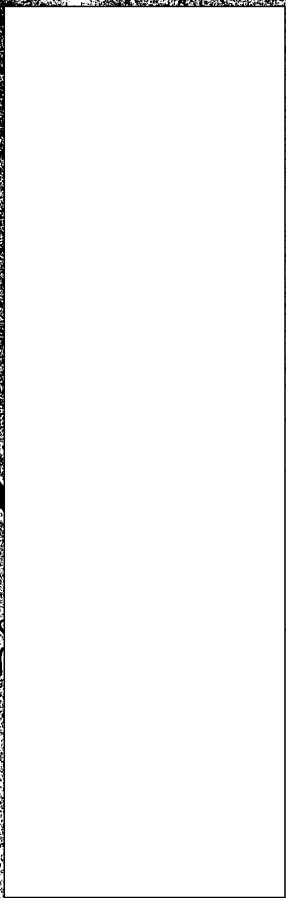


NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

IRAQ

SECTION 43

RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND PUBLIC INFORMATION



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CHAPTER IV

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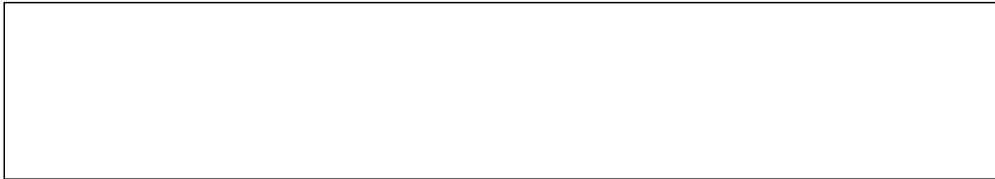
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43. Religion, Education and Public Information

A. General

Religious institutions in Iraq play a primary role in shaping the life and outlook of the population. Educational institutions and informational media, on the other hand, reach only a small percentage of the total population and their effect on the whole is not significant. Religious antagonisms between and within the separate faiths have further subdivided a population already variegated through racial and linguistic differences. Neither education nor informational media work effectively to counteract the basic cleavages caused by these religious differences.

Religion dominates everyday life in Iraq. All Iraqis are presumed to belong to one or another religious group or community, each of which has its own religious laws, social habits, and traditions. This community, or "millet" system, gives its members a sense of cohesion and protects small communities from assimilation or dissolution. By the same token the community system, which has for centuries nourished antipathies and social differences, acts as a force for separatism within the national framework of the new Iraqi state. Loyalty to religious community rather than to country is common, even when an individual no longer adheres to the articles of his faith.

Over 90 percent of the Iraqi population adhere at least nominally to Islam, the state religion. The hold of Islam, a social and legal system as well as a religious doctrine, is still strong upon most Iraqi Muslims, whose outlook toward neighbor, country, and world is shaped largely by the opinions of their religious leaders. Even those urban, educated Muslims who are outwardly indifferent to their religion are influenced strongly in their social and political attitudes by the religious teaching of their early years. Because of the Islamic concept that religion (i.e., Islam) is the state, and because of the Koranic teaching that all Muslims are brothers, many Iraqi Muslims feel more closely akin to their coreligionists in other lands than to non-Muslim Iraqis. Unity within the majority Muslim group, however, is marred by division, both social and political, into the antipathetic Sunni and Shiah sects. The Shiah, for example, who are in the majority, have often worked against the Sunni-dominated government.

Public educational institutions, controlled in curriculum and staff by the government, are attempting to instill a sense of national unity in Iraqi chil-

dren. Because of the inadequacy of the system, however, only a small percentage of the children receive even elementary schooling; in fact, the great majority of the population—urban laborers, peasants, and nomads—is relatively untouched by public education.

Because of the high proportion of illiterates, informational media (newspapers, cinema, radio, etc.) play a minor part in shaping the thoughts of the majority of Iraqis. The uneducated remain, for the most part, unaware of salient issues, either within or outside of Iraq. Informational media, however, do reach the small educated group which makes up the politically-conscious element of society. The government, which fosters and reflects the nationalism of the politically-conscious element of society, directly or indirectly controls all informational outlets, except the subversive, and thus to a considerable degree succeeds in slanting this public opinion to conform to current governmental policy.

B. Religion

1. Distribution of major faiths

The following tabulated estimate of the Iraqi population according to religion cannot be regarded as accurate, for recent data are not available and sources vary widely in their population estimates.

MUSLIMS:	
Sunni	1,029,800
Shiah	1,612,500
Sārli	na
Bājōrān	na
Shabak	12,000
Qizilbāshi	na
Jews:	125,000
CHRISTIANS:	
Jacobites	12,000
Nestorians	30,000
Armenian Orthodox	10,000
Greek Orthodox	12,000
Roman Catholics	1,000

NOTE The figures for the Sunnis and Shiah are for 1944 and unquestionably reflect a gross under-enumeration. Data on the Shabak and Nestorians are for 1947; on the Jews and Armenian Orthodox for 1950; on the Jacobites, Greek Orthodox, Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics, Armenian Catholics, Mandaeans, and Yezidis for 1948; and on the Roman Catholics for 1949.

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CHRISTIANS (Continued):

Uniates:	
Chaldeans	98,000
Syrian Catholics	25,000
Armenian Catholics	2,000
Greek Catholics	na
Protestants	na
OTHERS:	
Mandaeans	5,000
Yezidis	15,000
Bahais	na

Religious sects in Iraq tend to be confined within well-defined areas. Shiah Muslims are centered in southern Iraq, while the Kurds and Arabs of northern Iraq are solidly Sunni. With a few exceptions, the true Bedouin tribes throughout Iraq are Sunni. Minor heterodox Muslim sects, unimportant numerically, are concentrated in the provinces of Mosul, Kirkuk, and Sulaimaniya.

The Christian communities in Iraq are more fully urban than the Muslim. Approximately 60% of Iraq's Christians live in and around Mosul, 20% live in Baghdad city, and there is a small community of Christians in most of the larger towns. In Mosul *livā'* (province) the Christian peasantry, which totals 45,000, lives mainly in the Mosul plain and Alqōsh foothills. There are also small groups of Christian peasants on the Iraqi-Turkish border north of Mosul and in the remote mountain regions of the basins of the Great and the Little Zab.

Almost one-half of Iraq's Jewish population is concentrated in Baghdad. The remaining half live mainly in Mosul city and in Basra, but there are also Jewish merchants and peddlers scattered in small groups throughout the cities and villages of the whole country. Small towns such as Hit and Ramādi often contain communities of from 100 to 200 Jews.

Three groups which defy classification remain to be discussed. The Yezidis live in two compact communities, one in the Jabal Sinjar (mountain) west of Mosul and the other in the Mosul plain from Jabal Maqlub (mountain) northwest to the foothills around Dohuk. The Mandaeans are a townfolk residing in villages scattered along the rivers in lower Iraq, with their chief settlements at Suq'ash Shuyūkh and 'Amāra. The Bahais, of which there are only a few hundred, are settled in Baghdad.

2. Muslim communities

With the conquest of the Mosul area in 641 A.D. all of the territory now known as Iraq was in the hands of the Muslim Arabs. Conversion to Islam, encouraged by repression of non-Muslims and advantages to the convert, began soon thereafter, and today the population is overwhelmingly Muslim.

Far from presenting a united front, however, the Muslims—except for a few numerically insignificant

sects, are divided between the mutually intolerant Sunni and Shiah. Shiism was born in Iraq in the area of the four holy cities: An Najaf, with the most sacred of Shiah shrines, the reputed tomb of 'Ali (son-in-law of Muhammad); Karbalā, the scene of the death of Husayn (son of 'Ali); Al Kadhimain, the burial place of the Seventh and Ninth Imams (Shiah caliphal successors); and Sāmarrā, with the cave into which the Twelfth Imam is said to have disappeared. Through the centuries Shiism, which appeals to the oppressed, gathered dissidents to itself. The ranks of Iraqi Shiism have been further swelled by constant emigration from neighboring areas, particularly Iran, to the vicinity of the holy cities. Animosity between the Sunnis, who dominate the Iraqi Government, and the Shiah reflects earlier antagonism between the haves and have-nots and to some extent lack of sympathy between Arabs and Persians.

The social, economic, emotional, and political cleavages which separate Sunni and Shiah have been called the most disturbing factor in Iraq. (For detailed discussion of Sunni and Shiah beliefs see Subsections 43, B, of NIS 53 and NIS 33 respectively.) Although the basic religious practices and beliefs of the two sects coincide in most instances there are, in addition to differences in dogma, certain peculiarities of practice which emphasize the gulf separating them. Sunnis tend to be amused, disgusted, or antagonized by highly emotional Shiah religious performances during the 'Ashūrā' festival. The Shiah practice of *mut'ah* or temporary marriage, the greatest legal variance between the two sects, is regarded by Sunnis as adultery. Sunnis generally scorn the Shiah for their ignorance and superstition, while Shiah consider Sunnis heretical, irreligious, and materialistic. Even within the past 100 years, the emotional appeal of Shiism has converted many former Sunni communities and tribes in Iraq. It is rare, on the other hand, for a Shiah to be converted to Sunnism.

Among educated Muslims, Shiah and particularly Sunni, there is a certain amount of apathy and laxness in religious observance, although there is little outspoken expression of such indifference. Many urban Iraqis neglect prayer and no longer keep the fast of Ramadan. Drinking, one of the prohibitions of Islam, is spreading in the larger towns where members of the lower classes sometimes drink to excess and Western alcoholic beverages are quite in vogue.

Although the Shiah are generally more resistant to innovation than the Sunnis, the more westernized are either abandoning many long-standing Shiah practices completely or adapting them to the present. Concubinage and *mut'ah* marriage are no longer favored and, as the persecution of the Shiah has fallen off, there has been a decline

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of emphasis on the doctrine of *taqiyyah*, or dissimulation of religious affiliation. Also, there seems to be less fear of contamination from contact with unbelievers than in the past.

In both sects religious feeling is strong among the peasants and tribes, who have added a great deal of superstition to the beliefs of Islam, such as belief in omens of all sorts. Tombs and shrines of minor saints and holy men are the objects of local pilgrimages all over Iraq, and many Muslims arrange before death to be buried close to them. FIGURE 43-6B shows the graveyard surrounding the tomb of a sheikh.

Sufism (see NIS 53, SECTION 43, Religion) has adherents among both major Muslim sects in Iraq, but most Iraqi Sufis are Sunni. Strongest of the Sufi groups in Iraq is the Qādiriyah, distinguished by charity, piety, and humility. The tomb of its founder, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gaylāni (1077-1166), is in Baghdad and is kept by a descendant, known as the Naqīb, to whom provincial Qādiriyah communities from Morocco to the East Indies acknowledge nominal allegiance. The Rifā'iyah, a more fanatical offshoot of the Qādiriyah, is second in strength among Sufi groups in Iraq.

While Islam is the state religion of Iraq, the King is not recognized as a religious leader. A constitutional provision that the crown remain in the Hashimite family, however, insures a Muslim (in practice, a Sunni) king who is forced by popular pressure to respect at least outwardly the fundamental laws of the Koran and the Traditions. As chief of state, on the other hand, he also has certain duties, such as the confirmation of elected community leaders, which specifically concern non-Muslim communities.

The Iraqi Government functions in purely Muslim affairs only in connection with the Muslim pious foundations, or *waqfs*, both Shiah and Sunni, which it administers. Non-Muslim *waqfs* are administered by the religious communities concerned. When property is made waqf, it is dedicated to a charitable or religious cause (*waqf khayri*) or its revenue goes to members of a family (*waqf ahli*). While family waqfs are administered by private trustees, philanthropic waqfs are administered by the Department of Waqfs directly under the Prime Minister. The Department of Waqfs oversees religious buildings and institutions, and administers the large number of estates which have been donated to Muslim pious or charitable uses. In 1943 waqf lands totalled about 1.4 percent of all the lands then assessed.

Each Muslim sect leads its separate religious life and has its own religious leaders. Sunnis and Shiah have distinct Sharia courts, established wherever civil courts are present (CHAPTER V, SECTION 52), and separate mosques, although Shiah are allowed by their religious law to worship with Sunnis.

Internally the Sunni and, to a lesser extent, the Shiah communities are very loosely organized and lack central direction. The functions of their leaders, who are often recognized tacitly rather than elected or appointed, are nowhere clearly defined and are limited only by long usage. Administrative ability is not considered in assessing a candidate's suitability for religious office.

a. SUNNIS — The Sunni Muslims of Iraq are further divided into Arabs and Kurds whose sole meeting ground, other than nationality, is their common religion. In some respects even their religious practices take different directions. Strict observance of the external forms of piety is found more often among Kurds than Arabs, and many Kurds follow the Shafiite school of Muslim law rather than the more liberal Hanafite system espoused by the majority of Sunni Arabs in Iraq.

The Sunni community has no central religious hierarchy which might serve to unify its members. There are a number of religious offices dealing with Muslim law and guiding religious life, but a holder of such an office is not ordained and may lose his office, and with it his titles and privileges, at any time. The Sunni religious offices are those of muezzin, mulla, imam, mufti, and *qādi*. Senior theologians who have gathered prestige are known collectively as the *ulema* (sing. *'ālim*) or learned men. Generally, holders of religious offices are appointed by royal *irādah* (decree) from graduates of Sunni *madrāsahs*, or higher religious schools, such as the College of Islamic Law (see Subsection C) in Baghdad or the renowned al-Azhar University in Cairo.

The muezzin, mulla, imam, and mufti are directly connected with the functioning of mosques. The muezzin, who has only to chant the call to prayer five times daily, is often a blind man, selected so as not to violate the privacy of adjacent courtyards. The mulla is the overseer of a village mosque or a smaller urban mosque. He may be simply a lay member respected for his unusual piety. He may also be the teacher in a religious or mulla school sponsored by the faith. He is not allowed to initiate a reinterpretation of the religious law, which regulates so much of Muslim life. As a scholar of canon law, however, he explains the law to individual believers who may come to him for help. In a larger mosque the mulla is often subordinate to the imam, who oversees the mosque and leads the Friday prayer. The leading imam of a principal mosque will often be a mufti, regarded as expert in canon law, who on request expounds in a *fatwa*, or formal legal opinion, the meaning of the law on any particular point. The *fatwa* may involve considerable elucidation of canon law and its authority is absolute.

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The *qādi*, or judge of Sharia or religious law, presides over the Sunni *mahkamah shar 'iyah*, or religious court (see CHAPTER V, SECTION 52, Judiciary) dealing with questions of marriage, dowries, inheritance, divorce, and alimony. If a complicated legal problem is involved, the *qādi* refers the matter to the authority of a mufti.

b. SHIAH — The majority of Iraqi Shiah are indigenous Arabs, and most of them belong to the Imāmi or Twelver sect, which recognizes the succession of the Twelve Imams.

The Shiah community is more centrally organized and closely-knit than the Sunni. Much of the cohesiveness of the Shiah can be attributed to the existence of the *mujtahids* who, as the representatives on earth of the absent Imam (not to be confused with the imam officiating in a mosque), are empowered to guide their followers in all aspects of life. *Mujtahids* may give advice applicable to special religious matters or may issue interpretations of a general character which have the force of law among their followers. A *mujtahid's* interpretation, however, is valid only during his lifetime. Each important *mujtahid* has a chain of representatives among the Shiah communities, and every devout Shiah chooses a *mujtahid* as his spiritual advisor and consults either him or his nearest representative whenever he is in doubt as to a course of action. Shiah tend to submit disputes of all kinds to their holy men rather than to civil courts. Many of the rigidly orthodox, although of necessity obeying the civil authorities, consider that they owe their first allegiance to their religious leaders. *Mujtahids* are constantly in receipt of gifts of money from the faithful for such religious, educational, or charitable use as may seem appropriate to them.

The various ranks of *mujtahids*, including the Great *Mujtahids* and the Chief *Mujtahid*, are reached only after many years of study, and the gaining of a considerable reputation for scholarship and piety. A Shiah scholar becomes a *mujtahid* upon passing severe examinations, written and oral. If he further impresses the Shiah religious world, he may be recognized by general agreement as a Great *Mujtahid*, of whom there are very few at any one time. The Great *Mujtahids* dwelling in Karbalā and An Najaf are sometimes known collectively as the *'atabah*, or Threshold, and have authority throughout the entire Shiah world. In Iraq they can, when they wish, exercise considerable political influence.

The most revered of all scholarly and pious Shiah is universally acknowledged as the Chief *Mujtahid*, and customarily resides in An Najaf. While he has no executive power, his influence is enormous among Shiah both inside and outside

Iraq. A fatwa by the Chief *Mujtahid* will be obeyed by Shiah as implicitly as a papal bull was obeyed in medieval Europe.

The Chief *Mujtahid* has usually been a Persian rather than an Arab; and the present Chief *Mujtahid*, Sa'īd Muhammad al-Husayn Kāshif al-Ghitā' although a native Iraqi, is of Iranian ancestry. Rival *mujtahids* do not attempt to replace the Chief after his recognition, but rivalry breaks out openly upon the death of the incumbent.

As among the Sunni, Shiah holy men of lesser rank and prestige include muezzins, mullas, imams, muftis and *qādis*, most of whom are trained at religious schools in An Najaf and Karbalā. In addition there is among the Shiah the office of the *kiliddār* (trustee or guardian) of the holy places. The responsibilities of the *kiliddār*, which include the safety, administration, and finances of the mosque or shrine as well as the arrangements connected with pilgrims, are hereditary.

Shiah throughout the Muslim world look to their four holy cities in central Iraq for spiritual leadership. An Najaf and Karbalā are the capitals of Shiism, and are regarded as second only to Mecca by Shiah on pilgrimage. Al Kādhimain and Sāmarrā are of somewhat lesser importance. FIGURE 43-6A shows the "Mosque of the Golden Domes" in Al Kādhimain.

An Najaf and Karbalā exist almost entirely on and for religion. Pilgrimages bring contributions as well as payment to local inhabitants for services rendered in the way of food and lodging, and are lucrative sources of income. While there is much local pilgrimage within Iraq, there are also over 30,000 pilgrims annually from Iran. Others come in numbers from Afghanistan, India, and the Shiah regions of Syria. The corpse traffic brings in further revenue, for the area about the shrines is the burial ground of millions of devout Shiah from far and near. About 60,000 bodies arrive annually in An Najaf, and the price of a grave is in proportion to its nearness to the shrine of 'Ali.

An Najaf, and to a lesser extent Karbalā, are noted for their religious schools. Young men and old come from all over the Shiah world to study with the great scholars or to remain close to them in order to partake of their learning. The better organized of the schools are housed in separate buildings where the students eat, study, and sleep. Students are supported from the charitable funds entrusted to the *mujtahids*.

Both An Najaf and Karbalā still show strong Iranian influence. Many of the holy men and students of both An Najaf and Karbalā are Iranians and the primary language of an estimated 50 percent of the poorer inhabitants is Persian rather than Arabic.

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c. HETERODOX GROUPS — The obscure Muslim sects of the 'Ali Ilāhi, Bājōrān, Shabak, and Qizilbāshi are found in northern Iraq in the Assyrian plains and foothills. Excepting the Turkoman Qizilbāshis, all are Kurdish and live apart from other groups in villages of their own. The sects are, to varying extremes, offshoots of Shiism. They are related doctrinally with one another and with heterodox sects in Iran, and have in common their devotion to the Shiah imams, rites resembling communion, and other syncretistic elements.

The 'Ali Ilāhi (deifiers of 'Ali) sect is identical with that of the same name in western Iran (see NIS 33, SECTION 43, Religion). In Iraq the Kurdish Kāka'i tribe, occupying about 34 villages south of the Little Zab, and the Sārli, a subdivision of the Kāka'i tribe occupying some six villages north of the Little Zab, belong to this sect. Both speak the Gorani dialect of Kurdish. The Sārli recognize the religious authority of an hereditary chief, resident in the village of Wardak.

The Bājōrān, several thousand strong, live in villages north of Mosul and recognize a principal sheikh who visits the various communities periodically to preside at their ceremonies. Little is known of their religious beliefs, but their practices indicate some affinity to Ismā'ilism (see NIS 33, SECTION 43, Religion). They venerate particularly a prophet they call Ismā'il and make ritual use of the number seven. They speak a mixed Kurdish dialect.

The Shabak inhabit the Jabal Sinjar district of Mosul liwā' and are not clearly differentiated from their Yezidi neighbors. Their religion is compounded of Yezidi and extreme Shiah elements, and they frequently attend Yezidi assemblies and places of pilgrimage. They speak the Gorani dialect of Kurdish.

The Qizilbāshi religion, found also throughout Asia Minor, has many adherents among the Turkoman villagers of Kirkūk liwā'. The religion consists of survivals of pagan beliefs mixed with forms of Christianity and covered with a cloak of Islam. Many Qizilbāshi tenets, such as the belief in the divinity of 'Ali and a succession of divine incarnations, show close affinities with those of the Syrian Nusayris (see NIS 28, SECTION 43, Religion). From Christianity they have adopted reverence for the Virgin Mary, and the practice of confession, absolution, and communion. The Qizilbāshis have a well-defined religious hierarchy, at the head of which are two patriarchs, resident in Turkey, thought to be invested with divine power as descendants of 'Ali. Below the patriarchs are bishops and priests, who function as intermediaries between God and man.

3. Minority communities

Although the non-Muslim minorities in their totality are numerically small, they have a disproportionate importance in Iraq because, from the political and social aspect, the problems raised by their presence have greatly affected internal political and social issues in Iraq as well as Iraq's relations with foreign countries. The Jews and some Christian groups are concentrated in the three most important cities and their influence on the trade, commerce, and industry of the country has been much greater than their numbers would indicate.

Within the small non-Muslim minority the greatest single groups are Jews and Christians. There are, furthermore, the strange communities of Yezidis and Mandaeans, the latter being a survival from the pre-Muslim era, and a very small number of Bahais who have deviated too far from their Shiah beginnings to be classified as Muslims.

Following time-honored custom each of the non-Muslim religious communities, or millets, has its own organization with some degree of autonomy. The communities themselves apply their communal laws, customary or codified, and each has jurisdiction, granted by Article 112 of the Iraqi Constitution, over its religious properties including cemeteries and churches. Within the general provisions of the education laws, communities can and do support their own schools. The community leader, who is either elected to his position or inherits it, functions as the representative of his community in its general and personal relations with the national government.

The Iraqi Government has final control over all communities. Leaders chosen by the communities must usually be officially appointed by royal decree. Members of all religious communities are subject in general to the state civil and criminal laws.

Several laws have been issued for particular communities. Two communities, the Jewish and the Armenian Orthodox, are organized according to constitutions promulgated by the Iraqi parliament in 1931. Other communities still have their traditional religious and lay systems, validated by long usage or Ottoman decree. Religious courts, with jurisdiction over matters of personal status, were set up in general terms for the Jewish and Christian communities by Articles 75 and 78 of the Iraqi Constitution but were regulated by Law No. 32 of 1947. Benches of revision (see CHAPTER V, SECTION 52) of the Jewish community and of certain of the Christian sects, including one court for Roman Catholics and Uniates, one for Orthodox Armenians, and one for Jacobites were also regulated by this law. These courts, whose members must be appointed by royal decree, are under the super-

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vision of the Ministry of Justice. In those communities not specified in this law, matters of personal status must be referred to Iraqi civil courts. Suits between a Muslim and a non-Muslim are tried in the Muslim Sharia Courts unless either party demands the transfer of such a mixed suit to the Civil Courts.

As the national Iraqi Government has developed, broadened, and become more secularized, it is natural that it should assume authority over many matters formerly handled within the millets. Some functions have been taken over entirely by civil administrators; others, such as education, are being brought rapidly under centralized government control and have ceased to come under the exclusive authority of the millets.

a. Jews — The Jewish community in Iraq is of long standing. Of an estimated 125,000, only about 1,600 are foreign born. The community claims descent from the remnants of the Babylonian "Captivity" who did not return to Jerusalem, but the greatest immigration into Iraq probably took place after the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

Iraqi Jews, as heirs of the Orthodox Rabbinical Judaism which developed in Mesopotamia, maintain many of their ancient customs and beliefs. No divorce whatever is allowed. Two ancient shrines, the tomb of Ezekiel at Al Kifi and the so-called tomb of Ezra at Al 'Azair, are popular centers of pilgrimage for the orthodox both within and outside of Iraq. Although in many cases they are more Westernized than their Muslim neighbors, the Jewish attitude toward women has changed little, and as a result many Jewish women in Baghdad and elsewhere still retain the veil.

The urban Jewish communities show considerable group solidarity. They lead a social existence apart from the general population and have their own schools, hospitals, and charitable institutions. For example, the wealthy Baghdad community, made up of 48 percent of all Iraqi Jews, owns 15 schools, two hospitals, a dispensary, and a pharmacy.

According to Law 77 of 1931 as amended, the Jews of Iraq are organized in separate communities, the first to be constituted being those of Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul. Diyālā and 'Amāra were added later. Each of the communities has a president, a general council, and a lay council. The Baghdad community has also a spiritual council. All Iraqi Jews are members of their respective communities unless they renounce their Jewish faith.

At Baghdad the General Council consists of 60 members, of whom seven are rabbis. The lay members of the General Council are elected by the male members of the community who are Iraqi citizens and the rabbi members by the rabbis of the

community. The President, whose election must be confirmed by royal decree, and a Chief Rabbi are elected by the General Council for a period of four years. The Lay Council consists of the President as chairman and eight members elected from the laity by the General Council. It administers Jewish waqf and other religious, charitable, and educational property and collects communal dues. The Spiritual Council, consisting of the Chief Rabbi as chairman and seven other members elected by the General Council for a term of four years, deals with the training of the rabbinate and undertakes the general religious and spiritual supervision of the community. Religious courts, and Benches of Revision, regulated by Law 32 of 1947, are each composed of three members, either clergymen or legal experts, who serve for three years.

The organization of the smaller communities is generally similar to that of Baghdad, though the councils are smaller in size. Outside of Baghdad a Chief Rabbi is appointed only when a religious court has been established.

b. CHRISTIANS — Excepting the majority of the Nestorian Assyrians and a number of the Orthodox and Uniate Armenians, Iraqi Christians are indigenous. Most speak Arabic in addition to their community language and mix freely with their Muslim neighbors socially, in schools, business, and government organizations. However, a few towns and villages in the north, and sections of the cities of Mosul and Baghdad, are exclusively Christian.

The Christians are divided into a variety of sects which differ from one another in ritual, belief, language, and ethnic composition. The ancient Eastern churches — Jacobite, Nestorian, Armenian Orthodox, and Greek Orthodox — as well as the Roman Catholic, four of the Uniates, and the Protestant, are all represented in Iraq.

(1) *Jacobites* — The Jacobites or Syrian Orthodox are survivors of the Monophysite community organized by Jacob Baradaeus in Syria and Mesopotamia in the sixth century. Monophysites, who broke off from the main body of Christianity in 451 have been since that time considered heretical by Orthodox Christians. The Jacobites use an ancient liturgy known as that of St. James the Less, and their liturgical and national language is Syriac. They have an extensive hierarchy headed by the Patriarch of Antioch, who has lived at Mosul since his expulsion from Tūr 'Abdīn by the Turks in 1924. A second dignitary is the *Maphrian* of Mosul, who acts as senior bishop.

Iraqi Jacobites are a peasant people whose agricultural villages are found in the Mosul plain and in Jabal Maqlub, the location of their best-known monastery, Mār Mattai.

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(2) *Nestorians* — The term "Nestorian" is often used interchangeably with "Assyrian." However, the Assyrians are a distinct ethnic group, whose members may also be adherents of the Uni-ate Chaldean or Assyrian Protestant Churches (see below).

The Nestorian Church was established in 497 A.D. by followers of the teachings of Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who was deposed by the Council of Ephesus in 431 for opposing the dogma that the Virgin Mary is the mother of God. The Nestorian concept of Christ continued to find adherents in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, and the Nestorians later became the strongest Christian element in the Islamic empire. The Iraqi Nestorian Church was largely destroyed during the Mongol invasions (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), however, and many of its members fled north to the Hakkâri mountains in present-day Turkey. Others remained south of Hakkâri in what is now Iraq.

A reverse flight from the Turks in 1918 re-established the Nestorian church, the second largest Christian church in Iraq today. Of the Nestorians now in Iraq some are still found in their old homes around 'Amâdiya and Ruwândiz, while others have settled in villages around Mosul and a few are working in the larger towns.

The Iraqi Nestorians are a community apart, separated even from other Assyrians by their faith and distinctive traditions. Their religion retains many forms of worship used at a very early period in Christian history, including the most ancient liturgy in Christendom. Their native and ecclesiastical Syriac language (*Fellîhi*) is a dialect of Aramaic, but many speak Arabic or Kurdish as well.

The titular head of the Nestorian community, a celibate patriarch, is temporal as well as religious leader. Descending from uncle to nephew, the patriarchate has remained in the same family, the Shim'un, almost exclusively for the last 700 years. The present patriarch, Eshai Mâr Shim'un, resided formerly in northern Iraq but was exiled following the Assyrian rebellion of 1933, and now lives in the U.S. in Chicago, Illinois.

During the absence of the Patriarch the Nestorian Church in Iraq is under the leadership of three bishops, of whom the Archbishop of Harîr, Mâr Yûsuf (pictured in FIGURE 43-6C), a cousin of the Patriarch, is the most influential. In addition, each Nestorian village has its priest, who is allowed to marry.

(3) *Armenian Orthodox* — About 85 percent of all Armenians in Iraq belong to the Armenian Orthodox or Gregorian Church. Most of those in Iraq fled from Turkey during and immediately after World War I and settled in Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra.

The Gregorian Church, founded by St. Gregory the Illuminator, has been the independent national church of Armenia since 451 and professes a modified form of Monophysitism. Its liturgy is Armenian, and it is still the national church, found wherever Armenians are settled. Of all the Armenian prelates, the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin in Soviet Armenia is the most exalted. The church in Iraq, although nominally subject to the See of Antelias in Lebanon, is practically self-governing.

Iraqi Law No. 70 of 1931 lays down the organization of the Armenian community and provides for a Head of the Community (at present Krikor der Hagopian); Spiritual, Lay, and General Councils; a religious court and Bench of Revision sitting in Baghdad; and Church Assemblies and Church Representatives in Basra, Mosul, and Kirkûk.

The Head of the community, who is also president of the three councils, is elected by the General Council and confirmed by royal decree. He must be an ecclesiastic and, unless an exception is made by the Iraqi Council of Ministers, an Iraqi citizen. Upon his election, generally although not necessarily confirmed by Antelias, he is known as the Archbishop of Baghdad.

The General Council in Baghdad, whose 31 members are elected by all Armenians of Iraqi nationality, elects the members of the Lay and Spiritual Councils as well as the Head of the community and supervises the acts of the Councils and Church Assemblies. The Spiritual Council is concerned with the supervision and conduct of spiritual and religious affairs. The Lay Council administers the Armenian waqfs. The Religious Court and Bench of Revision are each composed of three members, clergymen or legal experts, who serve for three years. The church representatives and assemblies, elected locally, administer the affairs of the respective communities.

(4) *Greek Orthodox* — The Greek Orthodox community in Iraq is very small. Almost all of its members are of families long resident in Iraq and are Arab in culture and feeling. They are subject to the religious jurisdiction of the autocephalous Patriarch of Antioch, at present Alexandros Tahhân, resident in Damascus. The patriarchate of Antioch is almost wholly Arab as regards hierarchy, laity, and liturgy. The Greek Orthodox Religious Court and Bench of Revision are organized similarly to those of the Jewish and Armenian Orthodox communities.

(5) *Roman Catholics and Uniates* — The Roman Catholic Church has very few adherents in Iraq. However, Roman Catholic missions which maintain churches, convents, schools, and seminaries, are important in the life of the Christian population of Mosul. The oldest and best staffed of the missions in Mosul is that of the French Dominican Fathers, but there are also Italian

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Salesians and French Sisters of the Presentation of Tours. American Jesuits have established in Baghdad a highly respected school which had an enrollment of 490 students in 1948-49. Roman Catholics in Iraq are subject to the direct jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and use the Latin rite. An apostolic delegate resides in Baghdad.

The Uniate churches are those oriental churches which acknowledge papal supremacy but are allowed to retain their peculiar rights and customs, such as the marriage of parish priests. They are autonomous under their own elected patriarchs. Of the four Uniate churches represented in Iraq, only the Chaldean and the Syrian Catholic churches have followings of any size; the Armenian and Greek Catholics are numerically insignificant.

The Chaldeans, the most numerous of Iraqi Christians, are descended from Nestorians who remained in Iraq during and after the Mongol invasions. In 1778 the Chaldeans accepted the supremacy of the Pope, as they had done intermittently in the past, in order to gain French protection against Kurds and Turks. Their native and ecclesiastical language is Syriac, and they are under the Patriarch of Babylon who resides in Mosul. There is an important Chaldean monastery at Alqōsh village, and Chaldeans have the opportunity of attending a Dominican mission and school at Mosul. Chaldeans live in villages of their own, notably Tall Kaif, as well as side by side with Nestorian Assyrians in the Mosul area.

The Syrian Catholic Church was formed by Jacobites who became Uniates for much the same reasons as the Chaldeans. They are largely a peasant community in the plains around Mosul. They also use a Syriac liturgy and have a patriarch, who lives in Beirut, Lebanon. Their present patriarch is a cardinal.

The Armenian Catholics, converts from the Gregorian Church, use an Armenian liturgy. Their titular head is the Patriarch of Constantinople, resident near Beirut.

The Greek Catholics are an offshoot of the Greek Orthodox Church. They use a Greek liturgy and are under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria, resident in Cairo.

For administrative purposes the Iraqi Government considers the Roman Catholic and Uniate churches together as five divisions of the Catholic Church. Law No. 32 of 1947 establishes for Catholics a religious court, with five members, one from each of the divisions. The Catholic Bench of Revision is composed of the spiritual heads of the five Catholic communities.

(6) *Protestants* — Protestant elements in Iraq, mainly the work of American Baptist, Congregational, and Dutch Reform missions, are negligible in number.

c. OTHERS

(1) *Mandaeans* — The Mandaeans or Sābians (known also as Subbi and incorrectly as Sabaeans) are a gnostic sect of ancient origin. By adopting the term "Sābian" in former times, they secured for themselves the tolerance recommended in the Koran for "Christians, Jews, and Sābians." However, enmity with surrounding tribes, internal feuds, and secularization have caused a steady decrease in the once numerous Mandaean community. They are still diminishing today, largely through the marriage of their women to Muslims.

Mandaeans, who hold that a devout acceptance of their creed will avert disease, believe in a supreme being, the King of Light, but not in a savior. Their hierarchy of good and evil beings includes representatives of Iranian, Babylonian, and Palestinian religions. Their peculiar reverence for John the Baptist, whom they consider an incarnation of one of these gods, has misled many into thinking of them as Christians. However, Jesus and Muhammad are regarded as false gods, and Mandaism is hostile to both Christianity and Islam. The most distinctive characteristic of the Mandaean religion is a purifactory baptism, carried out in frequent ceremonial ablutions, which requires them to live near running water. Pacifism and vegetarianism are considered meritorious. There are several Mandaean holy books written in their liturgical language, a dialect of Aramaic. Mandaean temples are small, being merely receptacles for objects used in their Sunday services. The clergy includes the offices of deacon and priest. The priesthood is usually hereditary among men, but the office may be held by a woman. There are also bishops or high priests who theoretically have full authority over the lesser priesthood as well as almost unlimited influence among the people.

(2) *Yezidis* — Ethnically the Yezidis are Kurds. They speak the Kurmanji dialect and are organized tribally in the same manner as their Muslim Kurdish neighbors (see this Chapter, Section 42, Religion and Education). They are a semi-nomadic people whose center is in Jabal Sinjar, but there are also Yezidi communities in Syria, Turkey, and Tiflis in the Caucasus.

The Yezidi religion originated as a Muslim heresy believing in the imamate of the Umayyad caliph Yazid I (died A.D. 683). It is an eclectic, esoteric creed which regards the Old and New Testaments and the Koran as sacred books, and its rites, conducted in Arabic, show Christian, Muslim, Iranian, and pagan influences. The main tenets of the Yezidi religion, however, are peculiar to it. There is a supreme God who, after the initial creation, delegated the conduct of worldly affairs to seven angels. Each of these angels descends to rule the world for 1,000 years and their

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descendants are sheikhly families of the Yezidis. The angel of the present era is Malak Tāwūs (the Peacock Angel), whose identification with Satan has given rise to the erroneous characterization of Yezidis as "devil-worshippers." In reality, the Yezidis regard Malak Tāwūs as a fallen angel, a kind of Lucifer, standing for power; he is propitiated rather than worshipped. They will not, for example, pronounce and prefer not even to hear the word *shaytān*, Arabic for Satan, or any other word combining the initial "sh" with a following "t."

Yezidis also revere certain trees, springs, and stones; and little shrines dot their native countryside. Their greatest shrine is the tomb of their saint, Sheikh 'Ādi, at Lalesh (also called "Sheikh 'Ādi") where their sacred books, the Black Book and the Book of Revelation, as well as the peacock images of Malak Tāwūs, are kept. Semiannual pilgrimages to Sheikh 'Ādi are virtually mandatory.

The Yezidis have a complicated theocratic caste system divided into six grades which the layman may not enter. At the head of this system is the hereditary Chief Sheikh (*mīr-e shaykhān*), who lives at Ba'edrē. In theory he wields supreme temporal as well as spiritual power over the Yezidi community, and although his temporal power does not in effect extend beyond the area in which he resides, his prestige is considerable among Yezidis everywhere. His ample revenues are derived chiefly from his custodianship of cult objects and the shrine of Sheikh 'Ādi. The possession of these perquisites is much envied and most chief sheikhs have been murdered by aspirants to the office. After the tomb of Sheikh 'Ādi, the house of the Chief Sheikh is the most venerated of Yezidi shrines.

The Yezidi laity composes a general caste. Although they may join nonhereditary ascetic orders, laymen are generally kept in ignorance of the sacred scriptures and of the inner doctrines of the faith. Education was forbidden by religion until recently, and Yezidi children are still not encouraged to learn reading and writing, for fear of weaning them from the religion of their fathers.

The Yezidis are anti-assimilationist; they hold no communion with non-Yezidis and in particular will not intermarry with them. They do not proselytize; one must be born a Yezidi. Their separate identity has been crystallized during a long history of semi-autonomy, punctuated under the Ottomans by persecutions and attempted conversions. Military conscription has always been bitterly resisted by the Yezidis, who objected to service under Muslim commanders, and the Yezidi community was specially exempted from military service under the Turkish rule in Iraq. In 1935-36 the assimilationist policy of the Iraqi Government and its attempts at conscription gave rise to a re-

volt which forced Baghdad to abandon its policy of forcibly recruiting Yezidis into the army.

(3) *Bahais* — The few hundred Bahais, living exclusively in Baghdad, have only an incidental connection with Iraq. They are the followers of modernist Shiah teachers who in the nineteenth century created a great stir in Iran by identifying themselves with the Twelfth Imam. The Bahais accept Muhammad and the Koran, but hold that revelation is progressive. On the whole, their preaching is directed more towards ethics than toward the elaboration of a systematic theology. Showqi Effendi, their religious chief today, is a descendant of the founder, and lives in Haifa, Israel.

4. Social and political significance of Islam and religious minorities

Islam, the religion of the state as well as of the vast majority of Iraqis, is regarded by many young nationalists as the unifying element in national life. In the view of this group, which includes members of the Young Muslim Men's Association (YMMA) and the undercover Muslim Brethren (*al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) none but Muslims are full and loyal citizens of the Iraqi state. Representative of the opposite viewpoint is the small group of nationalists who feel that a complete secularization of the state is desirable and necessary for the attainment of unity. Between the two extremes are a few men who wish to evolve a sense of nationhood capable of transcending barriers of race, language and religion, without having recourse to the purely secular solution of denying the value of all religion.

While Islam is the official religion of the state, complete freedom of conscience is allowed in Iraq, both in law and in practice (for further details see CHAPTER V, SECTION 51 under "Civil rights"). Except for a few incidents in the 1930's and the Baghdad pogrom of 1941 at a time when the government had practically ceased to function, there has been no physical persecution of minorities.

a. GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE TOWARD RELIGIOUS MINORITIES — The Iraqi Government practices little actual religious intolerance and has, on the whole, tried to be correct in its dealings with religious minorities. Discrimination is seldom on the grounds of doctrine, but arises, rather, from economic and political causes. It also reflects to some extent resentment at minority separatist tendencies. Governmental discrimination generally involves the favoring of Sunni Arabs, and it is almost always unostentatious.

Shiah, for the sake of appearances, are allowed to hold high office in government; but discrimination against non-Muslim groups is relatively more pronounced. They are the last to be chosen for the much-desired government appointments, partly

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because the supply of young Muslims now receiving sufficient education to qualify for government service somewhat exceeds the demand. Non-Muslim army officers have fewer advantages than their Muslim comrades. Pressure of various kinds and degrees is brought to bear by government departments on non-Muslim businessmen.

Although all Iraqi nationals are in theory equal before the law, local Muslim officials are not always objective. Changing one's faith, a legal process, is simple for one who wishes to become a Muslim; if a Muslim wishes to become a Christian, on the other hand, he sometimes finds it extremely difficult to have the necessary legal papers completed. Laws and administrative acts particularly offensive to the powerful Shiah population of An Najaf and Karbalā are not as rigidly enforced there as in other parts of Iraq.

The Jews of Iraq have shared in the general governmental discrimination against non-Muslims, but have further been treated with exceptional strictness in the matter of income tax assessments, and have been considered last for admission to overcrowded government schools of all grade levels. In 1945, however, despite a deterioration of their position over the previous 15 years, Jewish merchants still controlled between 75 and 85 percent of Baghdad commercial enterprises. In the same year the number of Jews in the government, service or higher schools was proportionately higher than that of Muslims.

Since the U.N. resolution calling for the partition of Palestine, and the Arab-Jewish struggle which followed it, intercommunal tension between Muslim and Jew has increased, and governmental discrimination against Jews has become more pronounced.

While the government has not instituted any discriminatory economic and social laws against Jews on racial or religious grounds, it has declared Zionism, along with communism, treasonable. Widespread arrests and internments of Zionists have taken place, and severe prison sentences have been imposed; similarly, many Jews have been dismissed from government service for security reasons. However, arrests, particularly after the first wave of excitement had passed, were directed against small allegedly active pro-Zionist groups, and there was no general persecution. Except in the case of Shafiq 'Adas (Ades), the millionaire Iraqi Jewish importer executed for high treason, the property of no Jew has been expropriated. Many Jews still hold government jobs. Jewish community schools and synagogues are open and functioning. Jewish business firms continue to function, and, as far as can be ascertained, receive a fair share of the scarce foreign exchange allocations.

Because of the very prominent role played by Jews in financial and business circles in Iraq, the

government did not in the past favor a large-scale exodus. Emigration by Jews was illegal until March 1950, but according to a law passed in that month they could leave Iraq on condition that they take with them only 50 Iraqi dinars and irrevocably forfeit their Iraqi citizenship. By 1 August 1950, approximately 6,000 Jews had left Iraq by airlift for Israel and some 20,000 more had completed the denationalization process in preparation for emigration.

b. RELIGIOUS GROUPS AND NATIONAL POLICIES—
Religious differences in Iraq not uncommonly take a form of political antagonism destructive to national unity. There are deep and long-standing antipathies, often racial or social, between all religious groups. Much of the anti-foreignism of the nationalist spills over to include groups which have religious or ethnic affinities with foreign powers which may or may not have supported them in the past. Fears of Muslim reprisals have in turn evoked a "minority" mentality among some of these non-Muslim groups, who are inclined to read a deliberate policy of persecution and discrimination into decisions of the government and its administrative officers.

Because of the hold which Islam, particularly Shiah Islam, still has on its adherents, Muslim religious leaders are able to control to some extent the political tendencies and ideological attitudes of their followers. The influence of the clergy on the Shiah tribes in southern Iraq, while waning, is still so strong that almost no tribal revolt or disturbance is possible against the will of the religious leaders. If a valid religious ground can be found the Shiah tribes, particularly during the emotional intensity of the 'Ashūrā' festival, can be stirred up on almost any issue. Religious leaders, called upon occasionally by the government to support certain policies, retain enough independence to withhold support if they so wish.

Despite a greater degree of cooperation with the government in recent years, the Shiah remain one of the most disaffected religious groups in Iraq. Their antagonism toward the Sunnis, partly a dislike of the ruled for their rulers, is growing less as the Shiah begin to take more of a share in the administration (see CHAPTER V, SECTION 53). Their dissatisfaction has in the past made them susceptible to overtures from subversive groups; in 1946, however, Shiah leaders agreed to use their influence to assist the government in combating pro-Soviet agitation.

Indigenous Christians and Jews hold some government positions, are represented in Parliament, and have some share in national political life, but other non-Muslims, more recently arrived in the country, generally remain aloof from partisan politics in Iraq.

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Many religious groups feel no loyalty to Iraq whatsoever. Some, such as the Nestorian Assyrians and the Yezidis, are known to have supported actively or passively the British position in Iraq and to have been opposed to Iraq's nationalist aspirations. Many still desire complete autonomy, and the restlessness of such groups has brought them into direct conflict with the authorities. Because of their lack of sentimental ties with Iraq and the insecurity of their position in the country, certain minority communities have been the focal points of communist attempts to win support.

C. INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF ISLAM AND NON-MUSLIM GROUPS — As a predominantly Muslim state, Iraq has close ties with its Muslim neighbors. Because of religious affinities, Shiah sympathies are particularly strong with Iran, while Sunnis feel drawn to the Arab states west of Iraq and to Pakistan. However, the Islamic world still possesses a common bond of sentiment, interests, and ideas which transcends the difference between Shiah and Sunni. The ideal of Islamic brotherhood originated by the Prophet Muhammad has been intensified in the last half century, both as a reaction to European intervention and economic pressure and as a result of active pan-Islamic propaganda carried on by Turkey between 1878 and 1918. The Muslim Brethren and the Young Muslim Men's Association, both founded in Cairo, established branches in other Near Eastern countries, including Iraq, with the idea of reviving the supra-national Islamic state. In September 1949 the Iraqi Prime Minister consented to the establishment of an Iraqi branch of the Islamic Brotherhood Society (*Jam'iyat al-Ukhuwah al-Islamiyah*), whose headquarters are in Pakistan. The society aims to strengthen the religious spirit among Muslims, to arouse a spirit of brotherhood among the Islamic peoples preparatory to the unification of Islam, and to combat Westernization.

Many Iraqi pan-Arab enthusiasts, mainly Sunni, associate their goal of a larger Arab state or federation with pan-Islamism. On the other hand, Shiah, who would be a religious minority in an enlarged Sunni Arab state, are generally opposed to pan-Arabism. At the same time the mujtahids of Iraq are necessarily internationally minded because of the position of An Najaf and Karbalā in the Shiah world. While physically under the control of the Iraqi state and theoretically subject to Iraqi law, the mujtahids must, before issuing fatwas, consider the effect on their whole religious realm.

Many of Iraq's non-Muslim communities have traditionally close connections with foreign nations or groups. For example, most of the native Christian communities, although they have a considerable amount of local religious autonomy,

recognize a higher ecclesiastical authority outside Iraq. The Greek Orthodox have in recent years been the recipients of Soviet friendly advances, accompanied by the endeavors of the Soviet-dominated Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow to expand its influence in the Near East. Gregorian Armenians, tied emotionally by their religion to Soviet Armenia, the residence of their Catholicos, have been officially encouraged by the U.S.S.R. to return to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. The active interest shown in 1947 in repatriation efforts has abated as unfavorable reports on conditions in Soviet Armenia have reached Iraq.

The Assyrian community generally has little loyalty to Iraq, and is willing to appeal to or assist any outside power which might help it to attain its desire either for autonomy, independence, or mass migration to a Christian country. Assyrian propaganda complaining of persecutions, and petitions for help to the League of Nations, the United Nations, and the governments of various foreign powers, have damaged Iraq's reputation.

Until 1945 the Assyrians considered the United Kingdom as their protector and in their debt for services rendered against the Iraqi army in 1914 and 1941. However, as Great Britain's power waned and it became obvious that it would not support effectively the Assyrian national aspirations, Assyrians have tended to look elsewhere, including the U.S.S.R., for aid.

The Jews of Iraq as a whole have had in the past no international political sympathies or loyalties. However, as Iraqi antiforeign and anti-Zionist sentiment has made itself felt, the Iraqi Jewish community has been increasingly torn between a desire to preserve its position in Iraq and a natural sympathy for its coreligionists in Palestine, and later Israel.

The more solidly entrenched of the Iraqi Jews, including the majority of religious and business leaders as well as small tradesmen and artisans, have viewed the Zionist issue with alarm, and members of this group have publicly expressed their loyalty to Iraq. On the other hand, three-fourths of the Iraqi Jews, including most of the Westernized and younger elements, are believed to be favorably disposed toward emigration to Israel. Much of their enthusiasm, however, reflects less of an ideological interest in Zionism than a general dissatisfaction with conditions in Iraq and a desire to see a Jewish refuge established in their neighborhood. Only a minority of Iraqi Jews has participated actively in Zionist efforts.

Dissatisfaction and a growing fear have made the Jewish community a prey to communist propaganda. For the extent to which communism has invaded the Jewish community, see CHAPTER V, SECTION 57.

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C. Education

1. General

Iraqi education is provided primarily by government schools planned along Western lines, extending from kindergarten through college. As yet, Iraq has no university, and students must go outside the country to obtain university training. Coeducation is allowed, though not encouraged, in all but the secondary and vocational schools. Nongovernment schools supplement government education.

Despite a steady increase in appropriations since 1920, Iraqi school facilities are completely inadequate, and only 20 percent of Iraq's children of primary-school age are in schools. The majority of Iraq's schools are still located in the large cities of central and southern Iraq. Village and tribal school facilities are generally very poor, and in some areas are nonexistent. While there has been a compulsory attendance law for primary school since 1920, Iraq has a long and difficult road to travel before it will be in a position effectively to enforce it.

a. DEGREE OF LITERACY — While there are no exact figures to indicate the literacy rate in Iraq, it has been estimated that a maximum of 8 percent of the population is literate. Of this small percentage the vast majority are urban males, many of whom attended only a mulla school where they learned to read the Koran, or at best have had a few years of primary schooling. Even today only 10 percent of primary school children are in the highest or sixth grade. Most of the peasants must keep their children at home to help in the battle against poverty and hunger, and, with the exception of a few sheikhs, practically all adult Bedouin are illiterate. There are now a few public schools among the tribes, but the pupils attending them are as a rule limited to the children of the sheikh and his entourage. Nevertheless, the demand for and interest in education in Iraq is growing.

b. GOVERNMENT CONTROL — In general, education in Iraq is governed by provisions of the Public Education Law of 1940. However, the Civil Service Law of 1939, which applies to all government employees, governs the appointment, promotion, and dismissal of teachers. The Local Languages Law of 1931 defines the areas in northern Iraq where languages in addition to Arabic are to be considered official. The public schools follow this same pattern and use Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish, or Syriac as the language of instruction in conformity to local usage.

The Ministry of Education dates from 1922. For information as to the organization of this Ministry see CHAPTER V, SECTION 52, B. Although the executive staff has been entirely Iraqi since its in-

ception, a British educational adviser was appointed annually by the British until 1930 and again from 1943 to 1946. The Ministry is responsible for the establishment, financial support, and closing of public schools, the appointment, promotion, and dismissal of teachers, the determination of curricula and textbooks, and the formulation and grading of public examinations which are held at the end of the sixth grade of primary school and of the third and fifth years of secondary school.

Outside of the Ministry proper Iraqi educators have a modicum of independence. All routine school equipment in public primary and secondary schools (books, furniture, stationery, etc.) is supplied by the Ministry and no principal is allowed to spend money on these items. Certain of the higher colleges, on the other hand, control their own expenditures, develop their own curricula, and conduct their own examinations, though all these items ultimately are subject to the approval of the Ministry.

In its control of religious instruction in government schools the Ministry adheres to an Iraqi law forbidding proselytism. Governmental attempts in the 1920's to take religious teaching out of public schools were not favorably received and, in fact, drove many students to the mulla, or Koranic schools. Although the government provides courses in the predominant religion in the local area in the primary and secondary schools at which attendance is compulsory for all students of the faith concerned, students of other faiths are excused, usually to be given instruction on school premises during that period by members of their own faith.

While the Iraqi Government is trying to eliminate denominational schools gradually, there are still some government Jewish and Christian schools on the primary level. These schools, previously administered by the communities, were given over to the government in accordance with a 1921 agreement with what was then the Department of Education. The communities continue to supply the buildings, while the government assumes all administrative responsibility.

Nongovernmental schools, except the purely religious, require a government permit, are subject to government inspection of their equipment, instructors, and curricula, and generally receive some government support. Although private and foreign schools are allowed to select their teachers and the language of instruction, Iraqi law stipulates that history, geography, social sciences, and the Arabic language must be taught in Arabic by teachers appointed by the government.

The present organization puts an overwhelming administrative burden on the badly understaffed Ministry of Education. Consequently, Ministry

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officials find little time to formulate carefully thought-out policies. In addition, frequent changes of both the Minister of Education and the Director General tend to interrupt educational programs before they are fully formulated or implemented.

The high degree of authority centered in the Ministry of Education has opened the way for biased and autocratic action. Teachers who do not follow the government line are subject to quick dismissal. The Minister of Education, a political appointee, is often involved in political struggles and controversies. Intrigue, corruption, school examination frauds, and individual favoritism to the children of important persons are not unknown in the Ministry.

c. CHARACTERISTICS OF IRAQI EDUCATION — Iraqi nationalistic policies are evident in the school system. Great stress is now put on the Arab aspect of the Iraqi heritage in order to strengthen the tradition of Iraq as a center of culture in bygone days. The 1943 revision of the government syllabuses for history and geography, for example, shifted the emphasis from a world approach to a local one.

The centralization of control in the Ministry of Education precludes diversification. No subordinate administrator or teacher in a primary or secondary school is free to introduce variations in subject or method to bring them into keeping with his environment. The student even in college is allowed merely to elect his future profession without being given the choice of courses he thinks would best serve him in that work.

Subjects offered in the primary and secondary schools, being mainly literary and nonpractical, lack direct bearing on the social and economic life of the people, particularly in rural and tribal areas. Because they are modelled on the European pattern for students who are much better prepared, they are too difficult for the average Iraqi student. There is a large percentage of student retardation and failure. The pupil, for example, must devote an inordinate amount of study to written literary Arabic, which greatly differs from the spoken language he acquires at home (see SECTION 42, Cultural characteristics). The education of many minority groups, on the other hand, is handicapped by the fact that the languages they speak are not developed in a written form.

Most Iraqi primary schooling today consists of learning the three R's and memorizing prescribed historical and geographical facts and figures. This learning by rote, which is the continuance of an ancient tradition, is further encouraged by the annual examinations which the student must pass

in order to qualify for advancement to the next grade, and the government comprehensive examinations for graduation and advancement to a higher school.

In its efforts to extend opportunity for education, the government has admitted many unqualified persons to the teaching ranks. Teachers and principals, who transfer with extraordinary frequency and who are not necessarily promoted on the basis of competence, show a consequent lack of personal interest in their work. Rural areas suffer most in this respect, since the poorest and the least influential teachers are assigned to the country schools.

Education has suffered further from student participation in strikes and demonstrations during the school year. In anticipation of student demonstrations, which are illegal, the government has at times closed schools for a period as long as two weeks.

Education in the Near East, by tradition, favors the male. In 1947 there were in Iraq 740 primary schools for boys, but only 169 primary schools for girls, who constituted one-fourth of the total primary-school enrollment. The first girls' secondary school was not opened until 1930, and in 1947 there were no secondary schools at the preparatory level for girls except in Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul liwā's. As would be expected, the prejudice against the education of girls is breaking down more slowly in the rural areas and in the Shiah religious centers than in the large cities.

Iraqi education, while theoretically democratic, actually further divides an already heterogeneous population. At the expense of badly-needed agriculturalists and technicians the public schools, reflecting the former need for government employees, are still concentrating on the production of white-collar workers. As a result there is a surplus of poorly-educated, stereotyped graduates who regard a government job as the goal of education and who are unwilling to do manual or skilled labor. Private-school graduates, on the other hand, fill most of the business and commercial jobs in Iraq. Education serves in no way to narrow the gulf between tribesman and city-dweller, for the rare tribal student who receives an urban education usually does not wish to return to his tribe, or does so as a discontented misfit.

d. ATTEMPTS AT IMPROVEMENT — FIGURE 43-1, shows the Iraqi public education system of 1946/47 as having grown to more than 10 times its 1920/21 size. Reflecting the effort of the Ministry of Education to increase literacy as rapidly as possible about 90 percent of the enrollment, schools, and

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FIGURE 43-1. NUMBER OF SCHOOLS, TEACHERS, AND PUPILS IN IRAQ, 1920-1947

YEAR AND TYPE OF SCHOOL	PRIMARY SCHOOLS			SECONDARY SCHOOLS			VOCATIONAL AND SPECIAL SCHOOLS			HIGHER INSTITUTIONS			TEACHERS COLLEGES		
	Schools	Teachers	Students	Schools	Teachers	Students	Schools	Teachers	Students	Schools	Teachers	Students	Schools	Teachers	Students
PUBLIC SCHOOLS:															
1920/21	88	486	8,001	3	34	110	1	...	80	1	...	65	1	...	91
1930/31	316	1,325	34,513	19	129	2,082	1	...	140	4	...	99	3	...	386
1940/41	735	3,525	90,794	56	472	13,969	4	58	464	4	37	907	4	86	2,119
1946/47	973	4,970	130,778	83	669	13,783	8	na	695	9	na	4,087	6	na	1,254
PRIVATE AND FOREIGN SCHOOLS:															
1946/47	90	657	21,854	68	505	6,641	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL:															
1946/47	1,063	5,627	152,632	151	1,174	20,424	8	na	695	9	na	4,087	6	na	1,254

NOTE Primary schools include kindergartens and junior schools; secondary schools include intermediate and preparatory schools; and teachers colleges prepare teachers for primary and rural schools.
na Data not available.

teachers in the public school system are in primary education.

Recognizing the need for improvement, the Ministry has, within the last ten years, sent various committees to neighboring states to study their educational systems, and an increasing number of students are being sent to study education in the United States. There has been a steady increase in funds allotted to education, and the budgetary provision of the Ministry of Education is now exceeded only by that of the army.

The acquisition of teachers was the first important step undertaken by the new Ministry in 1922. Special efforts were made to make the teacher's career attractive. Teachers are completely government-supported during the training period, and along with other advanced students they receive favored treatment in the performance of compulsory military service. In 1945, 389 of Iraq's 613 secondary school teachers had entered the service in the preceding five years. Parallel to the program of teacher training, Iraq imported teachers from Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt in such numbers that at one time foreign teachers outnumbered Iraqi teachers. Of the 613 teachers assigned to secondary schools in 1945, 125 still were non-Iraqi. Nevertheless the government, fearing the political influence of non-Iraqi teachers on students, prefers to hire Iraqis if they are even remotely qualified.

New buildings are being erected as fast as funds are available, but they by no means meet the requirements of a rapidly-expanding school population. Already-existing structures, even dwellings

often unsuited to modern school needs, are being rented to serve as schools.

With the exception of the Law College, where the government wishes to decrease excessive enrollments, and the College of Commerce and Economics, Iraqi government education is free. In addition, poor and deserving students are extensively subsidized at all levels. Government officials are becoming increasingly aware of the problems of village and tribal education. Scholarships for instruction at higher and better-equipped schools have been instituted especially for rural students. Schools have recently been opened in considerable numbers among the tribes, and there are even a few mobile schools traveling with the Bedouin. Rural teachers' colleges have been established, and experimental rural education, including instruction in agriculture, has been inaugurated. In Iraqi Kurdistan the translation of Arabic school books into Kurdish and the publication of original Kurdish texts are helping to ease the serious shortage of textbooks.

Evening primary and secondary schools for adults have been in existence since 1924 in the larger cities, but the number of prospective students is far in excess of the facilities available. The Society for the Education of Illiterates, which began as a vigorous nongovernmental movement in 1922, was taken over by the Ministry of Education in 1930 as a routine evening program in the towns and villages. In 1946/47 some 5,700 students of all ages were instructed in elementary hygiene, civics, and the rudiments of reading and writing.

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2. Government schools

The pattern of public education in Iraq, from kindergarten through college, is shown graphically in FIGURE 43-2. The number of government schools and the enrollment for 1946/47 are shown in FIGURE 43-3.

As illustrated in FIGURE 43-2, more than four-fifths of Iraq's registered school children are in public as opposed to private schools. Article 36 of the Public Education Law of 1940 prohibits Iraqi children from attending foreign-supported primary schools, and the number of nongovernment primary schools operated by Iraqi citizens is only 11 percent.

a. KINDERGARTENS AND JUNIOR SCHOOLS — The Ministry of Education, which tends to leave nursery schools and kindergartens to private initiative, offers courses of kindergarten level in only six schools. "Junior schools," which started originally as kindergartens but dropped their kindergarten courses, consist with but few exceptions of the first four grades of the public primary school. A few offer a five- or six-year course and differ from the usual primary school only in their encouragement of coeducation.

b. PRIMARY SCHOOLS — Government primary schools offer a generally uniform curriculum extending from four to six grades as shown in FIGURE 43-4. Boys and girls are usually taught separately but receive basically the same education. FIGURE

43-7A is a picture of a first-grade class in the Ma'mūniyah school, Baghdad.

c. SECONDARY SCHOOLS — While public secondary schools are theoretically open to all children who can pass the required public examination, only a very small percentage of those who might qualify are admitted. The limited number of schools, their concentration in the provincial capitals, their ban on coeducation, or the financial burden of additional schooling, act as insurmountable obstacles to the bulk of primary school graduates. Secondary school education has become highly desirable, and is consequently the object of competition, because of the lure of government positions and special consideration in regard to compulsory military service. Under the Military Service Law secondary-school and college students are exempt from service until graduation and then are given nine months of reserve officer training rather than the usual two years in the ranks. None of these advantages is extended to students of vocational schools.

The two stages of secondary education, intermediate and preparatory, correspond roughly to American junior and senior high school, and are usually separately housed. The public secondary school curriculum, almost identical for boys and girls, is rigidly fixed by the Ministry of Education; there are no electives and stress is laid upon the study of the Arabic and English languages. Most

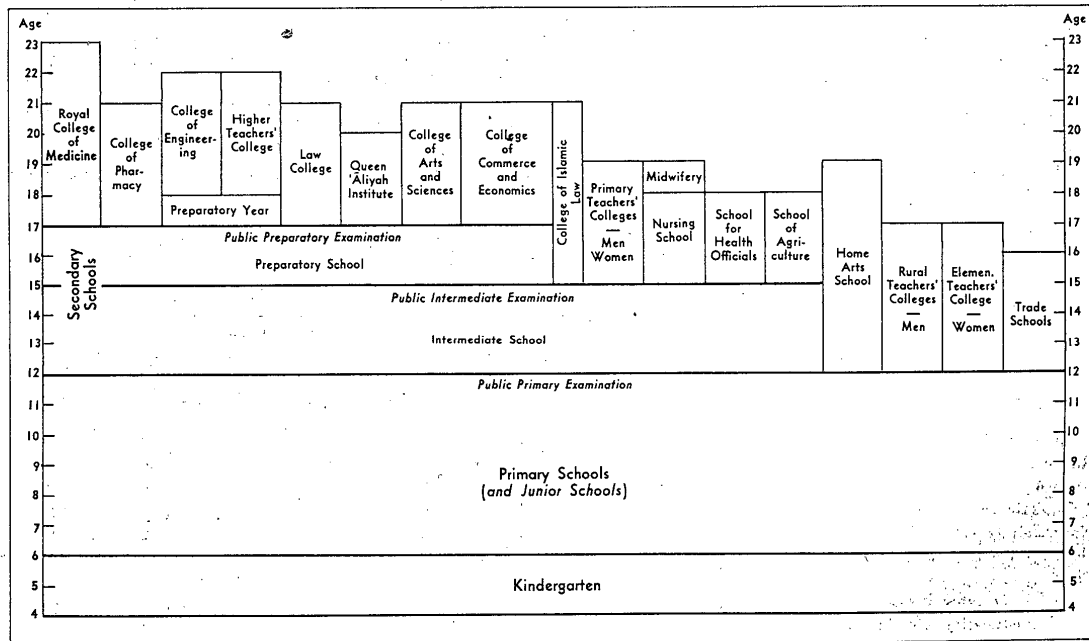


FIGURE 43-2. THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL SYSTEM, IRAQ, 1949/50

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FIGURE 43-3. IRAQI PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND ENROLLMENT, 1946/47*

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS			ENROLLMENT		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
KINDERGARTENS	...	...	6	265	365	630
JUNIOR SCHOOLS	...	...	58	4,625	4,937	9,562
PRIMARY SCHOOLS	740	169	909	86,546	25,108	111,654
SECONDARY SCHOOLS:						
Intermediate	35	22	57	8,019	2,242	10,261
Preparatory	20	6	26	2,081	840	2,921
TOTAL	795	197	1,056	101,536	33,492	135,028
VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS:						
Trade schools:						
Baghdad	1	0	1	104	0	104
Kirkūk	1	0	1	55	0	55
Mosul	1	0	1	48	0	48
Home Arts School, Baghdad	0	1	1	0	111	111
School of Agriculture, near Baghdad	1	0	1	146	0	146
Nursing School, Baghdad	0	1	1	0	86	86
School for Health Officials, Baghdad	1	0	1	54	0	54
Primary Teachers' College (men), Baghdad	1	0	1	225	0	225
Primary Teachers' College and Elementary Teachers' College (women), Baghdad	0	2	2	0	281	281
Rural Teachers' Colleges for Men:						
Rustamiyah	1	0	1	519	0	519
Khān Mahāwil	1	0	1	151	0	151
Ba'qūbā	1	0	1	78	0	78
Institute of Fine Arts, Baghdad	...	...	1	na	na	284
TOTAL	9	4	14	1,380	478	2,142
COLLEGES:						
Higher Teachers' College, Baghdad	...	...	1	na	na	400
Queen 'Aliyah Institute, Baghdad	0	1	1	0	163	163
Royal College of Medicine, Baghdad	...	...	1	na	na	402
College of Pharmacy, Baghdad	...	...	1	na	na	97
College of Law, Baghdad	...	...	1	na	na	2,312
College of Engineering, Baghdad	...	...	1	na	na	159
College of Commerce and Economics, Baghdad	...	...	1	na	na	270
College of Arts and Sciences, Baghdad	...	...	1	na	na	na
College of Islamic Law, Baghdad	1	0	1	na	0	na
TOTAL	0	0	0	na	na	114

na Data not available.

* Figures for Nursing School, School for Health Officials, Primary Teachers' College (men), and College of Engineering are for 1945/46; for Rural Teachers' Colleges for men are for 1944/45.

FIGURE 43-4. CURRICULUM OF THE PUBLIC PRIMARY SCHOOLS, IRAQ, 1945/46

SUBJECTS	PERIODS PER SIX-DAY WEEK					
	1st Grade	2nd Grade	3rd Grade	4th Grade	5th Grade	6th Grade
Religion and Koran	4	4	3	3	2	2
Reading and writing	11	12	10	10	6	6
English	0	0	0	0	6	6
Arithmetic and geometry	6	6	6	6	5	5
Nature study and hygiene	2	2	2	2	2	2
Geography and history	0	0	4	4	4	4
Civics	0	0	0	1	1	1
Drawing and manual arts	3	3	4	4	4	4
Physical education and singing	4	3	3	2	2	2
Total	30	30	32	32	32	32

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preparatory schools, however, offer a choice between a scientific and a literary program, the former being required for entrance in the Colleges of Medicine, Pharmacy, Engineering, and the scientific branch of the Higher Teachers' College.

d. PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS — Iraqi professional schools range from simple trade schools, requiring only the public primary school certificate for entrance, to the Colleges of Law and Medicine.

All professional education, the Law College and College of Commerce and Economics excepted, is at government expense. Tuition, board and lodging, books, medical care, and in some cases even clothing and travel between home and school, are provided. Despite these advantages enrollment in the secondary vocational schools is low. Iraq is not psychologically adjusted to the concept of formal schooling leading only to a manual skill which is obtainable as well through the deeply-rooted apprenticeship system.

The colleges in Iraq are: the Higher Teachers' College, Queen 'Aliyah Institute, the Royal College of Medicine, the College of Pharmacy, the Law College, the College of Commerce and Economics, the College of Engineering (civil engineering only) (FIGURE 43-7B), the College of Arts and Sciences, and the College of Islamic Law. The College of Arts and Sciences, founded in 1949, is being groomed by the Ministry as the nucleus around which a national Iraqi university is to be built.

The College of Islamic Law (*Kulliyat ash-Shari'ah*) was established in 1946 to prepare young Sunnis for religious posts. Its course is divided into a secondary level of two years duration and a higher course of four years. The administration and expenditure of the college is subject to the authority of the Directorate General of Waqfs under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. Graduates of this college are preferred to others in appointment to Waqf Directorate posts, and for posts in Islamic law courts. They may also be appointed to teach religion and Arabic in government schools.

e. EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS — Educational missions, consisting of students sent abroad at government expense, were until recently directed mainly to Lebanon because of the popularity of the American University of Beirut. Increasing numbers, however, are now coming to the United States for training in the technical fields. In 1947/48, 90 new students were assigned to the United States, 70 to Lebanon, 50 each to Egypt and England, and 10 to France. Of 1,000 students studying abroad in 1949, 499 in the United States alone—650 were government-supported.

Students are selected for study abroad on a competitive basis, with no apparent cognizance taken of their need for government aid. The wealthier

students, having superior educational backgrounds, and a greater amount of influential backing, comprise a large percentage of those chosen for this program.

3. Non-government schools

Outside of the government system, Iraqi children are educated in Islamic religious schools, in the Bible schools of the Christian and Jewish communities, and in private schools, owned and operated by Iraqi citizens or by foreign individuals and groups.

a. ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS — In many of the peasant communities in Iraq, these indigenous schools, often called Koran or mulla schools, offer the only education obtainable. Some even persist in large towns for children whose parents feel that public schools are over-secularized. The Koran schools, however, cannot compete with the public schools, and their virtual disappearance seems assured. It is probable that the enrollment of 5,000 estimated for 1931 is substantially lower today. The traditional location of the Koran school is the mosque, and the instructor is the mulla, who roughly corresponds to the parish priest. The curriculum consists of approximately three years of reading and writing, with the Koran as the invariable textbook, and elementary arithmetic.

On a higher level is theological school or *madrasah*, of the Shiah holy cities, whose position resembles that of al-Azhar at Cairo in the Sunni world. Students are drawn to Iraq from all sections of the Shiah world to study under renowned religious savants (*mujtahids*). The better-organized of these schools provide quarters where students eat, sleep, and study in Spartan-like simplicity. The Koran and the Traditions are the basis of all study. No enrollment figures are available for these schools.

b. BIBLE SCHOOLS — A number of Christian villages east of Mosul and a few Jewish communities maintain ungraded schools of much the same type as the Muslim mulla schools. Each exists in connection with a church or synagogue and teaches reading, writing, arithmetic, and religious practice with the Old or the New Testament as the chief textbook. In Jewish schools Hebrew is taught; in Christian schools, usually Arabic or Syriac. Of Jewish Torah schools, the Bēt ha-Midrāsh in Baghdad is the most important and is still attended by hundreds of pupils.

c. IRAQI PRIVATE SCHOOLS — Most private schools are located in the larger cities. A few private kindergartens have been established in Baghdad. Private primary schools are more numerous but in 1946 numbered only 61 as against the government's 967. Private secondary schools in the same year also numbered 61 while there were only 83 government-administered schools. Among the

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evening secondary schools more are privately-run than are government-controlled.

Private schools in Iraq are in three categories: 1) private ventures, conducted primarily for profit; 2) schools maintained by associations; and 3) sectarian schools.

Iraqi associations which maintain schools are usually composed of persons wishing to enlarge upon the educational provisions made by the government. The *Tafayyud* (Mutual Benefit) Society, for example, maintains kindergartens, primary schools, and a day and evening secondary school in Baghdad, as well as six intermediate schools in the towns of central Iraq.

Sectarian schools are best illustrated by those maintained in Baghdad, Mosul, and Basra by the Jewish community. In 1945 the Jewish communities maintained kindergarten, primary, and secondary schools accommodating almost all Jewish children in Iraq and thus shouldered almost one-tenth of the total educational effort of the country. In addition to free and tuition schools of all levels the Jewish communities have workshops for the very poor which provide training in sewing and crafts and elementary work in reading, mathematics, and religious literature.

Some smaller religious groups such as the Syrian Orthodox, Syrian Catholics, Roman Catholics, Chaldeans, and Armenians also maintain schools of their own, though in contrast to the Jews most of their children now attend government schools.

Private schools follow the government curricula closely so that pupils will not be handicapped in the public examinations. In general, private primary students, most of whom come from better and more progressive homes in the larger cities, compare favorably with those of public schools. On the other hand, a large number of pupils attending private secondary schools are those who have failed in public schools and thus do not reach the attainment level of public secondary school students. The Jewish secondary schools whose students, having studied both English and French language and literature, are prepared to take examinations for French certificates, are an exception.

d. FOREIGN-SPONSORED SCHOOLS — With the exception of five primary schools for Iranian boys in Baghdad, Basra, Karbalā and An Najaf, and the English junior school for the children of foreign employees of the Iraq Petroleum Company, there are no schools classified as foreign-sponsored below the intermediate level in Iraq.

Above the primary level, there is one intermediate Iranian school and four other foreign-sponsored schools, three of which are controlled and financed by American agencies, and one by the Iraq Petroleum Company. The American School for Boys in Basra, founded by the Dutch Reform Mission in

1911, teaches only at the intermediate level. Its 1948/49 enrollment was 260, mostly poor boys from the surrounding area. The American School for Girls in Baghdad, founded in 1925 by the United Mission in Mesopotamia, offers a complete secondary course. Its student body numbered 225 in 1948/49. Both of these schools also have primary sections, which are classified as private rather than foreign-sponsored schools and have Iraqi principals. The largest of the American schools is the Baghdad College for Boys, founded in 1932 by American Jesuits and offering a five-year secondary course. Of 490 students in 1948/49, 75 percent were Christian Iraqis. The American schools generally follow the public school curriculum but emphasize the study of English and, in fact, teach some subjects in the preparatory sections in that language. All three American schools are highly regarded by both Iraqi officialdom and the public. Tuition is charged according to ability to pay.

The Iraq Petroleum Company has maintained a Training Centre whose function it is to train promising young Iraqis in trades relating to the petroleum industry. Approximately 40 students a year have been offered a two-year course, including both theoretical and practical work.

While not registered as schools, institutes established by the British Council (an informational organization) in Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, and Kirkūk, offer specialized training to a chosen few. Young men and women are prepared in the institutes for proficiency examinations in English as well as for matriculation examinations for British universities. The Council has also established a model kindergarten in Baghdad which is attended largely by children of English-speaking parents.

D. Public information

The high illiteracy rate (over 90 percent) in Iraq, as well as the scattered character of the population, circumscribes the effectiveness of informational media. Vehicles such as the press, radio, and films directly reach only the upper fringes of the population, mostly located in the larger cities. Wide secondary circulation of news items, however, is assured by the never-ending gossip of coffee houses (FIGURE 43-7C) and bazaars, where groups of middle and lower-income Iraqis pass their leisure hours. The uneducated rural masses, generally indifferent to major issues, depend mainly on oral transmission, leading to the rapid and uncontrolled spread of rumors, for their information. Among the tribes, views are exchanged and fragments of news disseminated in the *majlis* or council, the desert equivalent of the coffee house.

Because domestic sources of information are often inadequate, foreign material, mainly British, has wide circulation in Iraq, either directly or by secondary use in the domestic press or radio.

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1. Domestic sources

All primary sources of domestic information are government-controlled (see CHAPTER V, SECTIONS 51 and 58), and the bulk of the information reaching the people is slanted in accordance with government wishes.

a. PRESS

(1) *Newspapers* — There are now about 30 political daily newspapers of four to six pages each in Iraq, with a total circulation of about 40,000. The more important newspapers are listed in FIGURE 43-5. With the exception of the English-language *Iraq Times*, all are in Arabic.

The most influential newspapers are published in Baghdad and distributed from that center. Mosul, Basra, and Kirkuk dailies and the numerous weekly and bi-weekly papers published throughout Iraq are of secondary importance.

The character of the Iraqi press is difficult to follow, for the turnover is high. Suspension or abolition by the government is frequent. A paper suppressed one day may reappear the next under a different masthead with the editors and backers, many of whom obtain licenses for several newspapers (see CHAPTER V, SECTION 51, D), remaining the same. A few well-organized and strongly-backed papers, such as *Al-Akhabār*, *Al-'Ahd*, *Liwā al-Istiqlāl*, and *Az-Zamān*, have appeared continuously over a period of some years.

Newspapers in Iraq are mostly owned and published by private individuals. Anyone with a little money can be a journalist or newspaper publisher, and journalistic ability is unimportant. Many young Iraqis, however, study journalism in neighboring lands with a view to establishing a newspaper of their own.

Because papers are published primarily as organs of groups rather than as commercial news ventures, the Iraq press is single-mindedly keyed to politics. Since politics in Iraq are dominated by party leaders rather than by political parties, the average newspaper will usually be the personal mouthpiece of a particular politician. As a result, lead stories generally include a good deal of editorializing, with a mingling of factual matter, opinion, speculation, and argument. An exception is the *Iraq Times*, owned by the Strand Nominees Ltd. of London, edited by Britons and morally dominated by the British Embassy.

Iraq's newspapers, operating on meager funds, cannot afford to purchase foreign news services, and none have their own foreign correspondents. They are dependent for the most part on information in daily press bulletins distributed gratis by the Directorate General of Propaganda or on material from the British-controlled radio (*ash-Sharq al-Adna*) in Cyprus. The bulletins include despatches from Reuters, the British-controlled Arab

News Agency (ANA) which operates from Cairo, and the United Press, as well as news originating with the Iraqi Government. Reuters, whose coverage is comprehensive and in general conforms closely to official British policy, is used far more widely than any other news agency. UP despatches receive only nominal placement.

Disregarding copyright laws, the Iraqi press reprints a great many articles from Egyptian and Syrian newspapers, and many of the more important papers are almost daily users of feature material from the Paris edition of the New York *Herald-Tribune*. Editors also borrow from any magazines or clippings they can get, and print information which they have gathered on their own from both voice and Morse radio transmissions.

Iraqi newspapers supplement these sources with feature material from foreign legations and information services. All papers are serviced by the British Embassy Public Relations Sections and the United States Information and Education Service (USIE).

Circulation of Iraqi newspapers is invariably small, usually between 1,500 and 4,000. Copies pass from hand to hand, however, and reach an audience four or five times greater than suggested by the number of copies printed. They are also read aloud by the more literate in coffee houses and in other idle social groups so characteristic of Iraqi urban and village life.

While the reading public discounts much of the contents of its newspapers as politically inspired, the press remains an effective means of crystallizing in the public mind the opinions of the several influential groups in Iraq. Because only the small educated class is articulate, however, newspapers fail to provide an accurate index of general Iraqi thought and feeling. They do not contribute their share to the enlightenment of the public, and they serve often as an inflammatory and disruptive influence.

(2) *Magazines* — Iraqi weeklies and monthlies have never been successful. Because of poor content and management, and inadequate funds, they tend to disappear almost as soon as they come into being; with the exception of a very few they have always been second or third rate. Among the comparatively popular local magazines and periodicals are the following: *Qarandal*, a political weekly; *Al-Umm wat-Tifl* (Mother and Child), a medical monthly emphasizing child care; and *Al-Mu'allim al-Jadid* (The New Teacher), an educational literary magazine for teachers published bi-monthly by the Ministry of Education.

(3) *Books and libraries* — Until very recently Iraq imported almost all of its books, and it must still import all of its paper. Considerable quantities of Arabic books are still imported from Egypt and some from Lebanon and Syria, but

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FIGURE 43-5. PRINCIPAL IRAQI NEWSPAPERS,* APRIL 1950

NAME, PLACE, AND TIME OF PUBLICATION	ESTIMATED CIRCULATION	KEY PERSONNEL	COMMENTS
DAILY:			
AL-'AHD (The Covenant) Baghdad	1,000	Owner and editor: Khalil Kannah	Mouthpiece of Nuri as-Sa'id. Friendly to British and U.S.; anti-Soviet.
AL-AKHBAR (The News) Baghdad	2,000	Owner and editor: Jibrān Malkūn	Pro-British; reported directed by British Embassy. Conservative, moderate. Good local and foreign news; read by business men.
AL-ALAM AL-'ARABI (The Arab World) Baghdad	1,000	Lutfi Bakr Sidqi	Independent; pro-communist, pro-Russian. Most extreme left of Iraqi press. Second rate.
AL-HĀTIF (The Caller) Baghdad	1,000	Owner and editor: Ja'far al-Khalili	Neutral; normally cautious, influential among the Shiah.
AL-HAWĀDITH (Events) Baghdad	2,000	Owner and editor: 'Ādil 'Awni 'Abdallāh	Pro-Nuri; pro-British; friendly to U.S.; anti-Soviet. Opportunistic; clarion of old-guard politicians.
AL-ITTIHAD AD-DUSTURI (Constitutional Union) Baghdad	n a	Editor: 'Abd al-Majid 'Abbās	Mouthpiece of Nuri as-Sa'id's Constitutional Union Party. Friendly to British and U.S.; anti-Soviet.
AL-UMMAH (The Nation) Baghdad	1,500	Owner and editor: Rafiq Sayyid 'Isa	Mouthpiece of Sālih Jabr. Pro-British; friendly to U.S.; anti-Soviet. Leading Shiah daily.
AL-YAQZAH (The Awakening) Baghdad	2,500	Owner and editor: Salmān as-Safwāni	Organ for Independence Party. Nationalistic, noisy; anti-U.S. because of Palestine; anti-British and anti-Soviet.
AN-NAHĀR (The Day) Baghdad	1,500	Owner and editor: 'Abdallāh Hasan	Friendly to British; friendly to U.S.; anti-Soviet. Islamic in tone; opportunistic.
AN-NAHDĀH (The Renaissance) Baghdad	2,000	Owner and editor: 'Abd al-Malik al Badri	Supports Independence Party; variable toward British; friendly to U.S.; anti-Soviet. Opportunistic.
ASH-SHA'B (The People) Baghdad	3,000	Publisher and editor: Yahya Qāsim	Fairly independent; pro-British; friendly to U.S. and U.S.S.R. Shiah paper; friendly to ex-Premier Sālih Jabr.
AS-SIJILL (The Record) Baghdad	1,500	Owner and editor: Muḥammad Tāhā' al-Fayyād	Anti-British, anti-U.S., and anti-Soviet. Fanatically Islamic in tone; Sunni.
AZ-ZAMAN (The Times) Baghdad	4,000	Owner and editor: Tawfiq as-Sam'āni. Editorial writers: Tawfiq as-Suwaydi, 'Ali Mumtāz, 'Abd al-Wahhāb Mahmūd	Nonpartisan; pro-democracies; anti-Soviet. Informational, nonargumentative. One of most respected papers in Iraq.
IRAQ TIMES Baghdad	7,000	Owner: Times Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd. Managing editor and director: G. Reid Anderson. Managing director: Fred Oakley.	Strictly pro-British; friendly to U.S.; anti-Soviet. Strand Nominees, Ltd., have controlling interest. Little local news; read by foreign colony and educated Iraqis.
LIWA AL-ISTIQLĀL (The Banner of Independence) Baghdad	4,000	Editor: Fā'iq as-Sāmarrā'i. Editorial writer: Sādiq Shanshal	Independence Party; strongly nationalistic; anti-Nuri as-Sa'id; variable toward British and U.S.; anti-Soviet.
SADA AL-AHĀLI (Echo of the People)** Baghdad	n a	Editor: Kāmil al-Chēdirchi. Editorial writer: Muḥammad Hadid	Organ of National Democrats. Anti-British, anti-U.S.; friendly to Soviets.
ATH-THAGR (The Port) Basra	500	Editor: Shākir an-Ni'mah	Ultra conservative; pro-British, said to be British-supported. Small; only paper of consequence appearing in Basra.

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DSWA	NRC USMC

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FIGURE 43-5. (Continued)

NAME, PLACE, AND TIME OF PUBLICATION	ESTIMATED CIRCULATION	KEY PERSONNEL	COMMENTS
WEEKLY:			
AL-WAQT (Time) Baghdad	2,000	Owner and editor: Razzūq Shammās	Right wing, conservative. Anti-British; friendly to U.S.; anti-Soviet.
AN-NABA' (The News) Baghdad	1,000	Owner and editor: Abd al-Hādī al-Bukhārī	Pro-Sālih Jabr; pro-British, friendly to U.S.; anti-Soviet. Shiah paper.

* All newspapers published in Arabic language with exception of Iraq Times which is in English.

** Published as Sawt al-Ahālī until cancellation of license in August 1949. Reappeared under present title in September 1949.

Kurdish and Arabic books, especially educational texts, are now being printed in Iraq in increasing numbers.

Most of the few libraries in Iraq are connected with educational institutions and belong to the Ministry of Education. Books in libraries of the higher schools are mainly in Arabic and English, with the English books sometimes outnumbering the Arabic.

Iraq's only public libraries are in Baghdad, Mosul, and Basra and are small and poorly attended. A few smaller towns have very small private libraries opened by enterprising local citizens. The Iraqi National Library (connected with the Iraq Museum) is an exclusively archaeological collection.

b. RADIO.—Radio broadcasting in Iraq is a government monopoly operated by the Iraqi Broadcasting Station (IBS), an integral part of the Directorate General of Propaganda. The one large radio station is located in Baghdad. With only a half-kilowatt power it operates on one medium wave length of 391 meters and two short-wave frequencies in the 41-meter band. Its equipment is obsolete, and transmission to northern Iraq is poor. A new broadcasting station with a 20-kilowatt medium-wave and 16-kilowatt short-wave transmitter is now being constructed at Abu Gharaib, 12½ miles west of Baghdad. This station, expected to be fully operative by March 1951, is to provide direct high-speed radiotelegraph service to London, New York, Bombay, and Cairo and direct radiotelegraph services to all neighboring countries. There is to be also direct radiotelephone services, first to Arab countries and later to New York and London.

The number of radio sets in Iraq was estimated in January 1950 to be 45,000, about 20,000 of which are believed to be obsolescent prewar models. In Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul almost every middle- or upper-class home has a radio set and some have two. While there is no public square loudspeaker service, most urban coffee shops, as well as those in villages equipped with electricity, carry radios with noisy loud speakers as a means of attracting customers. Many small storeowners also have sets.

Only 10 percent of Iraqi radio sets are battery-operated, and outside the towns, where there is no electric power, radios are few. While many sheikhs own sets, large areas are often totally cut off from radio communication.

No radio components are manufactured in Iraq and sets are imported, mainly from Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States. All are able to tune in at least medium- and short-wave, and half receive long-wave as well. While the Baghdad area uses medium-wave to receive IBS, the rest of the country listens to IBS short-wave transmissions and usually must wait until evening for good reception.

IBS transmits programs in Arabic, Kurdish, and English. The Arabic program, with a total of eight broadcasting hours a day, covers the whole afternoon until 10 p.m. local time. It includes news bulletins four times daily, talks, and music. News items, provided by the Directorate General of Propaganda, come mainly from Reuters and the UP. Occasionally items supplied by USIE are included. Other sources are foreign broadcasts and newspapers.

The talks, presented in simple language, cover subjects as diverse as religion, health, science, the theater, and sports. Musical programs generally feature oriental music, either recorded or played by local orchestras sponsored by the station. Emphasis is also placed on Iraqi folksongs and Egyptian songs popularized by the films.

The Kurdish program is transmitted to the northern areas of Iraq for two hours every afternoon. It includes two news bulletins, Kurdish music, and talks. When the Kurdish program goes off the air the same transmitter carries a two-hour English program of Western music and talks on Iraq for foreign listeners. Although some of the music is provided by the British Council, USIE recordings of classical, light, and dance music form the nucleus of the Western musical broadcasts of IBS.

While foreign broadcasts are easily received in Iraq, IBS reaches a larger audience, particularly in and near Baghdad. Coffee-shop owners are required by law to tune in IBS exclusively, and grow-

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ing nationalism and a limited knowledge of foreign languages even among the educated leads to a preference for Arabic-language programs from Arabic-speaking countries.

c. MOTION PICTURES — Although 250 entertainment motion pictures are required yearly to supply the Iraqi market, the Baghdad Studio for Film and Cinema Company, Limited, which suspended operations indefinitely after the production of two films, is the only domestic producing company. Its first film 'Aliyah and 'Isām, was exhibited in Baghdad in March 1949, after one year of preparation and six months of filming. The studio has adequate facilities for good production, but its technique has thus far been poor. Its first film, which was not shown by exhibitors in other Arab countries, brought a substantial loss to the company. The Baghdad Studio owners now anticipate a new industry in the dubbing of foreign films with Arabic and Persian dialogues. No short subjects, newsreels, or educational films have yet been produced in Iraq.

Although there are still many communities of 1,000 or more population which do not receive any kind of entertainment films, the number of theaters in Iraq rose from 23 in 1941 to 82 in January 1950, 26 of which were in Baghdad. Total seating capacity is 66,877. Forty-one of the theaters are open-air and operate during the summer months only. All theaters are wired for sound and most are far more modern architecturally than the buildings around them. Only one thus far is air-conditioned, and much theater equipment, bought mainly from the United States and Great Britain, needs replacing.

Motion pictures, one of the cheapest forms of entertainment in Iraq—from 40 to 90 fils (U.S. \$.11 to \$.25) per seat—are generously attended by all classes of society. Women sit in somewhat secluded boxes at ordinary performances, and Friday matinees are set aside for women exclusively. Audiences usually prefer emotional drama to other types of films, but action and oriental-type films—with much singing and dancing—also appeal to the public.

2. Foreign sources

Foreign information not primarily propagandistic in purpose enters Iraq chiefly from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Great Britain, and the United States.

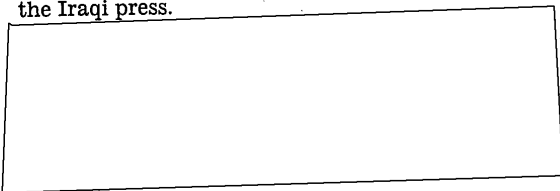
Propaganda and directed informational programs are conducted by foreign cultural societies and diplomatic missions. Apart from the United Kingdom and the United States, no foreign country has an effective overt informational program in Iraq, although a few legations, such as the Egyptian, distribute publications at irregular intervals. The United Kingdom's indirect influence in Iraqi politics gives it an advantage in the dis-

semination of propaganda, and the British informational program is the most active in Iraq. The principal British disseminators of information are the Public Relations Division of the British Embassy and the British Council. The activities of the Public Relations Office, the largest single branch of the Embassy, include the operation in many towns and villages of reading rooms equipped with propaganda reading material, radios, and posters. The Public Relations Office also distributes motion pictures, collects and distributes news and news photographs, and supervises the releases of Reuters and the Arab News Agency in Iraq. Provincial branches of the Public Relations Office operate on a smaller scale in Basra and Mosul.

The aim of the British Council is to spread a knowledge of British culture and institutions among Iraqis, encourage the learning of English, and strengthen British-Iraqi friendship. Its chief work is done at its Council Institutes in Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, and Kirkūk, where Iraqis are encouraged to attend courses and lectures. The Council shows films, and its institutes sponsor musical recitals, teas, art exhibits, chess clubs, and discussion groups for both men and women.

Information about the British way of life reaches a few upper-class Iraqis through British-Iraqi associations such as the social and sports Alwiyah Club in Baghdad. Membership in the Club is made up of one-third British and two-thirds other nationalities, chiefly Iraqi. Iraqis, however, are not voting members and control is entirely in the hands of the British. Since the Alwiyah is the top-ranking club in Baghdad where Iraqis and foreigners mix, its British members are able to exert considerable social influence on those Iraqis who wish to mingle in the European diplomatic and commercial community in Baghdad.

U.S. informational activity is centered in the USIE offices in Baghdad. USIE issues news bulletins in both Arabic and Kurdish, recordings and films, and operates a library and reading room. It also sponsors lectures and concerts on its premises and exhibits photographs on life in the United States. Photo displays are on occasion lent to higher educational institutions. The effect of the USIE informational program varies considerably. For a time United States support of the U.N. resolution to partition Palestine almost completely curtailed the use of USIE facilities by Iraqis. By November 1949, on the other hand, 92 percent of the news items released by USIE were published in the Iraqi press.



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DOJ	NSC	USAF
DSWA	NRC	USMC

Soviet propagandists, whose output is usually banned by the Iraqi Government, must resort almost entirely to covert activity (see CHAPTER V, SECTION 57). The Soviet Legation has neither a press attaché nor an information officer, and the Soviet Information Bureau has no office in Iraq. While the Soviet Legation distributes by mail informational material to newspapers and a limited number of government officials, the material is seldom used for republication. The U.S.S.R. has no agency for the sale of Soviet books, nor does it have a reading room or lending library locally. No Soviet agency shows Soviet films, nor are Soviet films distributed in Iraq.

a. PRESS — The inadequacy of the domestic press has resulted in a dependence among literate Iraqis upon imported newspapers, books and magazines, with emphasis upon Egyptian and British publications. Egyptian dailies such as *Al-Ahrām* and *Al-Misri*, and weeklies such as *Akhbār al-Yaum* and *Al-Musawwar*, are widely read in Iraq. For a coverage of literary or scientific subjects Iraqis turn to Egyptian and, secondarily, Lebanese magazines. *Al-Ithnayn*, the Egyptian equivalent of *Time*, enjoys a circulation in Iraq greater than all Iraqi magazines put together. Despite increasing domestic production of books in Arabic, the great majority of Arabic books in Iraq are imported from Egypt, or less commonly, from Lebanon and Syria.

Books in languages other than Arabic or Kurdish are, without exception, imported into Iraq, principally from the United Kingdom. The British Public Relations Office arranges for the importation and distribution of British books and magazines in Iraq. The British Council, which sponsors periodic exhibitions of British books, also encourages their sale. In 1948 an exhibition of this type was visited by nearly 1,000 people and resulted in the placing of 600 orders.

The devaluation of the Iraqi dinar in September 1949 and the consequent cut in dollar allocations resulted in a decrease in the numbers of books and magazines entering Iraq from the United States. While there is a limited number of Iraqi subscribers to American magazines and newspapers, U.S. publications of all types reach Iraqis chiefly through the USIE distribution program and the USIE library. USIE distributes copies of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, the *New York Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Life*, the *Rome Daily American*, the *Medical Newsletter*, the *Surgical Newsletter* and the *Reader's Digest* to key Iraqis and to educational and scientific institutions. Copies of the pilot Arabic-language version of *America*, an official U.S. information magazine, which first reached Bagh-

dad USIE in February 1950, were turned over by USIE to a local distributor for sale. They were well received by Iraqis.

In December 1949 the USIE library had a total of 3,231 registered borrowers, the majority of whom were students and young government officials. Visitors to the library and reading room have access to 3,038 catalogued books and a wide variety of American newspapers and magazines.

There are some 3,500 volumes of American origin, many of which were contributed gratis by American organizations, in school libraries. The Iraqi National Library is a collection of archaeological works contributed by the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad.

b. RADIO — Radio listening, in contrast to other overt informational media, cannot be controlled by the government, and foreign broadcasting is one of the most effective means of propagandizing in Iraq. Many Iraqis, especially in Kurdistan, listen to foreign broadcasts in preference to the weak Baghdad station, and under normal conditions broadcasts from the Middle East, Europe, parts of Africa, and the United States are readily received on Iraqi sets. Broadcasts, with the exception of the more inclusive British and American programs, are primarily concerned with news presentation.

Because the listening public overwhelmingly prefers foreign transmissions beamed in Arabic, or in the case of the Kurds, in Kurdish, many countries are either beginning or expanding their short-wave broadcasts in those languages. The most popular Arabic broadcasts beamed to Iraq are those from *ash-Sharq al-Adna*, a British-controlled station in Cyprus. The public likes both its music and its news bulletins. Second in popularity are Arabic broadcasts from Cairo.

Near Eastern states almost without exception use short wave for propaganda purposes. Iraqi listeners receive broadcasts from Tel Aviv in colloquial Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, and English; from Jordan-controlled Jerusalem in Arabic and English; and from Damascus in Arabic, French, English, and Turkish. Short-wave broadcasts can also be heard in Arabic from Beirut, in Turkish from Ankara, in Greek from Athens, and in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish from Teheran.

British broadcasts, including those from *ash-Sharq al-Adna* in Cyprus, are more frequently and more widely received than those of any other foreign country. BBC English programs, which can be heard in Iraq from 7:30 a.m. until 1:00 a.m., local time, come in well, and the BBC English broadcasting schedule is published daily in the *Iraq Times*. BBC also beams in Arabic directly to the Near East and opens each day with a reading from the Koran. BBC Arabic programs, however,

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DOJ	NSC	USAF
DSWA	NRC	USMC

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are characterized by Iraqis as propaganda, while BBC English news bulletins are highly trusted.

The United States entered the propaganda-radio field in the Near East on January 1, 1950, with the initial broadcast of the Arabic Voice of America (VOA). The VOA is beamed daily to the Arab world. Its thirty-minute program, heard in Baghdad from 7 to 7:30 p.m., consists of news, commentaries, features, and music. Its listening audience is increasing rapidly.

Soviet broadcasts are very influential in Iraq. While listening to the Soviet radio is forbidden, many Iraqis tune in Soviet transmissions because they are easily received even on small radios. Tales originating from Soviet broadcasts often reappear in bazaar gossip, particularly in Kurdistan, which is fertile soil for the spreading of anti-government rumors.

Soviet short wave, originating from many transmission centers, is beamed to the Near East in Arabic, Turkish, Armenian, Kurdish, and Persian. Broadcasts in Arabic, directed to the general population rather than to specific groups, are audible throughout Iraq from Moscow at convenient hours: daily from 5 to 5:30 p.m. and 6:30 to 7 p.m. and Fridays from 12:15 to 12:45 p.m. Programs in Arabic can also be heard morning and evening from Tiflis. Soviet commentators are fluent in Arabic, but use a classical and literary style which is often unintelligible to the rank and file.

Broadcasts in Armenian from Radio Moscow can be heard daily from 6:00 to 7:00 p.m. Soviet programs in Kurdish, directed to the Kurdish-speaking people of Baghdad as well as the Kurds in Kurdistan proper, are beamed daily from Azerbaijan from 5:30 to 5:45 p.m. Broadcasts in Persian transmitted by the U.S.S.R. from Moscow, Azerbaijan, and Tashkent, serve an audience in Kurdistan and in the four Shiah pilgrimage centers of Iraq, where there are blocs of Persian-speaking inhabitants.

While other European countries beam programs to the Near East, their broadcasts are not widely received in Iraq. Radio Paris broadcasts in French to the Near East each evening. Madrid transmits infrequent short-wave broadcasts in Arabic.

c. MOTION PICTURES

(1) *Entertainment films* — The majority of entertainment motion pictures shown in Iraq are produced in the United States, Egypt, and England. The following tabulation shows the origin of films imported in the first six months of 1949:

United States	45
Egypt	20
United Kingdom	10
Others	5
Total	80

Because new films are not readily available, many foreign films are kept for several years and brought out for a second or third run. Neither the age of a picture nor familiarity with it are deterrents to large attendance.

American films, nearly 60 percent of the total films shown in Iraq, are well received and, with the exception of Egyptian films are preferred to all others. While the English-speaking audience is very small, Iraqis are quick to catch the trend of the plot and to sense a situation without the aid of subtitles. Several American films have been given subtitles in Arabic and some in French as well. A more common method is to run a commentary in Arabic on a small screen at the side. The success of subtitles, however, is limited, both because of the high rate of illiteracy and because spectators miss many scenes when they turn their attention to captions.

American films are one of the chief means of acquainting the Iraqi with the "American way of life," and often of distorting his impression of the United States. Hollywood has popularized western dress styles as well as such items as refrigerators, radios, chairs and tables, and automobiles.

Egyptian films, both because they are in Arabic and because they are oriental in type, with eastern music and theme, compete with American films for popularity in Iraq. The limited number of pictures from Egypt play to capacity houses throughout long engagements.

Newsreels, considered by exhibitors as an unwarranted expenditure, have not been shown in Iraq since May 1949. The demand for short subjects, mainly imported from the United States and Great Britain, is limited.

(2) *Informational and educational films* —

Although informational films are of great value both as a propaganda and a good-will medium, only the United Kingdom and the United States have film programs of consequence in Iraq. Films are shown from time to time in the French Legation, but the French have no distribution policy and the audience for their informational films is relatively small.

British informational films, which tend to publicize Britain rather than to be of a straight informational type, are shown frequently throughout Iraq by the eight mobile vans belonging to the Public Relations Section of the British Embassy. An audience total of 50,000 was estimated for 1948. The British Council regularly exhibits films in Baghdad, Basra, Kirkūk, and Mosul, and distributes educational films to schools and organizations in Baghdad.

USIE shows films both on and off its premises, and makes films and projectors available to borrowers. Health films are shown throughout Bagh-

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Tab 4

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DSWA	NRC	USMC

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dad by USIE under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Social Affairs, and general informational films are shown in schools with the cooperation of the Ministry of Education. USIE films are also exhibited regularly to Iraqi army units. In November 1949 a mobile unit began operation and has

been enthusiastically received by Iraqi audiences. USIE films, which often have an Arabic or Kurdish sound track prepared on tape, are generally more popular, though less widely distributed, than those of the British. In May 1950, 78 programs of USIE films were given to a total audience of 23,874.

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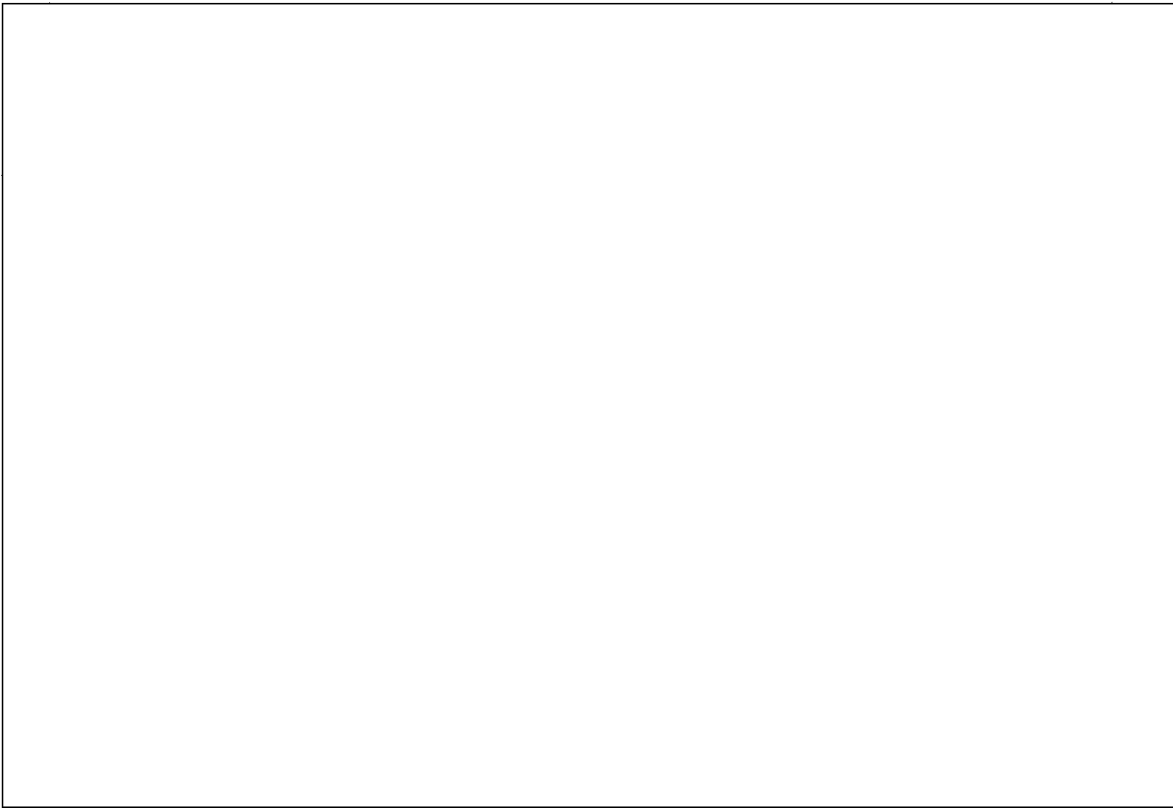
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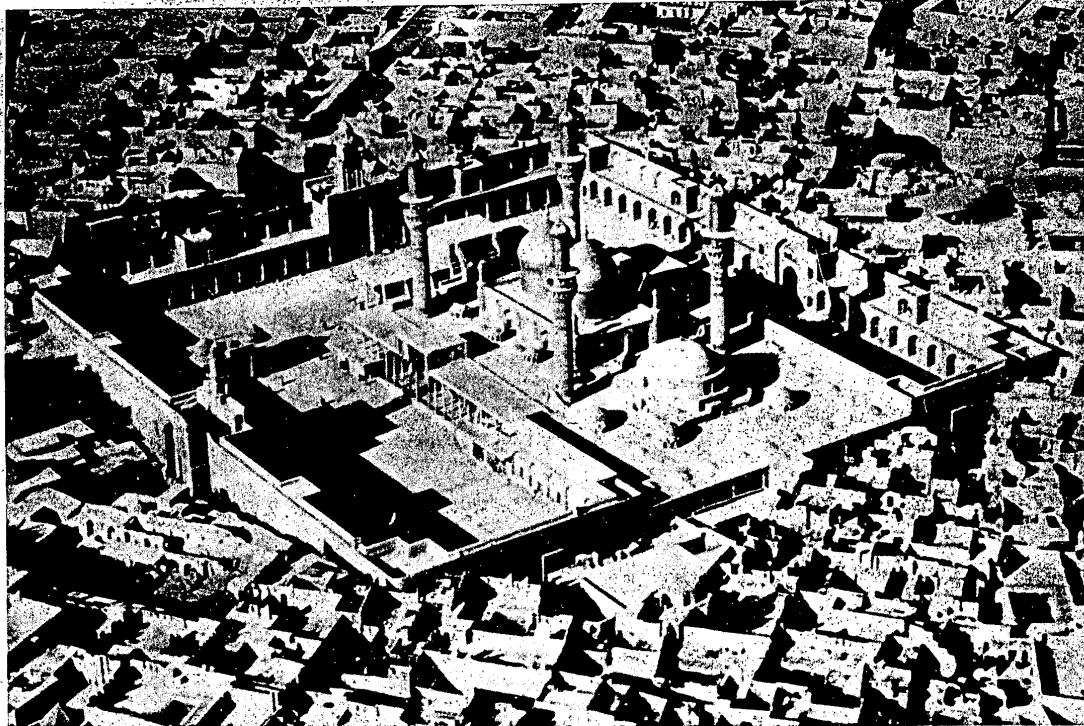


FIGURE 43-6A. GREAT MOSQUE OF AL KADHIMAIN, HOUSING TOMBS OF THE 7TH AND 9TH SHIAH IMAMS, 1930



FIGURE 43-6B. TOMB OF SHEIKH MA'RUF AL-KARKHI, BAGHDAD, WITH SURROUNDING CEMETERY, 1942



FIGURE 43-6C. MAR YUSUF, THE ASSYRIAN ARCHBISHOP OF HARIR, 1949

FIGURE 43-6C

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Army	FEMA	NSA
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FIGURE 43-7A. FIRST GRADE CLASS, MA'MUNIYAH PRIMARY SCHOOL, BAGHDAD, 1949

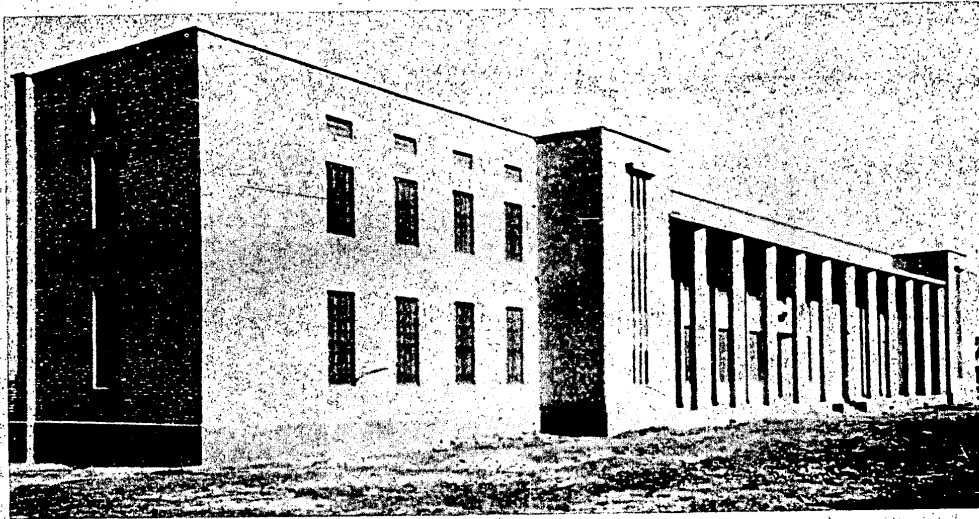


FIGURE 43-7B. COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING, BAGHDAD. PRIOR TO 1948

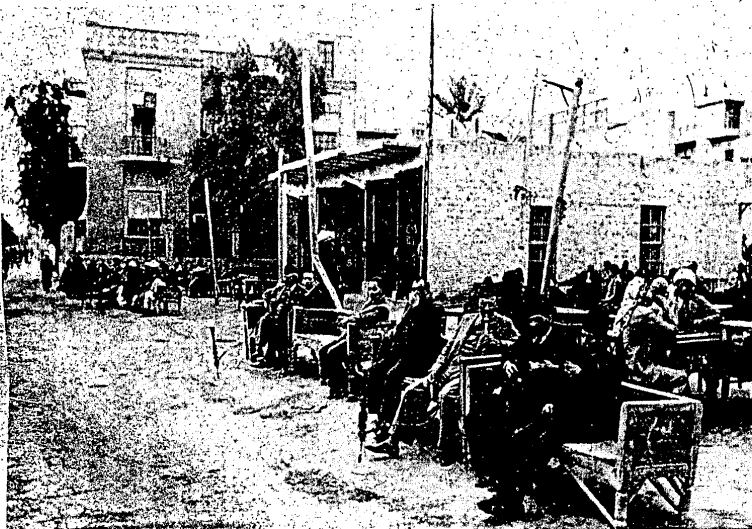


FIGURE 43-7C. A BAGHDAD COFFEE HOUSE, 1942

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