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- [University professor shot dead in Baghdad](#) (14 July 2010)
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- *Iraq's Endangered Schools (20 Aug 2007)*
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- *Iraq: EI seeks clarification on alleged harassment of teacher union by government* (06 April 2009)
- *Iraq, once a country of fervent readers, now starves for books* (April 13, 2009)
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- *Key Sunni leader killed in Iraq as pullout nears* (WP 13 June 2009)
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READ ALSO PART 2:

<http://www.brusselstribunal.org/pdf/AcademicsDossier2.pdf>

1. *The Madrid International Seminar on the Assassination of Iraqi Academics (p 2)*
 2. *Call for assistance in documenting and registering assassinated Iraqi academics (p 32)*
 3. *Action Needed Over Detention of Iraqi Education Ministry Officials. Unknown numbers murdered, dozen still illegally held (p 33)*
 4. *Selected Media Reports from April 2006 (p 38)*
- *Professionals Targeted in Iraq - Electronic Iraq - 06 Dec 2006.*
 - *For better and for worse - 25 Nov 2006.*
 - *Action Needed Over Detention of Iraqi Education Ministry Officials - BRussells Tribunal press release, 22 Nov 2006.*
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 - *Murder, Fear Follow Iraqi Professors On Campus - 21 Nov 2006.*
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 - *A Testimony Of An Iraqi Academic - BRussells Tribunal, Nov 2006.*
 - *Baghdad Bulletin: Death Stalks the Campus - Time, 02 Nov 2006.*
 - *Dr. Issam Al Rawi has been murdered - Dirk Adriaensens, BRussells Tribunal, 30 Oct 2006.*
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 - *More than 250 Iraqi college professors assassinated (08 Nov 2004)*

5. *Ghosts of Jadiriyah. A survivor's testimony (p 96)*

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<http://www.brusselstribunal.org/pdf/AcademicsDossier.pdf>

1. Context

2. Urgent Appeal to Save Iraq's Academics

3. Selected Principal Endorsers of the Appeal

4. Selected Media Reports until April 2006

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5. List of Assassinated Academics
6. Frequently Asked Questions
7. UNHCR Guidelines on Asylum
8. The BRussells Tribunal Committee



WEBSITES:

<http://www.brusselstribunal.org/>

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- **Who Assassinated Iraqi Academics?** (FPIF, January 6, 2011)

By Adil E. Shamoo



By April 2004, just a little over a year after the U.S. invasion of Iraq and before the sectarian violence began, the Iraqi Association of University Teachers (AUT) reported that [250 academics had been killed](#). Award-winning British journalist Robert Fisk [had warned](#) early that year of the assassinations of Iraqi academics, but few U.S. newspapers picked up on the story. By the end of 2006, according to *The Independent*, over 470 academics had been killed. Another British paper, *The Guardian*, [reported](#) that about 500 academics were killed just from the Universities of Baghdad and Basra alone.

Based on multiple sources, the BRussells Tribunal sifted through such reports and [published on its website](#) the names of over 400 murdered academics and when they were killed. Although the exact total number of assassinated academics is not really known, the indefatigable advocate for human rights Dirk Adriaensens gives a detailed analysis of the data available so far in his contribution to the book *Cultural Cleansing in Iraq*. According to Adriaensens, most of those killed were from the Universities of Bagdad (57 percent) and Basra (14 percent). In addition, 35 percent died in detention after being arrested/kidnapped by some security forces. The modus operandi for the killings was a professional, well-organized assassination. Fifty-four percent of the deaths occurred as a targeted killing, at point-blank range with hand guns or automatic weapons. The killing of academics did not follow any sectarian agenda since the murdered were Sunni and Shia. No one has taken responsibility for the killings, and no one has been arrested.

The reports of these murdered Iraqi academics have been around for a few years, mostly in the foreign press and on websites. I admit to an initial skepticism about their veracity. I was even more concerned about who was responsible for these heinous crimes and why. Iraqis living in Iraq knew of these murders first-hand, but did not know the culprits. Their suspicions fell naturally on the occupying power.

Along with these tragic deaths was the concomitant wave of death threats and intimidation against other Iraqi academics, which resulted in tens of thousands of Iraqi academics literally running abroad for their life. *The Washington Post* recently described the [plight of one Iraqi family](#) living in the United States after the husband, a professor, was assassinated and the wife, a physician, survived but gravely wounded. For



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some, the escape abroad was only temporary. A [professor and a dean](#) who left and returned in the past six months to Iraq were professionally assassinated. Iraq has suffered the decapitation of its intellectual class on a staggering scale, which has thrown the country back to the dark ages.

According to the new revelations of Wikileaks, in some cases the United States, through the military, contractors, and others, killed innocent Iraqi civilians including women and children. As a matter of policy we handed over Iraqi detainees to Iraqi security forces with full knowledge that they would be subjected to torture, rape, and murder. Moreover, when our military received the reports of torture, rape, and murder it chose to ignore them. Such a policy is contrary to international law, U.S. laws, and American values.

It's not clear whether the U.S. government or the U.S. military knows who assassinated the Iraqi academics. We don't know if U.S. officials or military commanders looked the other way when local security forces committed those crimes. But the Wikileaks documents raise many disturbing questions about a possible U.S. role in these assassinations. Even the Gulf Cooperation Council, and its half-dozen U.S.-friendly Arab members, has [called on](#) the Obama administration to "open a serious and transparent investigation" into possible "crimes against humanity."

The evidence so far is sufficient to warrant a thorough investigation by an independent body. Iraqis, Americans, and the world need to know the truth.

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- **Mossad Killing All Muslim Nuclear Scientists** (January 5, 2011)
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<http://english.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=8910150633>

[Dr. Aaron Lerner - for the original item in Farsi:

http://www.irannuc.ir/fa/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=796:1389-10-14-15-27-05&catid=102:1389-06-23-17-49-22&Itemid=508]

TEHRAN (FNA)- Israeli spy agency's (Mossad) direct involvement in the assassination of elites in the



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Middle-Eastern countries was recalled after new reports unveiled Mossad's direct role in the assassination of Iranian nuclear scientist Majid Shahriari.

According to a report posted on IranNuc.ir website on Wednesday, the Israeli spy agency has a long record in assassinating Arab and Muslim scientists in collaboration with its US and British counterparts (CIA and MI6).

The report revealed the names of several Arab scientists who were assassinated by Mossad, including Yahiya Amin al-Mashd and Samireh Mousa (Egyptian scientists), Samir Najib, Nabil al-Qolaini, Nabil Ahmad Fodayfel, Mostafa Ali Moshrefah (known as the Arab World's Einstein), Jamal Hamdan, Saeed Sayyed Badir, Salvi Habib, Ramal Hassan Ramal (Lebanese physicist), Hassan Kamel Sabbah (Lebanese physicist known as the Arab World's Edison).

Global attention was redirected to Mossad's terror plots for assassinating the nuclear scientists of the Islamic world after Iranian professor Majid Shahriari was killed by the Israeli spy agency in Tehran late in 2010.

Two Iranian university professors Fereidoon Abbasi Davani and Majid Shahriari were assassinated in separate terrorist bomb attacks here in Tehran on November 29 with the latter killed immediately after the blast.

Recent media reports said that Mossad leaders have recently convened in a meeting in a neighborhood North of Tel Aviv and discussed the agency's latest operations in Tehran, including the assassination of Shahriari.

Another Iranian university professor and nuclear scientist, Massoud Ali Mohammadi, was also assassinated in a terrorist bomb attack in Tehran in January 2010.

Also later in December, Iraq's young nuclear scientist, Mohammad al-Fouz, was gunned down in the country's capital city of Baghdad by Mossad.

He had released his new uranium enrichment formula in a number of western journals.

Earlier reports had shown Mossad's involvement in the assassination of more than 350 Iraqi nuclear scientists as well as more than 300 university professors, and the attack on Mohammad al-Fouz was the most recent case in a chain of attacks carried out in recent years.



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- [As if Saddam never was](#) (December 31, 2010)

Our schools are different from schools in the U.S. in that the teachers are required to stick to the material in the text books that the Ministry of Education prints, and are not permitted to deviate from the curriculum in any way. This is how it was during Saddam's time – and has – conveniently, remained the same since, in spite of "democracy", "human rights" and "freedom of speech". In maths and chemistry this may not be such an issue. But when it comes to history ..

Contemporary Iraq history is taught in sixth, ninth and 12th grades, the grades that take ministry board examinations. Now, in all three text books history suddenly comes to an end after the 1958 revolution. No mention is made of later revolutions: in 1963 in which Baathists participated, though they did not come to power, and the 1968 revolution that they led and through which they arose to power. Not once is "Baath" mentioned – Not once is Saddam Hussein" mentioned in all the history text books now being taught in Iraqi schools.

I spoke to Ms Nadia ----- (38 years - very beautiful! – married, three children), who teaches ninth grade history in a boy's intermediate school in west Baghdad, and who had previously taught 12th grade in a secondary school.

"I cannot deny that a big effort is being made to erase that era from the history (text) books. It seems that our governments cannot draw a moderate path to teach our pupils. Before 2003, there used to be too much detail about the Baath party rising to power – its struggle - its achievements and future goals – And now there is nothing at all.

"Thirty years cannot be erased from our memories. They are what made us who we are – for good or bad. As a history teacher I believe that it is not just identity that we gain from studying our history – but also the lessons and examples that history gives – the examples that should make us wiser in the future. These should not be erased. They should be highlighted and shouted from roof tops so that the politicians sit up and pay attention".

(I asked her whether she thought the politicians intend to keep this silence in history text books – or whether they were just pondering what should be written?)" History is always affected by politics – and the winner gets his version into the text books. Like you, I am wondering what they will write – how they will describe that era, its ups and downs. May be it is still too recent for them to be able to make all the changes. Will they be fair? Or will it be just revenge? I feel like I am a witness and need to see the outcome of this struggle".

(I asked her what other changes were made in history text books that she would like to comment upon)
"The change that caught my attention was in seventh grade history text books. Seventh graders study ancient civilizations, focusing on Mesopotamia. It was a rich study that caught the imagination of the pupils and inspired them. Now the focus on Mesopotamia is very little – Hamurabi is just another king who wrote the law on an obelisk – and greater focus is given to *neighbouring* civilizations".

- **URGENT / Gunmen seriously wounded President of Mosul University (December 20, 2010)**



NINEWA / Aswat al-Iraq: President of Mosul University was seriously wounded by gunmen in eastern Mosul on Monday, according to a security source.

“Unknown gunmen opened fire on President of Mosul University, Saeed al-Diwah, on Monday evening (Dec. 20) while heading from his house to al-Fardous mosque in al-Kafaat neighborhood, eastern Mosul,” the source told Aswat al-Iraq news agency.

“Al-Diwah was seriously wounded and he is in the intensive care at al-Jumhuriya hospital,” he added.
SH (P)/SR

- **Christian female university student abducted in Mosul (December 15, 2010)**

NINEWA / Aswat al-Iraq: A Christian female student had been abducted by a group of armed men east of north Iraq’s city of Mosul on Tuesday, a Mosul security source said.

“A group of armed men have abducted a 21-year-old Christian female student of Mosul’s Technical Institute,” the security student said, adding that the student was kidnapped while returning to her residence in east Mosul on Tuesday afternoon, but gave no further details.

Mosul, the center of north Iraq’s Ninewa Province, is 405 km to the north of Baghdad.

SKH/SR



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Without giving any reasons over the decision

- **Iraq's education ministry bans theatre & music classes** (07 December 2010)

DUBAI (AlArabiya.net)

The Iraqi Ministry of Education has banned theatre and music classes in Baghdad's Fine Arts Institute, and ordered the removal of statues showcased at the entrance of the institute without explaining the move, but some of the students mull religious reasons as the real motive.

“Prohibiting theatre and music in the institute for its so called “violation” of religion is only an individual opinion touted by some people hailing from religious parties, but it is contradictory to the opinion of most religious clerics and scholars,” said Dhaya al-Shakarchi, a writer and a politicians, told Alarabiya.net.

Students have also fears that the ban will extend to include other arts such as photography, directing, sculpting, and drawing.

“Those individuals have a mentality that is against the spirit of creativity, art, freedoms, and even happiness in society, because they misunderstand religion, and if they went back to religious references, they won't find consensus that these arts are of violation to religion,” said al-Shakarchi.

Some religious parties have also opposed reviving the Babylon Festival that used to occur every summer in Iraq's Hilla province, an hour drive from Baghdad, saying that music and dance are prohibited while observing the birthday of a religious figure which coincided with the festival's timing.

Religious parties have also closed down clubs. This snowballed in protests by Iraqi intellectuals to condemn tightening of freedoms, and one conspicuous slogan appeared during their marches was “Baghdad is not Kandahar”.

“The zealously banning of freedoms won't be long in Iraq. There are Iraqis that reject such moves,” al-Shakarchi said, adding, “the voices of intellectuals, and freedom and creativity lovers will be louder to reject all of this.”

(Translated from Arabic by Dina al-Shibeeb)



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- **Gunmen kill higher education ministry's official in Baghdad (November 23, 2010)**

BAGHDAD / Aswat al-Iraq: Unknown gunmen killed an official of the higher education ministry in northeastern Baghdad, a security source said on Tuesday.

“The gunmen shot and killed Dr. Muthfer Mohammad, an official of the higher education ministry's cultural relations department, inside his house in al-Suliekh neighborhood, northeastern Baghdad,” the source told Aswat al-Iraq news agency.

He gave no further details.

SH (P)

- **Tight security measures near Mosul university (November 9, 2010)**

NINEWA / Aswat al-Iraq: Tight security measures have been adopted near the Mosul University after receiving information on a possible car bomb attack, a security source said on Tuesday.

“Iraqi forces imposed on Tuesday (Nov. 9) tight security measures in al-Majmouaa al-Thaqafiya region, northern Mosul, near the Mosul University after receiving intelligence information on a possible car bomb attack in the region,” the source told Aswat al-Iraq news agency.

“All roads leading to the region have been sealed off,” he added.

Mosul, the capital of Ninewa, is 405 km north of Baghdad.

SH (P)

- **Armed men rob salaries of one of East Baghdad's Rusafa Education Directorate's salaries (October 25, 2010)**

BAGHDAD / Aswat al-Iraq: A group of armed men have robbed the salaries of employees in one of east Baghdad Rusafa's Education Directorate, reaching 30 million Iraqi dinars (a US\$ equals 1,118 dinars), an Iraqi police source said on Monday.

“A group of armed men have attacked a car, carrying three employees of the 3rd Rasafa Education Directorate in Baghdad, who carried 30 million dinars, being the salaries of the Directorate's employees, fleeing away with the money,” the police source told Aswat al-Iraq News Agency, adding that the robbers had escaped to an unknown destination.

SKH



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→ **A Message From Iraq to Its Exiled Scholars: Please Consider Returning Home** (September 29, 2010)

By Aisha Labi

Three years ago, Abed Thiab al-Ajili, Iraq's minister of higher education, approached the Institute of International Education's Scholar Rescue Fund with a desperate plea for help. The New York-based organization provides assistance for endangered scholars and academics around the world, and the situation in Iraq, in the wake of the American-led invasion and the subsequent [unrest](#), was bleak.

"One of the earliest requests he made was if we could find him funding for TV cameras at the gates of the university to prevent people being assassinated while going into the university," said Henry G. Jarecki, chairman of the Scholar Rescue Fund. The fund has since supported 213 Iraqi academics through its Iraq Scholar Rescue Project, by providing them with fellowships and matching them with host universities in countries where they can work in safety, and sometimes, for those facing imminent peril, providing funds to allow them to travel to safety.

Dr. Jarecki led a video conference on Wednesday, with Mr. al-Ajili in Baghdad and Scholar Rescue Fund officials in New York and Washington. During the meeting, it became clear that, while the situation in Iraq remains challenging, much has changed since that appeal.

Although Iraqi academics continue to face threats and the rescue fund has received 12 requests for help since the elections in March, Mr. al-Ajili said that the security situation in his country has improved considerably.

In response to a question from Dr. Jarecki about reports of targeted killings of physicians, Mr. al-Ajili acknowledged that violence persists. "Of course there are incidents, but they are at random," he said. "They are not targeting physicians or scholars in the universities."

Mr. al-Ajili said he expected that once a government is formed in Iraq, which he predicted would happen within weeks, the security situation would continue to improve. He emphasized that, although news-media coverage tends to focus on bombings and attacks, the daily lives of most Iraqis are "normal."

In part because of the distorted coverage, the minister said, perceptions of the current situation in Iraq's universities are often inaccurate. "I have met a lot of people outside Iraq, and it seems to me they are ignorant" about issues such as the accreditation of Iraqi institutions and other basic facts, he said.

For example, Mr. al-Ajili mentioned that work has just begun on the construction of 2,000 new residences for faculty members in Baghdad, which he said are expected to be complete in two years. Such a development might persuade some displaced Iraqi academics to go back home. Jim Miller, executive director of the Scholar Rescue Fund, noted that academics who have fled Iraq often cite the fact that they no longer have homes as an impediment to their return.



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Academics inside Iraq and those outside the country plan to meet in January, at a conference in Amman, Jordan. The meeting will be sponsored by the Institute of International Education, with help from the Post-War Reconstruction and Development Unit at the University of York, in England. The presidents of all of Iraq's public universities will be invited.

Some of the Iraqi scholars who have received support from the Scholar Rescue Fund over the past three years will be presenting papers focused on the development of higher education and science in Iraq, including such issues as post-traumatic stress disorder among Iraqi academics. The call for research proposals also included a "strong suggestion" that the work involve joint research with academics still in Iraq, Mr. Miller said.

The conference will be a crucial event in the fund's efforts to assist with the eventual repatriation of the Iraqi scholars it has supported who wish to return home. "We want those of our scholars who want to go back to be as educated as possible about the situation on the ground and the issues of safety and whether scholars are being targeted in some unusually precise fashion," said Dr. Jarecki. The main goal of the conference, he said, "is to get people inside and outside Iraq talking as much as possible."

An Exiled Professor's Questions for Iraq's Higher-Education Minister (October 10, 2010)

To the Editor:

"[A Message From Iraq to Its Exiled Scholars: Please Consider Returning Home](#)" (*The Chronicle*, September 29) highlighted the plea of the Iraqi minister of higher education, Abed Thiab al-Ajili, for help from the Institute of International Education's Scholar Rescue Fund. What caught my eye was his request for funds for TV cameras at the gates of the university to prevent assassinations. Then he spoke about the improvement in the security situation in Iraq, which he thinks should encourage Iraqi academics to go back home. As a professor who served Baghdad University for over 31 years—and lived in Iraq during the Iraq-Iran war, the inhuman sanctions, and the occupation for six years—I would like to make the following comments:

- I do not know how much it would cost to put TV cameras at the gates of the university. (Nobody knows what university the minister meant, because there are four state universities in Baghdad alone.) What I surely know is that a decision was taken before the beginning of this current academic year to install TV cameras in all the classrooms of Baghdad University, cameras linked to two TV's—one in the dean's office and the second in his assistant's room. That was a decision unprecedented in Iraq or in any university in the world. Does the minister know about this decision? And if his ministry or the universities under his direction have money to spend on this system of police-state-style censoring, how come they don't have money to install cameras at the gates of universities? And since when can cameras prevent the killing of academics?



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- In the past four months, a dozen people working in the ministry itself, under the direct administration of the minister or in his own office, were either murdered by killers using pistols with silencers or were disabled by bombs stuck to their cars. Could the minister tell us what he did to find the murderers who committed these crimes? What protection did he provide for these employees to prevent their brutal liquidation? I am only mentioning the most recent incidents, in which I lost two of my very good friends and colleagues. I do not need to remind the minister that a few years ago, an entire department in his ministry was attacked and all the employees were abducted by people wearing police and army uniforms and driving government cars. He could not save a single person. They were all murdered, cut to pieces, and thrown in the streets in closed boxes. In that incident I also lost two of my colleagues.
- Since the minister is accusing the media and those living abroad of being ignorant and not knowing the facts, and is saying that life inside Iraq is normal, could he tell us how many times he was able to visit the universities in the southern part of Iraq? Or, better still, could he tell us how many visits he paid to universities inside Baghdad? Finally, and more important, could he tell us why Al-Mustansiriya University, the second-biggest in Baghdad, has now four deans (or presidents), each having his own office, secretariat, and bodyguards, and all on the same campus? And why his ministerial orders to fire each of them were not observed, and why he did not go himself to the university and solve the problem? And why he is spending most of his time in the Green and Red Zones, where he has strongly protected houses, and not in the Ministry of Higher Education itself?

I must say that I have nothing against the man. He was the wrong person in the wrong place at the wrong time. Because he lived outside Iraq for more than 25 years before the invasion, he had no information whatsoever about life in the Iraqi universities. What is happening now is the mistake, if not the crime, of the occupying forces, who put in office people who lived most of their lives outside Iraq, and who were mostly corrupt and had tarnished reputations. But until the minister gives us frank and straightforward answers, or tells us why he did not submit his resignation since he was unable to perform his duties—or maybe tells us, to give him the benefit of the doubt, why he was not allowed to perform those duties—he should not expect self-exiled Iraqi academics to respond to his perhaps genuine appeal.

Saad Jawad

Fellow

London School of Economics and Political Science

London



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- **3 education ministry staff killed, 1 wounded in Falluja** (October 9, 2010)

ANBAR / Aswat al-Iraq: Three higher education & scientific research ministry employees were killed and another wounded in an armed attack in eastern al-Falluja city on Saturday, according to a police source in al-Anbar.

“Unidentified gunmen opened fire from their light arms today (Oct. 9) on a group of higher education & scientific research ministry employees in the area of al-Qaragul, al-Karma district, eastern Falluja, killing three and wounding another,” the source told Aswat al-Iraq news agency.

“A number of army and police personnel were intensively deployed in the area in search of the runaway culprits,” the source added.

Falluja, the largest city in the predominantly Sunni province of al-Anbar, lies 45 km northwest of the Iraqi capital Baghdad.

AmR (P)

- **Jadiriya bombing targeted higher education undersecretary** (October 4, 2010)

BAGHDAD / Aswat al-Iraq: The roadside bombing that took place in the al-Jadiriya neighborhood of Baghdad earlier Monday targeted the Iraqi higher education undersecretary.

“The blast targeted the convoy of Foad al-Mousawi, the Iraqi higher education undersecretary,” a local security source told Aswat al-Iraq news agency.

Earlier, another source said that a director general of the Iraqi Higher Education Ministry survived assassination with a roadside bomb in Baghdad on Monday.

He explained that one of the director general’s guards was killed, and four civilians who were nearby the blast’s location by coincidence were injured.

MH (P)/SR

- **Gunmen shoot dead univ. professor in Mosul** (October 3, 2010)

NINEWA / Aswat al-Iraq: Unidentified gunmen shot down a university professor after they raided his house in northern Mosul city on Sunday, according to a local police source.

“Gunmen stormed the house of Ibrahim Mohammed al-Qassab, a professor at the Education College, Mosul University, in al-Jami’a neighborhood, northern Mosul, and opened fire on him, killing him instantly and escaping to an unknown place,” the source told Aswat al-Iraq news agency.



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Mosul, the capital city of the violence-ridden multi-ethnic province of Ninewa, lies 405 km north of Baghdad.

AmR (P)

- **Bomb explodes in front of Mosul Faculty of Medicine** (September 30, 2010)

NINEWA / Aswat al-Iraq: An explosive charge went off Thursday in front of the Faculty of Medicine in Mosul, without leaving casualties, a police source said.

“The bomb exploded in front of the Faculty of Medicine in western Mosul, without causing casualties,” the source told Aswat al-Iraq news agency.

“The bomb went off spontaneously without targeting any security patrols,” he added.

Mosul, the capital of Ninewa, is 405 km north of Baghdad.

SH (P)/SR

- **Corruption in Iraq’s school system** (SEPTEMBER 28, 2010)

Corruption in Iraq isn’t confined to the halls of government or big business deals, it pervades daily life. Reporter Susannah George takes a close look at corruption within the Iraqi educational system.

Read the Transcript

This text below is a phonetic transcript of a radio story broadcast by PRI’s THE WORLD. It has been created on deadline by a contractor for PRI. The transcript is included here to facilitate internet searches for audio content. Please report any transcribing errors to theworld@pri.org. This transcript may not be in its final form, and it may be updated. Please be aware that the authoritative record of material distributed by PRI’s THE WORLD is the program audio.

LISA MULLINS: Iran’s western neighbor, Iraq, is one of the most corrupt countries in the world. And corruption in Iraq isn’t confined to government or big business. It pervades daily life. Municipal services, social services and education are all affected. The World’s Susannah George in Baghdad tells us about corruption in Iraq’s universities.

SUSANNAH GEORGE: It’s just a week before class is set to begin at the University of Baghdad and the director of accreditation and student affairs sorts through stacks of envelopes at his desk. Inside each envelope is an admissions application. And within each application are documents that prove the applicants previous education. Hussein Khudhair Al Taie says he knows not all of these documents are real.

SPEAKING ARABIC



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GEORGE: Al Taie says we've discovered a number of fake degrees submitted as part of a student's application. So we're aware that this problem exists and we see it all the time. Some of the degrees that Al Taie finds are obvious fakes, purchased on the black market. Others are less blatant and harder to detect. Muhammed Arif is a professor of information technology at the Technical College in Baghdad. He says that students with enough money and the right political connections can buy grades or simply not attend class and still pass.

SPEAKING ARABIC

MUHAMMED ARIF: People at my university issue degrees for money or pressure from personal contacts. Some students who are not qualified are allowed to join the university or can buy references.

GEORGE: Arif says he watched as one of his own students passed three levels of Computer Sciences without attending a single class.

SPEAKING ARABIC

ARIF: One day I had a young man in my class that claimed to be a student, but I told him I've never seen you before, you have never attended my classes. The student replied I'm okay, I can pass. I never saw him at one of my classes again so at the end of the year I gave him zero marks. Then after the summer holiday I received the roster for my second year computer science class and the young man's name was there.

GEORGE: The same scenario played out with the student in three different classes and he graduated from the university. Arif worries it's only a matter of time before other institutions find out what's going on in Baghdad's universities and call his own degrees, from Baghdad Technical College, into question. When teachers accept bribes for grades it also takes a toll on the students who are studying and attending classes. Mena Talal is 21 and she's studying engineering at Baghdad's al-Mansour College.

SPEAKING ARABIC

MENA TALAL: Students who pay money become just like the students who are smart and study hard to pass. It's disappointing to the students who really work hard and it makes others think that you don't need to work hard, all you need to do is pay money.

GEORGE: When asked what needs to be done to fix the system, the information technology professor Arif just shrugs his shoulders.

SPEAKING ARABIC

ARIF: We need the presence of law. Without law and order these kinds of things can happen all across Iraq.

HANA EDWAR: The white terror in Iraq is the corruption.

GEORGE: Hana Edwar is an ex-parliamentarian and leading Iraqi political figure. She now runs an NGO, the Al-Amal association that works with Iraqi youth. She says fake degrees may not seem like such a horrible thing, but there's a slippery slope.

EDWAR: It is really the most dangerous risk for the Iraqi development. If we don't face it and if we don't try to eliminate this or to contain this, I think for the future it will be very, very difficult to contain this.



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GEORGE: Edwar and others say it's already happening. When Iraq's universities graduate students who have not earned their degrees, they're creating a workforce founded on fraud that has the potential to slow all sectors of Iraqi development. For The World, I'm Susannah George in Baghdad.

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- **Illiteracy Rate in Iraq Climbs among Highest in the Region** (28 Sep 2010)

Source: NGO Coordination Committee in Iraq (NCCI)

 Full Report (pdf* format - 170,8 Kbytes)

One in five Iraqis between the ages of 10 and 49 cannot read or write a simple statement related to daily life[1]. While Iraq boasted a record low illiteracy rate for the Middle East in the 1980s, illiteracy jumped to at least 20% in 2010[2]. Moreover, illiteracy among women in Iraq, at 24%, is more than double that of men (11%)[3]. As the Iraq Liaison for the international NGO Mercy Corps pointed out, "there are some locations—particularly rural locations—where the illiteracy rates are actually much higher. Illiteracy rates among women in some communities can be as high as 40-50%."

Iraq was considered a reputable model for education in the Arab world only a few decades ago. Shortly after hosting the 1976 "Baghdad Conference for the Eradication of Illiteracy"—in which Arab leaders and international experts discussed the potential for progressive educational reforms in the region—the Ba'athist-led Iraqi government passed the Compulsory Education Law. Children between the ages of 6 and 15 were required to attend state schools; those who violated this law would have to serve time in state prison. This law helped raise the literacy rate in many governorates and strengthened the Iraqi state's role as the chief maintainer and supervisor of the free public education system. Consequently, UNESCO estimated that primary schools had nearly a 100% gross enrollment attendance rate in the 1980s and much of the 1990s.[4]

 Full Report (pdf* format - 170,8 Kbytes)

http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/retrieveattachments?openagent&shortid=EGUA-89BSWF&file=Full_Report.pdf



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❑ **Violence raises school dropout numbers** (Al Arabiya, 15 September 2010)

One fifth of Iraqis are illiterate: Iraqi official

The age of illiterate Iraqis ranges between 10 and 49
DUBAI (Al Arabiya)

The Iraqi Ministry of Education issued a statement that almost one fifth of the population is illiterate and established a link between violence and the remarkable increase in dropout numbers.

Official figures of Iraqi illiteracy coincided with those issued by U.N. organizations and which estimated that one fifth of Iraqi adults, that is between the ages of 10 and 49, do not know how to read or write, the London-based newspaper al-Hayat reported Wednesday.

" The high level of illiteracy since the invasion is mainly because children drop out of schools in order to work and support their families after they lost everything in the war "

Education Ministry spokesman Walid Hassan

The waves of violence that swept the country since the 2003 U.S.-led invasion played a major role in increasing the illiteracy rate in Iraq, said Walid Hassan, Ministry of Education spokesman.

"The high level of illiteracy since the invasion is mainly because children drop out of schools in order to work and support their families after they lost everything in the war," he said in the statement.

The war also made it difficult for the government to apply the obligatory education law and which penalizes families for not sending their children to school or for allowing them to drop out before completing their elementary years.

The political instability the country has been suffering from since 2003, the statement said, led to the absence of a comprehensive educational strategy and the lack of proper funding.

"There isn't enough coordination between the relevant parties—the government, the private sector, and civil society."

The statement added that besides the need for devising new strategies and developing school curricula, centers for educating adults have to be established in order to teach illiterate Iraqis who are past school age.



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“We have already opened a couple of those in several governorates and prepared curricula that suit the age and skills of students, yet this needs an entire budget.”

Illiteracy rates

According to the ministry statement, the percentage of illiteracy among Iraqi women is 24%, which is more than double the percentage among men (11%). As for children of both sexes, around 19% between 10 and 14 years old don't go to school.

Illiteracy rate differs according to regions as it reaches 25% in the countryside and does not exceed 14% in urban areas. The percentage differed according to governorates as it reached its lowest in Diyala, Baghdad, and Kirkuk and its highest in Duhok and Sulaymaniyah in the Iraqi Kurdistan autonomous region.

In the mid-1980s, Iraq was listed as an illiteracy-free country after the government launched an expansive campaign to eliminate illiteracy. The campaign involved enrolling illiterate Iraqis living in remote villages and towns in schools where they are obliged to study for six years.

(Translated from Arabic by Sonia Farid).

<http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2010/09/15/119335.html>

Back to School Jihad in Iraq (Sep 2nd 2010)

Abeer Mohammed is a senior local editor based in Baghdad for Institute of War and Peace Reporting. Here's an excerpt from a [post](#) at the [IWPR site](#) about the story behind his sensational report (posted below) on how teachers in Iraq are schooling their students in jihad and Islamic supremacism:



For this story, I tried to interview sources in schools in several Baghdad neighbourhoods but the headmasters refused. So I waited for teachers, parents and students outside of schools in Sunni, Shia and mixed neighbourhoods. One day, I spent six hours in front of a school in a poor Shia-majority area of Baghdad.

I faced the most resistance from officials who gave me veiled warnings to not report on such a hot topic. **One official told me I was pushing too hard on this issue, and another accused me of defaming Islam.**

When I asked one official why there was no curriculum on Christianity, he became nervous and angry and told me I should not focus on the curricula.

A female Muslim legislator defended the textbooks and asked me, “What is your name again? And where do you work?” Because I always identify myself in any case, these were not questions I was comfortable hearing.

His report is also one that people, whether in Iraq or particularly in the US, are not comfortable hearing. Who in the US, now that the war in Iraq has “ended,” wants to hear that in American-liberated Iraq, Islamic education class in Iraqi schools, many of which were rebuilt or built by US soldiers, is teaching jihad and Islamic supremacism? Certainly not Americans fond of claiming victory.

Mohammed Abeer’s report from the [Kansas City Star](#) (via [Islamization Watch](#)):

Zuhair Jerjis and Ahmed Mohammed are both 10. They attend the same Baghdad school and often ride home together. After school, the two get together and play video games.

But Ahmed is worried. He wonders if some day he will have to murder his best friend.



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The boys go to the same school and share a ride home to the same district of Baghdad, but their parents do not share the same faith.

Zuhair's family is Christian and Ahmed's is Muslim. Recent religious lessons at school have left Ahmed questioning what end awaits his friendship.

“Our teacher tells us it is forbidden in Islam to make friends with unbelievers,” he said. “When I study that we have to fight the unbelievers in the name of jihad, I think, ‘Will I kill Zuhair one day?’”

Ahmed's family in Muslim; Zuhair's is Christian. And it turns out that in Iraq's schools today, religious tolerance is not part of the curriculum.

Religious education is a regular feature of public schools in Iraq. Because Zuhair is a Christian, he is not required to attend religious classes. But because the vast majority of his classmates are Muslims, Zuhair said he often feels alone and isolated.

“When all of my friends are in the class, I have to stand outside,” he said.

As students prepare to return to classes this fall, there is growing criticism of the recently introduced curriculum, which critics say fails to tackle the causes of religious and sectarian hatred that have fueled the violence of the last six years. Worse still, they accuse it of laying the **foundations for future strife.**

The main concerns about the school program are that it favors the Shia interpretation of Islam.

In addition, **many are concerned that some teachers focus on subjects not directly addressed in the curriculum, such as the treatment of non-Muslims and jihad, or holy war.**

From an internal Iraqi standpoint, teaching sectarian lessons to the young promises continued division and worse. From a non-Muslim standpoint, given that Sunni and Shia Islam agree on jihad and the treatment of non-Muslims, the main problem isn't sectarian. The main problem is jihad and the treatment of non-Muslims — if, that is, religious tolerance is the point of the lesson. But in Iraq, as an Islamic culture, religious tolerance as Westerners conceive of it, is just not a core subject.

The reporter elaborates on the Sunni-Shia disagreement a while longer:

Before the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in 2003, religious education reflected the beliefs of the minority Sunni population, which makes up roughly one-quarter of the current population.

The current curriculum places more emphasis on Shia Islam, a sect followed by the majority of Iraq's Arabs and by its most powerful politicians, including Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. ...



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Alaa Makki, a Sunni member of parliament and head of a parliamentary committee on education, said the new curriculum was unbalanced.

“The current changes have a huge sectarian impact,” he said. “The updating process should focus on the shared aspects (of Islam), not on a specific sect.” Some of the areas of dispute are subtle and reflect the centuries-old schism within Islam.

For example, Iraq’s former Sunni-accented textbooks followed all mentions of the Prophet with a traditional Sunni blessing, “Peace be upon him.” In the new textbooks, the blessing is a typical Shia one, “Peace be upon him and his family.”

Somehow, doesn’t quite convey the impact of the two little boys at the top of the story, one wondering if Islamic teachings will compel him to murder his Christian friend. But here’s more:

In addition, anecdotal evidence from schools suggests many teachers offer their own views on such topics as the treatment of non-Muslims or the obligation to wage jihad.

Sanaa Muhsin, an Islamic studies teacher in Baghdad’s Shaab district, said she regularly instructs her students that “each Muslim had a duty to carry out jihad – namely to fight unbelievers.” She identified unbelievers as those who did not follow Allah or the Prophet Mohammed.

Some students appear to be learning the lessons well.

Sajjad Kiayyad, 7, of Baghdad, said he plans to become a holy warrior when he grows up. “I will fight the Americans because they are Jewish and unbelievers,” he said. “I will be victorious, or I will be a martyr in heaven.”


Maryam Ali, 9, also of Baghdad, said she is carrying out her own jihad by calling on “unveiled female friends to cover their heads.”

Freji, the education ministry adviser, insisted that teachers had been instructed to steer clear of issues that aroused conflict. The new curriculum, he said, focused on the fraternal aspects of Islam. “The Islamic religion, and therefore the Islamic curriculum, emphasizes forgiveness and mercy.”

Must have gotten lost in translation.

• **GIRLS EDUCATION IN IRAQ 2010 (Unicef 01 Sep 2010)**

Source: [United Nations Children's Fund \(UNICEF\)](#)

 [Full report](#) (pdf* format - 644,7 Kbytes)

[http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2010.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/JDUN-89R9BY-full_report.pdf/\\$File/full_report.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2010.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/JDUN-89R9BY-full_report.pdf/$File/full_report.pdf)

Executive Summary

This report contains a situation analysis of girls' education in Iraq and recommendations for improving girls' access to good quality schooling. The situation analysis is based on enrolment data provided by the Ministry of Education in Iraq, a range of currently available reports and other documentation, and on the responses of 80 Iraqi girls to a questionnaire relating to their own experiences of school and their views on girls' education. The picture is incomplete because no data on girls' attendance or success rates are available and these are crucial to a full situational analysis.

In Iraq the overall number of children receiving primary education has declined between 2004-05 and 2007-08 by 88,164, with no improvement in the percentage of girls enrolled. Gross enrolment figures provided for the academic year 2005 – 2005 show 5,163,440 children enrolled in primary education. Girls account for 44.74% of students. Figures for 2007-2008 show 5,065,276 children enrolled in primary education, with 44.8 % being girls. This means that for every 100 boys enrolled in primary schools in Iraq, there are just under 89 girls.

This under representation of girls in primary school in Iraq has been known for many years. The fact that there are declining numbers of girls in each successive grade has also been identified analyses of the data. Analysis of the 2007 -2008 data shows the same picture. In every governorate a smaller percentage of girls than boys start school. There are no governorates where the number of children completing primary education is acceptable, and it is even less acceptable for girls. The current data replicate previously available data in showing a generally declining percentage of girls in each successive primary school grade. Some 75% of girls who start school have dropped out during, or at the end of, primary school and so do not go on to intermediate education. Many of them will have dropped out after grade 1. When all governorates' figures are combined, there are 21.66% fewer girls in grade 2 than in grade 1. Similarly there is a 28.63% national drop in the number of girls between grades 5 and 6. By the first intermediate class, only 25% the number of girls in grade 1 are in school; by the third intermediate class the figure is 20%.

The percentage of girls in primary school classes is highest in Erbil, Dohuk and Sulaimaniya. These three governorates also have the highest percentage of children in pre-school education. In Erbil 15.8% of

children attend preschool provision, Dohuk 11.3% and Sulaimaniya 11.4% compared with, for example 5.7% in Baghdad, 8.6% in Kirkuk, or 3.3% in Diyala.

There is also a major issue with the number of children in each grade who are over age. The difference between gross and net enrolment data for 2007-08 shows that 659,896 children are above the age for the grade that they are in. This represents 13% of all primary school children - more than one in every ten. Of those children, 228,829 children were still attending primary school when they were aged 13 – 15+.

In order to increase girls' participation in education, it is vital to gain an insight into why they never attend school or drop out before completing their basic education. A small scale survey of 80 Iraqi girls was therefore included in this piece of work. While this is not a large or statistically valid sample, their responses provide a clear insight into many of the reasons why girls do not go to school. As would be expected, parents, particularly fathers, play a major role in whether the girls can attend school or not. The girls refer to a range of reasons why families do not support girls attending school. These include concerns about safety, family poverty, a reluctance to allow adolescent girls to continue to attend school, the distance from home to school, early marriage and the need to help at home. The journey to and from school presents problems caused by fast traffic, dogs or boys. Girls are frequently demotivated by the behaviour of teachers who beat them, distress them and are unwilling to explain subject matter that a student does not understand. Their answers make frequent references to being beaten or insulted by teachers, and to teachers being unwilling to give explanations in lessons or support students in their learning. The girls describe their schools as unwelcoming and unpleasant with too few facilities and resources. Schools are described as dirty, poorly maintained and uncomfortable, with dirty lavatories and no drinking water available. Safety is an issue, particularly in areas of major instability and insecurity. The concerns about safety relate to both military conflict and civil crime such as abduction and rape.

To address the issues identified, two sets of recommendations are included in this report. The first for the government and education services in Iraq, address key policy issues and their implementation; the second for the Education Section of UNICEF Iraq are for consideration for inclusion in their work plan as is drawn up for the support of the provision of education in Iraq. Those for the government focus on policy development and implementation, awareness-raising, school improvement and development, pre-service and in-service teacher training, curriculum development, alternative education strategies, and security for girls travelling to and from school.

Those for UNICEF Iraq describe initiatives which would support national initiatives. They could be piloted in specific areas for ultimate mainstreaming in particular governorates or across Iraq. The recommended initiatives are designed to complement and extend the work already being carried out by UNICEF in



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collaboration with the Iraqi Government, Ministries of Education, Governorates and local groups, in line with the Country Programme Action Plan (CPAP) 2007-2010.

 [Full report](#) (pdf* format - 644,7 Kbytes)

❑ **IRAQ: Trauma leaves an indelible mark** (IRIN, 01 September 2010)

BAGHDAD, 1 September 2010 (IRIN) - US President Barack Obama may have hailed the end of US combat operations in Iraq, but the seven-year war has left an indelible mark on many ordinary people who are still traumatized by the horrific things they experienced.

Whenever he sees a speeding car, Ammar Khalil Sadiq recalls the summer of 2006 when a suicide bomber drove his explosives-laden vehicle into a police patrol a few metres from his Baghdad music shop.

Seconds later Sadiq, 34, found himself lying underneath the shop shelves and shattered glass, the air heavy with smoke, dust and a strong smell of TNT. Ignoring his injuries, he knew he had to get out to check on his brother who was in the street just before the explosion.

“The smell of burnt human flesh and the yells of the wounded are still in my nose and ears,” Sadiq said. “I can’t forget how I walked on pieces of human flesh until I recognized my brother’s dismembered body by the watch which was still on his left wrist.”

The Iraqi authorities have only recently begun to address the mental health issues and psychological scars resulting from three decades of war and social and economic turmoil, said Sabah Karkokli, a spokesman for the Iraqi Health Ministry.

In 2009 the Health Ministry started to roll out a programme of psychological therapy, and train staff to meet the increasing need for such therapy nationwide, Karkokli said. Iraq has opened mental health units in each of its nearly 3,500 hospitals and health centres nationwide, he added.

The country has two psychiatric institutions - in Baghdad’s Al-Rashad and Ibin Rushid hospitals - and six other recently inaugurated trauma centres.

The smell of burnt human flesh and the yells of the wounded are still in my nose and ears “We started opening units in each of our health institutions and encouraging doctors to undertake training in psychiatric treatment... We are aiming to create an awareness of mental illness and encourage people to



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show up whenever they need to,” Karkokli said.

Mental health survey

In March 2009 Iraq released its first and only nationwide mental health survey. Carried out by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Health Ministry, it painted a grim picture.

Of the 4,332 respondents aged 18 and above surveyed, nearly 17 percent had suffered from a mental health disorder in their lifetime, ranging from post-traumatic stress disorder to depression. A higher rate of severe depression and phobias, like fear of leaving the house, was observed among women.

The 102-page report said many of the cases documented related to the period during and after the 2003 US-led invasion that toppled Saddam Hussein. It said nearly 70 percent of those with a mental health disorder said they had considered committing suicide.

It also noted that there were only 437 psychiatric and social workers nationwide in a country of nearly 30 million.

Success story in Basra

After receiving training in the USA on the diagnosis and treatment of trauma cases as part of a cooperation programme with the US Health Department, psychiatrist Aqeel Al-Sabagh and three of his colleagues opened a mental health centre in the southern province of Basra in December 2009.

Initially, demand for the services was very low due to the stigma associated with mental illness and the lack of awareness among people who usually turn to clerics or quacks for help, al-Sabagh said.

“We started a campaign in the local media to raise awareness about trauma and what the Sarah Centre could offer. We also held symposiums in the province’s universities and distributed leaflets with the help of community leaders,” he told IRIN.

Subsequently the number of people coming to what is Basra’s sole government-run centre has risen. “We are now planning to expand the centre and increase the number of employees to cater for the increasing number of visits.”

Al-Sabagh said most of the cases they received were prisoners during Saddam Hussein’s regime or had



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been deserters - some with their ears cut off as a punishment - and the survivors of torture, kidnappings, rape and family violence.

sm/at/cb/oa

Report can be found online at:

<http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=90357>

❑ **1 Kurdish security killed, 1 student abducted in Kirkuk** (August 24, 2010)

KIRKUK / Aswat al-Iraq: One Kurdish security element was killed and one student was abducted in two separate attacks in central Kirkuk city.

“Unknown gunmen driving a civilian car opened fire late yesterday night targeting another civilian car driven by a Kurdish security element, leaving him dead in central Kirkuk,” a local security source told Aswat al-Iraq news agency on Tuesday.

“Another group of unknown gunmen driving a civilian pickup truck kidnapped on Tuesday a student from in front of his house in central Kirkuk,” the source added.

The oil-rich city of Kirkuk lies 250 km northeast of Baghdad.

<http://en.aswataliraq.info/?p=136032>

- **Gunmen take away salaries of Baghdad University’s Veterinary College** (August 22, 2010)

BAGHDAD / Aswat al-Iraq: Unknown gunmen on Sunday stole the salaries of staff members working for the Baghdad University’s Veterinary College.

“The stolen amount is around ID700 million,” a local security source told Aswat al-Iraq news agency.

He explained that the gunmen took away the salaries when the college’s accountant received them from a bank in the al-Khadhraa neighborhood, western Baghdad.

“The gunmen took the money and escaped to an unknown place,” the source added.

MH (P)/SR

<http://en.aswataliraq.info/?p=135933>



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- **Falluja police arrest two gunmen involved in killing scholar** (August 19, 2010)

ANBAR / Aswat al-Iraq: Police forces arrested two gunmen involved in killing religious scholars and mosques' imams in Falluja, chief of Falluja police said on Thursday.

“The two detainees confessed during interrogation to taking part in armed operations against imams and scholars and to killing Sheikh Ihsan al-Douri in Falluja,” Mahmoud al-Issawi told Aswat al-Iraq news agency.

“They belongs to what is called Tiyour al-Janna (Heaven’s Birds) which belongs to al-Qaeda,” he added.

Falluja, Anbar province, is 45 km west of Baghdad, while Ramadi, the capital of Anbar, lies 110 km west of the Iraqi capital.
SH (P)

<http://en.aswataliraq.info/?p=135841>

- **Iraq's Best and Brightest Gone Missing** (August 16, 2010)

BY: MARGARET WARNER at 2:45 PM EST

AMMAN, Jordan | On Sunday night, we made a quick stop-over in Jordan on our way to Iraq. **Our mission** for the next three weeks: to see what Iraq looks like after seven years of war and U.S. occupation. Does the conflict-wracked country have a realistic hope of becoming self-sustaining as U.S. troops draw down -- strong enough to defend itself from enemies within and without, and prosperous enough to provide a decent quality of life for its people?

One of the answers to that query can be found right here, in Jordan's capital Amman. And for Iraq, it's not a happy answer.

When compared to the days after the first Gulf war, this town is booming, no longer a dusty sea of half-finished buildings and rubble-strewn streets. The highways go where you need to go. The streets are clean and well-paved. Downtown Amman bursts with office buildings, apartment complexes, businesses and hotels -- many of them financed by money from elsewhere in the Arab world, including Iraq. In fact, the highest building on the Amman cityscape -- the five-star Le Royal Hotel -- was built by Iraqi financiers. Locals say the 1990s -- with U.N. sanctions imposed on Saddam Hussein's Iraq -- were very good indeed for Jordan, which became a hub for hundreds of millions of dollars of illicit trade in oil and goods of every kind.

The 2003 U.S. invasion brought another sort of Iraq-fueled boom to Amman. Between 500,000 and



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750,000 Iraqis fled as sectarian violence spun out of control. Many of the poorer ones went to Syria, but wealthy and middle-class Iraqis brought their assets -- and more importantly, their expertise, training and know-how -- to their eastern neighbor Jordan. One chilling statistic: some 60 percent of Iraq's doctors left, and brought their talents to hospitals in Jordan and elsewhere in the Middle East. That exodus has the Iraq of today struggling to build and sustain an economy without some of its brightest and most highly educated citizens.

Fresh off the plane from the States on Sunday night, we headed for dinner at a popular Iraqi restaurant, Al-Tabeeh, in the Amman neighborhood of Rabia. In front of an open grill presided over by an Iraqi chef, we tucked into a tasty dinner of lentil soup with fresh lime, shesh tawook (think chicken shish-kebob) and the most fabulous dolmas -- stuffed grape leaves -- I've ever had, steamed with eggplant, chicken, saffron potato slices and savory rice.

Nearby sat two Iraqi exiles having dinner: 42-year-old Ehssan Yousef, a television announcer, and a young editor, 22-year-old Hasan Ahmed Kassid, of an Iraqi-owned satellite television network based in Egypt, Al-Rafidayn TV. Kassid, a Sunni, left Iraq four years ago after his uncle was kidnapped. He got his college degree in computer engineering in Amman, and stayed. It wasn't long before he was joined by his mother, sister and little brother as well. Yousef, who is Shia, says he also fled for his own protection, bringing his wife and children. Who's the threat? "The militias," they said in one breath.

The numbers say Iraq is a lot less violent than in the gory days of sectarian warfare in 2006-2008, but these two men don't see it, and have no plans to return. "Who says it's better?" said Yousef. "My family in Baghdad says, 'Stay in Amman.'" Kassid shuddered. "A car bomb exploded right in front of me more than once," he said. "I'm not going back to that."

The problem isn't between ordinary Sunnis and Shiites, they said, but between their respective militias -- egged on and financed by meddling neighbors, like the Iranians, Syrians and Saudis. "Without this outside influence, there would be no violence," said Yousef. Kassid nodded: "Look at us, I'm Sunni, he's Shia, we're here having dinner. There's no issue. ... But Iraq is too weak. It will never be strong enough to resist the pressure from those neighbors."

Isn't one of the reasons Iraq remains weak, economically and politically, because so many skilled, educated professionals like you have left, I asked. Doesn't that make it harder for private businesses in Iraq to grow and create jobs, and for the government to deliver the services Iraqis want and need?

"We left the country to protect our lives," Kassid retorted. "I don't want to be a victim for someone I don't even know."



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Yousef expressed the same trepidation at the thought of returning. "Everything's changed there, psychologically and socially," he said. "It would be very difficult for me to find my neighbor, whom I lived with in the old days -- and if I did, he might wage war against me."

"So bottom line, what would it take for you to go back?" I asked.

"Stability and security," said Kassid. "And electricity and water," Yousef added. "We're not asking much."

Not much. But in the minds of these Iraqi exiles, it's more than the current government in Baghdad can deliver.

*Check back with the Rundown for more from Margaret Warner in Iraq and her **Twitter page** for on-the-ground updates. And NewsHour correspondent Fred de Sam Lazaro will have an in-depth story in the coming weeks from Jordan on the plight of Iraqi exiles, among other stories. Stay tuned.*

<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/2010/08/iraqs-best-and-brightest-gone-missing.html>

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- **The Humanitarian Situation Within Iraq** (16 August 2010)

The United Nations, as part of its Millennium Development Goals program, has released a new set of statistics on the humanitarian situation within Iraq. The numbers show that the country is still struggling to meet the needs of its public.

Education

Iraq, like many countries in the region, has a very young population. Almost half of Iraqis are below the age of 19 years old. The government faces difficulties educating them. While 87% of boys and 82% of girls are enrolled in school, many drop out before completing their studies. The percentage of youth going to school has also declined. In 2007 85% of kids were enrolled in primary school compared to 91% in 1990. The number of children that have completed 1st to 5th grade however has gone up from 76% in 1990 to 95% in 2006. After primary school there is a sharp decline in attendance, with only 44% finishing that level. Women are also under represented at every educational level. In addition, a little over 300,000 Iraqis aged 10-18 have never gone to school. Compared to the rest of the region, Iran and Turkey do better at 94% and 92% respectively, while Iraq is at the same level as Saudi Arabia at 85%.

The lack of schooling is hurting literacy in the country. The literacy rate for 15-24 year olds increased from 79% in 1990 to 84% in 2007, and 26% of women are illiterate. That gives Iraq the highest illiteracy rate in



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the Middle East.

Iraqi youth are also not learning important skills for a high technology world and economy. In a survey, 65% said they did not know how to use a computer, and only 13% said they used the internet. Both were lower rates than in neighboring countries.

There has been a marked decline in the quality of Iraq's schools over the last few decades. In the 1960s and 1970s Iraq had one of the best education systems in the Middle East. Wars and sanctions robbed schools of funding. Displacement, poverty, discrimination against women, deteriorating infrastructure, overcrowded classrooms, security, lack of parent support, kids having little interest in their schooling, and outdated curriculum are all issues. The U.S. embassy in Baghdad has warned that if the education system isn't improved, the younger generation could be an impediment to peace, stability, and economic growth.

Unemployment

Iraq has high unemployment and underemployment. In 2009 17.3% were unemployed and 29.4% underemployed, meaning almost half of the country struggles to find a steady job. Young people in Iraq face almost double the unemployment rate at 30%. In 1990 the youth jobless rate stood at only 7%. That doesn't compare well other countries such as Turkey and Iran that have unemployment rates of 20% and 22% respectively for their young.

47% of youth with jobs were also dissatisfied with either their pay or type of work, and women face an even harder time with little over 18% participating in the work force. The percentage of women working outside of agriculture has also fallen from 11% in 1990 to 7% in 2008.

Overall, the Iraqi economy simply can't provide enough jobs for the 450,000 people that enter the workforce each year. That's largely because the country is dependent upon oil that is not a labor-intensive industry. In 2008 petroleum accounted for 56% of the GDP, but only 1% of jobs.

Poverty

The lack of work and on-going violence in the country creates high poverty rates. Currently around 7 million Iraqis, 23% of the population lives below the poverty level of \$2.20 per day. Rural areas have the highest percentage of poor people at 39%, but the largest concentration of poverty is in the urban centers. Iraq has also faced a sharp increase in food prices since the 1990s due to international sanctions and wars. The government implemented a food ration system as a result, but it only provides inconsistent basics, and has a negative affect upon the country's agriculture sector.



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Infant Mortality

Iraq has made progress in fighting infant mortality, but it is still at the bottom of the region. Infant deaths went from 62 of every 1,000 births to 41 of every 1,000. Salahaddin has the worst rate at 70 deaths for every 1,000 live births. The number of children dying in the first five years of life has also dropped from 50 of every 1,000 children to 35 of every 1,000. That still makes Iraq the second to last in infant mortality rate in the region with only Yemen being below it.

Maternal deaths are another major problem. 84 mothers per 100,000 births die. That places Iraq with 67 other countries that account for 97% of all maternal deaths in the world. Iraq suffers from poor birth practices, inadequate to unavailable obstetric care, and high levels of anemia. That leads to 1 in 4 pregnancies having serious complications, which threaten the lives of the babies and their mothers.

Conclusion

Iraq's history and economy has severely set back its development. Saddam Hussein's misguided wars, United Nations sanctions, the 2003 invasion, and subsequent sectarian civil war have devastated the country's education and health care systems. Professionals fled the nation, infrastructure was destroyed and deteriorated, and government support for services was severely cut. Baghdad today is faced with the gargantuan task of trying to make up for these decades of setbacks. While there have been some improvements in the humanitarian situation, when compared to the rest of the region Iraq still stands near the very bottom.

SOURCES

Carey, Nick and Kami, Aseel, "Special Report: Between Iraq and a rich place," Reuters, 5/27/10

Inter-Agency Information and Analysis Unit, "Factsheet on Iraq Youth," United Nations, August 2010

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, "Quarterly and Semiannual Report to the United States Congress," 7/30/10

United Nations Country Team – Iraq, "The Millennium Development Goals In Iraq," August 2010
<http://musingsoniraq.blogspot.com/2010/08/humanitarian-situation-within-iraq.html>

- **Iraqi pharmacist coming from US killed in Kut** (August 15, 2010)

WASSIT / Aswat al-Iraq: Unknown gunmen killed a pharmacist inside his house north of Kut city, a security source from Wassit province said on Sunday, explaining that the victim returned home from the U.S. around a month ago after he finished his higher studies there.

“Unknown gunmen late yesterday night raided the pharmacist’s house in the al-Moamaniya district (40 km north of Kut), and opened fire on the pharmacist leaving him dead,” the source told Aswat al-Iraq news agency.

The source explained that police forces rushed to the crime’s site, but the killers were able to escape.

“Preliminary investigations have revealed that the victim returned to Wassit from the U.S. around a month ago, after earning a higher degree in pharmacology from there,” the source added.


Kut, the capital city of Wassit province, lies 180 km southeast of Baghdad.

MH (S)/SR

<http://en.aswataliraq.info/?p=135646>

- **Factsheet on Iraqi Youth** (12 Aug 2010)

Source: [Inter-Agency Information and Analysis Unit \(IAU\)](#)

 [Full Report](#) (pdf* format - 695,1 Kbytes)

The General Assembly proclaimed the year commencing 12 August 2010 as the International Year of Youth under the theme: "Dialogue and Mutual Understanding." As 12 August is the International Youth Day, the Year will be launched on this significant day for young people.

Iraq is one of the most youthful countries in the world—nearly half of its population is less than 19 years old. Iraq's surplus in youth can be a great bounty: with the right investments, it can harness the energy, enthusiasm and creativity of youth. With education, meaningful employment, social activities and prospects to effectively participate in their community—for both young men and women—youth can be a driving force towards the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals and the diffusion of dialogue and mutual understanding in Iraq. Without intensive effort, however, Iraqi youth, born under sanctions, raised in violence, will inherit Iraq without opportunities, education and hope.

 [Full Report](#) (pdf* format - 695,1 Kbytes)

http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/retrieveattachments?openagent&shortid=EGUA-889RY9&file=Full_Report.pdf



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- **Gunmen kill hospital director in Baghdad** (August 11, 2010)

BAGHDAD / Aswat al-Iraq: Unknown gunmen killed on Wednesday the director of the al-Ilwiya Hospital in Baghdad in her house in central the city, and they took away money and golden items from the house. “The gunmen broke into the house of Dr. Intisar Mohammed Ali in al-Arasat neighborhood of central Baghdad, and opened fire on her leaving her dead,” a local security source told Aswat al-Iraq news agency. He noted that the gunmen were able to escape to an unknown place after they took away money and golden items from the house.

MH (P)/SR

<http://en.aswataliraq.info/?p=135531>

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- **Report acknowledges need for development in Iraq** (10 August 2010)

Almost a quarter of Iraqis live in poverty spending less than 2,500 Iraqi dinars (2.2 US\$) per person / day. Photo: UNDP

BAGHDAD - In a report published today, the Government of Iraq and the United Nations presented the progress made in a number of areas towards achieving the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Iraq. These areas are: reducing hunger and child mortality and promoting gender equality. However, there is slower progress reported in other crucial areas: enrolment in primary education, unemployment and access to safe and reliable water and sanitation services.

The Government of Iraq and the UN have agreed to boost efforts to address these issues by 2015, the global deadline for achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, paying special attention to reducing the gaps between the rural and urban areas.

Dr. Sami Metti, Deputy Minister of Planning, notes that “After decades of economic stagnation, reduced access to essential services due to wars, sanctions and conflicts there is no better means than the achievement of the MDGs to make the lives of millions of Iraqi individuals a better one and Iraq a safe and prosperous country”

“The Millennium Development Goals for Iraq contain a set of key milestones for achieving a better future for the country and its people” said Christine McNab the United Nations Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq. “Supporting Iraq to achieve the MDGs is among the United Nations’ top priorities as



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this will ensure a better life for millions of Iraqis including those who will make Iraq's future: the youth and the children" she added.

Despite the progress achieved in reducing child mortality, Iraq remains the second highest country when compared with countries in the region. Photo: UNDP

In September 2000, leaders from 189 Member States in the Millennium Declaration agreed on a vision for the future: a world with less poverty, hunger and disease, greater survival prospects for mothers and their infants, better educated children, equal opportunities for women, and a healthier environment; a world where developed and developing countries would work in close partnership for the well-being of all. This formed the basis of the MDGs which the member states committed to achieve by 2015.

The report "The Millennium Development Goals in Iraq" is part of an outreach campaign launched by the UN and the Government of Iraq to promote and raise awareness of the importance of the MDGs as part of the development efforts agreed upon in the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF 2011 - 2014) signed in May this year. "Over the coming five years we will work closely with the Government of Iraq and key partners including civil society, academia and the private sector to promote the MDGs and raise awareness on the importance of achieving them in line with Iraq's national priorities" concluded Ms. McNab.

The Report's Key Points:

Almost a quarter of Iraqis live in poverty spending less than 2,500 Iraqi dinars (2.2 US\$) per person / day

Youth unemployment is 30% double the national average

Women's share of wage employment outside agriculture fell from 11% to 7% by 2008.

More than half of Iraqi children do not complete their primary education on time

The proportion of children dying before reaching the age of five has fallen from 62 to 41 per 1,000 live births.

Despite the progress achieved in reducing child mortality, Iraq remains the second highest country when compared with countries in the region

Just a quarter of households in Iraq is covered by the public sewage system dropping to 2% in rural areas

More than 80% of Iraq's water remains untreated which leads to increased pollution of Iraq's wastewater

Only 6% of Iraqis use the internet daily while more than 75% use mobile telephony

The report contains a series of maps and graphs with analysis on the progress Iraq has made towards achieving the MDGs. All these maps are available for the public use on condition of giving credit to the UN Country Team in Iraq. [Click here to access the full report](#)



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[For more information on the Millenium Development Goals](#)

[The UN Country Team in Iraq has dedicated a web-page with information on the MDGs](#)

<http://content.undp.org/go/newsroom/2010/aug/report-acknowledges-need-for-development-in-iraq.en>

- **An Iraqi student in nuclear physics murdered in Baghdad** (21 July 2010)

www.albasrah.net

Informed sources confirmed today that an Iraqi student at the university of Baghdad has been murdered.

The same sources ascertained that unknown gunmen shot a Baghdadi young student known for his advanced researches in the field of nuclear physics, murdering him on the spot.

The Iraqi Police indicated that the young murdered student was a well known researcher in the faculty of nuclear physics at the Baghdad' university. The same sources said also that the Iraqi student was known for having invented new mechanisms in the domain of nuclear enrichment, the use, the implementation and the control of the nuclear reactions.

It is well known that since the invasion of Iraq in 2003, and the systematic destruction of Mesopotamia by the US invaders, the Land of the Two rivers has become a chaotic arena, a killing field for rampaging multinational gangsters, debased mercenaries and secret services including the monstrous Zionist Entity which occupies Palestine.

It is important to note also, that backed by the US invaders and with the tight collaboration of Kurdish Peshmergas militias, the secret services of the Zionist Cancer which gnaws at the Arab region, have murdered at least 800 Iraqi scholars, university professors and researchers without the slightest condemnation or the simplest protestation of any of their European or US university counterparts.

19 July 2010

http://www.albasrah.net/ar_articles_2010/0710/nawawi_200710.htm



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- **Muslim Students Stage Sit-In To Support Christians At Iraqi University** (May 07, 2010)

MOSUL, Iraq -- Lecturers and Muslim students at northern Iraq's Mosul University staged a sit-in today to protest deadly attacks against Christian students, RFE/RL's Radio Free Iraq (RFI) reports.

A student activist who requested anonymity told RFI that the action is in support of Christian students who have been the victims of bomb attacks and murder. He said the sit-in will end only when measures are taken to ensure the safety of Christians, in particular, and the student body as a whole.

A roadside bomb and a car bomb exploded near buses transporting students from the predominantly Christian town of Al-Hamdaniya to Mosul University on May 2. One civilian was killed and 100 others, mostly students, were wounded.

Christian students stopped attending classes at Mosul University after that attack in fear for their safety. The Muslim students staging today's sit-in have said they will return to class only when their Christian counterparts do.

Student Sami Karim told RFI that the protesters are especially indignant that their fellow students have become targets simply because they are Christian.

Ethel Nujaifi, the governor of Nineveh Province in which Mosul is located, said that his government "sympathizes with the students and their sit-in."

Referring to the security situation for Christian students, Nujaifi said security forces are "partly responsible as they have failed to properly discharge their duties." He added that there must be a thorough investigation of the recent attacks against Christians to reassure the population that such acts will not be tolerated.

Before the first Gulf War in 1991 there were some 1 million Christians in Iraq. About one-third are believed to have fled Iraq since the U.S.-led invasion of the country in 2003.

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http://www.rferl.org/content/Muslim_Students_Stage_SitIn_To_Support_Christians_At_Iraqi_University/2035771.html



- [Academic Freedom in Iraq](#) (May 6, 2010)

By **Michael Rubin**

Over the last couple days, I've engaged in a [debate](#) with John Agresto, an interim provost at the American University of Iraq. My concern boils down to the role of currently serving Iraqi politicians in the university venture; I fear it lets foxes into the hen house. At its core, the question is whether Iraqi politicians can be trusted to keep a hands-off approach to an institution which should be free from political interference.

Alas, there is increasing concern that Iraqi Kurdish politicians are adopting the thuggery of Saddam Hussein's Iraq rather than embracing the substance of the democratic catchphrases which infuse their rhetoric. A new [report](#) from Reporters Without Borders heightens concern:

Reporters Without Borders believes that the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), the two parties that control Iraq's northern Kurdish region, have reached a "tacit strategic accord" to restrict the freedom of journalists as much as possible.

Of great concern should be the paragraph about Barham Salih, a friend to many in Washington who is often thought of as a progressive or liberal and who is, by Agresto's own acknowledgment, especially active in the American University of Iraq:

Fuad Sadiq was fired as editor of the pro-KDP weekly Gullan for publishing a report in issue 774 in early April that criticized PUK member Barham Salih's eight months as Kurdistan's prime minister. A journalist told Reporters Without Borders: "Fuad's dismissal was purely political. Barham Salih asked Kurdistan President Massoud Barzani, who heads of the PDK, to fire him."

While Barham's work with the university is nothing short of awesome, Barham should distance himself while serving in government in order to set a precedent and confirm scholarly independence.

UPDATE: Meanwhile, as a postscript and giving unfortunate emphasis to the latest report about the Kurdish crackdown on the press, Reporters Without Borders has issued a new press release announcing that a 23-year-old journalist was kidnapped from the campus of Salahuddin University in Erbil, the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan, and [murdered](#).

<http://blog.american.com/?p=13678>



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❑ **In Rewriting Its History, Iraq Treads Cautiously** (NYT, June 29, 2010)

By **TIM ARANGO**

BAGHDAD — During the sectarian violence here, she saw with her own eyes bodies scattered around the yard of the school where she is now principal. But May Abul Wahab is not allowed to teach her students anything about the American invasion of Iraq or the government of Saddam Hussein that it overthrew.

“Both of them don’t exist,” said Ms. Wahab, principal at a high school in Baghdad that she herself once attended. But like many people here, she is in no hurry for an academic reckoning with Mr. Hussein.

“He was in control for 35 years. If they add him to the history in 35 years, that would be too soon,” she said. “We don’t want to hear about him.”

During more than three decades of dictatorship under Mr. Hussein, education, particularly the study of history, was a tool for indoctrination into the ways of the Baath Party and a mechanism to promote the cult of Mr. Hussein.

After seven years of war, the task of reclaiming Iraq’s history for its schoolchildren has been hampered by politics and fears of wading into sectarian disagreements, which in this country often turn bloody.

“We are trying to sort out the sensitive subjects,” said Khazi Mutlaq, the government official in charge of overhauling Iraq’s school curriculums so they are fit for a democratic society.

“For example, the events of 2003 and the invasion,” he said. “Some of the Iraqi people call it Operation Freedom. Some call it an occupation. So we don’t address this subject.”

In 2008 the Iraqi government began overhauling its curriculum under the guidance of Unesco, a process that will continue until 2012.

“The main problem is with the sects,” said Mohammed al-Jawahri, deputy director of curriculum at the Education Ministry. “Each sect is trying to remove what they don’t agree with. We will try to treat and solve this problem in the coming years.”

Mr. Jawahri was referring to the Islamic curriculum, a mix of history and religious instruction, which is taught in public schools and is also in the midst of an overhaul.

“For example, praying,” he said. “The Shia hold their hands down straight. The Sunnis cross their arms. So



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which style should we do?”

One obvious answer — teach both — is not an easy solution in a country tormented by its recent past of sectarian conflict.

“Our society until now hasn’t had an education that accepts this type of diversity of opinion,” he said.

In one current history textbook for high school students, the fall of Mr. Hussein — references are made only to “the former regime” or “the dictator” — is addressed lightly.

The text compares the political repression, protest and discontent among Iraq’s people before the 1958 coup that overthrew the Hashemite monarchy with the public’s reaction to Mr. Hussein’s crimes, from use of chemical weapons against Kurds in 1988 to the violent suppression of the Shiite uprising in 1991 after the Persian Gulf war.

“Iraqi cities witnessed demonstrations and instability and rebellion against the authorities in Iraq,” the text states, describing conditions before the 1958 coup.

Then, the text reads, “This is just like what happened in Iraq during the dictator.”

There is no mention of the American invasion.

When the war is mentioned in class, some teachers change the subject quickly. But others see a need to encourage discussion, even if it is beyond the bounds of what they are told to teach.

“Sometimes we need to have a discussion about it,” said Wasan Mahmud, a teacher at Al Ahrar, a secondary school for girls in Baghdad. “When I mention the American invasion, I say occupation, not liberation.”

Hutham Hussein, who teaches modern European history, said, “Where there is a discussion of colonization, I bring up the American invasion.”

“We speak about French colonization, British colonization,” she said. “Why not talk about the American colonization?”

Iraq’s cultural history stretches back thousands of years, and its land comprises much of ancient Mesopotamia. But its historical memory has been clouded by its upheavals.



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“They removed any mention of the Saddam era in the history books, but the result has been that these books became worse than before,” said Mohammed Kamil, the chairman of the history department at Mustansiriya University in Baghdad.

Even at the college level, Mr. Kamil said, Mr. Hussein or the Baath Party is not part of history.

While the 20th-century Iraqi history that was taught under Mr. Hussein may have been mere propaganda — the dictator’s picture adorned every book — some teachers say that the ancient history taught before was much deeper than that taught under the new curriculum.

In the name of sensitivity and multiculturalism — and to deliberately move away from the brand of Arab nationalism taught previously — the old history has been condensed and new topics added.

Islamists often prefer to emphasize the history of the region after the Prophet Muhammad in the seventh century.

“We used to study our old, ancient civilizations of Iraq,” said Ms. Hussein, the history teacher. “I want to talk about Mesopotamia, the cradle of civilization. Egypt, Syria. Now they have added Buddhism. Hinduism. What does that have to do with us?”

Ms. Hussein spread her thumb and forefinger about two inches to show how thick the old ancient history text was.

A new book, whose text stretches from the [siege of Baghdad by the Mongols](#) in 1258 to present times, is 96 pages.

Under the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein, history was subservient to the imperatives of state power. In Iraq’s young democracy, the telling of its past seems beholden to politics in a different way.

Mr. Mutlaq, the official who is in charge of democratizing Iraq’s lesson plans, said the goal of the Ministry of Education was to “make history curriculum an instrument to unify the Iraqi people.”

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/30/world/middleeast/30iraq.html>



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❑ **WFP Launches School Meals Pilot Programme in Iraq** (WFP, 17 November 2009)

SULAYMANIYAH - The United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) today launched a pilot programme to provide 172,000 Iraqi primary school children with a free daily snack at school to help boost school attendance and learning and improve food security in eight of the country's poorest districts.

“This initiative, which we are taking to support the Ministry of Education, is one of a number of projects WFP is undertaking to assist the most vulnerable people in Iraq,” said Edward Kallon, WFP Iraq Country Director. “This is part of our overall strategy to help the Government provide social safety nets for the poorest members of the population.”

Under the school meals programme, the children will each receive an 80-gramme nutritious date bar, fortified with a range of micronutrients. As well as providing vital nourishment, the snacks will provide extra nutritional support for poor families and help keep children in school.

WFP's school feeding experience of the last 45 years has shown that in countries where school attendance is low, the promise of at least one nutritious meal each day boosts enrolment and promotes regular attendance. Parents are motivated to send their children to school instead of keeping them at home to work or care for siblings.

The US\$1.6 million pilot programme, which is scheduled to last three months, has been funded by the Government of Iraq. Next year, WFP is planning to scale up the school meals programme to cover a total of 960,000 children in the most vulnerable districts in 14 governorates.

Ceremonies to launch the operation took place today at schools in Sulaymaniyah Governorate in Kurdistan Region and in Wassit Governorate in central Iraq, attended by government officials and WFP staff. Schools in Diyala and Ninewa Governorates will also be included in the programme.

The date bars are currently being produced in Egypt, but there are plans in future to produce them in Iraq and develop manufacturing capacity through the private sector. This is in line with WFP's corporate strategy of purchasing locally to boost employment, promote local agriculture and stimulate the countries' economy.

School feeding in Iraq has a long tradition, but was interrupted during the conflict. The Government asked for WFP support to revive its own school meals programme and indicated a strong interest in establishing a nationwide programme.



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Achieving universal primary school education by 2015 is the second of eight Millennium Development Goals adopted by 192 countries, including Iraq. In some governorates, only 56 percent of children are enrolled in primary schools. Nine out of ten children under the age of 15 do not attend school regularly, while only 66 percent of children complete primary school education

<http://www.wfp.org/news/news-release/wfp-launches-school-meals-pilot-programme-iraq>

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- **Mobility Opportunities and Strategies for Iraqi Refugees in Jordan and Syria** (30 June 2009)

Dr. Géraldine Chatelard,
Consultant for I.C.M.C.

Paper presented at the
UNHCR Annual Consultations with Non-Governmental Organizations
29 June – 1 July 2009
Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland

Double session on Displacement in Urban Settings
Tuesday 30 June 2009 15:00-18:00 Palais Room XIX (top floor)

Mobility for urban refugees is seldom considered as an issue of its own right or in the context of good practices and rights-based approaches. However, it seems rather evident that opportunities for or, conversely, impediments on mobility impact very directly on all three issues presented by previous speakers in this session on Displacement in Urban Settings: access to services and livelihoods, together with outreach and identification of the most vulnerable by institutional assistance providers.

When mobility is considered it is generally so within host countries, more particularly in the case of individuals who leave refugees camps to look for economic opportunities in urban areas. High mobility of refugees out of camps has often been identified by organisations as a challenge to maintaining accurate data about populations and the delivery of services. Nevertheless, mobility has also been shown to reduce dependency on assistance especially when regulations in host countries allow refugees to be mobile between different areas and when they can access the labour market, formally or informally.

Another important dimension, that of cross-border mobility, remains more challenging to take into account. What is meant here is not the one-time possibility of crossing borders from the home country to escape persecution or conflict, but the possibility of circulating between country or refuge and country of



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origin. The difficulty of conceptualising of this type of mobility as possibly essential to ensure the security, livelihoods and future of refugees stems from the legal doctrine according to which refugees cease being so if they return to their home country even for short visits. However, as has become apparent in a vast number of protracted conflict situations, levels of human insecurity in a given conflict-ridden country are rarely constant over time and over geographical areas. The result is that some areas of a country in conflict might be temporarily safe enough for refugees in nearby countries to attempt circulations or short visits. By circulating across borders, refugees may aim to pursue or diversify livelihoods, to maintain family and other social ties, to check on properties or even to evaluate the possibility of return in stages. Circulations happen particularly when there is a differential in the availability of personal or familial security, on the one hand, and of economic opportunities, on the other hand, between the country of origin and that of refuge.

My argument is grounded in the case of Iraqi refugees in Jordan and Syria who have been leaving Iraq in large numbers especially since the overall security situation deteriorated in their country as of 2004 with increases in the number of refugees as of 2006. Importantly, the vast majority of Iraqis in Jordan and Syria have settled in cities, both because they are of urban background and because this is where they can access social networks, housing and services. Equally importantly, it is the middle-class, in its majority with a high level of education and expectations in terms of services, livelihoods and futures, that has left Iraq, an oil-producing country that was all but poor and where the middle-class was large. However there are sharp economic discrepancies between various categories of middle-class Iraqi refugees, and these directly impact on their access to security, livelihoods and mobility in their host countries.

Neither Syria nor Jordan are signatories of refugee conventions, nor do they have a domestic asylum regime. Iraqis are considered as migrants who can access residence rights either as holders or capital by investing or buying properties, or by securing a work contract. But there is a large number of refugees who have not been able to access residency through these channels because the level of investment required is high, and because formal work markets are narrow. Provided that they have entered the country legally, these refugees are not viewed as illegal migrants but as temporary guests with no legal residence rights, nor the right to work. This toleration regime (not unlike the situation of undocumented migrants in a number of liberal countries in the West) opens them access to a number of basic health and educational services and offers them a relative degree a safety. Only in serious security cases have Syria and Jordan been reported to expel Iraqis back into Iraq. Although this *de facto* discretionary toleration regime is not legally binding inter-Arab politics makes it extremely unlikely that it can be revoked unilaterally.

On the other hand, the UNHCR performs registration and status determination but Jordan and Syria refuse the local integration of those recognised as refugees who are therefore referred for resettlement to



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third countries, mostly the USA. There are currently 280,000 Iraqis registered with the UNHCR in Syria, and 55,000 in Jordan, but the overall number of Iraqis who have looked for security in both countries is higher although difficult to evaluate in large part due to the intense circulations between Iraq and Syria or Jordan despite regulations put in place by states to control the cross-border movements of people.

There exist sharp disparities between various categories of Iraqi refugees and also between Syria and Jordan. In both countries, those who lack social connections and are denied residence have pressing needs particularly in terms of livelihoods. This is because, although a large majority of the refugees belonged to the educated middle-class while in Iraq, their displacement has endured and the difficulty to access regular and satisfactory income in the host country has impoverished many. A large proportion survives on remittances sent from Iraq or distant countries of asylum or emigration.

Iraqi refugees under the guest status generally do not feel at risk of being sent back to Iraq, and the absence of a clear status does not impede their mobility inside the host country. Assistance providers have noted, particularly in the case of Syria, a very high level of residential mobility among Iraqis. Based on some sociological studies, major trends appears to be from rural to urban areas (particularly in the north and north-east of Syria), but also from the city of Damascus to smaller towns in the periphery of the capital, and, inside large towns (Damascus and Aleppo), between neighborhoods. Those who move inside Syria have three main motivations: access to employment and services, cheaper rental prices for accommodation, and clustering with relatives, friends or at times members of the same religious community.

Mobility to access services can be impeded by other sets of factors. Some feel insecure and limit their movements because of past trauma in Iraq such as kidnapping, torture or death of family members, but also current trauma related to the loss of former lives, jobs and communities. Scattering of family members between Iraq and several host countries is also a factor that impacts many, but particularly women, children and the elderly on their own. Mobility is also impeded by the costs of transportation whereas absence of regular income has impoverished many. To respond to the needs of those who are too isolated or traumatised, or too poor to access services, assistance providers have introduced outreach programmes, household visits, and have multiplied community centers in area with high concentration of Iraqis. Outcomes have often been positive with sharp increase in number of beneficiaries but assistance providers still point at the challenge of keeping records of those who move between residential areas.

Several surveys show that especially in the last year a considerable number of Iraqis who have taken refuge in Syria have returned to Iraq on visits to check on relatives or properties. Another phenomenon is that breadwinners have left their dependants in security in Syria and have gone back to Iraq to work. Re-entry



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to Syria is systematically granted against a fee. As for Jordan, possibility to circulate across the border with Iraq is only offered to the very small number who have a residence or to those who have the financial or institutional guarantees to back their visa application. The result is that those most vulnerable to livelihood challenges, most unable to reunite with scattered family members and less able to prepare for return are those in Jordan without residence rights.

Cross-border mobility is important for many Iraqis who have taken refuge in Jordan and Syria, even though they might have sought recognition of their status as refugees from the UNHCR.

First, to reunite with family members scattered between Iraq and host countries, with a large number of female-headed households, but also children and the elderly on their own. Patterns of displacement and longer-term migration from Iraq are strongly shaped by familial dynamics, that is by strategies to insure the safety of every member of a household, including through separation, and only eventually to reunite.

Second, to combine, on the one hand, personal or familial security in a safe host country, and on the other hand access to resources in areas of Iraq where stability has been restored. Security in Iraq is volatile and is not distributed equally over the territory. Breadwinners are ready to take some degree of risk or find accommodation close to their workplace. However access to schools, universities, markets, health services remains dangerous for other household members. Additionally Iraqis in Syria and Jordan are not confident that levels of stability can be maintained and want to be able to react swiftly if the situation changes. This is why they prefer to keep their dependants in safe havens in Jordan and Syria and move across the border from Iraq to visit them.

Finally, to prepare for pre-return. Return is a process to be comprehensively prepared over time and one which will entail several steps, including preliminary return visits, that may concern only some members of a household, while others will opt to stay in Jordan or Syria or settle elsewhere.

Conversely, impeded cross-border mobility creates more split households, limited or no access to assets and resources, and feelings of uncertainty about the future. As a result, many who would rather stay in a country close to Iraq turn to the UNHCR not in search of protection but of futures through resettlement to third countries.

In a context where there is very little prospect for large-scale integration through either an asylum or labor migration regime in Arab countries, where the Iraqi governance regime is far from being stable, and where human security remains unevenly distributed on the Iraqi territory, there is a dire need to explore creative solutions for the future of those displaced inside and outside Iraq. Durable regional solutions to the recent



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refugee crisis from Iraq need to be framed by taking into account the plight of the majority of Iraqis not only as refugees but also as undocumented migrants. An additional dimension that begs to be addressed is the intense circulation taking place across the borders between Iraq and Syria or Jordan. So far, both these aspects have largely evaded institutional stakeholders to the point that many dimensions of the crisis (including an evaluation of the volume of the refugee movements) have failed to be accurately analyzed with serious consequences in terms of policy planning and humanitarian intervention.

Syria represents an example of good practice where the cross-border mobility of Iraqis is facilitated. There are no overstay fees for those under the guest status, and their re-entry is almost systematically granted. However Iraqis also fears that entry regulations might be modified in the future. Whereas the legitimate concerns of host states for the protection of their domestic labour markets and their national security need to be taken into account, two recommendations could therefore be addressed to the governments of Jordan and Syria:

- To regularise those Iraqis that are already under a guest status. A legal status such as 'temporary resident' would be highly appropriate. It does not need to be tied to the right to work but need to secure the right of re-entry, be it from Iraq, or any other country. Specifically for Jordan, overstay fees should also be waved.
- Concerned institutional actors, including the government of Jordan and Iraq, should facilitate the endeavours of those who want to make individual assessments prior to making decisions regarding return. Such initiatives critical to inform those displaced of the legal, institutional and security contexts relevant for their reinstallation in Iraq.

<http://ifporient.academia.edu/GéraldineChatelard/Papers/100450/Mobility-Opportunities-and-Strategies-for-Iraqi-Refugees-in-Jordan-and-Syria>

REVIEWS OF THE BOOK: CULTURAL CLEANSING IN IRAQ

Michael Parenti - François Houtart - Noam Chomsky - Denis Halliday - Hans von Sponeck - Samir Amin - Lieven De Cauter - Roger Van Zwanenberg - Al Quds - KifKif - Saudi Gazette - The Irish Times - Times Higher Education Supplement - Al-Ahram weekly - Al Jazeera

REVIEWS



Michael Parenti: "This book is a collection of powerful investigative essays that reveal yet another horrific side to the empire's destruction of viable nations, this time through the perpetration of crimes against history and culture. Cultural Cleansing in Iraq gathers together a great deal of hard evidence demonstrating the existence of cultural genocide, the deliberate obliteration of Iraq's rich history and historical memory, its libraries, museums, universities, and laboratories. Equally heartbreaking is the systematic extermination of the purveyors of the nation's culture, science, and learning, the death squad assassinations of thousands of Iraqi intellectuals."

This book is clearly written, historically grounded, deeply researched, and well substantiated with a kind of evidence that is often hard to come by. The events revealed herein are vital in understanding the real nature and full extent of the war of aggression against Iraq, vital in understanding how imperialism will stop at nothing when trying to make the world safe for plutocracy."



François Houtart: "The book *CULTURAL CLEANSING IN IRAQ* is a very impressive presentation of what has been, according to the authors, a planned policy of the United States of America in Iraq. The argumentation is very well documented. The invasion of Iraq, indeed, had surely an economic dimension. The fact that the oil dependance of the USA is growing every year, till a probable level of almost 100 % in a few years, makes the country try to control the maximum possible sources of fossile energy in the world. Iraq being one of the most productive regions, with a high quality petroleum and a cheap exploitation, has been a normal target. However, another perspective has been developped: the destruction of the State and of the basic cultural components of the Iraqi nation. This is linked to the imperial character of the US policy and the authors are recalling what happened in Yugoslavia and in Central America. In order to dominate a region, it is necessary to destroy any solid State and if necessary to dismantle it. One classical policy of colonial or neocolonial powers is also to divide society and to increase the internal conflicts, a good way to weaken the national State."

The fact that the Bush administration was ideologically oriented by the neo-conservatives added another dimension to the invasion of Irak. To establish a "mild imperium" to the whole world, as the accomplishment of a "divine" mission of the USA to impose their way of envisaging democracy and to reinforce a market economy, was the basis of the political project. The messianist aspect of such a policy

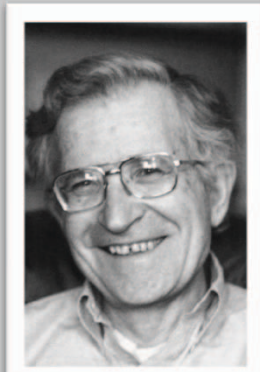
has been abandoned by Barack Obama, but apparently not the other aspects.

During the Bush period, a cultural policy has been also clearly pursued. The destruction of the archeological patrimony, the killing or expulsion of thousand intellectuals, were facts, which can be related to the will of erasing the historical memory of a people. This is an aspect of the Iraq war that has not been very well known.

The various chapters of the book are illustrating this situation: a comparison with similar policies of the USA in other parts of the world, the destruction or looting of archeological riches, the systematic killing of intellectuals, the brain drain, the promotion of minorities' oppositions, the constitution of an artificial "civil society".

Imperialism for the USA is not a theoretical matter. It has very concrete applications and Iraq has been one of them. The book insists on the cultural aspect and therefore adds a fundamental dimension to a question generally better known along the lines of its economic and political dimension.

Noam Chomsky:



"I am thankful for receiving an advanced copy of this important study. Even a brief look reveals a harrowing tale.

I plan to draw on it for a forthcoming book and in talks.

I have a lot more to say about the book and hope to find some opportunity soon to write more about it. "



Denis Halliday: "Do not read this book, if you are an American or British citizen conscious of the obligations of democracy, who wants to believe that Judeo-Christian morality played some part in your government's decision to invade and occupy Iraq to impose "democracy and freedom". For if you do, you may be crushed by its revelations of deliberate state-ending destruction and a policy of cultural cleansing; by your shared responsibility for this human and national calamity; and, despite the near irreparability of what has been accomplished, by

the massive reparations needed now and for the next fifty years to begin to counter the consequences of

genocide. The case for cultural genocide is powerfully made in this extraordinary and frightening book.

Uncomfortable although it is, “Cultural Cleansing in Iraq” obliges the “Western” reader to face the unthinkable, that is, the existence of US policy to end - to terminate - established United Nations card-carrying sovereign states. In the case of Iraq, this policy required US military terrorism, infrastructural destruction and human massacre to create malleability. Malleability, that is, of an intelligentsia focused on sustaining a complex society, and a timeless and intricate culture both essential for the various peoples of Iraq to recognize their unique identity and hard won sense of nation. The book shows that removal, or enabling the killing of such academic, scientific and established citizens was deemed necessary for state-ending.

This is a chilling read into the horror of deliberate catastrophe-making by a British empire seemingly unaware of its demise, by Israeli ambition to dominate and enjoy region-wide presence, and an American empire thirsty for oil and desirous of strategic location that flops around in its death throes smashing the ancient wealth of Mesopotamia to which most of us seek connection.

The model to closedown certain states, created in Washington and endorsed in London and Tel Aviv, and viewed with negligence by other political leaders as acceptable, should be carefully considered with alarm by potentially “inconvenient” countries. Just as Iraq was listed in Washington for destruction before the attack of 9/11, begging for an answer today is which non-compliant state is next for termination?"

Denis J. Halliday, former United Nations Assistant Secretary-General and Head, the Humanitarian Programme in Iraq 1997-98.

Hans-C. von Sponeck: Cultural Cleansing in Iraq – How much can a people take?



Everyone in Baghdad knew Mohammed Hikmet Ghani. The city was full of his sculptures. They were important reminders of the richness of Mesopotamian history and culture. Iraq had seen much better days. With the few materials Ghani had in his possession, he struggled to convert his artistic spirit into physical form. All he produced during those years reflected the suffering of the Iraqi people forced to live under sanctions and dictatorship.

Just before the US/UK invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003, he had completed a first mould of a group of figures, women standing in a circle and gazing at a box in front of them. “They want to know what is in the box, what destiny is awaiting them. But they do not have the key



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to open the box”, explained the famous sculptor. The artist and the people anxiously hoped for an end of 13 years of sanctions. Instead they were about to face a devastation and onslaught of unimaginable ferocity. Many are dead today and the artist lives as a refugee in Amman.

The contours of the human tragedy resulting from the illegal attack of Iraq in March 2003 and the subsequent occupation are becoming more and more visible. Much has still to be discovered and for the wrongdoing a court of justice has yet to be found. In the meantime, the coffers of evidence are filling up.

‘Cultural Cleansing in Iraq’, a recently published account of the extent of destruction of Iraq’s heritage and the assassination of the country’s intellectual elite has added a new and gruesome chapter to the story of post-war Iraq. Through this publication co-authored by the **BRussells** Tribunal, twelve specialists, both Iraqi and non-Iraqi, have made it possible to grasp more fully the immense crimes against humanity for which many but foremost the US/UK occupation has to take the responsibility.

‘Cultural Cleansing in Iraq’ convincingly points to the profound degrading of a unified culture under the occupation and the eruption of hostile sectarianism that did not exist before. There was a formidable determination by the US Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) to implement an institutional and structural clean-up. The authors conclude that there had been systematic plans to ‘empty Iraq from its brain’. The authors provide facts and much circumstantial evidence and refer to ‘genocide by other means’ and ‘historical annihilation’.

Killer squads on the streets and in detention centers were responsible for the death of hundreds of doctors, scientists, professionals, men and women. The **BRussells** Tribunal has compiled a list containing 432 names of Iraqi academics and 343 media professionals who have been murdered between 2003 and 2009. These were non-partisan and non-sectarian assassinations. There may be many more the reader is told.

To-date there seems little direct evidence of US culpability. Evidence, however, exists of continuous interference in post-invasion Iraq by many outside groups. These ranged from pro-Iranian forces to secret services of the occupying forces, those of neighboring and other countries of the Middle East including Mossad, criminal gangs and others.

Using historic sites such as Babylon, Ur and Samarra for military purposes and refusing to protect sites of national pride and historic memory including the capital’s museum of antiquity and the national library while ensuring the safety of the ministries of oil and interior are given by the authors as evidence that the occupation forces ignored, without hesitation, their responsibilities under international law.

A free and democratic society was never the aim of the attack, they contend. They also reject the notion that the murder of the mind and the destruction of Iraq's heritage could be explained by the occupiers' naïveté or by the incompetence of the US civilian authorities. What evolved did not constitute a series of unrelated and unpredictable mishaps. Robberies and killings occurred under the watchful eyes of occupying soldiers. The world is aware of more. The horrifying pictures of Abu Ghraib prison in the vicinity of al Fallujah which was another location of carnage, are indelibly stored in the minds of victims and television viewers around the globe. The excuse of collateral damage does not hold. Furthermore, the authors note, there exists a culture of impunity when it comes to Iraqi losses of life and personal or national treasure. They consider it malicious to blame the damage of looting of cultural artifacts on the conditions of desperate local people rather than on the occupying force.



None of the authors claims that direct or indirect accountability rests solely with the invaders. Their point that the cleansing of culture and mind and the destruction of the social fabric of a nation is the result of an illegal war can not be dismissed. Those who are responsible and accountable will certainly disagree. They will have little chance to succeed. The book is a powerful introduction to cultural cleansing in Iraq, which some prefer to call cultural genocide. The authors agree that their work must be followed up by more research for the historic record, for the public knowledge and for the prosecution of those responsible.

Hans-C. von Sponeck - Former UN Assistant Secretary General & United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq(1998-2000), author of the book *A DIFFERENT KIND OF WAR - The UN Sanctions Regime in Iraq*

Samir Amin: "Les témoignages réunis dans cet ouvrage sont de la plus haute importance. Les faits, les violations des conventions internationales, des droits humains et de ceux des peuples et des nations sont indiscutables. La responsabilité des autorités d'occupation de l'Iraq et de leurs agents d'exécution locaux est incontestable.



Il ne s'agit pas de « bavures », ou, comme avait osé le dire Madeleine Albright, du « prix à payer » pour l'établissement de la démocratie ! Il s'agit de la mise en œuvre systématique, organisée, d'une stratégie politique dont l'objectif est la destruction du peuple et de la nation irakienne. Elle n'est pas nouvelle. Robert Mac Namara (nommé par la suite Président de la Banque Mondiale !) ne s'était-il pas assigner l'objectif de « ramener le Viet Nam à l'âge de pierre » ? Et l'utilisation de l'Agent orange – arme chimique en principe « interdite » - n'en a-t-il pas été l'un des moyens ? L'adversaire en Iraq n'était pas Saddam Hussein (des armes chimiques lui ont été livrées



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par les Etats Unis quand la guerre contre l'Iran qu'il menait servait les intérêts de Washington), mais la nation irakienne. Qui veut la détruire et pourquoi ?

L'impérialisme est le nom de l'adversaire. Il ne s'agit pas là de la « dérive » d'une stratégie politique de grande puissance. Cette « dérive » est le moyen – le seul en dernier ressort – indispensable pour permettre aux oligopoles du capitalisme dominant aux Etats Unis mais aussi en Europe et au Japon, (leurs alliés) de prélever leur rente impérialiste. Celle-ci implique que l'accès aux ressources naturelles de la planète soit réservée exclusivement aux sociétés du Nord (devenant de ce fait les « peuples » élus » qui ont plus droit à vivre sur Terre que tous les autres !). Et cela exige la destruction systématique des capacités de résistance de tous les peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine (une « minorité » qui réunit 80% de la population de la Planète !).

L'impérialisme a toujours nourri une haine féroce de tous les régimes qui ont refusé la soumission. Que cela soit au nom du socialisme (URSS, Chine, Viet Nam, Cuba) ou simplement de l'indépendance nationale (Nasser et autres). Le discours mobilisé à cet effet par les puissances impérialistes doit masquer son objectif véritable derrière la fumée de sa rhétorique concernant la « démocratie ». On reprochera donc à Saddam Hussein d'avoir massacré ses opposants (ce qui est vrai), à Robert Mugabe d'être un « vieillard autocrate » (ce qui est également plausible). On ne dira jamais que le véritable crime qu'on reproche au premier est d'avoir engagé l'Iraq dans une modernisation industrielle et scientifique jugée « dangereuse », au second l'indispensable réforme agraire. Combat de l'Occident civilisé pour l'exportation de la « démocratie » (le « devoir d'intervention » !) ? Mon œil. Le crime commis par Pinochet le 11 Septembre (1973) n'a pas été seulement « excusé » ; son auteur en a même été félicité par Henry Kissinger.

La rhétorique de la « guerre des cultures » est le rideau de fumée derrière lequel se masquent les avancées les forces militaires d'intervention contre les nations du Sud. Elle nourrit en l'occurrence l'islamophobie. Mais elle alimente tout autant aujourd'hui le discours sur le nouveau « péril jaune » promu par ceux que l'éveil de la Chine inquiète. Non, l'exemple de l'Iraq, magnifiquement illustré par les témoignages réunis dans cet ouvrage, appelle à une autre conclusion : que la véritable « guerre des cultures » en cours oppose d'une part la « culture » du capitalisme des oligopoles impérialistes, l'ennemi de l'humanité entière, et d'autre part celle de l'humanisme, respectueux des droits égaux de tous les peuples. Le conflit Nord/Sud illustré par l'occupation militaire de l'Iraq et le conflit qui oppose la barbarie inhérente à la domination impérialiste au projet d'un « autre monde, meilleur » sont indissociables. L'intervention dans les affaires intérieures des pays du Sud, a fortiori l'intervention militaire – quels qu'en soient les prétextes –, ne servira jamais d'autres objectifs que ceux que la défense de la rente impérialiste impose ; elle ne peut se draper du manteau de la « guerre juste ». L'intervention criminelle des forces armées des Etats Unis et de leurs alliés européens subalternes de l'Otan en Iraq -ou ailleurs- n'a d'autre objectif que la destruction des

nations et des peuples concernés ; elle doit être condamnée sans réserves. L'Iraq n'a pas été attaqué parce qu'elle possédait des armes de destruction massive, mais parce qu'elle n'en possédait pas. La leçon est à retenir. Les pays du Sud ont le devoir de développer les capacités militaires nécessaires pour mettre en déroute le contrôle militaire de la Planète par les forces armées des Etats Unis et de leurs alliés subalternes de l'Otan.

Lieven De Cauter: State Destruction As War Aim.

Reflections on the targeted assassination of academics on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the war on Iraq.



While the anniversary of the war waged on Iraq is approaching, I think of what I wrote seven years ago: that this illegal invasion had nothing to do with the war on terror but was planned well in advance and was not about democracy but about the destruction of Iraq. I was openly taunted for it. At best, I was considered endearing or pathetic in my anger, but not on the level when it came to world politics.

In preparation for an evening on the occasion of this seventh anniversary on March 20, I am reading a book: *Cultural Cleansing in Iraq. Why museums were looted, burned libraries and academics murdered*. The basic thesis is, believe it or not, that the purpose of the war was from the onset the destruction of the Iraqi state. But there is more: cultural cleansing, tolerating the looting of museums, the burning of libraries and the murder of academics was part of the war strategy, the authors argue. State ending will certainly become established as a concept, alongside genocide and its derivatives, such as urbicide (destruction of cities), sociocide (destruction of social fabric) mnemocide (destruction of collective memory). We do hope so, because unfortunately these concepts and their intertwinement do not only apply to Iraq.

There was a lot of press coverage about the looting of the museums, albeit press reports didn't put responsibility with the occupying powers, as the international laws of war stipulate; and without identifying it as a strategy of "mnemocide". In contrast, all these years a deafening silence has reigned on the hundreds of academics who have been victims of targeted assassinations in Iraq. Strange. In the first three months of the occupation 250 academics were killed. The BRussells Tribunal has now a list of 437 casualties, a list that serves as a worldwide reference. Because the professors who documented these killings and disappearances have been killed or forced to flee the country, it is increasingly harder to keep this list up to date. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, by June 2006 already 2500 academics



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were killed, kidnapped or driven out of the country. Nobody knows how many have been murdered until today. We do know that thousands have been threatened — often by envelopes containing bullets — and fled. Alongside academics also media professionals, doctors, engineers and spiritual leaders have been targets of intimidation, kidnapping and murder. It is important to know that, in the case of academics, it's not about sectarian killing, because statistics show that there is no pattern in the murders. Professors in leading positions have especially been targeted, and not just Baathists.

These murders have never being investigated, the culprits never found let alone prosecuted. How come? Perhaps because both the occupiers and the new rulers in Iraq thought it was not important. Or maybe because death squads are part of their strategy, like formerly in El Salvador. That is what the book claims: the murder of academics was and is part of the “Salvador Option”.

Conclusion of the authors? The goal was to liquidate the intellectual class, which would naturally be the basis for a new democratic state. It is that sinister. So sinister that it is difficult to believe. And yet it is true: the elimination of academics and other professionals from the middle class served the first and highest war aim: the destruction of the Iraqi state. “State-ending” instead of “nation building”. According to the editors of the book, this war objective was a decision taken when three parties aligned: the neoconservatives who wanted permanent bases in a geopolitical strategy of military domination; Israel that did not want a powerful state in its backyard; and the oil industry that wanted to lay its hands on one of the largest oil reserves in the world. This I have also written seven years ago. Now it's there, in black and white, with many footnotes, well documented in a book published by an internationally renowned publishing house (Pluto Press). Perhaps the world will now finally start to realise the truth.

Worldwide protests from the academic community would be nice. But one minute of silence for their murdered colleagues will not suffice. Because, and that makes it so overwhelming, all this is just the tip of the iceberg: the children who are born severely deformed by the use of white phosphorus and depleted uranium, the lack of potable water, electricity and healthcare, the destruction of the educational system which results in a lost generation, the 1.2 million deaths and five million refugees — all these things combined make the Iraq war the biggest war crime and the largest man-made humanitarian catastrophe in decades. And it continues. There is little or no hope of improvement, especially not after the recent elections. Add to this the countless bombings and the sectarian disintegration of the country and you have a picture of hell. And we, we all look more and more the other way. Because we are sick and tired of Iraq after seven years? It leaves a bitter taste in my mouth to see that I have been proven right with my thesis about the destruction of Iraq, that so many thought was absurd. Even Bush has been proven right with his famous show on the deck of the USS Lincoln that first May of 2003: “Mission accomplished”. Indeed, Iraq is destroyed.

Happy birthday, Mr President! Yes, *tu quoque* Obama.

Lieven De Cauter,

philosopher, president of the BRussells Tribunal

The book will be presented Saturday, 20 March in Les Halles de Schaerbeek

www.halles.be See also www.brusselstribunal.org for the list of assassinated academics and media professionals

Roger Van Zwanenberg: CULTURAL CLEANSING in IRAQ



Why museums were looted, libraries burned and academics murdered
by Edited by Raymond W. Baker, Shereen T. Ismael and Tareq Y. Ismael

A statement of the chairman and commissioning editor of Pluto Press on the occasion of the presentation of the book, on March 20h 2010 at les halles in Brussels.

Cultural Cleansing in Iraq is one of those books that make me proud to have published it. Pluto sets out to provide radical explanations of the major events of our time. The invasion of Iraq was one of these events.

I cut my teeth as a young academic in studying the Colonial history of Eastern Africa. I would ask my students why Britain had invaded their country. I tried to ask them to look behind the popular myths, and profoundly explain why that invasion occurred. That was all in the 1970s. Later when I began publishing books it never occurred to me that the Great Powers of the day, the USA and its followers, Britain and now NATO, would move to Colonise again.

Colonisation has always been a nasty, brutal business, and the 21st century version has proved that this aspect of Western 19th and early 20 century violence has not altered. Our newspapers and the internet, mean that so much of the truly brutal behaviour is not hidden for too long. In the earlier version of Colonisation, information took many months to get through. So the world has been told about the systematic torture of prisoners, and the millions of refugees, and we hear about the events as they unfold.

But how do we make sense of what has happened. Our masters in Washington or London don't want us to know their thinking. Iraq has been surrounded by honeyed words. Our leaders ought to be considered as war mongers and criminals, and many ordinary people consider them as such. But still we don't see the



Stop the Assassination of Iraqi Academics ! A campaign of The BRussells Tribunal and Campaña Estatal contra la Ocupación y por la Soberanía de Iraq

patterns, don't understand their thinking, we don't comprehend their goals and purposes.

Cultural Cleansing in Iraq, succeeds in filling this gap as no other book I know about. What this book illustrates was the decision - some were in the interstices of the US Government - to destroy the old society completely. The purpose of the invaders wasn't just to remove Saddam Hussein; this was almost a sub plot. No, the purpose was to destroy the structure and the people, the intelligentsia, the middle classes. A mature urban society was in effect levelled to the ground. As in the long past when marauding invaders burnt cities, so modern invaders have undertaken the equivalent in Iraq.

Cultural Cleansing sets this out in its horrifying detail. And this is why I am pleased and proud that Pluto has been chosen by Raymond Baker and Tareq Ismael to be their publisher. And, of course we are all grateful for the vital work of the BRussells Tribunal in *publicising* this horrific event of our live time.

dr. Roger van Zwanenberg

Chair & Commissioning Editor of Pluto Press

AL QUDS:

؟ الاكاديميون وقتل المكتبات وحرقت المتاحف نهبت لمراد: العراق في الثقافى التطهير

المرعايى حسب جديى عراق وخلق الذاكرة ومرحوا العراقىة الهوىة على الحرب عن 'رسمى' سجل اول
أمريكية-الانكلو

درويش ابراهيم

المتاحف، نهبت لمراد: العراق في الثقافى التطهير 'العربىة الكتاب هذا نسخة ان بالسعادة اشعر
صدور مع الوقت وبنفس القاهرة في 'الشروق' دار عن ستصدر 'الاكاديميون وقتل المكتبات وحرقت
'برس بلوتو' عن الصادرة الانكليزىة النسخة

العراق على امرىكاشنتها التى الثقافىة الحرب مع الم على الاطلاع العربى القارئ بمقدور سىكون
للبحث والاكاديمىة جادة محاولة اول الكتاب فهذا، 'جديى عراق' وبناء ديكاتاتورى بنظام الاطاحة باسم

للإعراق امرئكي -الانكلو والغزو عن والناجم العراق على والثقافي الانساني الدمار ملامح في
بالبحث الباع اصحاب من الكادييريين ومحريه الكتاب في المشاركون ان السعادة يثير وما
محالاتهم في الكادييرال

ومحو وثقافته مراضيه، - تاريخه من العراق وسلب والقتل للنهب علمية دراسة اول انه الكتاب وأهمية
وعرقية وطائفية اقلية بهويات واحلالها القومية وهويته ذاكرته

اهمية قلت لآ حربا تمثلا والتفكيك - والقتل -الحرق -النهب - المحو ان افتراض على الكتاب ويقيم
العراقية العاصمة - بغداد فيه سقطت الذي اليوم نذكر زلنا فلا 'والتروي ع الصدمة' عمليات عن
الحرائق صور ذاكرتنا في نحمّل زلنا وما حسيّن، صدام يتزعمه كان الذي العراقي النظام وانهيار
الدولة تاريخ وسجلات القومى الارشيف ودور ومكتبات متاحف من الدولة لمؤسسات المنظم والنهب
الدولة كانت الذين المرتعلمة الطبقة ابناء من العراقيين ملايين وتشتت العراق في الحديثة
عليهم وتعتمد بهم تقويم

وقوف شاهدا كما بالفوضى تتسم ما عادة الحربية ان رمس فيلد دونالد تصريحات نذكر زلنا وما
الطلق، الهواء في صدام دناني يرمون وهم الشمال في والراقصين النهابين امام مرتفرا المحتل
الدمار عمليات مع بأخرى او بطريفة وتواطئه والتاريخ الوطنية الذاكرة نهب امام المحتل جيش وموقف
وبشرا وتاريخاً وثقافة بنية بالعراق، حلت التي

بناء وليس خلق

'الجديد' العراق في يكي الامر المشروع وبعد وتجليات حدث ما وراء الحقيقى القصة نقرأ لم لكننا
الصحافي تصريحات بحسب 'يتشكك او يبنى' ولا 'يخلق' ان له اريد الذي الجديد العراق فهذا
ما كل من 'اللوح' وتنظيف والبداية الاول الخلق الى يعاد ان من بد لا كان فريدمان توماس الامريكي
المكتبات وحرق تجفيفها او العقول لقت من بد لا كان هذا اجل ومن الجديدة الدولة تولد لكي عليه
عام الى العراق اعادة اي الاسقفاز او للقتل المرشحة القوائم واعداد الوطنية، السجلات وسرقة
الجمام من وطن لبناء وانتهى كمبوديا في تحقيقه بوت بول اراد ما استعدنا اذا الصفر
'الحرب مصطلحات في عليها يطلق كما تكن لم فصوله حدث ازاء في اننا العراق في حدث بما يثير ما
من خطوة وكل ذاكرته من البلد لتجريد مبيته ودوافع وعمل لتخطيط نتيجة كان بل 'مباشري غير قتل
عملية الى تشير البريطانيون وحلفائهم الامريكيين بيد العراق سق ورافقت التي الخطوات
من اخرى مناطق في تمت اخرى شارى عم امام وساق قدم على يقف ثقافي تطهير لتحقيق مخططة
وفلسطين البوسنة مثل العالم

والمساهمة العراقية الذاكرة لمححو والطامح التطهيري الامريكي المشروع ملامح عن للكشف اضافة
الامريكية المتطلبات ضمن مرعا والتعامل للقولبة قابلية اخرى بهوية واستبدالها بسرقتها
بشريا العراق، دفعه الذي الباهظ الثمن الى فيه المشاركون او الكتاب يشير والاسرائيلية

شريعة على عمل مشروع امام اننا اذ 'القلب نياط' وتقطع محزنة تلافيفها في والقصرة وثقافي
ان الى الكتات اوراق من واحدة تشير حيث وتاريخه البلد هوية الى يشير ما لكل المنظم التدمير
للعراق حدث مثلما التاريخية لمشاهدة دميرت اي يشهد لم الحديث التاريخ
الاسلامى التراث وشمل بل القديمة الحضارات واثار التاريخية المشاهدة فقط الدمار يطل ولم
تبعه وما التعليم ومؤسسات الجامعات التطهير وشمل الفنون لدارات اضافة الكتب ودور والمخطوطات
للأكاديميين ملاحقه من

هي رتط قرار 99 و بريمر

99 القرار الى الاول القرار من بريمر بول المدنى الحاكم اتخذها التي القرارات كل ان الباحثون ويرى
ومنافح العربية للقومية كحارس المنطقة في دوره وتهميش هويته من العراق تجريد باتجاه تصب
الفلسطيين وحقوق الفلسطينية القضية عن
امريكا هيمنة تأكيد الاول امريين تحقيق للعراق باحتلالها داتارا الجدد المحافظين فايديولوجية
تقليدي عدو من اسرائيل تحريز الاخر والامر الطبعية، العراق مصادر على وسيطرتها العلمرية
نظام بناء عبر هذا تحقيق في يرغبون الجدد المحافظون وكان بالمنطقة القوة معادلة من وشطبه
الامريكية للقوة مستسلم

تسجل التي العراقيين الأكاديميين ومأساة الثقافى التطهير قصة العشرة الكتات فصول في
عمل بتسهيل اما باخرى او بطريفة اسهمت التي القوى عن البحث محاولة خلال من اوسع بتفصيل
العراقيين الأكاديميين بملاحقة او العراقي التراث بنهب قامت التي المحترفة العصابات
والثقافة العلم من ابع يفتجف وبالتالي

او الفوضى امام متفرجا بالوقوف سواء الدمار هذا عن الاحتلال مسؤولي عن الباحثون ويكتب
كل من ونجت العراق بها احتفظ التي الاثرية المعالم تشويه خلال من التدمير في بالمساهمة
حدث كما الاثرية المعالم يف العسكرية القواعد بنائه مثل الراقدين بلاد على حلت التي الكوارث
ونينوى واور بابل في

سقوط من الاولى الايام في حدث والفوضى النهب معظم ان الشعبية الكتات في الشائع من
المحتل سياسات اسهمت حيث الاحتلال من اعوام خمسة مدى وعلى استمر للتاريخ المحو لكن النظام
الجديد العراق سدنة تمنح لانها ايجابية علامة التدمير مع التامل تم فقد العملية، بهذه
جديد من البداية الفرصة

الخسارة فداحة من الرغم فعلى حرب كفعال والمحو النهب عملية مع يتعامل انه الكتات هذا في يهه وما
تمثل وتاريخه هويته من البلد تجريد عملية ان الا العراق، ابناء من للملايين والتهجير الانسانية
القديمة الاثار مع يتعاملون ظلوا واصولهم العرقية جذورهم كانت ما ايا العراقيين لان كبيبة خسار
شيعية، او سنية كردية، او عربية اصولهم كانت ايا هويتهم، عن صورة باعنتبارها التاريخية والرموز
مسلمة ام مسيحية

الهوية اغتيل جريمة في نال مشاركي ان المعاصرة العراقية الملهة في والتراجيدي الساخ
مجهول باسم مسجلة لكنها اكثر العراقية

داخلية عناصر وان بالنهب قاموا من هم البعثيين ان الى تشيهر الرسمية الرواية كانت البداية في
فيما صحته تثبت لم ما وهو بالافعال قامت من هي نهب او حرقت التي المؤسسات في موظفين من
بع.

الظروف من الرغم على بالعراق باقية وظلت الحصار سنوات عانت التي الاصول لك اسكات وتم كما
مرعها تحالف ومن الغربية الرواية تكيد تم فيما عاشوها التي
الاحتقار من يسلم لم المرجح هول الجندي ضريح حتى

التطهير مجال في داخلية حرباً كانت الاحتلال قبل من مورست التي السياسات كل فان اطار وفي
او الراقدين بلاد في القديمة الحضارات بقايا على عسكرية قواعد ببناء هذا كان ان الثقافي
الجندي ضريح من اتخذوا الذي الامريكيين الجنود موقف من شوهه كما الثقافة بقية بالتهاون
الايرائية - العراقية الحرب في قتلوا الذين الجنود اسماء على وعلقوا لدباباتهم موقفا المرجح هول
اليومية نشاطاتهم حول واوارق ملصقات

التطهير عملية ضمن يدخل العراقي التراث حمائية في فشله فان حدث لما المحتمل تبرير كان اي
تظهر كما وحربا نفسها السياسة في فشلها كان ولكنها بالسياسة خطأ يكن لم حدث فما الثقافي
البحراني زينب الباحثة ورقة

صرح كما الجديدي بالعراق وولادتها الحربية مخاض يلحظوا لكي متسرعيين كانوا الذين الجدد نفا المرحافطو
لخصخصة اطار في واسهموا بل العراقي، الوطني التراث حمائية لمطالب يلفتوا لم رمس في لد
ان الا السلطة فراغ فرصة استغلوا ممن والرعاع الناس فيه شارك عامرا نهب ان من الرغم فعلى النهب،
ومخطوطات ومخطوطات قطع بسرقة وقامت توريد ما تعرف كانت منظمة عصابات وجود على تدل الاشارات
قبل من الوطني الارشيف نقل تم فيما الوطنية والمكتبة المخطوطات ودار العراقي الممتحف في
هيد بوضع مكية كنعان قيام الى اضافة وثيقة، مليون من اكثر على يحتوي والذي الامريكيين
مما جزءا صارت حيث امريكا الى ثم ومن الخضراء المنطقة الى نقلها التي البعث حزب سجلات على
'العراقية الذاكرة' عليه اطلق

الامريكيون يعد لم فيما الوثائق هذه في المؤسسة هذه حق حول قائمة معركة هناك زالت وما
لذلك الظروف سمحت المباح ستعود انها تكيدهم من الرغم على اخذوها التي السجلات

تم الذي الدمار ملامح عن صورة العراقية الذاكرة وتكسيري نجر عن التكريتي، نبيل ورقة وتفصل
تم تدميرها او بمحوها وانه التاريخية والوثائق المخطوطات دور اصاب الذي والضرر التراث مجموعات على
العراقية الجماعية الذاكرة تدمير

العراقي العقل تطهير نم المستفيدة القوى

دار حكاية ففي مشاعا صار الذي التراث من الاستفادة حاولت التي القوى عن الكتاب يكشف

جماعات حاولت محرمية حاويات وفي محصن ملجأ في ووضعه مخطوباتها معظم انقاذ تم التي المخطوبات
لانه الحالي الوضع في الاقل لدى نجاتها الى ادت القوية المعارضة ان الا وتصويرها عليها الذي وضع
مناسبة الملجأ في الجو ظروف كانت ان يعرف لـ

عن تعبر لم امريكى دولار مليار بال عراق الحرب جهود على يوميها تنفق التي امريكى ان المثير من
في وفرت المترحدة الولايات ان مع التراث بحماية للمساهمة دولار مليون مبلغ لتوفير استعداد
الساحر ان الا تراث على والحفاظ متاحفهم ادارة على العراقيين تدريج اجل من المال بعض احقة لمرحلة
هويتهم محو عن مسؤولية دولة من جاء انه هو الامر في

والمخطوبات الكتب من ومجموعاتهم والاسلامى القديم تراثهم الكثر العراقيون فقط يخسر لم
قتل في تسهم الحضري الفضاء عسكرية عمليات ان لب الهاشمية والفترة العثمانية والسجلات
الطائفية الهويات وتأكيد التنوع على بالقضاء تقوم التي الاسمنتية الكتب مثل من تراثهم
ان كما خالصة شيعية او سنية متجانسة، احياء الى منها 25 تحولت بغداد احياء من حي 200 من فمن
الحكومة عنها تتحدث التي التحديتية المشاري عو بغداد قلب في عملاقة امريكى سفارة بناء
ان كما قرون، منذ عليها متعارف حياة وطرائق تراث لمحو وتؤدي تاريخية مدن لقصبات العراقية
ادت انها الا ببغداد الامن تحقيق منها هدف والتي 2007 عام في الامريكى القوات زيادة عملية
العراقيين بين الجامع الحس لقتل النهاية في تواسهم طائفية غيتوهات الى العاصمة لتحويل
الطائفية التقسيمات كل تتجاوز عراقية هوية الى ينتمون وكونهم

العلمية والكفاءات الطاقات ملأحة

قطاع حرمان الى ادت التي البعث اجتثاث سياسة كانت وفظاعة همجيرية الاكثر السياسات بين من
للعقول المنظم الاستهداف الى بالنهاية وادت وطائفهم من اءات والكف والمؤهلين الحرفيين من واسع
الاعتقال: والثانية المستهدف القتل: الاولى استراتيجيتين خلال من تمت التي العراقية
ليواجهوا العراق من العلماء من العديدي هروب الى قاد الذي والتخويف الترهيب الى اضافة والتعذيب
اجل من السيارات ويسوقون الخضار يبيعون سخرة، عمال منهم الكثي اصبح حيث قاتما مصيرا
جديد وضع في النجاة

من حالات ويدرس والمثقفين الانتلجنسي طبقة ملأحة اندريانسىن ديريك الباحث ويلأحق
الاحتلال ومسؤولية بغداد اسنان طب كلبية في حدث كما المستهدف والقتل تمت التي النهب
السجلات وحرق المثقفين وقتل لتدمير شعرا الا يكن لم البعث اجتثاث رشع ان الباحث ويرى
ونظامها ممتلكاتها، قوانينها ومؤسساتها، اعلامها دوائرها سجلاتها: 'العراقية الوطنية الدولة وتدمير
القضائى

كل يدرس فيما . الغزو قبل لها ومخطط مدبرة لسياسة نتيجة بل للحرب اثراً يكن لم هنا والتدمير
التي والعملية الصفر نقطة من للبداية كطريقة اللوح تنظيم فكرة واندرينسن فولدر ماكس من
يقتلوا لم ان الهرب على واجبارهم التعليلىمى النظام عن وابعادهم المثقفين تطهير خلالها من جرت

التعليقي المؤسسات ونهب ومداومة
وعدت التي التحقيقات من العديدي فان الكاديمي ينال لملاحقة الدفاع او القاتل لمعرفة محاولة وفي
بهم الممشتب به على القبض يتم لم فيما نتائجها عن يعلن لم العراقية الحكومة به
الاحتلال وقوات واسرائيل وايران الميديليشيات :المرتهمين هوية كانت اي انه الباحثان ويعدت قد
لوزارة الكبير الامريكي المستشار اردمان، اندرو عنها عبر سياسية ضمن يدخل الامر ان الا والحكومة
الجديدة للدولة جديدة لبداية كشرط اللوح تنظيف بضرورة أمن الذي العراقية العلي التي
حسب رمزي كان وان ضروري يظل الانفصام وهذا 'السابق النظام' بالماضي صلتها قطع فيها يتم
العراقي التعليقي النظام وتاريخ انجازات من الرغم على تعليقي نظام بناء اجل من المسؤول
مؤيدة زاوية من اي المنصيرين، منظور ومن كتابة اعاد الى يحتاج العراق تاريخ ان اردمان مدخل ويغني
يتهمون ممن او المحسوبين واستبعاد الجاعات في انتخابات لاجراء ضرورة هناك كانت هنا ومن لامريكا
العالي التعليقي مؤسسات في القرار مركز من بالبعثية
الجاعات حصن الذي الجدار ببنايه بل التاريخ كتابة اعاد بمحاولاته يكن لم الاحتلال دور فان وهنا
البلد اليها يحتاج التي والكفاءات العراقية يعقول واستهدفت القتل مارست التي
عليه عثرت الامريكية تالقوا ان قيل الذي الجادريه معتقل ان الى فيها يشار مثلا حالة ففي
بوجوده تعرف كانت الاحتلال قوات ان يقال الكاديميون منهم معتقلين فيه ووجدت 2005 عام بالصدفة
تديره الذي الجاعات وبنشاط
من فيها ناقش التي 'العراقية العقول تطهير' مارفلديت فيليب ورقة قراءة تمكّن الفهم هذا وضمن
في عراقي الكاديمي علق كما كفاءاته من العراق لتتنظيف دمتاسخ التي الاساليب ناقش ما ضمن
الصفر عام الى بالعراق والعودة السلفادور خيار ومنها عمان،

التطهير تسيقي

ويحاول الاحتلال بسبب نجحت التي العراق لأزمة مكثفا عرضا الثقافوي التطهير كتاب يقدم
في وهوية تاريخي ومحرو تطهير بسياق امقارنته خلال من العراقية الثقافوية الكارثة تسيقي
المحرو من الموتى يسلم لم الحالتين كالتا ففي والبوسنة فلسطين
مناجات الى العراقية المقابر تحولت فيما والمدارس والتكايا الاضرحة تسلم لم العراق حالة وفي
نهار ليل الغراب فيها ينعق دائمة
للهيمنة كوسيلة التاريخ عصور كل في استخدم الثقافوي المحرو ان ثناياه في الكتاب ويؤكد
وقتل والكلمات، اللغات ومحرو التاريخية والرموز المعالم تدمير منها اساليب عدة المحرو ويتخذ
الجاعات وهوية الجماعية الذاكرة وشطب الجاعات
او مراعاة هذه وجود على والادلة الاثار كل محرو خلال من الشطب يتم والبوسنة فلسطين حالة وفي
كما - التاريخية الاستمرارية تأكيد اجل من قولبته تتم تاريخ دلي على الابقاء حالة وفي تلك
بهوية وختمها الاسلامية المقامات ومصادرة الابراهيمي للحرم تسيقي من فلسطين في يتم

لحم ببيت راجيل ومقام بنابلس يوسف مقام في كما الیهودیة الهویة هی جدیدة
ومن العراقی الوعی فی مرتجذران والاسلام وتاریخا، لغة العربیة، الهویة فان العراقی قالسیا فی
ومنذ بسذاجة اعتقدوا الجدد المحافظین من نظری من عددا ان من الرغم على اقتلاعها جهة ای على الصعب
المسیحی لبت بشیر خصبة ارض الی العراق تحویل امك انیة الغزو بدایة
المدی على عمل الغزو ان الثقافی التطهیر لعملیة المقارنة دراسته فی بیری ای غلین ویعتقد
ینجح وقد الطائفیة النزعات تأجیح خلال من للعراق العربیة القومیة الهویة زعزعة على القریب
السلبیة آثارها ستترك الاسلام قبل ما العراق تاریخ باستهداف استراتیجیته لكن لفترة الغزو
على وخطره العراقی الثقافی التنوع على خاصة التقسیمیة مخاطره یحمل والغز یظل ذلك ومع
العراق ای له خسارة لیس فیہ الاقليات اختفاء ان یرى الذی لامانی مختار ورقة تشیر كما الاقليات
للانسانیة ولكن
تم قولها مواجاة فیها تحاول الی والبحرانی بیری ورقة الی المقدمه من مهمة الکتاب مقاربات
الاوراق من وغیرها استعماریة باع تبارها انثروبولوجیة

عماش صالح هدی

هذی حالة عن شهادة مع اتوقف ثقافته من العراق لتطهیر المأساویة الرحلة هذه وبعد النهایة وفی
رقم) المطلوبین قائمة على كانت والی انثراكس بدكتور الامریکیین لدى المعروفة عماش صالح
الشامل، الدمار اسلحة ابحات عن والمسؤولة القطریة القیادة فی بالعضو امریکی یانب ووصفها (53
2004. (مارس) اذار فی واعتقلت
حسب الشامل الدمار اسلحة بانتاج علاقة لها یکن لم عماش ان نشر دار صاحب دواینی، اندرو ویری
. المتحدة الامم مفتشی
حرب اثناء المنضوب الیورانیوم مخاطر عن تحدثت من واول البیولوجیة البیئیة مجال فی باحثة هی
الاطفال بین خاصة السرطان حالات انتشار ناحیة من العراقیین على الخلیج
الافراج وتم میسوری، جامعة من الدکتوراه شهادة على حصلت الی لعماش تهمة ایه توجیه یتم لم
بأخذ الاحتمال لها یسمح ولا مالی دعم دونوب عمل بلا هی ' :قائل من هنا مقرب ویعلق النهایة فی عن
مرها التحقیقات فطاعة بسبب سئیة صحیة حالة فی وكانت المصرفی حسابها من تحتاجه
وجهاز واوراقها كتبه بیته، من شیء كل بأخذ الامریکیون الجنود قام اعتقالها عملیة واثناء
واشطن الی نقلت وكلها والمجلات تبهاوك دیز، سی التوالیة، اورواق وحتی والقمامة كمبیوترها
الشهادة وبحسب 'القریب عائلتها بیت زرت وعندمها من هنا اخذوه ما الی عیدوا لم عنها افرجوا وعندمها
'المنضوب الیورانیوم بموضوع لاهتمامها عماش اعتقال جاء

الاثیری ابن



Stop the Assassination of Iraqi Academics ! A campaign of The **Russells** Tribunal and Campaña Estatal contra la Ocupación y por la Soberanía de Iraq

يحتسّر وهو 'التاريخ في الكمال' ابكت صاحب الاثري ابن كتبه ما نتذكر الرحلة هذه وبعد النهاية في
كان وانه تلده لم امه ان وتمنى للخوف مثيراً لحدث باعنت بار الاسلام بلاد نحو التتار قوات زحف على
منس يا نس يا
للهجرة 656 عام ثقافتها ودمرت ونهبت التتار بيد بغداد وسقطت للهجرة 630 عام الاثري ابن مات
من مزق من كثرة من اسودت التي والانهار الدم يرى ان قبل لجواره واختاره الاثري بابن رحيم الله كان
فيها ورمي كتب
به حل ما وتذكر لقرون تتأوه بغداد ترك وثقافي بشري تطهيري وعملية بربريا فعلا بغداد نهب كان
ارض على جالوت عيين معركة في وهزيمتهم الممغول زحف وقف عندمنا والمسلمين بالاسلام الله ولطف
فلسطين
في أحاه يقتل الاخ شاهدا بل بغداد نهب نشاهد فلم الحظ اصحاب من نكن لم الاثري ابن خلاف على
غريبة انتقام لعبة

Cultural Cleansing

Why Museums were Looted, Libraries Burned and Academics Murdered

Edited by:

Raymond Baker, Shereen T. Ismael and Tareq Y. Ismael

Pluto Pre/ 2009

Mehdi Koocheki - KIFKIF.BE: Boekbespreking 'Cultural Cleansing in Iraq'

De ontmanteling van de Iraakse staat

De Amerikaanse oorlog in Irak maakte, sinds haar begin in maart 2003, meer dan een miljoen burgerslachtoffers. Nog eens vijf miljoen Irakezen sloegen op vlucht. Vandaag is Irak een oord van institutionele chaos, waar etnische minderheden en religieuze extremisten elkaar voortdurend naar het leven staan. Het ontstaan van deze helse situatie wordt doorgaans toegeschreven aan het ontbreken van adequate terreinkennis en van een goed voorbereide wederopbouwstrategie bij de top van de Bush-administratie. "Fout", zeggen de samenstellers van een nieuw essayboek over de Amerikaanse bezetting. "De Iraakse maatschappij werd doelbewust stap voor stap ontmanteld."

Enkele dagen na de aanslag op de WTC-torens van 11 september 2001, verklaarde de toenmalige Amerikaanse vice-minister van Defensie en één van de belangrijkste architecten van de oorlog tegen Irak, Paul Wolfowitz, dat het Amerikaanse buitenlandse beleid zich zou gaan toeleunen "op het beëindigen van

staten die het terrorisme steunen”. Irak werd meteen aangeduid als een terroristische staat en dus klaar om ‘beëindigd’ te worden.

De inleiding van het essayboek ‘Cultural Cleansing in Iraq’, geschreven door de samenstellers Raymond Baker, Shereen Ismael en Tareq Ismael, begint met de vaststelling dat ‘state-ending’ in tegenstelling tot ‘nation-building’ een sterk onderbelicht concept is in de sociaal-wetenschappelijke literatuur. In hun ogen vormen de gebeurtenissen in Irak vanaf de Amerikaanse machtsovername in Bagdad op 9 april 2003 tot vandaag één lang praktijkvoorbeeld van deze beleidskeuze door de Bush-administratie. Om deze stelling kracht bij te zetten verzamelden ze in hun boek bijdragen over twee belangrijke peilers van ‘state ending’, namelijk de vernietiging van het Iraakse culturele en intellectuele kapitaal tijdens de Amerikaanse bezetting. In het licht van de algemene vernietiging en terreur die sinds 2003 over Irak heerst, lijken de aanvallen op het cultureel erfgoed en op enkele honderden academici niet meer dan details. Volgens de auteurs leggen ze echter een patroon bloot dat ons in staat stelt om beter te begrijpen hoe Irak in zijn huidige staat is terechtgekomen.

“Loopgraven in Stonehenge”

Het eerste deel van ‘Cultural Cleansing in Iraq’ verzamelt een aantal bijdragen over de ontmanteling van het Iraakse culturele erfgoed. In het hoofdstuk ‘Archeology and the Strategies of War’ behandelt professor Zainab Bahrani de schade die werd toegebracht aan de ontzagwekkende hoeveelheid archeologische schatten die Irak rijk is, of beter gezegd was. Bahrani werkte in 2004 als Senior Advisor voor het Iraakse ministerie van Cultuur en is dus een bevoorrechte getuige van de vernieling die er in die tijd plaatsvond. Ze verteld hoe het Amerikaanse leger in de eerste dagen van de bezetting strikte orders kreeg om niet tussen te komen tijdens de massale plunderingen van archeologische en culturele sites. Meer dan 12.000 belangrijke historische voorwerpen werden illegaal het land uitgesmokkeld. Een groot deel van deze plunderingen werd uitgevoerd door professionele bendes die wisten wat ze moesten meenemen. Ook na de eerste weken van de bezetting gingen deze plunderingen op veel plaatsen gewoon door. Hoewel over deze plunderingen geregeld artikels verschijnen in de Westere pers, merkt Bahrani op dat deze steeds focussen op het verlies dat deze plunderingen betekenen voor het werelderfgoed. Wat weinig of nooit aanbod komt is het verlies dat deze plunderingen betekenen voor de Iraakse bevolking, die zo wordt beroofd van haar rijke verleden.

Wat volgens Bahrani nog erger is, is dat het Pentagon verschillende sites van onschatbare archeologische waarde ombouwde tot militaire basissen. Dit is het geval voor Ur (de legendarische geboorteplaats van Abraham), de bekende Mesopotamische hoofdstad Babylon en Samarra (de hoofdstad

van het Islamitische rijk onder de Abassieden en de begraafplaats van de sjiitische tiende en elfde imams). Deze antieke sites werden afgegraven voor zandzakken, volgebouwd met barakken en slachtoffer van zware legervoertuigen. Daarmee schonden de Amerikaanse bezettingstroepen niet alleen de Iraakse Culturele erfgoedwetten, maar ook het internationaal oorlogsrecht. Bahrani nodigt de Westerse lezer uit om zich voor te stellen “dat Stonehenge zou omgevormd worden tot een militaire kazerne voor duizenden troepen, waarbij in het hart van de antieke site riolen zouden worden gegraven en rond de hunebedden loopgraven aangelegd. Een aantal van de kleinere stenen zou verplaatst worden en gebruikt als dekkingsmuren voor vijandig vuur (...) Dit is de situatie vandaag in een aantal van de belangrijkste culturele erfgoedsites in Irak”.

“Beginnen met een schone lei”

Niet alleen archeologische sites werden het slachtoffer van plundering en vernieling, ook de belangrijkste Iraakse archieven en bibliotheken leden zwaar onder de Amerikaanse invasie. Historicus Nabil al-Tikriti maakt in zijn bijdrage aan het boek ‘Negligent Mnemocide’ een droeve inventaris op van de talloze antieke teksten en manuscripten, die gestolen, beschadigd of vernietigd werden.

Al-Tikriti citeert het Amerikaanse hoofd van het Iraakse ministerie van Hoger Onderwijs en Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek in 2003-04, John Agresto. Volgens Agresto waren de plunderingen van de Iraakse universiteiten een goede zaak, omdat het deze instellingen zou toestaan “om met een schone lei te beginnen, met het nieuwste materiaal en een nieuw curriculum”. Onder de verdwenen of beschadigde teksten bevinden zich één van de uitgebreidste archieven van Arabische dagbladen uit het Midden-Oosten, archieven van het Ottomaanse rijk en talloze antieke religieuze teksten, waaronder een vierhonderd jaar oude Torah.

Academici als doelwit

Het tweede deel verzamelt een aantal bijdragen over de enorme brain drain waar Irak mee te maken heeft. Voor de eerste Golfoorlog had Irak één van de beste onderwijssystemen in het Midden-Oosten, daar blijft vandaag weinig tot niets meer van over. Exacte cijfers over het aantal hoger opgeleiden dat het land sinds 2003 heeft verlaten zijn niet bekend, maar onafhankelijke journalist Dahr Jamail geeft in het hoofdstuk ‘Death, Displacement of Flight’ een ruwe schatting van dit fenomeen gebaseerd op de cijfers van Iraakse vluchtelingen in Syrië. “Terwijl minder dan 1 procent van de Irakezen die overblijven in het land (nvda. Irak) een post-graduaatopleiding heeft genoten, beschikt meer dan 10 procent van de vluchtelingen in Syrië over voortgezette diploma’s, en 4,5 procent over een doctoraat. Daarenboven heeft 20 procent van de mensen in Irak geen enkele opleiding genoten, bij de Iraakse vluchtelingen in Syrië is dat slechts 3

procent.”

Bovenstaande cijfers laten er weinig twijfel over bestaan dat de Iraakse intellectuelen en masse het land aan het verlaten zijn. Daar hebben ze volgens Dirk Adriaensens, coördinator van SOS Iraq en lid van directiecomité van het BRussells Tribunal alle reden toe. In zijn bijdrage ‘Killing the Intellectual Class’ beschrijft hij hoe vermoedelijk reeds meer dan vijfhonderd Iraakse academici werden vermoord. Deze moorden gebeurden in koelen bloede, vaak op klaarlichte dag of nadat de academici werden gekidnap. Het BRussells Tribunal, een internationale organisatie van academici, kunstenaars en activisten die zich verzetten tegen de oorlog in Irak, houdt sinds 2004 een lijst bij met de namen van vermoorde Iraakse academici. De teller stond op 15 januari 2009 op 413.

Volgens Adriaensens vallen er geen religieuze of etnische lijnen te trekken in de moorden. Academici van alle Iraakse bevolkingsgroepen maken evenveel kans om vermoord te worden. Ook is er geen onderscheid tussen exacte of humane wetenschappers. Vlak na de invasie was dit onderscheid wel merkbaar, maar al snel werden humane wetenschappers ook een doelwit. Het is trouwens opvallend dat het aantal moorden op academici over de jaren enkel maar toeneemt en dus niet kan verweten worden aan de chaotische eerste dagen na de inval in 2003.

Academici worden niet alleen vermoord, maar ook bedreigd. Het merendeel van de Iraakse professoren kreeg reeds een kogel in de bus met hun naam op.

De moorden gebeuren in een sfeer van volledige straffeloosheid, tot op vandaag is er nog geen enkele zaak voor de rechtbank gekomen of zelfs maar onderzocht. Verschillende moorden en ontvoeringen vonden plaats in de strengst beveiligde delen van Bagdad, maar toch konden de daders steeds ontkomen. Adriaensens citeert de Iraakse professor dr. Saad Jawad: “Eén Amerikaanse soldaat wordt ontvoerd en Bagdad staat onder volledig alarm, maar wanneer een Iraakse professor wordt vermoord? Dan gebeurt er niets.”

De gevolgen van deze situatie laten zich makkelijk raden. Het Iraakse onderwijssysteem staat op het punt volledig in te storten. In 2007 had slechts 30 procent van de 3,5 miljoen Iraakse kinderen toegang tot onderwijs. In 1982 kreeg Irak een prijs van de UNESCO voor het bestrijden van het analfabetisme. In 2007 kon nog maar 65 procent van de bevolking lezen en schrijven.

Ook Adriaensens wijst met een beschuldigende vinger naar de Bush-administratie, volgens hem speelt de verdrijving van de Iraakse intellectuelen de Amerikanen in de kaart en liggen zij aan de basis van de cultuur van straffeloosheid. De Iraakse intellectuelen belichamen namelijk het nationale en



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seculiere karakter van de moderne Iraakse staat. Zonder academici is Irak ten prooi gevallen aan verschillende etnische en sektarische conflicten en zal het land nog jaren beroep moeten doen op Westerse experts om de economische sleutelsectoren weer op gang te krijgen.

‘Cultural Cleansing in Iraq’ biedt de lezer een onthutsend beeld van de concrete gevolgen op het terrein van de Amerikaanse beslissing om van de vernietiging van Irak als nationale staat een voorbeeld te maken voor het Midden-Oosten.

‘Cultural Cleansing in Iraq – Why Museums Were Looted, Libraries Burned and Academics Murdered’ (298p.) is verschenen bij Pluto Press en kan online besteld worden, via deze [link](#).

<http://www.kifkif.be/page?&orl=1&ssn=&lng=1&page=journalistiek&are=2489>

Saudi Gazette: "Counting the cost of cultural cleansing in Iraq" By Susannah Tarbush

One of the most enduring sound-bites from the April 2003 invasion of Iraq was the then US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld’s dismissive phrase “stuff happens.” He was responding to questions over the chaos in which ministries, museums and other institutions were ransacked, looted and burned while US troops stood by and failed to intervene. Rumsfeld suggested that the looting was a positive sign, an understandable targeting of the hated symbols of the ousted regime.

In the nearly seven years following the invasion, the culture of Iraq has continued to be ravaged. A collection of papers newly published by Pluto Press of London and New York explores the different facets of the onslaught on culture. The book has the provocative title “Cultural Cleansing in Iraq: Why Museums were Looted, Libraries Burned and Academics Murdered.”

The editors of the book are Raymond W. Baker, a politics professor of both Trinity College in the USA and the American University in Cairo; Shereen T. Ismail, Associate Professor at the School of Social Work, Carleton University, Canada, and Tariq Y. Ismail, Professor of Political Science at the University of Calgary, Canada.

The book is dedicated to the late Professor Issam Al-Rawi, Professor of Geology at Baghdad University and Chairman of the Association of University Teachers (AUT) who was assassinated in October 2006. Al-Rawi had founded the register of murdered academics. The editors of “Cultural Cleansing in Iraq” write



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that the destruction of the Iraqi state has killed over a million civilians, displaced some four million refugees abroad and internally, and led to the targeted assassination of more than 400 academics and professionals. “All of these terrible losses are compounded by unprecedented levels of cultural devastation, attacks on national archives and monuments that represent the historical identity of the Iraqi people,” they write.

They see Iraq as a country in which the ending of the state was an objective of the occupiers. “State destruction went beyond regime change and included the dismantling of state institutions and the launching of a prolonged process of political reshaping.” They draw parallels with 1980s Central America where death squads were “a foreign policy tool.”

Zainab Bahrani – the Edith Porada Professor of Art History and Archaeology at Columbia University, New York – argues that the damage and destruction to Iraq’s heritage was not just due to poor planning and collateral damage. She asks why the occupiers chose to locate military bases at main cultural heritage sites such as Babylon, Ur and Samarra. The establishment of these bases has caused severe damage, destroying thousands of years of archaeological material. “Like human rights abuses, the destruction of a people’s cultural heritage and history has elsewhere been regarded as a war crime.”

Some contributors note that damage to Iraqi culture started well before 2003. The former director general of the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage of Iraq, Abbas Al-Hussainy, considers that the modern assault on Iraq’s cultural heritage began in the second half of the 19th century. At that time there were illegal exports of artifacts to Asia, Europe and America.

The country’s heritage later suffered during the Iraq-Iran war and, from 1991 onwards, under sanctions. At the same time the regime sponsored “restoration” projects for propaganda purposes. A notorious example was Saddam’s restoration of Babylon with his name inscribed on each brick, in the style of Nebuchadnezzar II. The regime’s punitive actions against the south and the destruction of the salt marshes laid waste to the cultural riches of that area. “However, these earlier assaults on Iraq’s Mesopotamian heritage pale in comparison to the wreckage inflicted by the occupation of Iraq from 2003 onward,” the editors write.

The destruction of Iraq’s collective memory is a theme running through the book. Nabil Al-Takriti of the University of Mary Washington in the USA cites the scholar Keith Watenpaugh’s use of the word “mnemocide” to mean the murder of cultural memory. The push to remake Iraq has been destructive to the country’s collective memory. As Al-Takriti puts it: “In Iraq’s case, during a period of great chaotic flux, one country under occupation lost a great deal of its connection to its past while certain occupying powers

profited from that loss in a variety of ways.”

Al-Takriti surveys the huge toll looting, burning and flooding has taken on the precious collections of documents in the Iraqi National Library and Archives (INLA), the Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs Central Library (Awqaf Library), the Iraqi House of Manuscripts, the Iraqi Academy of Sciences, the House of Wisdom and the Iraqi Jewish Archive.

There are disputes over the ownership of some of the surviving documents. The controversial Iraqi academic Kanan Makiya, who was a strong proponent of the invasion, removed the Baath Party Archives from the Party headquarters in 2003 and eventually took them to California. His Iraq Memory Foundation (IMF) claimed stewardship of the archives and then turned them over to the Hoover Institute at Stanford University. But the director general of INLA Saad Eskander challenges the IMF's right to dispose of the collection.

Eskander is also involved in a tussle between Iraq and certain Jewish claimants over the Iraqi Jewish Archive of books, manuscripts and records that was recovered by US troops from a sewage-flooded basement. The Iraqi Culture Ministry agreed that the collection should be moved to the US for preservation, but it was supposed to be returned after two years. Now Iraq is pressing for its return. Explaining why the archive should be returned, Eskander has said: “Iraqis must know that we are a diverse people, with different traditions, different religions, and we need to accept this diversity...To show it to our people that Baghdad was always multiethnic.” But certain influential Jewish personalities and circles in the US object to the return to Iraq.

Philip Marfleet, Reader in Refugee Studies and Director of the Refugee Research Centre at the University of East London, warns that the scattering of Iraqi intellectuals worldwide is “making the prospect of return and reconsolidation of the country's academic, professional and technical cadres increasingly difficult, leaving a gaping hole in its human resources. A loss of this magnitude will certainly affect the wider society for generations to come.”

The Iraqi intelligentsia is in effect being evacuated; hence the presence in Iraqi refugee communities of disproportionately large numbers of academics, writers, journalists and artists. -

SG <http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentID=2010020161978>



Stop the Assassination of Iraqi Academics ! A campaign of The **Russells** Tribunal and Campaña Estatal contra la Ocupación y por la Soberanía de Iraq

How US set out to destroy Iraq's national identity and build a dependent state

MICHAEL JANSEN

Tue, Jan 12, 2010

Cultural Cleansing in Iraq Edited by Raymond W. Baker, Shereen T. Ismael, and Tareq Y. Ismael. Pluto, 296 pp. \$34.95

THIS BOOK argues convincingly that the post-war cultural cleansing of Iraq is intentional rather than random and haphazard, the result of chaos and anarchy.

The aim of the policy of cultural cleansing is to remake Iraq into a US-friendly state and enable Washington's returned Shia and Kurd exiles to take and exercise power.

In the first of 10 chapters, the editors contend that the Bush administration's objectives were to demonstrate US global dominance and remake "the strategic Middle East" to suit the US. "To that end, the invasion of Iraq would display America's crushing military power to a world reduced to the status of spectators in a spectacle of a state's destruction, marked by massive civilian casualties, cultural devastation and the pauperisation of its people."

Subsequent chapters show how Iraq's state structures were systematically destroyed along with the independent secular nationalist socialist regime.

This began with the looting of the country's museums and libraries, schools and universities. Although Iraqis carried out most of the pillage and destruction, the US was responsible for what took place.

Scholars had warned the White House and Pentagon that this would happen if vulnerable sites were not protected. Nothing was done because, according to Barbara Bodine, Washington's first post-war ambassador, orders had been issued to the effect that looting should be allowed to proceed unchecked. In some cases, US troops broke open the doors of institutions to aid looters.

The US also used major archaeological sites, including ancient Babylon and Ur, as military bases, inflicting irreparable damage.

By attacking the country's history and "collective memory", Zainab Bahrani holds that the US sought to



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undermine the unique national identity of Iraqis. Their strong sense of history and culture has made them the most inventive poets, writers and painters in the Arab world.

The second half of the book focuses on the killing of Iraqi intellectuals and professionals.

As early as April 11th, 2003, two days after the fall of Baghdad, a group of university professors and scientists dispatched an e-mail saying that the occupation forces had drawn up lists of individuals for detention, harassment and elimination. Since then, hundreds of university processors, doctors and scientists have been assassinated, kidnapped, killed or driven into exile.

The murder of Dr Muhammad Rawi, a medical doctor and chancellor of Baghdad University in July 2003, shocked the country and served as a warning to others in the intelligentsia.

Israel's Mossad intelligence agency and the Iranian-founded Iraqi Badr Corps militia were initially blamed for the killings. However, the book's contributors provide solid evidence that the US and Britain fostered the decimation of the intellectuals because they would resist foreign domination through Shia and Kurd proxies who rode into Baghdad on the backs of US tanks.

The vehicle for the purge of intellectuals was the de-Baathification campaign instituted by Paul Bremer, the US pro-consul from 2003-2004, and used by successive Shia-led sectarian governments to target secular nationalist thinkers of every sect.

The US is accused of using the "Salvador option", a strategy evolved in Central America, to create US-compliant regimes in that region.

The 13 authors of this work say the US set out to destroy Iraq's national identity, reduce and marginalise the educated class and wipe the Iraqi slate clean in order to build from ground zero a weak state which would be dependent on the US. This experiment in "state ending" has left a black hole at the heart of the eastern Arab world.

Michael Jansen writes on Middle East affairs for The Irish Times

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Battle to destroy hearts and minds

The dismantling of Iraqi intellectual life may have been a deliberate strategy, [Roger Matthews](#) learns

Cultural Cleansing in Iraq: Why Museums Were Looted, Libraries Burned and Academics Murdered - 1
April 2010

I first went to Iraq in 1984 to work on archaeological excavations near Mosul. Our workers were Yezidis from the neighbouring villages and together we worked long hours in the hot sun. Over the following few years I lived in Iraq as resident director of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq and worked on projects all over the country. We suspected then that we might be living the last years of a golden age of Mesopotamian discovery, uncovering Iraq's uniquely rich and important cultural heritage in collaboration with colleagues from Iraq and many other countries.

Today, the discipline of Mesopotamian archaeology lies in tatters; Iraq's universities and its antiquities service face an uncertain future in the midst of a harrowing present; standards of education, literacy and international engagement have plummeted to levels unknown in the history of Iraq; and the world continues largely to turn its back on calls for assistance from our Iraqi friends and colleagues. All this in a country renowned throughout the Arab world and beyond for its sophistication and open-mindedness, epitomised in the Arabic saying "Cairo writes, Beirut publishes, Baghdad reads".

The editors and authors of this book believe that the planners of the US-led 2003 invasion of Iraq were not simply grossly negligent in allowing Iraq to descend into this hell. Their argument is that the planners consciously facilitated the dismantling of Iraq's intellectual, academic and cultural apparatus in order to wipe the slate clean as a prelude to the rebirth of the country as a neo-capitalist secular democracy that would serve as a model for change across the Middle East. "To be remade, a state must be rendered malleable", as the editors of this volume observe. Hulagu and his Mongol hordes doubtless understood this when they ransacked Baghdad in AD1258.

In pursuit of this argument, the authors evaluate the impact of the invasion and regime change on multiple aspects of life in Iraq since 2003. Chapters deal in turn with the ideology of neoconservatism, cultural cleansing as state policy, the destruction of Iraq's archaeological, historical, cultural and archive resources and memories, and the terrible impact of the invasion and the subsequent chaos on Iraq's many minority groups, of whom the Yezidis are but one. The core of the book concerns the fate of Iraq's academics, who have suffered dreadfully in the past seven years. A sombre appendix to this book states that at least 432 scholars (and probably many more) from across all disciplines have been murdered. No Iraqi academic is

safe from the threat of kidnap, torture, death or all three.

Later this month, the Seventh International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (www.7icaane.org) will take place in London. Many papers will deal with the archaeology of Iraq/Mesopotamia. But they will be heard by pitifully few Iraqi ears. Iraqi academics wishing to attend cannot obtain visas in Baghdad: they must make the expensive and sometimes dangerous journey to Amman, where they may or may not succeed in obtaining their papers. Of a predicted 1,000 participants from around the world, we expect fewer than six Iraqi scholars - a shameful reflection on Britain's treatment of its academic colleagues in Iraq.

As for the Yezidis I worked with a quarter of a century ago, they are clinging to their lands and their holy places in the face of repeated shootings, bombings and persistent persecution. Let them stand as an emblem of today's Iraq, of a friendly, outgoing, clever people whose injustices and sufferings are laid bare in this angry, articulate book. For now, the emphasis and energies must shift to assisting Iraq and all its people in reclaiming their rightful place in the world. All of us, in academe and beyond, can help with that.

Cultural Cleansing in Iraq: Why Museums Were Looted, Libraries Burned and Academics Murdered

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Reviewer :

Roger Matthews is professor of near eastern archaeology, Institute of Archaeology, University College London and chair of the British Institute for the Study of Iraq, which supports research on Iraq and collaborative projects with Iraqi scholars.

URL: <http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?sectioncode=26&storycode=411036&c=2>

'Cultural cleansing' of Iraq?

Museums looted, libraries burned and academics murdered: seven years after the US-led invasion, a new book gives a sobering picture of the cultural situation in Iraq

Thanks to the work of Arab, European and US journalists, scholars and academics the tragedy that has overtaken Iraq's cultural heritage since the US-led invasion in 2003 has become widely known, with an



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international consensus having formed on at least this aspect of the country's recent history.

Following the entry of US forces into Baghdad in April 2003, a wave of looting broke out that targeted the country's cultural institutions, with the National Museum of Iraq, which holds one of the world's most important collections of Mesopotamian antiquities, being looted, the National Library and Archives burned and other institutions up and down the country, including museums, archaeological sites, schools and universities looted or destroyed.

In an interview that appeared in this newspaper at the time, Mounir Bouchenaki, then assistant director-general for culture at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, UNESCO, in Paris, spoke of his shock at crunching through the 20cm of ash covering the floors of the burned-out Iraqi National Library on a fact-finding mission to Baghdad.

"The reality [at the National Museum] is really terrible," Bouchenaki told the *Weekly*. "There is not a single door or cupboard that has not been opened or smashed, even the museum safe that contained the salaries of the staff. Every single piece of equipment has disappeared, even chairs and computers. When you see this terrible situation, you feel that people are still in shock."

While initial reports that spoke of some tens of thousands of objects being stolen from the National Museum were later reduced to some 25 to 40 major objects missing, with some 15,000 others, including statuary, cylinder seals and pottery items, smashed or unaccounted for, the overall picture only worsened over the years that followed.

Security at Iraq's thousands of archaeological and other cultural sites proved impossible to maintain, and looting reached epidemic proportions. An eye-witness account by journalists Micah Garen and Marie-Hélène Carleton, quoted in this newspaper in 2006, contained a sobering account of the situation in the south of the country.

"The toll on the Sumerian city states located along the ancient river beds in southern Iraq has been devastating," Garen and Carleton wrote. "Sites such as Isin, Adab, Zabalam, Shuruppak and Umma have been so badly damaged that almost nothing remains of the top three metres. Flying by helicopter over the site [of Umma] reveals an unimaginably grim reality, a scene of complete destruction that unfolds before you as a sea of holes in the desert. One can only wonder at the loss of history, the untold number of looted artifacts and documents of our collective past that will never make it to the Iraq Museum and into the world's consciousness."



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Garen and Carleton's account appeared in one of the earliest books to deal in detail with the destruction of Iraq's cultural heritage following the 2003 US-led invasion, Milbry Polk and Angela Schuster's edited volume *The Looting of the Iraqi Museum, Baghdad*, reviewed in the *Weekly* in November 2006.

Further accounts subsequently appeared, some of them reviewed in this newspaper, including another edited volume by British academic Peter Stone and Lebanese journalist Joanne Farchakh Bajjaly, *The Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Iraq*, reviewed in the *Weekly* in September 2008, and US academic Lawrence Rothfield's *The Rape of Mesopotamia: Behind the Looting of the Iraq Museum*, probably the most detailed account to date of the failure to provide security for cultural heritage in Iraq after the US-led invasion. This was reviewed in the *Weekly* in May 2009.

In his book, Rothfield expressed the view that had the invasion and subsequent occupation been better planned for, and had the warnings of many individuals of different nationalities, including American, Iraqi and British, been heeded, then much, possibly most, of the destruction that occurred could have been avoided.

However, he also discussed what he called the "slow-motion disaster" of the looting of Iraq's archaeological and cultural sites, already highlighted by Garen and Carleton some years before. Many of these sites are still unprotected and even unexcavated, with finds being spirited abroad and sold on to unscrupulous dealers and collectors despite the existence of legal and other safeguards.

One estimate, quoted in Rothfield's book, suggests that between 400,000 and 600,000 artifacts were taken illegally from Iraqi archaeological sites between 2003 and 2005 alone, "an astounding figure," Rothfield wrote, representing "three to four times the number of artifacts gathered since the 1920s by the National Museum of Iraq."

In the absence of meaningful security at many sites, and with looting being "one of the few roads to riches in Iraq," it seems that this looting is continuing.

An answer to why this should be the case is contained in the latest publication to deal with the fate of Iraq's cultural heritage since the 2003 invasion, *Cultural Cleansing in Iraq: Why Museums were Looted, Libraries Burned and Academics Murdered*, a volume of essays by researchers from various countries edited by US and Canadian academics Raymond W. Baker, Shereen T. Ismael and Tareq Y. Ismael.

According to the editors' introduction, the disasters that have overtaken Iraq's cultural sites and



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institutions since the 2003 US-led invasion cannot, *pace* Rothfield, be put down to bad planning alone.

On the contrary, they write, the chaos that has overwhelmed Iraq since the first American tanks entered Baghdad seven years ago was carefully planned, and the "cleansing" of Iraqi culture, like the eradication of the country's educated class, a further effect of the invasion, was a significant US war aim.

"The war planners quite consciously and deliberately aimed for the destruction of the Iraqi state. They did so because a strong Iraq was an impediment to American imperial designs and Israeli insistence on unimpeded regional hegemony... Given the scope of the destruction that took place on their watch, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the occupiers understood that damaging the cultural underpinnings of Iraqi identity would also hasten the collapse of modern day Iraq."

"In just the same way, the apparent indifference and failure to respond to the decimation of the Iraqi intellectual class through targeted assassinations points to the conclusion that Iraq's occupiers and their allies had little interest in preserving the priceless human resources represented by Iraq's educated elite. Oil mattered and so Oil Ministry records were protected. The files of the Interior Ministry that would certainly have compromised both Americans and Israelis mattered and so they were protected. In contrast, priceless archaeological artifacts and leading scholars faced the looters and assassins alone."

Cultural Cleansing in Iraq contains essays by various hands on what is known about the losses suffered by Iraq's cultural heritage over the past seven years, including an overview of the destruction by Zainab Bahrani, a professor of archaeology at Columbia University in New York, and a particularly valuable account of losses to the country's libraries and archives by Nabil al-Tikriti.

This indicates that 25 percent of the book holdings of the Iraqi National Library and Archives were destroyed during the fires of 10-13 April 2003. Some 60 percent of the country's Ottoman and Hashemite archives were destroyed. While some 600-700 Islamic manuscripts were apparently destroyed in the fires that destroyed the library of the Ministry of *Awqaf* on 13-14 April 2003, a further 5,250 had been moved off site, though their whereabouts is unknown. The Ministry's collection of 45,000 printed books, including rare Ottoman Turkish works, was destroyed.

Al-Tikriti writes that the 47,000 manuscripts held in the *Dar al-makhtutat al-iraqiyya*, the Iraqi state manuscript collection, were moved off site before the invasion, though once again their current condition is unknown. The entire collection of the *Bayt al-Hikma*, a research facility, was lost. Over half the book collection of the Iraqi Academy of Sciences was destroyed. The condition of provincial libraries and manuscript collections is not known, though al-Takriti writes that the Centre for Gulf Studies in Basra was



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destroyed, along with the entire collection of Ottoman documents

One of the strangest episodes was the removal, by the Iraqi-American writer Kanan Makiya, of the entire Baath Party archives from Party headquarters in Baghdad and its deposition in California with US government assistance. This parallels the US's confiscation of millions of pages of captured Iraqi government documents, now held in a facility in Qatar.

However, despite the value of this documentary material perhaps the book's main interest lies in its account of the killings of the Iraqi intelligentsia since the 2003 invasion. In a series of useful essays, contributors to the book summarise what is known about the victims and perpetrators of these killings, arguing that the targeting of members of the country's intelligentsia, either killing them or driving them abroad, has been a direct consequence of the occupation.

According to Philip Marfleet, reader in Refugee Studies at the University of East London in the UK, the targeting of the intelligentsia in Iraq can be compared to the "instrumental use of terror... formalized by American intelligence agencies, notably the CIA," in Central America, particularly in Guatemala, El-Salvador and Nicaragua, in the second half of the last century.

Was there an "El-Salvador Option" at work in Iraq, he asks, quoting testimony provided to a British parliamentary commission by Ismail Jalili, former president of the Arab Medical Association, in 2007. Following "a methodical period of looting and destruction of Iraq's heritage, infrastructure, universities and libraries," there may have been "a plan to drain Iraq of its intellectuals and experts and dismantle its infrastructure along a pattern known as the 'El-Salvador Option' used in that country by the Pentagon."

Whether or not there was such a plan, the aim of which would have been to bring the state to its knees and "wipe the state clean," it seems clear that Iraq's intelligentsia has indeed been targeted and that little or no attempt has been made either by the Iraqi authorities or earlier by coalition forces to bring the perpetrators to justice.

According to a contribution by Max Fuller and Dirk Adriaenssens, hundreds of Iraqi academics, both Sunni and Shia, have been targeted in organised killings since 2003, with no group or groups claiming responsibility. In cases of kidnapping ransoms have usually not been demanded, and there is evidence of state or para-state forces having been involved in at least some of the killings, as well as the country's various militias.

Fuller and Adriaenssens comment that to date "none of the killers have been caught, and we are no closer



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to a detailed understanding of this horrific phenomenon." In their view, "it is important to recognize that what we actually appear to be witnessing is an institutionalized culture of impunity that is a common aspect of state-sanctioned terror and is endemic in the violence of counterinsurgency conflicts."

It is likely that "the US and the UK established the forces that offer by far the most likely means for the killings," they write. "For the immediate future, decimating Iraq's professional middle class ensures that the country remains dependent on US and other foreign expertise, providing a powerful means of political leverage."

Both Fuller and Adriaensens are members of the BRussells Tribunal, an international coalition of intellectuals and activists which has collected and published the names of Iraqi academics known to have been killed over the past seven years. The full list is available on the Tribunal's website. The edited version, printed as an appendix to this book, runs to 19 closely printed pages containing many hundreds of names.

Cultural Cleansing in Iraq: Why Museums were Looted, Libraries Burned and Academics Murdered, Raymond W. Baker, Shereen T. Ismael & Tareq Y. Ismael, eds., London: PlutoPress, 2010. pp298

Reviewed by David Tresilian (03 June 2010)

URL: <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2010/1001/cu3.htm>

التطهير الثقافي في العراق

Al-Jazeera

عرض/ زياد مني

لا شك في أن غزو القوات الأميركية والبريطانية للعراق في عام 2003 شكّل نقلة نوعية في سياسة القوى الاستعمارية مع الدول الضعيفة. ففي الماضي كان هدف الاستعمار نهب الأراضي (كم الجديدي) باستثناء حالة فلسطين، حيث كان الهدف منذ المستعمرة وتحويل سكانها إلى خدم للحمو استبدال غزاة أوروبا بين يهود بالسكان - أي منذ طرح الموضوع في القرون الماضية - البدايات العرب أهل البلد (، حيث كان هدفه منذ البداية تفكيك الدولة العراقية على نحو كامل ومن ثم إعادة تركيبها وفق مخطط معد مسبقاً

ومع أنه صدرت كتب كثيرة عن غزو العراق وخطة الغزاة المحتلين وأكاذيبهم، إلا أن أهمية هذا المؤلف الجديدي تكمن في تعامله الموثق، في عشرة فصول وعدد من الملحق المهمة، مع موضوع محدد هو لشقافية القضاء على العراق دولة وشعباً، وتوضيح أن ما حصل من نهب وحرق وتدمير للمؤسسات

والعلمية تم قصدياً، وليس نتيجية إهمال، كما ادعت قوى الغزو والاحتلال الأميركي والبريطانية.

المدخل

ونفذت العراقية، الدولة لتدمير خططت الأميركية الإدارة إن تقول المحررين مقدمة ذلك ومن الاستعمارية لمخططاتها معلقة عقبة كان قوي عراق وجود لأن بوعي ذلك المنطقه على الوحيدة المهينة القوة "إسرائيل" بقاء!
ومن هذا المنطلق، كان مخطوطو الحرب يدركون على نحو كامل وشامل أن تدمير الإرث الثقافي للعراق سيؤدي إلى تدمير الدولة، ومن ثم إلى تحلل شعبها إلى جماعات وزارة النفط وطوائف. فقط النفط كان يهمها، لذا أرسلت قواتها للسيطرة على وغيرها من المؤسسات ذات الأهمية الإستراتيجية، ومنها على سبيل المثال وزارة الداخلية.

أن الظروف التي خلقها -وبأكبر قدر ممكن من الدقة-ولذا فإن هدف الكتاب هو إثبات الاحتلال فتحت الطريق أمام تدمير العراق ثقافياً، وأن مسؤولي ذلك العمل الأخلاق «تقع على الإدارتين الأميركية والبريطانية». المخزي وعديم

الكتاب:-
التطهير
في الثقافى
أسباب) العراق
المتاحف نهب
المكتبات وحرقت
واغتيل
(الأكاديميين
-المؤلف:-
من مجموعة
المؤلفين،
رمنند: وتحرير
شيرين بيكر،
طارق ماعيل، إس
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:الصفحات عدد-
300
: الناشر-
- برس بلوتو
لندن،
نيويورك
:الطبعة-
2010/الأولى

البدایات

في القسم الأول "صياغة سياسة التطهير الثقافي وتنفيذها" المخصص للخلقية النظرية والمرجعية النظرية، والذي يضم فصلين هما "إنهاء الدولة العراقية" و"التطهير الثقافي ضمن منظور مقارن"، يعود المؤلفون إلى لمحفوظات المتوافرة لإثبات أن الإدارة الأميركية وضعت ضمن خطة غزو العراق واحتلاله تدميره كدولة وتحلل شعبه، ثم بدأت باستجلاب ذرائع لنفي أن الأمر كان مخططاً له، وأن "ما جرى" تم عن سبق إصرار وتصميم.

فويتم بعد هجمات 09/11 ومن تلك الإثباتات قول نايب وزير الدفاع الأميركي الأسبق بول فول أن الهدف الرئيسي للسياسة الخارجية الأميركية يكمن في «القضاء على» الدول التي تدعم الإرهاب، ومن ثم وصف العراق بأنه دولة إرهابية يجب القضاء عليها.

تدمير الدولة سياسة ثابتة

بريطانية وما حدث في يربط المؤلفون بين مصير العراق على أيدي قوات الغزو الأميركية والأكفنة أخرى في العالم، ومن ذلك أميركا اللاتينية على أيدي "فيلق الموت"، وممارسات الحركة الصهيونية في فلسطين قبل اغتصابها عام 1948 وبعد ذلك، وكذلك في البوسنة على أيدي القوات الصربية والكرواتية.

بين مختلف المشاريح الأميركيين ظهور جيمس ومن الأدلة التي يجلبها المؤلفون على الارتباط الذي خطط لعمليات القوات الخاصة في السلفادور خلال الحرب الأهلية التي راح ضحيتها -ستيل نحو 70000 روح، قضى 85% من على أيدي قوات تدعمها الولايات المتحدة، وذلك وفق تقارير لجنة لوزير داخلية حكومة الاحتلال التي ارتبط اسمها في العراق المحتل مستشار-خاصة للأمم المتحدة بفيلق الموت العراقي، كما أن المذكور خدم مستشاراً لـ "قوات مكافحة الإرهاب" وقوات "الشرطة الخاصة" التي أسسها وزير الداخلية حينذاك فلحاح النقيب في وزارة إياد علاوي.

منظمة بدر التابعة لـ "المجلس الأعلى للشورى ولذا ليس ثمة من شك في أن قوات وزارة الداخلية و الإسميلية في العراق" و"فيلق الذئب" التابع للوزارة، تقف وراء اغتيال العلماء العراقيين، وانضم إليهما عام 2007 ما يسمى "قوات الصحو" لتعميق الانشقاق المذهبي والطائفي في البلاد. تماماً كما تفعل "إسرائيل" بحق الشعب وهدف هذا كله تدمير البنى التحتية للبلاد، الفلستينيين في "الضفة" وغزو "القطاع" في نهاية عام 2008 حيث أسست الأخيرة، بالتتالي والدعم الكامل للولايات المتحدة، قوات خاصة بقية مدمر دحلان.

المشاركة الإسرائيلية/الكردية

"
لعلقة بين
سراييل والأكراد
يدفي العراق تع
لي ثلاثينيات
لقرن الماضي،
سسه روبين
نيلوه من
"الوكالة
ليهودية" عندم
لتقى ممثلي
عشيرة
لبارزاني وأسس
لعلقات مع
مختلف القوى
الكردية
"

على القضاء عملية في "إسرائيل" مشاركة عن مهمة مع لومات يقدمون المؤلفون عام من بدءاً البشمرقة اتقو تدريج في مباشرة مساهمة ساهمت حيث العراق، العمل حزب باستثناء- العراقية/الكردية القوى مختلف وأمدت، 2003 اختراق بهدف بالمعونة- الفلستينية القضية مع المهتم عاطف الكردستاني ومراقبة تجسس أجهزة ولوضع للاحتلال، المفاضلة والشيعية السنوية القوى الإيرانية النووية المؤسسات
حسم أن اللعلاقة بين الطرفين تعود إلى ثلاثينيات القرن لكن الكتاب الماضي، وأسسها روبين شيلوه من "الوكالة اليهودية" عندم التقى ممثلي عشيرة البارزاني وأسس لعلقات مع مختلف القوى الكردية.

أن الموساد أسهم في تأسيس وكالة الاستخبارات الكردية ويضيف المؤلفون ون مع مسعود البارزاني، وفق اعتراف ابنه عبدي الله، ومن (باريس تان) بالتعا قبله من احيم بيغن في عام 1980.

التدمير المبرمج

توظيفها -بقوليل من الخيال-مع أن الأرقام باردة برود الموت، إلا أنه يمكن لتصور مدى الدمار الذي ألحقه الغزو الأميركي/البريطاني لهذا البلد العربي المنكوب.

رقعة 15000 قطعة أثرية من المتحف الوطني العراقي، تحت سمع قوات الغزو والاحتلال وبصرها. س-

سرقة كثير من القطع الأثرية من الاثنى عشر ألف موقع أثري في العراق.-

إحراق وتدمير ونهب 84% من المؤسسات التعليمية العراقية -

ة نقص في الحواسيب مقداره 30000 جهاز. شمة حاجة إلى إعادة تأثيث ألفي معمل، وثم-

بين يناير/كانون الثاني وأكتوبر/تشرين الأول 2007، تم تهجير مليوني عراقي إلى سورية، -
إضافة إلى نصف مليون نسمة هجروا إليها في عام 2006. ويضاف إلى ذلك 750000 إلى الأردن،
00 في الخليج، 100000 إلى أوروبا 70000 إلى مصر، 60000 إلى إيران، 30000 إلى لبنان، 2000
(و463) إلى الولايات المتحدة!، عدا عن التهجير الداخلي الذي بلغ مقداره نحو خمسة ملايين عراقي.

عدد القتلى أكثر من مليون روح -

معظم المهجرين من الطبقة الوسطى التي شكلت جوهر التضامن الوطني العراقي -

اغتيال قوات أيدي على أساتذة بمرتبة أكاديمي أربع عدا من أكثر اغتيال -
الأكاديميين عدد وصل بيننا منهم، قاتل أي على القبض يلق ولم متخصصه،
عالم 2500 نحو إلى وطنهم مغادرة على أجبروا الذين أو المقتولين العراقيين
قانون "اجتثاث البعث" أدى إلى جعل نحو نصف مليون عسكري محترف -
عاطلين عن العمل.

مدعو عدنان ملكية استولى على أرشيف حزب البعث من مقر الحزب في عام ال-
2003، ونقله إلى بيته الواقع في "المنطقة الخضراء" ومن ثم نقله إلى
الولايات المتحدة.

سرقة نسخة تورا عمدها نحو أربع عدا سنة من الموصل وتفكيكها إلى أوراق -
ومن ثم عرضها للبيع في الغرب.

الاحتلال مناهج دراسية تخلو من أي نقد لسياساتها ومن أي إشارة فرضت قوات-
إلى عدوان إسرائيل.

نقل أرشيف اليهود العراقيين بأكمله إلى الولايات المتحدة -

تدمير نحو 60% من الأرشيف العثماني/العثماني الخاص بالعراق -

4 كانوا أساتذة أول ألف مطرود من العمل بموجب قانون "اجتثاث البعث" عام 200-
ومعلمين. هذا "القانون" أدى بداية إلى طرد 120000 موظف من مختلف المستويات.

عدد الأساتذة الذين اغتيلوا فقط في جامعتي البصرة وبغداد وصل إلى 500 عالم. والاغتيالات -
لم تكن طائفية وإنما قومية (أغلب الضحايا عرب).

لم حتى أبريل/نيسان 2004. قناة الجزيرة تحدثت عن مقتل ألف ع-

الاعتقالات ونتاجاتها وتأثيرها في نفوس الأكاديميين

بعض نتائجها النفسية في الوسط العلمي يلخصه المؤلفون فيما يلي:

- كل الأساتذة يعانون من الخوف من القتل/الموت.-
- 91% منهم يعانون من خوف من موت مؤلم.-
- والأقارب. 81% منهم يعانون من خوف على مصير الأحبة.-
- 72% يخشون التحلل الجسدي المرافق للموت البطني.-
- 69% يخشون من موت مؤلم للغاية.-
- 66% يرون أن الموت موجود في كل الأمكنة.-
- 66% يشعرون بالرعب من رؤية جثمان قتي.-
- 66% يعانون من هوس القتل في أي لحظة.-
- 53% يفكرون في مصيرهم.-
- يحقحتضر. 53% يفضلون عدم زيارة ص.-
- 50% يعملون على تفادي الموت أيًا كان الثمن.-
- 47% يفكرون في الموت قبل الذهاب إلى النوم.-
- 38% يرون أن الموت أفضل من حياة مؤلمة.-
- 31% خائفون جدًا من الموت.-

خاتمة وملحوظة لا بد منها

الذي أهدوه إلى أساتذة الجيولوجيا في جامعة بغداد ورؤيس رابطة - المؤلفون بكتابتهم ألحق
المعلمين الجامعيين عصام الراوي، الذي أسس تسجيلاً بأسماء الأساتذة وأهل الاختصاص الذين
اغتيلوا منذ احتلال قوات الغزو الأمريكية والبريطانية العراق، والذي اغتيل هو بدوره يوم
فصلنا عن وضع الأقلية القومية والدينية العراقية تحت الاحتلال. -30/10/2006

كما ألحق المؤلفون به قائمة بأسماء نحو أربع مائة أكاديمي عراقي سقطوا على أيدي مختلف
العصابات في بغداد والمسببتنصرية والبصيرة والأنبار والموصل وكربلاء وديالى والينهرين
وجة والكوفة والرمادي وكركوك والمثنى والقادسية وتكريت وبعقوبة والفل

"
لكتاب مهم لي
درك
لعر ب مدي
لكارثة التي
حققت بذلك
لقسم من وطننا
شعبه الذي
يتوان يوماً عن لم
لمشاركة الصادقة
في معارك أمتنا
"

السكوت الممكّن غير من أنه رأينا التي الآتية الملحوظة إيراد من هنا لابد لكن
التكريتي نبي السيد بقلم الخامس لفصلا في ورد . عن
«2006 عام صيف في عنف أعمال بسبب قضا لبناني 1191» الاقتباس ان
اندلاع منذ محلية عنف أعمال في قضا الذين والإسرائييليون الفلستينيون»
استنكارنا المقولتين هاتين أثارت لقد . «2001 عام في الطائفية الأزمة
العدوان لإدانة أصل المخصص الكتاب هذا في لورودها واستغرابنا
العراق على "إسرائييل" بمشراكة البريطني/الأميركي
الشهداء اللبنانيون لم يسقطوا بسبب أعمال عنف اندلعت منك وإنما كانوا
ضحايا عدوان صهيوني مدعوم أميركيًا، على الأقل. كما أن الشهداء
حالية مرافقة لأزمة طائفية. وعيب الفلستينيين لم يسقطوا في أعمال عنف
أن يصدر هكذا كلام في هذا الكتاب.



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Campaña Estatal contra la Ocupación y por la Soberanía de Iraq

وإذا كنا نعبّر عن عميق سرورنا لابتدياع دار نشر مصريّة حقوق ترجمته ونشره بال عربيّة، فإننا نأمل أن يفرض الناشر العربي إزالة تلك المقاطع المزعومة وبالكتاب وبقضايانا العادلة.

ل يدرك العرب مدى الكارثة التي لحقت بذلك القسم من وطننا وشعبه الذي لم مع ذلك، الكتاب مهم يومًا عن المشاركة الصادقة في معارك أمتنا. يتوان

كنا أننا افتقدنا في الكتاب أي إشارة إلى دور حكومات عربيّة في دعم غزو العراق واحتلاله لمنكوب، ولا حول ولا قوة إلا وتدميره وتفكيك شعبه، ومسؤولياته عمّا يجري في ذلك البلد بالله.

الجزيري المصدر:

URL: <http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/74E068EF-8550-43C0-A2A1-D159C7CC1695.htm>

Haig Aivazian on Cultural Cleansing in Iraq: Why Museums Were Looted, Libraries Burned and Academics Murdered. Edited by Raymond W. Baker, Shereen T. Ismael and Tareq Y. Ismael (Pluto Press, 2010)

Media coverage of the looting of the National Museum of Iraq, in the early days of the U.S.-led invasion in April 2003, exposed the shortsightedness of the Bush administration's war plan. From the perspective of television-era attention spans, footage of mass lawlessness in Baghdad read much like the following coverage of the Hurricane Katrina lootings in New Orleans two years later; that is to say, highly racialized and in Iraq's case, painted in a sectarian light. In both of these instances, the Bush administration, cushioned by an increasingly embedded media, represented a situation, arguably caused by its own neglect, as inextricably and naturally linked to the character of the particular "indigenous" populations in question. The images seemed to speak for themselves.

The American public, and indeed much of the world, was being briefed about this war from a distance and in the language of video editing. In fact, Donald Rumsfeld himself had made such tele-visual parallels in a press briefing in the White House on April 11th 2003, addressing the widespread unrest as experienced through these mediated images: "Think what's happened in our cities, when we've had riots and problems and looting," he said, "Stuff happens!" Another memorable moment in the conference included Rumsfeld dismissing the images broadcast on television not as evidential proof of the chaos occurring in Baghdad, but rather as one looped image of "some person walking out of some building with a vase." In other words, according to Rumsfeld, there was essentially no war beyond these looped images. In *Cultural Cleansing in Iraq*, Raymond W. Baker, Shereen T. Ismael and Tareq Y. Ismael address the sheer breadth of the devastation caused by the invasion, which far surpasses what has been encapsulated in evening news reports and "the[ir] mainstream failure to acknowledge that the



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violence of state destruction in Iraq was deliberate,”(12). Through a collection of ten essays, contributors thoroughly survey the extent of the annihilation of Iraq’s museums, as well as that of its libraries, universities and academic demographic – including professors, students, lecturers, artists, archeologists, doctors, sociologists, journalists, activists, and a wide range of other professionals. The book essentially argues that if state building – a salient key term used by strategists as an umbrella policy for the war—was indeed the goal of the United States’ mission in Iraq, then that goal required the destruction of an existing state. This destruction is documented from distinct, but seamlessly complimentary angles, structured into three parts: the first details the conception and implementation of the policy of cultural cleansing; the second describes “The Assault on Iraq’s Incomparable History”; and finally, the third part examines the present and future of Iraq’s cultural and academic landscapes.

The book overviews in some detail what we all already know in gist: Iraq was divided along sectarian lines; its national industries were auctioned off to private entities; and its oil wells opened up to foreign control. In the introductory essay, the editors address the history of U.S. administrations’ funding of paramilitary groups, pointing out that high profile policy makers involved in funding the Nicaraguan Contras in the 1980s , were now working closely on the reformation of the Interior Ministry in Iraq, which is widely known to have ties to so-called death squads.

In each of the essays, contributors make clear that the quagmire that is Iraq is not a result of poor planning by the invading forces but rather, it is a policy of deliberate and willful negligence at best; or, at worst, an organized onslaught on Iraqi culture.

According to the editors, this onslaught took place, “because a strong Iraq was an impediment to American imperial designs and Israeli insistence on unimpeded regional hegemony” (22). Such statements are not foreign to individuals critical of American foreign policies, some of whom go so far as to accuse the U.S. of deliberately aggravating sectarian sentiments in Iraq for self-serving purposes. Here again, the book provides evidence supporting such theories, including how the so-called surge’s success was built on the extinction of Baghdad’s mixed neighborhoods, as well as the United States’ internal turncoatism in terms of funding one militia and then countering its influence by arming another.

More facts: The US army had a list of twenty physical sites recommended for urgent protection and at the very top of that list was the National Museum. Yet, the only site that benefited from American protection during the looting was –not surprisingly– the Ministry of Oil. Along with the vast collections of manuscripts and artifacts that were stolen, flooded and burned, as discussed in Nabil al-Tikriti’s essay “Negligent Mnemocide and the Shattering of Iraqi Collective Memory,” Abbas al-Hussainy



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documents the innumerable archeological sites that were used by the U.S. military as bases in his survey of “The Current Status of The Archeological Heritage of Iraq.”

Many of those sites have consequently suffered irreparable damage. Beyond the material destruction, the cultural artifacts and manuscripts of the past and the intellectual production of the present become among the most hotly contested fronts where nations are built and destroyed. The so-called de-Ba’athification of the Iraqi State played more like an aggressive mnemocide and quasi-total brain drain. Indeed, the repercussions of destroying a people’s history are, as it turns out, far reaching.

Coupled with the fanning of sectarian flames, the ravaging of artifacts from an era that all Iraqis identify with and express pride in, places the unity of the Iraqi state and its people on even shakier grounds, as Iraqi national identity rapidly becomes substituted with sectarian allegiances. In other words, the Mesopotamian history of Iraq has been so heavily effaced that violence between communities, which no longer identify with a common history, has spiraled out of control. Mokhtar Lamani, for instance, discusses the mass exodus of Iraq’s minorities fleeing persecution in his essay, “Minorities in Iraq: The Other Victims.”

In this contribution, Lamani argues that minorities are usually unlikely to return to a site of persecution, even if that site is their own country and even if they had previously been a part of a complex and varied social fabric that had remained intact for centuries. Another onslaught on the Iraqi state took place on the front of social services, mainly health and education reform. Iraq had been known for its high literacy rates and for providing one of the most advanced healthcare coverage to its citizens.

Iraqis had always been among the most educated in the region, boasting some of the highest numbers of universities. After the invasion, however, literacy rates dropped dramatically. Mass exodus of various Iraqi populations contributed to this : In 2007 alone, the number of refugees surpassed a million, a large number of which were highly educated members of the middle class. There is currently no state sponsored healthcare to speak of in Iraq, and 80% of professors have vacated the country. This last statistic alone is enough to prove that there truly is a purging of Iraqi academics and intellectuals in Iraq.

Cultural Cleansing covers quite specifically the continued mass intimidation and mass murder of university professors, and the absolute lack of action by the Iraqi government, its security forces, and the occupation forces in responding to these offenses, identifying the perpetrators or providing protection to potential victims. In the words of one academic: “One US soldier was kidnapped and Baghdad is on full alert, but the killing of an Iraqi professor? Nothing happens,”(136).



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In his essay “Killing the Intellectual Class: Academics as Targets,” Dirk Adriaenssens documents the solidarity campaigns by Iraqi intellectuals even in the face of imminent danger. For example, Adriaenssens discusses the efforts of the BRussells Tribunal, which has published and constantly updates a list of murdered academics, with the goal of facilitating the launch of an investigation. No such investigation has taken place for even one of the nearly 500 professors murdered, close to 80 kidnapped, and more than 100 students killed. This purging also bears psychological repercussions. Faris K.O. Nadhmi for instance, outlines the anxieties plaguing Iraqis, and Iraqi academics in particular, among whom the paranoia and fear of death constitutes a constant and widespread neurosis.

The attack on Iraq’s cultural identity could be said to be a clearly bi-directional cleansing: whereas the quasi effacement of academics is clearly damaging to the future of Iraq’s intellectual production, the retroactive quality of the annihilation of Iraq’s patrimony makes this attack particularly and profoundly damaging. The extent of this violence has not been conveyed and represented adequately to publics at large. In her essay “Archeology and the Strategies of War,” Zainab Bahrani poses the following question: At Samarra, the top of the ninth century minaret was blown off by a rocket-propelled grenade while it was in use as a US sniper post. When such acts occur in other wars (...) we have no qualms about speaking of them in terms of historical erasure and calling them crimes of war. Why do we not do the same now? (79)

Indeed, it is worth wondering about the mechanisms at play in how acts of war get classified, and circulated into language as either crimes of war or collateral damage.

For example, whereas the 2001 destruction of the Bamiyan Buddha sculptures by the Taliban was rightly viewed and portrayed as a symbol of that regime’s intolerance, the same is seldom said about the United States’ annihilation of Iraq’s cultural patrimony.

In his now infamous 2003 press conference, Donald Rumsfeld remarked on the frequency of the looped video of artifacts being stolen: “My Goodness,” he exclaimed, “were there that many vases? Is it possible that there were that many vases in the whole country?” There were, as it turns out, many vases in Iraq, each more priceless than the other, and questions remain as to how some of these artifacts made it out of restricted areas, which had been put under U.S. Military supervision.

There was an overt and distinct air of celebration among many American statesmen who described the looting of the Baghdad Museum as a creative act by Iraqis who wanted to assert a kind of cultural renewal. This event was mediated as an organic, post-traumatic rebirth of a nation wherein some of its own cultural memory was vacated in order to make room for a new iconography divorced from previous associations



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with Saddam. The vacuum created by the widespread annihilation and pillaging of the so-called Cradle of Civilization therefore becomes doubly charged: not only does it leave critical room for how the story of this evacuation will be represented in the future, but also foregrounded is the manner in which this patrimonial void will be filled. Contemporary Iraqi artists, writers, film-makers, and other cultural practitioners must therefore engage these two gargantuan tasks, which will undoubtedly be hugely significant for the future shaping of Iraqi identities. In addition to offering an infuriating and alarming volley of information, Cultural Cleansing clearly outlines the extremely high stakes at play in such a cleansing.

Completely dismissing the myth that post-occupation Iraq was an endless stream of disasters outside of American control, the book raises the de facto issues of accountability and consequences for the United States government.

Whereas it is highly improbable that any American administration will be tried, let alone held accountable for any of the crimes committed in Iraq or anywhere else for that matter, papers such as the ones collected here are, if nothing else, a small thorn of memory and clarity in the United States' dis-informing and forgetful media apparatus. In a war that revolutionized embedded reporting, this book is an independent and thoroughly documented investigation into what is undoubtedly one of the most destructive crimes against a people's cultural patrimony in our century.

Haig Aivazian is an artist, curator and writer currently based in Chicago. his work investigates the intersections between the migration of bodies, the circulation of consumer goods and the propagation of ideologies

http://www.amcainternational.org/Cultural_Cleansing_in_Iraq.pdf

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Overview of the Education System in Contemporary Iraq

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Abstract

Iraq enjoyed a long and proud reputation for its distinguished universities and the quality of its education; however, a sequence of wars and sanctions severely damaged its *education* system. Due to the invasion by the U.S troops in 2003 and till the time being, 84% of the infrastructure in Iraqi higher education institutions has been burnt, looted or severely destroyed in some form. Besides, the assassinations campaign which harvested hundreds of Iraqi academics' lives and the ongoing daily threats represented the situation in Iraq's today. This paper explored the education system in Iraq from its foundation till the present time. The paper also sought to accomplish some if not many improvements in the Iraq education sector which is characterized by a centralized policy.

Keywords: Education system, education policy, quality of education, role of woman.

1. Introduction

According to Iraq National Report (Shlash, et al., 2008), from ancient times Iraq was known as Mesopotamia (*Bilad Al-Rafidayn*) "*land between the rivers: Tigris & Euphrates*", and was the cradle of the first human civilizations known to man; wherein arose on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris the Sumerian, Akkadian, Assyrian and Babylonian civilizations witnessed flourishing the first forms of social, political and economic organizations. Since the dawn of Islam, Iraq had a great significance in its regions for the Arabic Islamic civilization especially during the time of the Abbasids; Baghdad remained throughout the ages the lighthouse of culture, civilization and ingenuity bound for by seekers of education from all places attracting men of thought and literature from all around the world (UNESCO, 2000).

In Iraq also was the first historical model of a state that was based on established civic relationships, a pattern of stable management and official institutions. Furthermore, the first centralized authority in Iraq was emerged in response to a growing need for an effective state to oversee the organization of economic life (Shlash, et al., 2008). Moreover, the first attempt by humanity to establish a system of justice was taken place in Iraq too where the first legislative acts known in the world were enforced, the most notable and renowned of which was the Code of Hammurabi (ca. 1792-1750 BC) that included a broad body of laws which was applied throughout the Kingdom of Babylon and established the legal system for the country (Hooker, 1996).

2. Education Development in Iraq

One of the first noble tasks that have been adopted by human beings in various times and over the centuries is education, which is the basis of the overall development of any country and any

civilization. Hence, education becomes in the priority concerns of the developed countries in terms of the objectives, staff, curricula, educational and administrative means and laws that ensure respect and even reverence for the human side.

Henry Peter Brougham, a British Liberal, said in the 19th century, "Education makes people easy to lead, but difficult to drive; easy to govern but impossible to enslave" (Wang, 2005). All the different types of governments that ruled the country showed a great concern in this relevant sector. Thus, the historical overview of education development in Iraq as an independent state is divided in the article into four phases according to certain time periods starting from the establishment of the Kingdom of Iraq and ending in the ongoing occupation phase since 2003 till the present time.

2.1. The Establishment Phase of the Kingdom of Iraq in 1920

Iraq got its independence of the British Mandate in 1920. It was a poor country economically dependent on agriculture as a basic income. After independence, Iraq established its educational system in 1921, offering both public and private paths. Due to the fact that Iraq was one of the Ottoman States for nearly 400 years, the proportion of illiteracy in 1920 was 90% of the Iraqi people (Charles, 2006). The most important achievement in higher education of that stage was the foundation of some schools like: Medicine, Engineering, Law and Arts which belonged to the University of Baghdad after its establishment later (WES, 2004).

2.2. The Republic of Iraq (Early 1958 to 1970)

The Republic of Iraq was initiated in 1958. That stage was marked by the adoption of Iraq to another economic resource, since Iraq succeeded in getting a share of its oil about 45% from the foreign oil companies, which were in control of the Iraqi oil. That share helped to great economic and social changes, including its education development. Since then, the Iraqi society was starting-up a new period of the spread of education and commencing scholarship programs by sending students to different European countries and America in order to create a modern civilized society being able to shift from rural agricultural into industrial civilized society which directly impacted on the political and social awareness in Iraq. Hence, creating new dimensions in the Iraqi community with attracting individual's attention to the significance of education regardless of the class of individuals, subsequently led into increasing literacy rate to 30% of adults during this period of time (Alobaidi, 2005).

The modern universities in Iraq were established beginning with the University of Baghdad in 1957 (The Current Status and Future Prospects for the Transformation and Reconstruction of the Higher Education System in Iraq, 2005). Then, other universities including the University of Technology and Al-Mustansirya, other university in Baghdad as well as universities in Basra, Mosul and Sulaymaniah were established during the 1960s. The establishment of technical institutes represented further development of higher education in Iraq characterizing by the considerable demand for qualified technicians created by the flourishing oil industry.

In the beginning of the 1960s, spending on health, education and culture in Iraq enjoyed a special place considering these areas as the most important investments in human capital, in line with developmental thinking at the time. The share of education and health expenditure increased in the five-year plan for 1965-1969, a trend that continued up to 1980 (Shlash, et al., 2008).

2.3. The Phase from 1970 to 1990: The Education Achievement

The third stage was considered as one of the most important stages in the development of Iraq due to the constitutional legislation in 1970 to create a giant leap in all sectors. The economic sector in Iraq had achieved a breakthrough in terms of public income reached to 36 billion dollars of Iraq's income in 1978 and which continued to rise to the year 1981 (James A. Baker & Hamilton, 2006). It is during this economic boom in the country, Iraq was able to develop its education horizontally and vertically, to make the country in 1985 free from illiteracy according to the classification of UNESCO (2000). All

people became able to read and write because of the campaign against illiteracy, which was launched in the late seventies of the last century and ended in the eighties of the last century. In this stage, the state policy of providing the free educational system was the main reason that helped to the elimination of illiteracy. The text of the interim Iraqi constitution in 1970 that the State guarantees the right of free education at all levels of primary, intermediate, secondary and university to all citizens and this was a major factor and a major opportunity for the people of Iraq to obtain the highest certifications. The free education policy in this period was not only limited to the Iraqis, but the education was free and accessible to every Arab wants to study in Iraq and foreigners too. Up to the early 1980s, Iraq's educational system was considered one of the best in the Middle East and highly praised throughout (Shlash, et al., 2008; UNESCO, 2000).

By 1984, major accomplishments had been achieved such as the rise into Gross Enrolment Rates which exceeded 100% and the complete gender parity in enrolment (UNESCO, 2000). Furthermore, the illiteracy among 15-45 age groups declined to less than 10%. In addition to that, the dropout and repetition rates were the lowest in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region (UNESCO, 2000). Also, spending in education reached 6% of Gross National Product [GNP] and 20% of Iraqi's total government budget and the average government spending per student for education was ~\$620. Finally, the educational system in Iraq, including nearly 6 million students from kindergarten up to the class of 12, in addition to the approximately 300,000 teachers and management (UNESCO, 2000).

According to Unicef (2003), Iraq invested a reasonable part of its oil in providing fully social services to all its citizens. Without any discrimination from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s Iraq witnessed a wide progress in various fields of life that included the educational sector which acquires a special attention because of its role in the process of the cultural structure of the society. Based on the Education for All (EFA) 2000 Assessment by the UNESCO (2000) about Iraq as a country witnessing great developments and achievements that consist a part of the many big achievements accomplished by the state in different economical, social, educational and cultural aspects of life. During this period education was free throughout its different levels; elementary, secondary and university, and commitment to the eradication of illiteracy. There were lots of true intense efforts and productive activity to develop the educational process to conform to the movement of educational innovation in the world which led to developing the primary education in its different levels by making use of the modern practices and trends, included its plans, study books, methods of assessment and examinations, the programmers of priming and training teachers; consolidating the relationship between education, labour and production, benefiting from educational technologies and implementing sports, artistic and recreational activities accompanying the program 12.

2.4. The Decline & Crisis Years from 1990 - Present Time

During the last two decades there were growing demands for equity and higher education made the policy of establishing a university in each governorate responded accordingly by the foundation of 14 new universities (The Current Status and Future Prospects for the Transformation and Reconstruction of the Higher Education System in Iraq, 2005).

Before the Gulf war in 1990, the educational system in Iraq was generally agreed upon that it was one of the best in the region in addressing both access and equality. However, the situation began to decline speedily due to several wars and economic sanctions (Qumri, 2009). The educational system in Iraq worsened despite the provision of basics through the Oil for Food Programme (UNESCO, 2003). Due to the drastic and prolonged decline since then, it is now one of the weakest systems. According to Iraq National Report on Human Development (Shlash, et al., 2008), all the indicators show that Iraq's educational system is no longer able to accomplish its main goals: to empower individuals, equip them with lifelong capabilities and broaden their access to knowledge. Hence, the damage affects the very foundations of the education system.

According to Shereen T. Ismael (2003), the Gulf war is considered as a pivotal point in Iraq's social and economic development. She also described the journey of how Iraq travelled from grade A to grade B from relative prosperity to absolute impoverishment. Due to the sanctions imposed on Iraq by the United Nations Security and the destructive war in 1991 by U.S. troops against Iraq, there was a report by the United Nations on Iraq warned that "the humanitarian situation in Iraq will continue to be a dire one in the absence of a sustained revival of the Iraqi economy which, in turn, cannot be achieved solely through remedial humanitarian efforts" (U.N., 1999).

Deterioration of the situation of education in Iraq after the first Gulf War, has affected the proportion of participants in the education system, as well as the lack of proportion of government support for this sector which naturally resulted in a steep decline in overall social spending so the education budget suffered from a deficit which continued to grow as the years passed (Bennis, 2003). Some of the outcomes of the weakening system are represented in the share of education in the Gross National Product [GNP] which dropped to almost half, resting at 3.3% in 2003 and the declining in the Gross Income. Additionally, education came to assume only 8% of the total government budget especially after the dropping in government spending per student on education from \$620 in the 'Golden Years' to \$47. Moreover, the Gross Enrolment in primary schooling dropped to 90% and the dropout rate reached 20% [31% Female, 18% Male] whereas the repetition rate reached a figure which is the double of the MENA region, 15%, and 34% for secondary schools. The gender gap increased [95% Male, 80% Female] (UNESCO, 2003).

According to the World Education Services (WES, 2004), school attendance in the 1990s decreased drastically since education funding was cut. Furthermore, economic conditions forced children into the workforce which caused the education system in Iraq to descend gradually after the first Gulf War and the blockade, forcing many families to feel there was no benefit of education because of the lack of salaries leading many students to dropout from schools and universities. That was even worse after the occupation of Iraq by the U.S. forces in April 2003 resulted in destruction of 80% of the educational institutions and the collapse of the educational process after the invasion. Illiteracy rates increased again to 60% and the percentage of time student enrolment is 55% and 74% of those aged between 15 and 24 are capable of reading and writing only (UNESCO, 2003). Unlike before when books and stationery were distributed for free to the students. The new charges are a heavy burden on the backs of the poor people. In addition, the deteriorating security situation in Iraq has contributed significantly to the deterioration of the educational process.

Since the start of the war of 2003, 84% of Iraq's higher education institutions have been burnt or destroyed while around hundreds academics have been assassinated and many more brave daily threats, according to an analysis of the system's reconstruction needs released by UN Nations University (Al-Rawi, et al., 2005).

Table 1: Ministry of Education Baseline School Statistics, ("Baseline School Statistics," 2003)

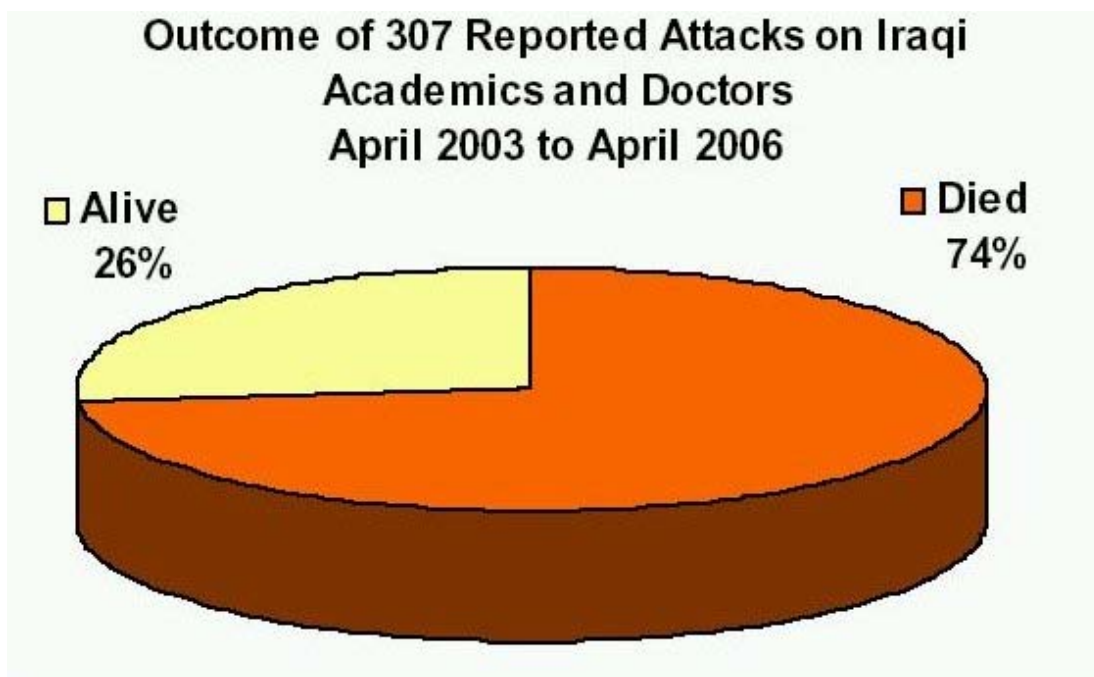
Schools in need of demolition or rebuilding	1,343	9% of all schools
Schools in need of major rehabilitation	5,970	40% of all schools
Schools damaged in some way	11,939	80% of all schools

* Statistics based on UNESCO and UNICEF numbers.

The deteriorating security situation has prevented many students from attending school which leads to the suspension of school attendance for several days because of the curfew, which could last for days and frequent curfews on several occasions in the year leading to the end of the school year without completing the school curriculum (Hoffman, 2006).

Despite a massive effort, stability in Iraq remains elusive and the situation is deteriorating.... Time is running out." (James A. Baker & Hamilton, 2006)

Figure 1: *The Assassinations of Iraqi Academics in Graph* (Khamas, Abdulah, Wasfi, Al-Mukhtar G., & Jalili, 2006)



In Madrid International Seminar on the assassinations of Iraqi academics (Khamas, et al., 2006), it was proven with evidences that more than 180 academics, from a wide range of academic and scientific fields of study from all over Iraq, have been assassinated since the US invasion in 2003 and many hundreds more have been forced into exile. The way of assassinations to those academics appears to substantiate claims that a campaign exists and is being conducted to erase a key section of the secular middle class in Iraq — a class that has largely resisted the US occupation of Iraq and refused to be co-opted by the so-called “political process” or Iraq’s US-installed puppet government. Moreover, according to official Iraqi sources academics are not the only ones being killed: 311 teachers of both sexes killed, 182 pilots, 416 senior military officers killed in the first 3 months of 2006. 20.000 people kidnapped since the beginning of 2006 (Crain, 2007; Ghosh, 2006; Janabi, 2004; Watenpaugh, 2003). Khamas et al. (2006) express on this: “We call upon all people, especially academics and students, to help end the silence that surrounds the ongoing crime of the assassination of Iraqi academics and the destruction of Iraq’s educational infrastructure, and support Iraqi academics’ right and hope to live in an independent, democratic Iraq, free of foreign occupation and hegemony”. The international community should deal with this relevant issue seriously and do an action to stop the assassinations’ campaign against Iraqis’ intellectuals.

Iraq is considered as one of the countries that once had a bright private sector and educated population; yet it has come to have one of the lowest human development indicators in the region (USIP, 2007). The reality of education in today's Iraq is becoming a serious and painful orientation. All the circumstances which the country passed through as a result of the long term war imposed on it since 1980 and what followed by a thirty days of destructive attack and a page of a treason directed at the infra-structure of the country, especially in the field of education and its institutions, and a cruel and very harsh blockade that touched every trivial and significant details of the citizen’s daily life (UNESCO, 2000, 2004). Those hard times are still going on represented by the invasion by U.S. in 2003 and since then the country lives in an insecure and deteriorating situation.

3. The Recent Education Development in Iraq

Education in Iraq is highly centralized and state-controlled in which the State fully finances all aspects of public education such as supplying books, teaching aids and free student residences. The academic year in Iraq starts from September till June. There are three authorities control the process of decision-making and supervision of the Iraq education system: local government educational authorities, which are in charge of kindergarten and primary education; Ministry of Education [MOE], which is in charge of secondary and vocational education (general, vocational, and teacher training), including curriculum development; and the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research [MOHSR], which is in charge of the administration of universities and the Foundation of Technical Institutes (tertiary education and research centres). Arabic is used as the primary language of instruction at all institutions, whereas Kurdish is taught in Kurdish areas (WES, 2004). The educational policy extends across four learning levels, which are:

Table 2: The Education Policy in Iraq (UNESCO, 2000; WES, 2004).

	Learning Level	Period of learning	Accepted Ages	Notes
1	Pre-School Education (Nurseries)	2 years	4-5 years	Kindergarten and Preliminary
2	Elementary Learning Stage	6 years	6-11 years	Compulsory
3	Secondary Education Stage	6 years	12-17 years	Two phases
1st Phase				
Intermediate education: for three year (12-14). It is complementary to what the pupil learns in the elementary stage and supplies him with broader information of what he learned in language and general culture.				
2nd Phase				
Preparatory education: for three years (15-17). Its role is to prepare for university and occupational life. It is specialized studies (academic) in sciences and arts after the fourth secondary year. The two general preparatory education branches: the scientific and literary. There is another type of preparatory branch which covers the years of age (15-17). It includes vocational and applied studies in the kinds of industrial, agricultural and commercial education, where the student is prepared for the vocation and the university education in the industrial, agricultural and commercial domains.				
4	Priming Teachers	5 Years after the Intermediate stage	15 years	Others institutes after the preparatory education most of which could be tuned into colleges for teachers of university level with four years studying period.
5	University Stage	3 & 6 years	18 and onwards	Tertiary studies which prepare its students to attain the Master and Doctorate degrees or the occupational life.

Table 2 shows that Pre-school education in Iraq lasts for duration of two years and is open to children 4 years old whereas primary education is six years in duration and is compulsory through age 11. On the other hand, secondary education is six years in duration and completed in two stages: Intermediate and Preparatory. Intermediate education lasts for duration of three years for students aged 12 to 14 years. Similarly, preparatory education also lasts for three years and is designed to prepare students for the labour market or university study. Preparatory education is divided into two branches (scientific and literary) beginning with the second year of preparatory education, during which students pursue academic studies in the sciences or humanities. Furthermore, there is a six or three-year (depending on the point of entry) vocational preparatory stream of education, which covers industrial, agricultural and commercial branches which is designed to prepare students for work in the professions or for university study. Besides, there are also two-year postsecondary institutes which train students for various technical professions. Finally, tertiary education is open to students who satisfactorily complete secondary education it lasts from three to six years in duration. In addition to that, there are also programmes leading to postgraduate degrees.

4. Quality of Education

The quality of education has deteriorated after the 1990s. Factors responsible for the decline in quality are represented in the low level of education financing, lack of minimum standards in the form of teaching-learning materials (such as textbooks, libraries, laboratories), deteriorating infrastructure, outdated curricula, and overcrowding. Moreover, staff members are poorly trained, demoralised and unmotivated. The followed teaching methods carry on being dependent on lecture with no emphasis on analysis, synthesis or other forms of knowledge application. Innovation and initiatives to improve quality outside the rigid state-run education system were generally not encouraged. The gifted students' schools represent a very limited exception.

Preparation of teachers and basic training is weak and skills in communication and information technology are seriously limited. The teaching workforce is isolated from the outside world. Furthermore, professional development programs are lacking; opportunities for progressing education and clinical supervision are scarce. There is no encouragement for rural areas. A large number of qualified and well trained teachers have been lost; they have been replaced by less qualified teachers (Alwan, 2004).

5. Role of Woman in Education

Iraq is considered as one of the few countries in the Middle East that made a real change through the social investment in women's education and the best evidence for this is submitting its second and third reports to the Committee which presented the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination of Women (CEDAW) in 1998. The labour law legislation which was formulated in 1971 guaranteed women equal opportunity in government employment and women continued to be a majority in some professions (65% of all teachers at both the primary and secondary school level are women), whereas they are less well represented in other professions (Unicef, 2003).

6. Conclusion

Before 1990s, Iraq's education system statistically surpassed its neighbours in terms of access, literacy and gender equality. However, almost three decades of wars, cruel sanctions and humiliated blockade have pushed back those advances. The curriculum in Iraq is based on Western patterns but also includes religious teaching. The language of instruction is Arabic. Secondary education for girls dates from 1929 and one-single gender schools start after the primary school till university life when students from both genders attend the same classes. For all Iraqis and foreigners, education is free at all levels from primary to higher and no private schools are permitted to operate. Emigration of Iraq's best-trained educators to other countries like Jordan, Libya, UAE and others (an estimated 30-40% have fled since 1990). Because of the economic blockade that Iraq suffered from for more than 13 years and 3 wars that were imposed on the country in which the last one is still ongoing resulted in poorly equipped libraries and labs.

The discussion highlights the major achievements accomplished in the past, but also the weaknesses in the perspectives that guided the policy and program approaches for their rehabilitation and development. In harmony with the above mentioned information, there come into view to be massive challenges to tackle within the Iraqi educational system. Obviously, the system was one of the best in the region in the 1980s and can reach those levels with the correct steps once again. The main challenge to the Iraqi government is represented in the conflict-state of the country. Poor school conditions and quality inputs, an insufficient supply of schools, insecurity, lack of teachers and teacher training all are post 2003 war issues which must be addressed and dealt with. This task is not easy nor can be accomplished over night but it become possible with the dedication of the Iraqi people.

A good education system is essential for revitalising the Iraqi economy and is the key route to security and the development of a unified, cohesive community. There is an urgent need for a more

comprehensive reconstruction effort than solely compassionate assistance or physical rehabilitation of social facilities which ought to be centred on systems of reform processes.

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