word for Torah and means “biblical” or “scriptural”

3. بدء الحركة الصهيونية نشاطاً سياسياً واسعاً استهدف كسب الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وتأييدها للمخططات الصهيونية.

4. وجدت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في الحركة الصهيونية أداة يمكن استخدامها لتنفيذ أهدافها في المنطقة.<sup>48</sup>

*Translation:*

### **Zionist activity during World War II**

The Zionist movement exploited World War II in order to implement their plans in Palestine. Some of its leaders have stated that the First World War led to the formal recognition of the idea of a Jewish National Home, and that the Second World War should lead to the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine. The Zionist movement aimed at the stage of World War II to achieve the following:

1. Continuation of rejection of the White Paper
2. Placing the Zionist movement's abilities at the disposal of Britain during World War II as a way to get British aid and support for the expansion of the Zionist military force.
3. The Zionist movement's start of broad political activity aimed at gaining the United States of America's support for the Zionist plans.
4. The United States of America understood that the Zionist movement could be used as a tool to implement American objectives in the region.

### **Analysis**

#### *Terminology*

The keyword in the above paragraph is the verb “exploited” (استغل) and is found in the first sentence after the title. The verb “exploited” is the tenth stem form and derive from the base stem (غل) which means to insert, put, stick, or enter. Other possible translation of “استغل” is to gain, win, profit or take advantage of.<sup>49</sup>

#### *Textual analysis*

The Zionist movement is described above as if it “took advantage of” or “exploited” the Second World War in order to “implement their plans” (لتنفيذ مخططاتها) in Palestine. The use of the word “exploited” or “took advantage of” in this context is highly value-laden. The reason to why the Zionists are said to have “exploited” or “taken advantage of” the war is not clarified in the text but it continues to list four bullet points describing what the Zionist movement aimed for during the Second World War.

**Bullet point 1** – The first bullet point states that the Zionist movement continued to reject the White Paper. The “White Paper” was a decree issued by the British government in May 1939. It stated that a Jewish national home should be established within an independent Palestinian state and that a restricted amount of Jewish immigrants were allowed to enter the country during five years. Jewish immigration thereafter was to be subject to Arab acquiescence. This is neither a value-laden nor false

<sup>48</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 102.

<sup>49</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 795.

statement, the Zionist movement did reject the white paper, but so did the Arabs, although this is not mentioned in the textbook.<sup>50</sup>

**Bullet point 2** – In the second paragraph, the Zionist movement is described to have put their abilities at the disposal of Great Britain with no reference to, or further description of, how they did it and what their “abilities” (إمكانات) were, leaving the student to find out for him/herself. The word “abilities”, (إمكانات), is a vague word but it is likely that they refer to financial or political support. The sentence then continues to state that the reason for this support was to receive British aid and support to “expand/develop the Zionist military force” (لتوسيع القوة العسكرية الصهيونية). The “Zionist military force” is not further specified.

**Bullet point 3** – There is no evident value-laden language in the third bullet point, yet again reference to activities, this time political ones, again giving the implication that the events were studiously planned. This is analysed further under “4.1.4 Zionists plans and projects”.

**Bullet point 4** – In the fourth bullet point, the United States of America is described as using the Zionist movement as a tool in order to implement its objectives in the region. This is similar to the rhetoric used about colonialism as discussed earlier, where the connection between Zionism and western countries works both ways.

#### 4.1.3 *Zionist aims and objectives*

##### *Example 1:*

بعد المؤتمر الأساسي لنتيبت الحركة الصهيونية، حيث تم تشكيل المنظمة الصهيونية العالمية كوسيلة وأداة لتحقيق أهداف الصهيونية بإقامة وطن قومي لليهود في فلسطين بعد رفض بدائل الوطن في بلدان أخرى متعددة " أوغندا – قبرص – كندا"<sup>51</sup>

##### *Translation:*

The congress was essential in order to consolidate the Zionist movement. The World Zionist Organization [was established] as a tool for achieving the Zionists’ objectives of the establishment of a homeland to the Jews in Palestine after the rejection of alternatives in numerous other countries such as "Uganda – Cyprus – Canada".

##### *Example 2:*

إن من أهداف الصهيونية التوسع على حساب الأرض العربية و القتل و التدمير و لذلك خاض شعبنا العديد من الحروب التي شنها الكيان الصهيوني مدعوماً من الدول الاستعمارية و من هذه الحروب:<sup>52</sup>

##### *Translation:*

Indeed, some of the goals of the Zionists are expansion at the cost of Arab land, murder, and destruction. Our people therefore embarked on many wars that the Zionist entity, supported by the colonial powers, launched. Some of these wars were:

<sup>50</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Palestine," accessed May 2, 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/ludwig.lub.lu.se/EBchecked/topic/439645/Palestine>.

<sup>51</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 98.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

## *Analysis – Example 1 and 2*

### *Terminology*

The word “أهداف” is the plural form of “هدف” and can mean aim, objective, purpose, intention, or goal.<sup>53</sup> In the translation of the two examples above the word has been translated with both “objective” and “goals” in order to show how both words works as translations without affecting the meaning of the sentence.

### *Textual analysis*

The first example above occurs when the textbooks is listing the different Zionist Congresses that were held prior to the establishment of the state of Israel. It states what is recognized as being the first time that the Zionist movement proclaimed their main goal of establishing what would become the state of Israel. These goals or objectives are recognized by Jewish sources. According to the Jewish Virtual Library it was stated during the first Congress that “The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Eretz-Israel secured by law.”<sup>54</sup>

The second example is taken from later in the studied chapter where the different wars between the Arab countries and the “Zionists” are detailed. Although the “goals of the Zionists” evidently had expansionist features as described in the example above, these goals are here elaborated. The goals include expansion at the cost of Arab land, murder, and destruction. These goals clearly give the sentence a different meaning, equating the Zionist goal of a home in Palestine with killing and destruction, and thereby giving it a strong value-laden meaning.

### *4.1.4 Zionist plans and projects*

#### *Example 1:*

وجدت الدول الاستعمارية في المشروع الصهيوني الاستيطاني وسيلة أساسية لترسيخ نفوذها و تحقيق مخططاتها وبديلاً استراتيجياً لوجودها الدائم في المنطقة العربية<sup>55</sup>

#### *Translation:*

The colonial powers found in the Zionist settlement project an essential tool to consolidate their influence and to achieve their plans and strategic alternative of a permanent presence in the Arab region.

#### *Example 2:*

وجدت الدول الاستعمارية في المشروع الصهيوني حاجزاً بشرياً يحقق عملية الفصل الدائمة بين مشرق الوطن العربي و مغربه. و المانع لأي وحدوي عربي محتمل بالمنطقة العربية.<sup>56</sup>

#### *Translation:*

The colonial powers thought of the Zionist project as a human barrier to achieve a permanent separation of the eastern and western parts of the Arab world, and thereby deter any Arab unitary potential in the Arab region.

<sup>53</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 795.

<sup>54</sup> *Jewish Virtual Library*, “Zionist Congress: First to Twelfth Zionist Congress”, accessed April 18, 2014, [http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsources/Zionism/First\\_Cong\\_&\\_Basel\\_Program.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsources/Zionism/First_Cong_&_Basel_Program.html)

<sup>55</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 96.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

*Example 3:*

بدء الحركة الصهيونية نشاطاً سياسياً واسعاً استهدف كسب الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وتأييدها للمخططات الصهيونية.<sup>57</sup>

*Translation:*

The Zionist movement's start of broad political activity aimed at gaining the United States of America's support for the Zionist plans.

*Example 4:*

ولكن هذا العدوان فشل بإسقاط الأنظمة في مصر و سورية و إنهاء منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية و حاولت إسرائيل و الدول الاستعمارية على رأسها الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية استغلال نتائج هذا العدوان من أجل فرض سياسة الأمر الواقع على العرب و تحقيق المخططات و المصالح الصهيونية، و المحافظة على حالة اليأس و الإحباط التي ولدتها نكسة حزيران.<sup>58</sup>

*Translation:*

Yet the aggression [the war in June 1967, known also as “the Six-Day War”] failed to topple the regimes in Egypt and Syria, and to stop the Palestine Liberation Organization. Israel and the colonial powers, mainly the United States of America, tried to exploit the results of this aggression in order to impose a fait accompli on the Arabs and to achieve the Zionist plans and interests, and thereby maintain a state of despair and frustration generated by the setback of the June-war.

*Analysis – Example 1-4**Terminology*

In the above examples there are two different words that are described as Zionist. The first word, used in the first and second example, is “مشروع” which can mean project, plan, scheme, design, and enterprise.<sup>59</sup> The second word, “مخططات”, is plural and can mean sketch, design, plan or layout.<sup>60</sup> Both words are, as shown here, synonymous. As shown in Example 4 above, the word “المصالح”, meaning “interests” is also described as Zionist and can each work as a translation.<sup>61</sup>

*Textual analysis*

As evident from the above examples “the Zionist settlement project” or “The Zionist plan” refers to the Zionist plan to build a nation state in Palestine. The “plan” or “project” is used as another way of describing the goal and aim of the Zionists as discussed under “4.1.3 Zionist aims and objectives”, i.e. to create a national home for the Jews in Palestine. The use of the words “Zionist plan/project” is hence not value-laden in itself. The contexts of the entire sentences however can be value-laden. The contextual meaning of example 1 and example 2 above is analysed in the section “4.1.1 Zionism described as colonialist”. The third example is derived from a paragraph where the Zionist movement's political activities during the Second World War are listed. There is no use of value-laden meaning in that example.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>59</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 545.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 284.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 610.

The fourth example is however somewhat different. The paragraph is derived from a passage in the textbook where it discusses the different wars that were fought between the Arab countries and Israel (for more information, see “4.3.1. Zionist attack, invasion, or aggression”). The “Zionist plans” is here joined with the word “interests”, “المصالح”. These “interests” are not specified but it is likely that it is used as a lexical couplet together with “plans”. Lexical couplets are common in the Arabic language and can be described as a way of enriching the meaning by using two words that are semantically close to each other, or even synonyms.<sup>62</sup>

#### 4.1.5 Jewish and Zionist activity

*Example 1 :*

النشاط الصهيوني خلال الحرب العالمية الثانية<sup>63</sup>

*Translation:*

Zionist activity during World War II

*Example 2:*

المؤتمر الصهيوني السابع "بازل بسويسرا 1905"

وهو أول مؤتمر يعقد بعد وفاة هرزل حيث تقرر فيه:

1. شمول النشاط اليهودي إلى فلسطين و سورية وقسم من تركيا و سيناء و العريش و قبرص.<sup>64</sup>

*Translation:*

The Seventh Zionist Congress, "Basel, Switzerland 1905"

It was the first conference to be held after the death of Herzl, where it was decided:

1. Inclusion of Jewish activity to Palestine, Syria, part of Turkey, the Sinai, El Arish, and Cyprus.

#### *Analysis – Example 1 and 2*

*Terminology*

The word “النشاط” can in this context mean ”activity”, “action”, or “operation”. It is the masdar of the verb ”نشط” meaning ”to be energetic” or ”to be active”.

*Textual analysis*

The literal meaning of “النشاط”, as evident from above, is quite ambivalent and it is not clear in any of the two examples what activities it is referring to. The first example is the headline to a section in the textbook where the book lists “the Zionist activities” during the Second World War. These “activities” are already analysed in the section “4.1.2 Exploitation” but then focusing on the word “exploitation”.

<sup>62</sup> Barbara Johnstone, “Arabic lexical couplets and the evolution of synonymy,” *General linguistics* 23 (1983): 51-61 accessed May 6, 2014, [http://works.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1041&context=barbara\\_johnstone](http://works.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1041&context=barbara_johnstone)

<sup>63</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 102.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 99.



Out of these “activities” it is clear that the text is referring to *political* activities, such as the Zionists’ continued rejection of the White paper, as written in the textbook.<sup>65</sup>

The second example is a bit more difficult to understand. The sentence is taken from the part of the chapter where the different Zionist congresses are listed, under the headline of the seventh Zionist congress. When comparing the description of the congress with the Jewish Virtual Library, there are not many clues given. According to the Jewish Virtual Library, the congress discussed different alternatives outside Palestine as the future home to the Jewish people, but there are no mentioning of either Syria, Turkey nor Cyprus.<sup>66</sup> It is, however, clear that there is no use of value-laden words or meaning in the sentence or that it is used in a context that gives it a biased meaning.

## 4.2 Category 2: Characteristics

In the studied chapter, there are examples of codes where different characteristics are attributed to “Zionist”. I will here present a few examples of codes/words derived from the text. Emphasis marked in gray is added in order to more easily see the code.

### 4.2.1 Zionist greed

*Example:*

يقول القائد الخالد حافظ الأسد " إن أطماع الصهيونية واضحة كالشمس فالأمر واضح في كتبهم وتعاليمهم، إنهم لا يريدون فلسطين فقط و لا يريدون قطراً عربياً دون آخر بل يريدون الأرض من النيل إلى الفرات".<sup>67</sup>

*Translation*

The eternal leader Hafez al-Assad said: "Indeed, the Zionist greed is as clear as the sun and it is [also] evident in their books and their teachings. They do not want only Palestine, they do not want one Arab region without the other, they want the land from the Nile to the Euphrates."

*Analysis*

*Terminology*

The word “أطماع” is the plural form for “طمع” and means greed, greediness, ambitious desire or ambition. It derives from the verb with the same root which can mean numerous things from, “to desire”, to, “to be greedy”.<sup>68</sup>

*Textual analysis*

The paragraph is one of many quotes in the textbook by the former Syrian president Hafez al-Assad. Similar quotes are found throughout the chapter and are distinguished by being highlighted in bold format and typically occur at the end of a section. It is not necessarily a quote that fits in the contextual meaning of the same section in the textbook, but can instead be about a different subject.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>66</sup> Jewish Virtual Library, “Zionist Congress: First to Twelfth Zionist Congress”, accessed April 21, 2014, [http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/Zionism/First\\_Cong\\_&\\_Basel\\_Program.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/Zionism/First_Cong_&_Basel_Program.html)

<sup>67</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 97.

<sup>68</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 666.

According to Professor Bernard Lewis, anti-Semitism is spread widely across the Arab-world and can manifest itself in racist images, stereotypes, and language.<sup>69</sup> The use of the word “greed” in the citation above does not necessarily prove that it is an anti-Semitic remark. However, to describe Zionists as greedy, or using greediness as an attribute to the Jewish community, is according to the Swedish Committee against anti-Semitism, common in anti-Semitic terminology.<sup>70</sup>

#### 4.2.2 *Zionist aggressiveness*

*Example 1:*

إن عدوانية الكيان الصهيوني ومناهضته للسلام أصبح يشكل قناعة تامة بأوساط حركة التحرير العربية...<sup>71</sup>

*Translation:*

Indeed, the aggressiveness of the Zionist entity and its resistance to peace has convinced the Arab liberation movement...

*Example 2:*

يشكل الكيان الصهيوني العائق الأساسي للسلام في الشرق الأوسط، وأزمة الشرق الأوسط تنبع أصلاً من وجوده وطبيعته العدوانية<sup>72</sup>

*Translation:*

The Zionist entity is the main obstacle to peace in the Middle East and the crisis of the Middle East originates from its [the Zionist entity's] existence and aggressive nature.

#### **Analysis – Example 1-2**

*Terminology*

The word “العدوانية” mean “aggressiveness” and is derived from the word for enemy, “العدو”. The word, or one of its derivatives, is used extensively throughout the chapter. As is discussed later on in the thesis, the word is also used as a noun, “العدوان”, with the meaning of “aggression” or “offensive” in the military meaning.<sup>73</sup>

*Textual analysis*

In the first example “aggressiveness” is used in order to describe the behavior of the Zionists. In the second example the Zionist entity's nature is described as aggressive. Aggressive behavior is also a common attribute used to describe the stereotypical Jew.<sup>74</sup> It is a value-laden word that is used in a value-laden and biased context.

<sup>69</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East*, (London: Phoenix, 1998), 42.

<sup>70</sup> ”Vad är antisemitism?”, Svenska kommittén mot antisemitism (SKMA), accessed April 5, 2014, <http://skma.se/antisemitism/>.

<sup>71</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 111.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 700.

<sup>74</sup> David J. Schneider, *The Psychology of Stereotyping*, (New York: The Guilford Press, 2005), 461.

### 4.3 Category 3: Antagonism

In this section, different examples of codes/words that are related to antagonism and/or militarization are given. Emphasis in gray is added in order to more easily see the code.

#### 4.3.1 Zionist attack, invasion, or aggression

*Example 1:*

4. الغزو الصهيوني لجنوب لبنان 1978<sup>75</sup>

*Translation:*

4. The Zionist invasion of southern Lebanon, 1978

*Example 2:*

5. العدوان الصهيوني على لبنان حزيران 1982<sup>76</sup>

*Translation*

5. Zionist aggression on Lebanon in June 1982:

*Example 3:*

6. العدوان الصهيوني على لبنان نيسان 1996<sup>77</sup>

*Translation:*

6. Zionist aggression on Lebanon in April 1996

### *Analysis – Example 1-3*

#### *Terminology*

The word “العدوان” means “aggression” or “hostility” and is derived from the word for “enemy” or “antagonist”, “عدو”.<sup>78</sup> The word is used in two of the three examples above in order to describe the act of the Zionists. The word “enemy” is in itself a powerful word that has a lot of emotions connected to it and gives the sentence a strong value-laden connotation. In example 1, the word “الغزو” is used instead, and means “assault”, “raid”, “incursion”, “invasion”, “attack” or “aggression” and is the masdar of the verb meaning to “attack/to raid/to invade”.<sup>79</sup>

#### *Textual analysis*

The above examples are all subheadings to where the book lists the different wars that were fought between the Arab people and the Zionist entity.<sup>80</sup>

Example 1 and 2 – The two examples are very similar even though they use different words for “aggression”. In example 1, the word “الغزو” (attack or invasion) is used instead of “العدوان” (aggression) as in example 2. Example 1 refers to the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in order to

<sup>75</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 107.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>77</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 108.

<sup>78</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 699.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 788.

<sup>80</sup> “The Zionist entity” (الكيان الصهيوني) is used frequently in the book when referring to Israel

destroy the PLO strongholds in the region and example 2, to the more extensive invasion of a broader area in order to fully destroy the PLO infrastructure.<sup>81</sup> Other Arabic sources name the invasion by other names; “الاجتياح”, meaning “the destruction” or “the annihilation”<sup>82</sup> or “غزو لبنان”, meaning “the invasion of Lebanon”.<sup>83</sup>

Example 3 – The third example, once again using the word “aggression”, refers to the Israeli operation called by Israel “Operation Grapes of Wrath”. The same operation is referred to by Hezbollah as “the April War”. The relatively brief war of 16 days broke out when Israel initiated air-raids and shelling against targets in southern Lebanon in order to quell shelling by Hezbollah into northern Israel.<sup>84</sup>

In the above examples there is no clear continuity in naming the different wars and military campaigns. The authors of the book seem to have named the different wars themselves rather than using more established names of the wars. However, some names are established names such as example 1. Since the two warring opponents call the wars by different names it is difficult to ascertain if one name is more value-laden than the other.

#### 4.3.2 *Zionist enemy*

*Example 1:*

خامساً: إسرائيل عدوة السلام<sup>85</sup>

*Translation:*

Fifth, Israel is the enemy of peace:

*Example 2:*

الغزو الصهيوني لجنوب لبنان 1978:  
استهدف تقسيم لبنان وإقامة دولة على أرضه مرتبطة بالعدو الصهيوني، ولكنه فشل أمام وحدة اللبنانيين و مساندة سورية و دعمها المادي و العسكري.<sup>86</sup>

*Translation:*

The Zionist invasion of southern Lebanon 1978:

Aimed at dividing Lebanon and to establish a small state on its [Lebanon's] soil connected to the Zionist enemy. But they [the Zionist enemy] failed because of the unity of the Lebanese and because of the Syrian support of material and military.

<sup>81</sup> Cleveland, *Modern Middle East*, 386-388.

<sup>82</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 172.

<sup>83</sup> Wikipedia contributors, "حرب لبنان," Wikipedia, *The Free Encyclopedia*, accessed May 15, 2014, [http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%A8\\_%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86\\_1982](http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%A8_%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86_1982)

<sup>84</sup> "Operation Grapes of Wrath", Human Rights Watch, September 1, 1997, accessed May 11, 2014 <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/09/01/operation-grapes-wrath>

<sup>85</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 110.

<sup>86</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 108.

### *Analysis – Example 1-2*

#### *Terminology*

For an analysis of the word for “enemy”, see above under “4.3.1 Attack, invasion and aggression”

#### *Textual analysis*

In the first example, Israel is described as being the enemy of peace, not the enemy to a specific country. By stating this, the textbook enhances the notion that there is no meaning in discussing or engaging in a dialogue with Israel in order to retrieve a peaceful solution, the only choice is to continue the conflict. No reference is made to the fact that Israel has a peace treaty with Egypt or Jordan.

The second example is a bit more complex. It describes the part of the Israel-Palestine conflict (*and* the Civil War in Lebanon) that is called “1978 South Lebanon conflict”. The example says “the Zionist enemy” but should in this case more accurately be called “Israeli” since it is the nation-state Israel that engaged in the conflict. This shows that the discrepancy between “Israeli” and “Zionist” sometimes disappears in the studied chapter.

#### *4.3.3 Zionist, Israeli and Jewish military*

##### *Example 1:*

نتيجة للبطولات الإستشهادية و عمليات المقاومة اللبنانية تم إجبار القوات الإسرائيلية على الاندحار من لبنان و استمرت المقاومة الوطنية اللبنانية في نضالها بدعم كامل من سورية حتى تم طرد القوات الصهيونية من لبنان في 25 أيار عام 2000.<sup>87</sup>

##### *Translation:*

As a result of the martyrish heroism and operations of the Lebanese National Resistance, the Israeli forces were forced to retreat from Lebanon. The Lebanese national resistance continued its struggle with the full support of Syria until the Zionist forces were expelled from Lebanon in May 25, 2000.

##### *Example 2:*

2. وضع إمكانات الحركة الصهيونية تحت تصرف بريطانيا خلال الحرب العالمية الثانية كوسيلة للحصول على المساعدات و الدعم البريطاني لتوسيع القوة العسكرية الصهيونية.<sup>88</sup>

##### *Translation:*

2. Placing the Zionist movement’s abilities at the disposal of Britain during World War II as a way to get British aid and support for the expansion of the Zionist military force.

##### *Example 3:*

ثم عقد مؤتمر صهيوني عام 1942 في نيويورك بأمرىكا حيث أكد على ضرورة القيام السريع للدولة اليهودية في فلسطين و إنشاء الجيش اليهودي.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 108.

<sup>88</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 102.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 99.

*Translation:*

Then a Zionist congress was held in 1942 in New York in America. It stressed the need to quick form a Jewish state in Palestine and the establishment of the Jewish army.

*Analysis – Example 1-3**Terminology*

The words used and highlighted in the above examples have very similar meanings. In the first example the word “القوات”, “forces”,<sup>90</sup> is used. The second example “العسكرية” means “military”<sup>91</sup> and the third example, “الحيش” means “army” or “troops”<sup>92</sup>.

*Textual analysis*

In the first example the word “forces” is used twice but described with two different words, at first as “Israeli forces” and then as “Zionist forces”. That shows how “Zionist” on the one hand and “Israeli” on the other are used as synonyms without any difference in meaning. A third way is shown in example three where the army is instead described as “Jewish”. On the other hand, examples 2 and 3 deal with events prior to the formation of the state of Israel, whereby it would be motivated to use these expressions instead of others.

There are several instances of value-laden words in the examples. The acts of the Lebanese National Resistance for example are described with powerful words such as “martyrish” (الإستشهادية) and “heroism” (بطولات). The use of the word “martyr” is common in some Arabic societies. It is used to describe a person who died in struggle against an enemy. The term is not only used by Muslims, but can also be seen used as a concept by pan-Arabs or nationalists.<sup>93</sup>

*4.3.4 Zionist massacres**Example:***ثالثاً: المذابح الصهيونية:**

استند الفكر الصهيونية في تحقيق أهدافه إلى القتل و التدمير و ارتكبت الصهيونية مذابح عديدة ضد شعبنا العربي و منها:

1. مذبحه دير بسين 9 نيسان عام 1948:

[PHOTO]

مجزرة الحرم الإبراهيمي في الخليل جريمة نكراء

2. مذبحه كفر قاسم في فلسطين 1956

3. مجزرة صبرا و شاتيلا في لبنان 1982

4. مجزرة قانا (عناقيد الغضب) نيسان 1997

5. مذبحه مخيم جنين نيسان 2002

<sup>90</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 939.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 717.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>93</sup> Andreas Appelvik, “Natural News? - A study of the neutrality in BBC’s and Al Jazeera’s reporting on the Israeli military operation “Pillar of defense”, (Bachelor thesis, Lund University, 2013), 15-16.

6. مذبحه مخيم رفح كانون الأول 2002. و لا تزال القوات الصهيونية ترتكب المذابح بحق شعبنا الفلسطيني.<sup>94</sup>

*Translation:*

**Third: Zionist massacres:**

The Zionist thinking relied upon murder and destruction for the realization of its goals and the Zionists committed numerous massacres against our Arabic people. Some of them were:

1. The massacre of Deir Yassin April 9, 1948:

[PHOTO]

[TEXT TO PHOTO:] **The Ibrahimi Mosque massacre in Hebron is a heinous crime**

2. Kafr Qasim massacre in Palestine 1956

3. The massacre of Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon in 1982

4. Qana massacre (Grapes of Wrath) April 1997

5. The massacre of Jenin camp April 2002

6. Massacre of Rafah camp first of December 2002.

The Zionist forces are still committing massacres against our Palestinian people.

*Analysis*

*Terminology*

The word “مذبحة”, means “massacre”, “slaughter”, or “butchery”. The word has an enhanced meaning of killing and is derived from the verb “ذبح” which mean “to kill”, “to butcher” or “to massacre”. The word can also mean “to sacrifice” or “to offer” as in “to offer an animal”.<sup>95</sup>

Another name for “massacre” that is also used in the above example is the word “مجزرة”, derived from the word “حزر”, which means “to slaughter”, “to kill”, and “to butcher”.<sup>96</sup>

*Textual analysis*

In the above example the textbook lists what it defines as massacres committed by the Zionists, three of them are analysed more in depth here; the massacre at the Ibrahimi Mosque, the massacre in Sabra and Shatila, and the massacre in Jenin.

The massacre that is marked in bold, the massacre at the Ibrahimi Mosque, occurred in February 1994 when an American-born Israeli shot and killed 29 Muslims and injured 129 other, in the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron. The assailant was described by the Israeli Prime Minister at the time as a “...shame on Zionism and an embarrassment to Judaism.”<sup>97</sup>

The massacre of refugee camp Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon in 1982 was indeed a massacre but committed by a Phalangist militia and not the “Zionists” in its lexical meaning. This shows how the

<sup>94</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 109.

<sup>95</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 355.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 146-147.

<sup>97</sup> Clyde Haberman, "West Bank Massacre: The Overview; Rabin Urges the Palestinians to Put Aside Anger and Talk." *The New York Times*, March 1, 1994. accessed May 8, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/01/world/west-bank-massacre-overview-rabin-urges-palestinians-put-aside-anger-talk.html?pagewanted=all>

word “Zionists” is used to denote a broader term and not only those who identify themselves as Zionists. The massacre in Sabra and Shatila was investigated, and the results published in a report known as “the Kahan Commission Report”. The report suggested that Israel had indirect responsibility for the massacre since the Israeli Defence Force was present in the area by the time of the event and that the Minister of Defence at the time, Ariel Sharon, approved the entry of the Phalangists into the refugee camp without taking appropriate actions to prevent bloodshed.<sup>98</sup>

“The massacre of Jenin camp” in 2002 is commonly known as “The Battle of Jenin”. The battle occurred in the refugee camp of Jenin in the West Bank between the Israeli Defense Force and Palestinian armed groups. The battle of Jenin was investigated by the UN because of claims that a massacre had occurred with around 500 people killed by the Israeli forces. The report showed that the death toll was closer to 75, including 52 Palestinians and 23 IDF soldiers. Both warring factions were criticized by the UN for putting Palestinian civilians at risk.<sup>99</sup>

In the section in the textbook where these massacres are described, as shown above, no massacres committed by the opposite warring factions are mentioned. The student thereby only receives one side of the history of bloodshed between the rivalry of the two sides. No further description of the massacres is provided than what is shown in the citation.

#### 4.3.5 Israeli terrorism

*Example:*

<sup>100</sup> الإرهاب الإسرائيلي

Translation:

The Israeli terrorism

#### *Analysis*

##### *Terminology*

The word “terrorism”, “الإرهاب”, is derived from the root “رهب” which means “to be frightened, be afraid”. The word itself is the masdar of the fourth stem form which mean “to terrorize” and can also mean “intimidation” and “terrorism”.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>98</sup> *Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, “104 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the events at the refugee camps in Beirut- 8 February 1983”, accessed May 7, 2014, <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/mfadocuments/yearbook6/pages/104%20report%20of%20the%20commission%20of%20inquiry%20into%20the%20e.aspx>

<sup>99</sup> James Bennet, " U.N. Report Rejects Claims of a Massacre of Refugees." *The New York Times*, August 2, 2002. Accessed May 18, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/08/02/international/middleeast/02JENI.html>

<sup>100</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 111.

<sup>101</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 420.



*Textual analysis*

The example “الإرهاب الإسرائيلي” occurs as the text to a photo in the textbook. The photo depicts an Israeli soldier standing next to what appears to be a detained Arab man standing with his hands tied around his back, facing a wall. Since this is all the information given, the student is left to draw conclusions on their own. It seems obvious that “Israeli terrorism” refers to the treatment of Palestinians (and thereby Arabs).

#### 4.4 Category 4: Other

This section includes the codes that did not have any broad similarities and did not fit into any of the other categories. Emphasis in gray is added in order to more easily see the code.

##### 4.4.1 Zionist thinking

*Example:*

استند الفكر الصهيونية في تحقيق أهدافه إلى القتل و التدمير و ارتكبت الصهيونية مذابح عديدة ضد شعبنا العربي و منها:<sup>102</sup>

*Translation:*

The Zionist thinking relied upon murder and destruction for the realization of its goals and the Zionists committed numerous massacres against our Arabic people. Some of them were:

*Analysis*

*Terminology*

The word “الفكر”, means “idea”, “thinking” or “thought” and is the masdar of the verb which means “to reflect”, or “to think”.<sup>103</sup>

*Textual analysis*

The sentence and the way that “the Zionist idea” is used is highly provocative. The essence of the sentence, and the context it is used in, is that the Zionist idea is equivalent to murder and destruction and that massacres are the tool which “the Zionists” use in order to reach their goals.

##### 4.4.2 Zionist saying

*Example:*

3. تهرّب إسرائيل بوسائل مختلفة من تنفيذ قرارات الشرعية الدولية و لا سيما القرارين (242-338) و طرح مشاريع جديدة لتوطين اللاجئين بالأقطار العربية و ذلك تجسيدا لمقولة الصهيونية فلسطين أرض بلا شعب.<sup>104</sup>

*Translation:*

3. Israel evaded in various ways to implement international resolutions and in particular the two resolutions (338-242) and presented new projects of settlement of refugees on Arab land, and thereby embodying the Zionist saying that Palestine is a land without a people.

*Analysis*

*Terminology*

The word “مقولة” comes from the verb “to speak”, “قال” and means “a word (= short talk or written statement about s.th.)”.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 109.

<sup>103</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 848.

<sup>104</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 111.

<sup>105</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 933.

### Textual analysis

The statement "...embodying the Zionist saying that Palestine is a land without a people.", "تجسيدا...", "المقولة الصهيونية فلسطين أرض بلا شعب", is most likely an excerpt from a saying that in English goes "A land without a people for a people without a land". This saying is contested and connected to a lot of emotions. It is said to have been used by both Christian and Jewish Zionists as a "slogan" to describe the Jewish return to the land in Palestine. It is, however, disputed whether the phrase was widely used among early Zionists. It has also been used by opponents to Zionism, for example described the former PLO leader Yassin Arafat as: "...a propagation of the myth that its [the Palestinian] homeland was a desert until it was made to bloom by the toil of foreign settlers, that it was a land without a people".<sup>106</sup>

#### 4.4.3 Jewish migration

##### Example 1:

الثورة الفلسطينية الكبرى 1936-1939 و كانت رداً على تدفق الهجرة اليهودية الصهيونية إلى فلسطين وزيادة المساعدات العسكرية المقدمة لليهود من دول أوروبا حيث استطاعت الثورة تحرير بعض المناطق الفلسطينية.<sup>107</sup>

##### Translation:

The Great Palestinian Revolt in 1936-1939 was a response to the inflow of Jewish Zionist migration to Palestine and the increasing military aid provided to the Jews by the countries of Europe. The revolt was able to liberate some Palestinian areas.

##### Example 2:

المؤتمر الصهيوني الثامن "لاهاي في هولندا 1907"  
ومن أهم مقرراته:

المباشرة بالتوسع بعمليات الهجرة اليهودية إلى فلسطين تنفيذاً لمقررات المؤتمر الصهيوني السابع.<sup>108</sup>

##### Translation:

#### Eighth Zionist Congress, "The Hague in the Netherlands 1907"

Some of the most important decisions were:

The pursuit of the expansion operations of the Jewish immigration to Palestine [in order to] implement the decisions of the Seventh Zionist Congress

#### Analysis – Example 1-2

##### Terminology

The word "الهجرة" means "departure, exit; emigration; immigration...". The word is by Muslims commonly associated to the emigration of the Prophet Mohammed from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Diana Muir, "A Land without a People for a People without a Land", *Middle Eastern Quarterly*, Spring 2008, Vol. 15, No. 2 [1] accessed May 8, 2014, <http://www.meforum.org/1877/a-land-without-a-people-for-a-people-without>

<sup>107</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 105.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 99.

<sup>109</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 1194.

### Textual analysis

Both examples above refers to the initial emigration by Jews into Palestine in the first half of the 20th century. For information about the reference made in the second example about the decisions taken at the seventh Zionist congress, please see “4.1.5 Jewish and Zionist activity”. There is no evident use of value-laden or biased language in these examples.

#### 4.4.4 Jewish people

##### Example:

ثم توالى عقد المؤتمرات الصهيونية ومنها المؤتمر الصهيوني الثالث عشر في "كارلساد" في الولايات المتحدة عام 1923 وتقرر فيه اتخاذ الإجراءات لتنظيم الشعب اليهودي لبناء الوطن القومي في فلسطين.<sup>110</sup>

##### Translation:

There was then successively held Zionist congresses, including the thirteenth Zionist Congress in “Kärlsād” in the United States, 1923 where it was decided to take action to organize the Jewish people in order to build a national home in Palestine.

##### Analysis

##### Terminology

The word “الشعب” means “people” and is derived from the verb which means “to gather”.<sup>111</sup>

### Textual analysis

There is no value-laden or biased language in the example. However, it is worth mentioning for the record that there seems to be an error and typo in the Arabic textbook when it writes the name of city in which the congress was held. First and foremost, the thirteenth congress, as described above, was held in the city of “Carlsbad” in former Czechoslovakia (in Czech called Karlovy Vary).<sup>112</sup> Likely, “Kärlsād” is a misspelling since it only lacks the letter “b” in order for it to have the correct name. The authors may then have mistaken it from the city of Carlsbad in USA (southern California), as stated in the text. This, however, is unlikely to have any effect on the reader of the textbook, although it may augment the connection between “the Zionists” and the USA.

#### 4.4.5 Jewish state and nation

##### Example 1:

ثم عقد مؤتمر صهيوني عام 1942 في نيويورك بأمرىكا حيث أكد على ضرورة القيام السريع للدولة اليهودية في فلسطين و إنشاء الجيش اليهودي.

##### Translation

Then a Zionist congress was held in 1942 in New York in America. It stressed the need to quick form a Jewish state in Palestine and the establishment of the Jewish army.

<sup>110</sup> aš-Šamās et al., 99.

<sup>111</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 552.

<sup>112</sup> *Jewish Virtual Library*, “Zionist Congress: First to Twelfth Zionist Congress”, accessed May 15, 2014, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Zionism/zionman.html>

*Example 2 and 3:*

استغلت الحركة الصهيونية الحرب العالمية الثانية لتنفيذ مخططاتها في فلسطين و ذكر بعض قادتها أن الحرب العالمية الأولى أدت إلى الاعتراف الرسمي بفكرة الوطن القومي اليهودي. وإن الحرب العالمية الثانية يجب أن تؤدي إلى إقامة الدولة اليهودية في فلسطين. و استهدف التحرك الصهيوني في مرحلة الحرب العالمية الثانية إلى تحقيق ما يلي:

*Translation*

The Zionist movement exploited World War II in order to implement their plans in Palestine. Some of its leaders have stated that the First World War led to the formal recognition of the idea of a Jewish National Home, and that the Second World War should lead to the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine. The Zionist movement aimed at the stage of World War II to achieve the following:

***Analysis – Example 1-2***

*Terminology*

The first and third examples use the word “دولة” which means “state” or “country”.<sup>113</sup> In the second example, the phrase “الوطن القومي اليهودي” is found which means “the Jewish National Home”.<sup>114</sup>

*Textual analysis*

There is no evident use of value-laden or biased language connected to the words “Jewish state” or on of the equivalent phrases above. The citation in which the second and third examples are found is analysed further in “4.1.2 Zionist exploitation”.

<sup>113</sup> Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 349.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 1265.

## 5. Discussion

This chapter constitutes the fifth and last step of the five steps presented under 2.2 Method. Here follows a discussion of the findings from the analysis in order to answer the research question. This is done through a summarization and discussion of each category one by one in order of appearance in the analysis.

Some of the examples under 4.1 Approach provide a conspiratorial undertone where unspecified “activities” and “plans”, together with examples of “colonialist” tendencies, are presented as to have created the foundation of the state of Israel. This conspiratorial undertone is not clearly shown when just looking at one of the examples, it is rather an overall perception that emerges when looking at the analysis of all the examples of the category together. The analysis shows how “colonialism” is a noun that “Zionist” is attached to as an attribute, clearly meant in a negative way. On the other hand, in the view of the Palestinians who lived in Israel prior to its foundation, “colonialism” and the “Zionist objectives” and “plans” are the reasons to the forced Palestinian mass exodus from their homeland. Allegations such as that the Zionist movement “exploited” World War II in order to get reach their goal of a Jewish homeland in Palestine is a clear example of where biased and value-laden language is used together with a biased context. The allegation of Zionists exploiting World War II is also provocative due to the failure of the authors to include any discussion about the Holocaust, leaving the reader of the chapter unaware of the atrocities committed against the Jews during the war. This would, if it was mentioned, give the reader a more nuanced comprehension of events. On this account it is important to mention that the Holocaust might be taught in another subject in the Syrian school system.

Under the category headline 4.2 Characteristics, two examples are presented of how stereo-typical imagery is used to describe “the Zionists”. The analysis shows how both “greed” and “aggressiveness” are words that are commonly attributed to Jews in anti-Semitic rhetoric.

Under the headline 4.3 Antagonism, examples are given to where terminology associated to antagonism or militarization is described as Zionist, Israeli or Jewish. Military campaigns are listed where the terminology itself does not constitute a biased view but where the failure by the authors to detail background information gives the examples a one-sided and non-comprehensive description of the event. It is true that it would be impossible for the chapter in the studied textbook to detail all events of the conflict. Yet, there should be given room to some critical reflection of acts committed by the Arab-side of the wars.

There are other examples in the same category where the textbook use value-laden terminology. The textbook describes Israel to be “an enemy of peace”. The rhetoric is the opposite of how forces on the Syrian side of the conflict is described. There are for instance examples of how powerful language is used when the textbook describes “the heroism” of the Lebanese National Resistance. Throughout the

chapter in the studied textbook, there are many examples of how the authors use the words “Zionist”, “Israeli” and “Jewish” indiscriminately without acknowledging their different connotations. This disregard of difference in meaning leads to a sometimes confusing narration of events, since there in our Western discourse exists a clear difference between the words, as described under “2.4 Definitions”. This confusion, even if it is unintended, can lead to a biased view since it risks oversimplifying and generalizing events.

As shown in “4.4 Other” there are occasions where no signs of value-laden or biased language is connected to the words Zionist, Israeli, and Jewish. These occasions, however, seems to be fewer and may still occur in a paragraph which includes examples of value-laden and biased language. The question is if it matters, since the student who studies the textbook most certainly will absorb the biased view anyway. Absence of value-laden language does not necessarily mean that the purpose is not to push the reader in a certain direction. The usage of value-laden language is yet one way of affecting the reader. Omitting information, or describing occurrences in an inconclusive way, might also result in a biased view.

## 6. Conclusions

Based on the above discussion and analysis, the following conclusion can be made as an answer to the research question.

By use of the method and theory described earlier in this thesis, it is evident the words Zionist, Israeli, and Jewish are used in a context that gives them a biased and value-laden meaning. Many examples are presented where the textbook uses biased and value-laden language when referring to actions and events related to the words. There is an undertone of, as well as concrete examples of, negatively value-laden words used in a context which contributes to a biased narration of the conflict in general, and Zionism in particular. The value-laden words, and contexts in which they are used, leads to a negative portrayal of Zionism, Israel and Jews. Zionism is equalized to colonialism and depicted as to have conspiratorial agendas. There are also examples of anti-Semitic stereo-typical imagery in the description of Zionists. The analysis shows that the textbook omits information that is crucial in order to get a comprehensive and objective view of the conflict.



## Bibliography

In order of appearance:

### Primary sources

‘Aīšā aš-Šamās, Mağīda Bidūr, Ḥadīğa ar-Rahīa, Fārūq al-Ġūrī, Būlus Sam‘ān, Muḥammad Ḥaīr Sulāīmān, Wafā’ Sultān, Āšif S‘aīd, Muḥammad Muḥalliṣ aš-Šabbāğ, and ‘Išām Ḥamidān. *at-Tarbīya al-Qawmīya al-Ishtirākīya: al-‘Ām wa al-Mihnīy aš-Šar‘īy* (National Socialist Education: General, Professional and Legal). Al-Mu‘assasa al-‘Āmma li al-maṭbū‘āt wa al-Kutub al-Madrasīya (The General Foundation for Printed Material and Textbooks), 2008.

### Secondary sources

#### Books:

Wurmser, Meyrav. *The Schools of Ba'athism : A Study of Syrian Schoolbooks* [in English with Arabic.]. Washington, D.C.: Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), 2000.

Phillips, Louise and Marianne W. Jørgensen. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2002.

Unterman, Alan. *The Jews: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*, Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1996.

Phillips, Louise and Marianne W. Jørgensen. *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000.

Hagel, Neil. *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories*, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Fay, Brian. *Contemporary Philosophy of Social Science: A Multicultural Approach*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996.

Cleveland, William L. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2004.

Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1997.

Choueiri, Youssef M. *Arab Nationalism: A History*. Oxford ; Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Wehr, Hans, and J. Milton Cowan. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)*. 4th. ed. Ithaca, NY: Spoken Language Services, 1994.

Lewis, Bernard. *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East*, London ; Phoenix, 1998.

Schneider, David J. *The Psychology of Stereotyping*, New York: The Guilford Press, 2005.

## Electronic sources

### - Newspaper articles online

Whitaker, Brian. "Selective Memri." *The Guardian*, August 12, 2002. Accessed May 23, 2012.  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/aug/12/worlddispatch.brianwhitaker>

Unknown author, "Panorama – Meyrav Wurmser," *BBC News: World Edition*, accessed May 23, 2012. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/panorama/3034221.stm>

Haberman, Clyde. "West Bank Massacre: The Overview; Rabin Urges the Palestinians to Put Aside Anger and Talk." *The New York Times*, March 1, 1994. Accessed May 8, 2014.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/01/world/west-bank-massacre-overview-rabin-urges-palestinians-put-aside-anger-talk.html?pagewanted=all>

Bennet, James. "U.N. Report Rejects Claims of a Massacre of Refugees." *The New York Times*, August 2, 2002. Accessed May 18, 2014,  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/08/02/international/middleeast/02JENI.html>

### - Articles

Groiss, Arnon. "Jews, Zionism and Israel in Syrian School Textbooks." *Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education*, (IMPACT-SE), 2001. Accessed May 23, 2012,  
<http://www.impact-se.org/docs/reports/Syria/Syria2001.pdf>

Johnstone, Barbara. "Arabic lexical couplets and the evolution of synonymy." *General linguistics* 23 (1983): 51-61. accessed May 6, 2014,  
[http://works.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1041&context=barbara\\_johnstone](http://works.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1041&context=barbara_johnstone)

Muir, Diana. "A Land without a People for a People without a Land." *Middle Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 2 [1] spring (2008), accessed May 8, 2014, <http://www.meforum.org/1877/a-land-without-a-people-for-a-people-without>

### - Reports

Smith, Allan. "The Influence of education on conflict and peace building", UNESCO, Education for All Global Monitoring Report (EFA GMA), 2010. Accessed January 28, 2013.  
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001913/191341e.pdf>

"Operation Grapes of Wrath", Human Rights Watch, September 1, 1997. Accessed May 11, 2014  
<http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/09/01/operation-grapes-wrath>

"104 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the events at the refugee camps in Beirut- 8 February 1983", Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed May 7, 2014.  
<http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/mfadocuments/yearbook6/pages/104%20report%20of%20the%20commission%20of%20inquiry%20into%20the%20e.aspx>

### - Webpages

"About MEMRI", The Middle East Media Research Institute, MEMRI, accessed January 22, 2013.  
<http://www.memri.org/about-memri.html>

"IMPACT-SE's Mission Statement", IMPACT-SE, accessed May 23, 2012, <http://www.impact-se.org/about/mission.html>

“Syrian Constitution”, Yale Law School, accessed May 2, 2012,  
[http://www.law.yale.edu/rcw/rcw/jurisdictions/asw/syrianarabrep/syria\\_constitution.htm](http://www.law.yale.edu/rcw/rcw/jurisdictions/asw/syrianarabrep/syria_constitution.htm)

“Zionist Congress: First to Twelfth Zionist Congress”, Jewish Virtual Library, accessed April 18, 2014, [http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Zionism/First\\_Cong\\_&\\_Basel\\_Program.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Zionism/First_Cong_&_Basel_Program.html)

”Vad är antisemitism?”, Svenska kommittén mot antisemitism (SKMA), accessed April 5, 2014,  
<http://skma.se/antisemitism/>

#### - Encyclopedias

*Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. S. v. "Zionism." accessed May 29, 2012,  
<http://www.britannica.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/EBchecked/topic/657475/Zionism>

*Oxford Dictionaries*, Oxford University Press. S. v. "Value-laden." accessed January 22, 2014, [http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american\\_english/value-laden](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/value-laden)

*Oxford Dictionaries*, Oxford University Press. S. v. "Biased." accessed January 22, 2014, [http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american\\_english/biased](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/biased)

*Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. S. v. "Palestine." accessed May 2, 2012,  
<http://www.britannica.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/EBchecked/topic/439645/Palestine>

*Wikipedia contributors*. S.v. ”حرب لبنان.” accessed May 15, 2014,  
[http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%A8\\_%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86\\_1982](http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%A8_%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86_1982)

#### - Theses

Heinrich, Isaac. “Critical Thinking in Syrian Secondary School History Education.” Bachelor thesis, Lund University, 2011.

Appelvik, Andreas. “Natural News? - A study of the neutrality in BBC’s and Al Jazeera’s reporting on the Israeli military operation ‘Pillar of defense’”, Bachelor thesis, Lund University, 2013.

## Appendix I: Transliteration Key

The DIN 31635 standard for the transliteration of the Arabic alphabet.<sup>115</sup>

Arabic letters	DIN 31635
ا / ء	' / ā
ب	b
ت	t
ث	ṭ
ج	ǧ
ح	ħ
خ	ħ̣
د	d
ذ	ḍ
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	š
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	ʿ
غ	ǧ
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w / ū
ي / ى	y / ī

<sup>115</sup> Wikipedia, s.v. "DIN 31635", accessed January 26, 2014, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/DIN\\_31635](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/DIN_31635)

## Appendix II: Coding Spreadsheet

Codes	Translation	Category
العسكرية الصهيونية	The Zionist military	Antagonism
الغزو الصهيوني	The Zionist attack/invasion	Antagonism
مرتبطة بالعدو الصهيوني	Connected to the Zionist enemy	Antagonism
القوات الصهيونية	the Zionist forces	Antagonism
العدوان الصهيوني	The Zionist aggression	Antagonism
الجيش اليهودي	The Jewish army	Antagonism
الإرهاب الإسرائيلي	Israeli terrorism	Antagonism
المذابح الصهيونية	Zionist massacres	Antagonism
موافقة الدول الكبرى للاستعمار الصهيوني	The big countries acceptance to the Zionist colonialism	Approach
للمخططات الاستعمارية الصهيونية	The colonial Zionist plan	Approach
محاولة استعمارية صهيونية	Zionist colonial attempt	Approach
النشاط الصهيوني	Zionist activity	Approach
النشاط اليهودي	Jewish activity	Approach
أهداف الصهيونية	Zionist goals	Approach
استغلال الحركة الصهيونية الحرب العالمية الثانية	The Zionist movement's exploitation of the WWII	Approach
المشروع الصهيوني الاستيطاني	The Zionist settlement plan	Approach
للمخططات الصهيونية	Zionist plans	Approach
تحقيق المخططات و المصالح الصهيونية	Achieving of the Zionist plans and interests	Approach
مشاريع صهيونية أمريكية	American Zionist plan	Approach
أطماع الصهيونية	The Zionist greed	Characteristics
عدوانية الكيان الصهيوني	the aggressiveness of the Zionist entity	Characteristics
الفكر الصهيونية	The Zionist thinking	Other
لمقولة الصهيونية	Zionist saying	Other
الهجرة اليهودية الصهيونية	The Jewish Zionist migration	Other
الهجرة اليهودية	Jewish immigration	Other
الشعب اليهودي	Jewish people	Other
للدولة اليهودية	Jewish state	Other
الوطن القومي اليهودي	The Jewish national home	Other
إقامة الدولة اليهودية	establishment of the Jewish state	Other
المنظمة الصهيونية العالمية	The global Zionist organization	Name

المؤتمر الصهيوني الأول	The first Zionist congress	Name
المؤتمر الصهيوني الرابع:	The fourth Zionist congress	Name
المؤتمر الصهيوني السادس	The sixth Zionist congress	Name
المؤتمر الصهيوني السابع	The seventh Zionist congress	Name
المؤتمر الصهيوني الثامن	The eighth Zionist congress	Name
المؤتمر الصهيوني الثالث عشر	The thirteenth Zionist congress	Name
مؤتمرات الحركة الصهيونية	the Zionist movements congresses	Name
الحركة الصهيونية	the Zionist movement	Name
المؤتمر الصهيوني الثالث	The third Zionist congress	Name
المؤتمر الصهيوني الخامس	The fifth Zionist congress	Name
المؤتمرات الصهيونية	Zionist congresses	Name
المنظمة الصهيونية	The Zionist organisation	Name
المؤتمر الصهيوني	Zionist congress	Name
الكيان الصهيوني	The Zionist entity	Name
الحركة الصهيونية	The Zionist movement	Name
حزب العمل الإسرائيلي	Israeli Labour party	Name
حزب الشيوعي الإسرائيلي	Israeli Communist Party	Name
الصراع العربي الصهيوني	Arab-Zionist conflict	Name
الصندوق القومي اليهودي	Jewish National Fund	Name