

## 21 War, State Collapse and the Predicament of Education in Iraq<sup>1</sup>

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Egyptians write, Lebanese publish, Iraqis read. – Arab saying

The venerable saying above has come to apply less in recent years, at least as far as Iraq is concerned. Iraqi writers have published a great deal of new work in the course of the country's post-2003 dislocation; Iraqi textbooks have mostly been published in Jordan since the early 1990s;<sup>2</sup> and Iraqi literacy rates have fallen to levels unseen since the 1960s. Today, the saying might run something like "Iraqis write, Jordanians publish, and no one can read."

Bush administration officials managing the 2003 invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq hoped to comprehensively remake the political, economic, cultural, and intellectual face of the country. Consistent with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's "creative chaos" doctrine,<sup>3</sup> American officials first fostered the instant privatization of state assets by allowing mass looting, then enacted a series of reforms intended to reorient Iraq's education system. Concentrating on such interventions as textbook reform, facility restoration, de-Ba'athification, and bilateral university assistance, Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) officials had hoped to shepherd a new and more amenable Iraq out of the shell of the old. One of the more ambitious announced interventions of U.S. government officials in Iraq's education system involved reforming all levels of curriculum to better coincide with "international standards," – particularly through textbook revision. As it turns out, following the completion of the UNICEF/UNESCO textbook editing projects, Project RISE, and a series of higher education projects, the CPA educational legacy turned out to be remarkably modest.

### **Educational Evolution, 1920–2003**

When a child starts going to school, the book is a window to the world.<sup>4</sup>

Centralized control over textbook production has a long history in modern Iraq, extending even back to the late Ottoman era.<sup>5</sup> Following the hostile takeover and international recognition of the British-installed Iraqi state and Hashemite monarchy, a new curriculum emerged. This curriculum did not evolve without its share of controversy and debate, however. In the 1920s–1930s, Director-General of

Education Sati' al-Husri (1879–1967) resisted international supervision under the auspices of either British advisors or the League of Nations, arguing that anything produced by such sources would reflect the colonialist outlook of the origin nations.<sup>6</sup> Seeing education as playing a key role in inculcating proper views in the youth, al-Husri was eventually able to combine Arabism and Iraqi nationalism into a coherent curricular vision intended to buttress Hashemite legitimacy.<sup>7</sup>

Following the 1958 revolution, a new course entitled *National Societies and Education* [*al-Ijtimā'iyāt wa al-tarbiyāt al-wataniyya*] debuted. Apparently the forefather of the renowned Ba'athist course, *National Education* [*al-Tarbiya al-wataniyya*], this class entailed “a civics course aimed at socializing students to new (post-Hashemite) political loyalties,” and a “highly centralized and politicized undertaking that attempted to expose as many students as possible to the ruling ideology.”<sup>8</sup> Outside of this course, most of the Hashemite-era curriculum remained unchanged.

As has been widely noted, Iraq's education sector witnessed dramatic fluctuations in performance over the forty years since the Ba'ath party achieved lasting power in the summer of 1968. After significant expansion and improvement from 1968 to the early 1980s, the sector underwent stagnation from then until the early 1990s, a gradual and debilitating decline of standards throughout the early 1990s, and dramatic looting and destruction in the course of the 2003 invasion and occupation. Considering that these destructive events were more recently succeeded by the intense civil war of 2006–07, it should not surprise anyone that the new Government of Iraq has to date remained unable to devote sufficient energies to curriculum reform and education investment.

Throughout the 1960s, the Iraqi state had engaged on an ambitious expansion of primary education, which the Ba'athist government continued.<sup>9</sup> In the first few years after seizing power in the 17–30 July 1968 coup, the Ba'athist government emphasized gradual improvement and continuity within the educational system which they had inherited from prior governments. By that time, the system they inherited reflected a hybrid blend of late Ottoman pedagogical legacies and ethical values, British curricular models, and pan-Arab nationalist political orientations.<sup>10</sup>

Much changed in 1974 following the Eighth Regional (Iraqi) Congress of the Ba'ath Party. Marking the political consolidation and social expansion of the Ba'athist venture, at that point the government dedicated the educational system more thoroughly toward political indoctrination and “changed the ideological basis of the educational system from the promotion of a general sense of Iraqi nationalism towards the rhetoric of the Ba'ath Party and especially of its leadership.”<sup>11</sup> In the course of this Congress, the party announced a far-reaching educational reform initiative, which included “removal of persons of reactionary and bourgeois views from all levels of education, from nursery school to university, [and] the provision of new books and syllabuses [sic] which conform to the principles of the Party and the Revolution.”<sup>12</sup> After thus announcing the intention to cleanse educational faculty and staff from anti-Ba'athist elements and revamp all course materials – in a policy move eerily similar to those promulgated in 2003 – the party described its goal of shaping a “new Arab man” who would protect the ideals of its revolution throughout society. This policy directive, rendered state law by Public Law 115 in

1976, marked the beginning of a comprehensive curriculum overhaul which was largely complete by 1981.<sup>13</sup>

The interpretative results of the post-1974 curriculum reform were largely encapsulated in a voluminous team publication entitled *al-'Irāq fī al-tā'rikh / Iraq in History*.<sup>14</sup> Completed in 1983 and designed as a comprehensive survey of Iraq's role in history, this work provided an advanced ideological guide to collegiate research and writing about Iraq throughout the ages. *Iraq in History* appears to have been a cooperative effort between state and quasi-state actors. Although not issued by a government ministry, several indicators demonstrate the state's and party's involvement in the production process. Most of the chapter contributors were either university faculty or held posts in state cultural institutions. The "Leader-President" Saddam Hussein provided the book's opening quote, itself suggestive of the conflictive nature of historical interpretation: "History is the final product that the will of the *umma* itself decides upon."<sup>15</sup> Finally, the book's introduction explicitly credits Mr Hussein with backing the project upon perceiving the need for a general overview of Iraq's history.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, the preface's author and most public representative of the project, Dr Salih Ahmad al-'Ali, was the president of the well-regarded private and pre-Ba'athist Iraqi Academy of Sciences.

*Iraq in History* sums up the Ba'athist view of Iraq's history, a view which remains quite resonant to this day within Iraqi society. According to this view, Iraq is an essentially Arab Semitic region which originated human civilization. The Ottomans are treated as one of several non-Arab occupying powers succeeding the 1258 Mongol conquest of Baghdad, rather than the ruling empire governing parts or all of the regions which became Iraq for over four centuries. The modern country is effectively devoid of sectarian identities, and the Kurds are not seen as possessing any particular characteristics distinct from the Iraqi people as a whole. The work ends with the 1958 revolution, perhaps indicative of the difficulty of enforcing a unitary vision on more recent developments.

In the course of the 1980–88 Iran–Iraq war, a conscious effort to portray Iran as a longstanding enemy was introduced to textbook content.<sup>17</sup> The guiding state-backed book for this issue was *al-Sirā' al-'Irāqī al-Fārsī / The Iraqi–Persian Conflict*.<sup>18</sup> According to this view, Iraq and Iran have always been in conflict, as the primary representatives of and leaders within an eternal Arab–Ajam ethnic rivalry.<sup>19</sup> As with all historical narratives, this view presented a highly selective view of history, ignoring in this case Kurdish–Iranian linguistic affinities; Iranian–Iraqi Shi'ite religious affinities since the early 16th century; the distinctive histories of several Iraqi minorities; and periods of Iranian–[proto]Iraqi political unity under Sassanid, Ilkhanid, Qaraqoyunlu, Aqqoyunlu, and Safavid rule. Such portrayals remained largely unchanged through 2003, even though the 1980–88 Iran–Iraq war had long since ended. Since eliminating negative portrayals of Iran – as opposed to those of America and Israel – was not included in the USAID-financed reform agenda of 2003–04, such passages were not deleted. Considering the far friendlier relationship between all post-2005 Iraqi governments and the Iranian state, it is likely that such portrayals will eventually be adjusted, although the paradigm has remained in evidence in textbooks published as late as 2008.

One of the key components of state indoctrination was the renowned *al-Tarbiya al-wataniyya* / *National Education* course. Abolished as Ba'athist propaganda by CPA officials in 2003, this course in some sense continued the post-1958 *National Societies and Education* course. Based on a 1999 2nd Intermediate (8th Grade) *al-Tarbiya al-wataniyya* edition, it is clear that this course was designed to inculcate loyalty to the state of Iraq, the Ba'ath Party, Arab Nationalism, and Saddam Hussein as the country's "President-Leader." Although the text was based on the original 1981 first edition, certain changes had been made referencing developments since that date – such as to the 1991 *Umm al-ma'arik* / *Mother of All Battles* [Gulf War]. Following standard introductory material such as a picture of and quote from Mr Hussein, a picture of the flag, the text of the national anthem, and a list of recognized national and religious holidays, the textbook offered four brief chapters, entitled: "the Arab *Umma*," "Arab Nationalism," "the Message of the Arab *Umma*," and "Palestine." Chapter contents were completely infused with Ba'athist ideology, designed to familiarize middle-school students with the basic tenets of the party. The chapter on "Palestine" contextualizes the Arab-Israeli conflict from an Arab Nationalist perspective, situating the conflict strictly within an anti-colonial rubric. For example, all chapter headings characterize the conflict as one between "Zionism," "British Imperialism," and the "Arab People." While Ba'athism in the United States has on occasion been compared with Nazism, due to its dual Nationalist and Socialist ideological program, this textbook characterizes the Arab *umma*'s primary opponent as "racist Zionism."<sup>20</sup> This course is no longer taught in its prior form, and its replacement is said to inculcate a far less militant version of citizenship ideals.<sup>21</sup>

There is some disagreement as to the condition of the education sector by the late 1980s, with some analysts believing that the sector had degraded seriously during the Iran–Iraq war, and others believing that the Iraqi state maintained standards and had hoped to quickly return to "normalcy" once the war ended.<sup>22</sup> Ideologically, educational messaging gradually became marked more by what can best be described as "Saddamization" rather than "Ba'athification." There is some disagreement as to how to separate these two ideological strands, and when this transition was completed. In his analysis of Iraqi collective memory, *Memories of State*, Eric Davis did not generally distinguish between the two, frequently referring to the Iraqi ruling party as the "Takriti Ba'ath."<sup>23</sup> Others date this "Saddamization" to President Hussein's 1979 rise to power, while still others believe this process really got under way only in the 1990s, when the regime withdrew within itself under the intense pressures of the sanctions regime. Upon examining textbooks and state-issued works of historiographic interest, it appears fairly clear that Mr Hussein's personality cult had advanced quite a bit by the early 1980s – and that such messaging was the only aspect of Iraqi historical education that was unambiguously and immediately eliminated following the 2003 invasion and occupation.

Although modern Iraq's educational orientation can be characterized as primarily secular in nature, the definition of this secularism has always been contested. According to Bashkin, the secular approach to education in the mid-1930s emphasized strong bodies, masculinity, military uniforms, a cosmopolitan

secularism which downplayed medieval Islamic theories, professionalization and a fetishism of science, and a “new reading of the Islamic past.”<sup>24</sup> Although most of these points remain accurate even today, by the 1990s a newfound cultivation of medieval Islamic theories such as the “circle of justice” idea were evident.<sup>25</sup>

As Starrett and Doumato have suggested, most textbooks in the Middle East invent “an original generic Islam that avoids recognition of sectarian differences and is designed to foster a sense of nationalism, promote the legitimacy of the regime in power, or, in some places, provide a counterweight to an immoderate Islamism being disseminated through public discourse.”<sup>26</sup> Iraqi textbooks certainly conform to these parameters. Based on a 1998 edition *al-Tarbiya al-Islāmiyya* text, the Ba’athist interpretation of this secular orientation can be characterized as generically Sunni Muslim in orientation.<sup>27</sup> Not very controversial in themselves, the choice of passages for this text indicated a vaguely and somewhat generic Sunni preference. Despite the coming to power since 2005 of Shi’a dominant governments which many commentators have characterized as highly sectarian in nature, such texts have also remained largely unchanged.

### **Iraqi Kurdish Developments, 1991–2003**

In the wake of the 1991 Gulf War, Kurdish parties in Northern Iraq gradually gained de-facto independence under international protection – and Kurdish educators eventually created their own textbook materials. André Mazzawi has pointed to the dearth of studies addressing educators during and after times of conflict, which in Iraq’s case has characterized society far more than stability in recent decades. As Mazzawi has suggested, “educators – particularly history teachers – act as ‘critical’ witnesses in the ‘public construction’ of memory.”<sup>28</sup> Iraqi Kurdistan’s teachers in the 1990s played this role in a pivotal fashion, creating educational materials which provided students under their sway with a more radically variant narrative concerning modern Iraqi history than their cohorts in central and southern Iraq.<sup>29</sup>

As Bashkin argued, although the state has long monopolized textbook production and curricular development, teachers and students have always had the ability to “resist and subvert” the systematic inculcation of state values.<sup>30</sup> While the Ministry of Education continuously produced special textbooks designed for “Kurdish study in the autonomous zone,”<sup>31</sup> nothing prevented students from marking up their personal copies – especially after March 1991. One student substituted a 1997 state textbook’s statement that “Erbil is in Iraq” with “Erbil is in Iraqi Kurdistan.” The same student emphatically crossed out the textbook’s statement that “the autonomous region is one of the accomplishments of the 17–30 July Revolution [i.e. Ba’athist government]” – perhaps with the guidance of that class’s teacher.<sup>32</sup>

While it is unclear how long such materials were being published and revised, it appears that Kurdish educators had created their own materials by the mid-1990s. Textbook revisions in Kurdish regions evolved from teachers’ own initiatives in the early 1990s, with educators initially continuing to use Baghdad’s textbooks, then creating their own supplementary materials, and then adopting Kurdish party

materials in the mid-1990s. From then until 2002, there were two sets of textbooks, one each designed by the two major Kurdish parties, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). Since at least 2002, the unified Kurdish Regional Government (KRG) has united its curriculum and is using a common set of textbooks throughout the territories under their control.<sup>33</sup>

One of the earlier Kurdish regional textbooks examined was entitled *al-Tarbiya al-wataniyya*, and effectively continued the Ba'athist tradition of national education – in reverse. The textbook was distributed by a Kurdish NGO named “Save the Children, Kurdistan.” The text features a maximalist map of greater Kurdistan, stretching from just north of the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and including Baghdad, Mosul, and other population centers with sizeable Kurdish minorities.<sup>34</sup>

### **Developments Since 2003**

The world created in ... schoolbooks is essentially a world of fantasy – a fantasy made up by adults as a guide for their children, but inhabited by no one outside the pages of schoolbooks.<sup>35</sup>

Since 2003, Iraq's education sector, like most of the rest of Iraqi society, has struggled to cope with violent dislocation while attempting to continue delivery of services and meet expectations of curricular reform.<sup>36</sup> American assistance to Iraqi primary and secondary education was mainly funneled through two programs: the UNESCO/USAID Textbook Quality Improvement Programme (TQIP) and USAID/CAII's Project RISE.<sup>37</sup>

The TQIP project was a rapidly implemented program financed by USAID, legally sanctioned by UN Security Council Resolution 1483, organized under the administrative umbrella of UNESCO, and implemented by a mixed team of international consultants and Iraqi educators. Curriculum revision goals were logistically modest, but highly sensitive politically. Such goals included removing all photographic and textual references to Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath Party, all hostile references to the United States and Israel, and any references considered hostile to gender equality.<sup>38</sup> TQIP concentrated on the relatively unproblematic mathematics and science texts, leaving primary school social science textbooks to a separate project organized through UNICEF.<sup>39</sup> The UNESCO project ran for a year, from May 2003 to May 2004, and faced a serious obstacle when the international staff were evacuated to Jordan in the wake of the August 2003 Canal Hotel bombing.

The general program objective of the TQIP project was to “provide immediate support for basic education in Iraq by revising, editing, printing, and distributing math and science school textbooks that are gender appropriate, politically neutral, and free from bias.”<sup>40</sup> Project participants did not attempt to revise math and science content or pedagogical method, as such revisions are far more complicated to implement, requiring years of committee revisions. Instead, the project concentrated on purely political revision.<sup>41</sup> The specific objectives were “reviewing and editing science and mathematics textbooks for primary and



secondary schools in Iraq, *according to the textbook revision parameters developed by UNESCO and USAID* [emphasis added],” and “training Iraqi officials on science textbook analysis, review, and revision.”<sup>42</sup> Although sanctioned by international bodies, the relative civilizational presumptions of these objectives are self-evident. At the same time, according to one international consultant, the Iraqi educators made all the key decisions once the actual work of revisions began.<sup>43</sup> TQIP met all of its stated goals, and also successfully accomplished several additional goals such as renewing contacts between Iraqi educators that had been severed for as long as 13 years, refurbishing local publishing capacities, and setting up a Ministry data collection system.<sup>44</sup>

According to the UNESCO draft report, the deleted textbook passages consisted of “Ba’athist ideology; Saddam Hussein’s cult of personality; discriminatory statements against ethnic, religious, and other groups; politicized information from the previous regime; references that suggest inequality of the sexes; and references encouraging violence.” Considering the legal basis of the entire effort, the addition of a seventh requirement that texts be “free from any religious references in order to comply with the American constitution,” which “served as a basis for progressive communication between donors and UNESCO principles of universal values” demonstrates the leverage exercised by USAID as the donor institution.<sup>45</sup> An eighth requirement, the elimination of “statements which promoted fighting, for example, against the USA or against Israel” was also mentioned separately.<sup>46</sup> Considering the recent history of tensions and violence between Iraq and these two states, such a requirement should not have appealed to all Iraqi educators. The political nature of the textbook revisions is demonstrated by the facts that some of the revised textbooks were not approved by USAID; and that 26 titles in Turkish and Kurdish were not included in the program at all, and were reprinted without any changes under recovered Oil For Food program funding. The explanation given for not revising such texts were the textual changes already introduced in the years prior to the 2003 Anglo-American invasion.<sup>47</sup>

The 2004 UNESCO draft report’s “lessons learned” section contained comments suggestive of tensions inherent in such an effort. Notably, “approaches to the work should have been discussed in some depth among UNESCO and USAID agents, in order to avoid delays and misunderstandings” during implementation. Likewise, “one should make sure that Iraqi educators are comfortable with the revision parameters,” and “more educational partners should have been involved.” The guidelines for revision “were not discussed properly among Iraqi and other education specialists,” which eliminated the possibility of Iraqi educators forming their own guidelines at this stage.<sup>48</sup> Finally, in a statement suggesting serious – if unspecified – tensions, the report states that “[t]here has been a real communication gap between the International Advisory Councils and other protagonists.”<sup>49</sup> Such conclusions suggest that not all stakeholders were in complete agreement concerning certain aspects of textbook revision, and that minimalist goals were largely a result of occasionally incompatible goals. Tellingly, such critical comments were excised from the official and less informative final project report.

As it turns out, the actual textbook revisions made under the TQIP program appear to have been quite modest, although more significant – and sensitive –

changes were considered. According to the final report, changes were limited to removal of Ba'athist ideology, images of Saddam Hussein, and reference suggesting an inequality of the sexes.<sup>50</sup> The draft report also referred to the "eliminated political statements (against the USA and Israel)" in mathematics textbooks. In the final report, however, this reference to the U.S. and Israel was redacted, which would appear to constitute a revision of the revisions report.<sup>51</sup> According to the appendices of both the draft and final reports, however, more sensitive changes such as the elimination of the "Allahu Akbar" on the Iraqi flag, "Bismillah" at the beginning of textbooks, quotations of *hadith* and Qur'anic verses concerning the value of learning, and the district mapping of Iraq were considered but rejected.<sup>52</sup> In each of these cases, the explanation provided for retention of the original format was indicative of various positions held by certain Iraqi and international actors. For example, the reason given for retaining the district mapping of Iraq was that "the district boundaries and their political status will presumably not be changed before a new constitution is released and no foreign territories are included."<sup>53</sup> Although several internationally sanctioned changes were completed, such differences within the TQIP team suggest that some actors had hoped to impose textbook revisions well beyond their limited legal powers under International Humanitarian Law governing military occupation.

The USAID-funded UNICEF initiative to revise social science textbooks at the primary and secondary school level appears to have either never effectively launched, or to have neglected to release a public report. This process was far less transparent than the UNESCO initiative in math and science texts, which was itself not entirely transparent.

Although a detailed examination of textbook changes based on actual pre-2003 and post-invasion textbooks is beyond the scope of this chapter, a brief examination of certain textbooks published between 2005 and 2008 demonstrated that wholesale curriculum reform has yet to be enacted. In addition, a quick comparison of the 1998 and 2007 editions of the 2nd Intermediate *al-Ta'rikh al-'Arabī wa al-Islāmī / Arab and Islamic History* textbook showed surprisingly modest changes in a text with explicitly historiographic and religious overtones. While textual changes in most cases resulted in the change of a few letters or words, and at most involved adding a paragraph, the changes enacted for the 2007 edition subtly elevated the role of scholars *ʿulamā* in society, rehabilitated the legacy of medieval Persians, re-emphasized Ali b. Abi Tālib, and transformed references away from an "Arab *umma*" towards those of the more traditional Muslim *umma*.<sup>54</sup> Considering ongoing sensitivities involving Iraqi collective memory and social identity, and the violent instability fueled in part by conflict over such identity, it is perhaps not surprising that Iraqi curriculum reform since 2003 remains somewhat modest.

## Notes

- 1 I thank the Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung (GEI) and the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) for logistical and financial support provided to carry out this research. I especially thank the USIP Baghdad staff member who persuaded her uncle to purchase several Iraqi textbooks on my behalf at the al-



- Mutanabi book market (Baghdad) in August 2008. I also wish to thank Hersh Abdula, Samira Alayan-Beck, Elizabeth Cole, Linda Herrera, Phebe Marr, André Mazzawi, Achim Rohde, and Haifa Zengana for information, collaboration, sources, and advice connected to this project.
- 2 According to UNESCO, 80% of Iraq's textbooks were printed in Jordan in 1991–2003. Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...", p. 31.
  - 3 For references to the term 'creative chaos' and its use by neo-cons and Condoleezza Rice, see <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2005/737/op2.htm> and <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1219325,00.html>
  - 4 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...", p. 10.
  - 5 For literature addressing the pre-2003 evolution of Iraq's education system see: Orit Bashkin, "'When Mu'awiya Entered the Curriculum' – Some Comments on the Iraqi Education System in the Interwar Period," *Comparative Education Review* 50:3 (2006): 346–366; Charles Michael Brown, *The Administration of State-Run Primary and Secondary Education in Iraq, 1958–1989*, unpublished Master Thesis, University of Utah, 2005; Huda al-Khaizaran, "Traditions of Moral Education in Iraq," *Journal of Moral Education* 36:3 (2007): 321–332; Delwin A. Roy, "The Educational System of Iraq," *Middle Eastern Studies* 29:2 (1993): 167–197.
  - 6 Bashkin, *When Mu'awiya Entered the Curriculum*, 352.
  - 7 Brown, *The Administration of State-Run Primary and Secondary Education in Iraq, 1958–1989*, 17–18.
  - 8 Brown, *The Administration of State-Run Primary and Secondary Education in Iraq, 1958–1989*, 18.
  - 9 Brown, *The Administration of State-Run Primary and Secondary Education in Iraq, 1958–1989*, 18–19, 36.
  - 10 For a detailed study of late Ottoman education, see Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, New York: Oxford, 2002. For an exploration of the transitional inter-war evolution of this hybrid system, see Bashkin, "When Mu'awiya Entered the Curriculum."
  - 11 Brown, *The Administration of State-Run Primary and Secondary Education in Iraq, 1958–1989*, 35.
  - 12 Brown, *The Administration of State-Run Primary and Secondary Education in Iraq, 1958–1989*, 38. Although all course materials and policies were produced centrally, primary school administration and teacher recruitment was left to provincial representatives of the Ministry of Local Affairs. In the same year, all private and foreign schools were nationalized. Brown, 41, 49.
  - 13 Brown, *The Administration of State-Run Primary and Secondary Education in Iraq, 1958–1989*, 37–40. One example of the gradual nature of such curriculum reform is that in 1975 the Ministry of Education was still issuing a first grade alphabet primer originally authored by Sati' al-Husri in ca. 1960. Abu Khaldun Sati' al-Husri, *Mabādi' al-qirā'a al-khaldūniyya, al-alafba'*, 15th printing, Baghdad: Dar al-Hurriya lil-tibā'a, 1975.
  - 14 Salih Ahmad al-'Ali et al., *al-'Irāq fi al-ta'rikh*, Baghdad: Dar al-Hurriya lil-tibā'a, 1983. For a brief survey of this work's ideological intent, see Eric Davis, *Memories of State: Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq*, Berkeley: University of California, 2005, pp. 185–188.
  - 15 "*al-tar'ikh huwa al-natija al-nihā'iyya alati taqarraruhā al-umma dhātuhā*" *al-'Irāq fi al-ta'rikh*, p. III.
  - 16 Salih Ahmad al-'Ali et al., *al-'Irāq fi al-ta'rikh*, pp. 13–14.
  - 17 Brown, *The Administration of State-Run Primary and Secondary Education in Iraq, 1958–1989*, 72.
  - 18 *al-Sirā' al-'Irāqī al-Fārsī*, Baghdad: Dar al-Hurriya lil-tibā'a, 1983. For a brief discussion of this work and the series it was part of, see Eric Davis, *Memories of State*, 184–188.
  - 19 For a detailed summary of negative points made about Iran by Iraqi textbooks prior to 1997, see Talal Atrissi, "The Image of the Iranians in Arab Schoolbooks," in *Arab-*

- Iranian Relations, Khair El-Din Haseeb, editor, London: I.B. Taurus, 1998, pp. 155–168.
- 20 Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Education, *al-Tarbiya al-Wataniyya*, Amman: Jordanian Center for Professional Printing, 17th printing, 1999 [1st Printing 1981].
- 21 I have been unable to locate the textbook intended to replace *al-Tarbiya al-wataniyya*.
- 22 Brown [*The Administration of State-Run Primary and Secondary Education in Iraq, 1958–1989*] believes that the 1990s sanctions-era degradation has been overstated, with most of the damage done in the 1980s. Roy [*The Educational System of Iraq*] stated in 1993 that an expected return to “normalcy” was imminent.
- 23 Davis, *Memories of State*.
- 24 Bashkin, *When Mu’awiya Entered the Curriculum*, 349–352.
- 25 Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Education, *al-Qirā’a al-‘arabiyya*, 6th printing, Arab Company for the Production and Trade of Papers, 1997 [no location], pp. 104–106.
- 26 Starrett and Doumato, *Textbook Islam, Nation Building, and the Question of Violence*, 5.
- 27 Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Education, *al-Tarbiya al-Islāmiyya*, 16th printing, 1998, United Arab Commercial Group.
- 28 André Mazzawi, “Disintegrated Orders and the Politics of Recognition: Civil Upheavals, Militarism, and Educators’ Lives and Work,” *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* 13:2 (2008), 70.
- 29 As Mazzawi [“Disintegrated Orders and the Politics of Recognition,” p. 72] observed, “when social and political orders collapse in the midst of military and armed conflicts, and state surveillance and regulate power dissipate, educators may become engaged in myriad sites of action, outside the direct regulative power of established accountability regimes.”
- 30 Bashkin, *When Mu’awiya Entered the Curriculum*, 347, 354–364.
- 31 Although Baghdad may have stopped shipping most textbooks dedicated to the Kurdish autonomous zone after imposing a comprehensive internal blockade on Kurdish militia controlled areas in 1992, such textbooks were still being published and used as late as 1997. GEI possesses a 1997 sixth grade Arabic instructional text designed for use in the Kurdish autonomous zone. It was a 6th edition work, probably dating the original version to 1991. Ministry of Education, *al-Qirā’a al-‘arabiyya*, 1997.
- 32 Ministry of Education, *al-Qirā’a al-‘arabiyya*, 1997, p. 119.
- 33 Interviews with Hersh Abdula, Lecturer, Department of History, Sulaymania University, and Aras Abdullah, General Director, Curriculum, KRG Ministry of Education. According to an April 2004 draft UNESCO report [Angela Commisso, “Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program For Primary and Secondary Education Mathematics and Science Textbooks: Review, Training, Printing and Distribution Process, A Case Study,” p. 45], the KRG Ministry of Education began revising textbooks in 2001. Certain other details concerning the timing and implementation of Kurdish curriculum reform since 1991 remain opaque following these interviews and textbook research.
- 34 Ministry of Education, The Kurdistan Region of Iraq, *al-Tarbiya al-wataniyya*, 1st edition, Erbil, 1996. This appears to be an Arabic translation of a Kurdish original publication, intended for 6th grade students.
- 35 Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century*, University of Nebraska Press, 1964, p. 337, quoted in Gregory Starrett and Eleanor Abdella Doumato, “Textbook Islam, Nation Building, and the Question of Violence,” chapter in Eleanor Abdella Doumato and Gregory Starrett, *Teaching Islam: Textbooks and Religion in the Middle East*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, p. 1.
- 36 For the general state of Iraqi education since 2003, see: Agustín Velloso de Santisteban, “Sanctions, War, Occupation, and the De-Development of Education in Iraq,” *International Review of Education* 51 (2005): 59–71; Jacqueline Ismael, Tareq Y. Ismael, and Raymond William Baker, “Iraq and Human Development: Culture, Education, and the Globalization of Hope,” *Arab Studies Quarterly* 26:2 (2004): 49–66; Kenneth

- J. Saltman, "Creative Associates International: Corporate Education and 'Democracy Promotion' in Iraq," *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 28:1 (2006): 25–65; Athena Vongalis-Macrow, "Rebuilding Regimes or Rebuilding Community? Teachers' Agency for Social Reconstruction in Iraq," *Journal of Peace Education* 3:1 (2006): 99–113; Haifa Zangana, "Women and Survival in the Iraqi War Zone," *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 27:2 (2008): 153–168.
- 37 For critical analyses of Project RISE and other U.S. Government initiatives in Iraqi education since 2003, see Saltman, "Creative Associates International: Corporate Education and 'Democracy Promotion' in Iraq," and Velloso de Santisteban, "Sanctions, War, Occupation, and the De-Development of Education in Iraq."
- 38 For TQIP project details, see Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," and UNESCO, "Textbook Quality Improvement Programme: Support to Basic Education in Iraq," Final Report, March 2005.
- 39 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," pp. 20–21. The UNICEF project does not appear to have ever released a final report.
- 40 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," p. 15.
- 41 Interview with TQIP consultant, December 2008. Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," p. 23.
- 42 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," p. 15.
- 43 Interview with TQIP consultant, December 2008. This consultant also stated that all Iraqi participants were resident in Iraq prior to the invasion, were happy to see Mr Hussein out of power, worked together well with each other, were representative of all the country's ethnic groups, and had not participated in curriculum review committees under the old regime.
- 44 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," pp. 16–18.
- 45 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," p. 23.
- 46 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," p. 26.
- 47 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," p. 33.
- 48 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," pp. 28–30.
- 49 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," p. 49.
- 50 UNESCO, "Textbook Quality Improvement Programme: Support to Basic Education in Iraq," Final Report, March 2005, p. 14.
- 51 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," p. 58, and UNESCO, "Textbook Quality Improvement Programme," p. 37.
- 52 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," pp. 58–67; and UNESCO, "Textbook Quality Improvement Programme," pp. 37–43.
- 53 Commisso, "Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program...," p. 58, and UNESCO, "Textbook Quality Improvement Programme," p. 37.
- 54 Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Education, *Ta'rikh al-'Arabī wa al-Islāmī*, 11th printing, Jordan: al-Safadi Printing, 1998; Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Education, *Ta'rikh al-'Arabī wa al-Islāmī*, 20th printing, [Baghdad?]: Nu'man Mustafa Company for Printing, 2007.