

# **PEDAGOGICAL PARADOX**

## **EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONALIZATION**

### **IN THE MANDATES FOR PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA (IRAQ)**

#### **Introduction:**

Education in the Middle East during the interwar period offers a window into international educational trends as well as the nuanced ways colonial educational policies and local endeavors shaped which pedagogical methods, tactics, subjects and standards became accepted on a global scale. Schooling in the Mandate for Palestine and in the Kingdom of Iraq during the late 1930s demonstrates two different ways in which educational policies become international. On the one hand, policies can be “de-nationalized” or separated from the nation which originated these methods. Those who experience this education believe it to be universally valid. On the other hand, countries developing their own systems of public education may pick and choose policies from several international sources and then combine them, creating a uniquely national system of education. In Palestine, a smaller country, and in a narrow, meritocratic institution, students internalized a British form of education as inherently valid, thereby de-nationalizing it. In Iraq, on the other hand, a variety of pedagogical methods were employed, creating a more international, hybrid form of schooling.

This article will concentrate on the Arab College of Jerusalem

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as well as the Higher Teachers Training College in Baghdad in the late 1930s and early 1940s. At this time the role of youth was a hotly contested issue. Governments and individuals promoted different varieties of national educational methods and policies. These teacher training institutions shared certain similarities in their political and social roles, as well as their placement within the systems of education. Although Iraq was technically no longer a Mandate, having been given nominal independence in 1932, it was still politically firmly under British control. This essay will examine the curricula and exams at the Arab College of Jerusalem and the Teachers Training College in Baghdad, as well as how teachers and students viewed these methods. These sources demonstrate how schooling in a colonial setting can become either firmly tied to the concept of a territorial nation, its history and its future or become an allegedly objective international yardstick used to measure scholastic achievement. By examining on a detailed level how specific

educational tactics are adopted, this paper adds new dimensions to discussions of global educational trends while avoiding simplistic, top down models focused on the “West.”

## **Background and Context:**

### **Internationalization and the Inter-war Period**

In his article on the links between the Mandate system and the “birth of international institutions,” Antony Anghie argues that international law came to be accepted as universal through the use of supposedly objective criteria of development, coupled with claims of altruism as well as superior force. Anghie’s point of departure is the lack of a debate over the theoretical implications of how “a single system of international law, with its explicitly European origins, became global and applicable to the societies of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific with their very different cultures, belief systems and political and economic institutions.”<sup>(1)</sup> He argues that first through colonial expansion, and then through the more liberal rhetoric of the League of Nations, international law came to be accepted as a valid category.

The acceptance of international law on a global scale has direct resonance with the acceptance of international educational methods. During the 19th and 20th centuries,

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forms of mass education began to spread throughout the world including physical changes such as sitting at desks rather than on the floor, exams, textbooks produced on a national or global scale, and most clearly a new level of state involvement in the lives of young subjects. International law, like international educational methods created a global framework of recognizable experiences. These experiences could be described using the same terms and could be imported from one area of the world to the other.

The liberal principles of the League of Nations Mandates corresponded broadly to those of the systems of education erected in both the Mandate for Mesopotamia and for Palestine: objective criteria to measure development, coupled with projects of self-realization. However, the forms these systems of education took were strikingly

different in terms of curriculum, exams and also in how they framed the nationality of education overall. While Anghie provides a relatively simple account of how international law became disseminated through a combination of carrot and stick, military might and promises, my research into the internationalization of educational norms shows striking dissimilarities based on local educational contexts. One key difference between international forms of education and international law is that education was not an imposition requiring force. Local populations, specifically parents, overwhelmingly sought education for their children, particularly forms of education which led to employment in higher professions. My essay complicates Anghie's account of the internationalization of Western norms by providing examples of varied, including illiberal, paths towards internationalism. By focusing on education,

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my paper examines two cases where local populations sought international standards rather than having these standards imposed upon them.

At the end of the First World War, the British and the French divided up the conquered Arab provinces of the defeated Ottoman Empire into Mandates. A Mandate was a temporary form of government meant to ease the transition from empire to nation.<sup>(2)</sup> Palestine and Iraq, both newly created conglomerations of smaller Ottoman territorial divisions, were class A mandates, requiring a finite but undefined period of foreign “advice and assistance.” Hence according to international law, Palestine and Mesopotamia(Iraq) after a period of British tutelage would emerge as modern, independent nation states whose subjects would conduct themselves as civilized citizens of not only their new nations but of the world. Education was therefore essential to the civilizing mission of the Mandates, and their project of internationalizing Western European political, intellectual and social norms.

During the early

days of their military control of the region, British officials, under local pressure, almost immediately sought to open or re-open schools, as a way of pacifying the population. However, the British had a fairly limited repertoire of educational policies, learned through previous experience in the metropole as well as in India and Egypt. These policies were geared towards maintaining the greatest degree of political stability in the most cost effective manner possible.<sup>(3)</sup> In both Palestine and Mesopotamia, as in previous colonies, the British intended to produce a limited quantity of clerks who spoke both English and Arabic. The remainder of the Mandates’ inhabitants would receive a token amount of schooling while religious minorities were given the freedom to choose their own schools. In general, the British hoped to prevent the spread of nationalism from an unemployed, educated elite class to the rest of the population, which could result in expensive uprisings.

The British were concerned not only with instructing Arabs but also with cultivating a sufficient number of home-grown Arab instructors. Some of the first institutions beyond

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elementary school to be opened were the Arab College of Jerusalem and the Higher Teacher's Training College in Baghdad. Students were given a brief period of schooling for free in exchange for their commitments to work as teachers in the "government" or public schools after graduation. These Iraqi and Palestinian Colleges were founded with precisely the same purpose: to produce teachers and to reshape the education systems of each mandate into more "modern" forms, "at once progressive and adapted to the needs of the country."<sup>(4)</sup>

However, almost immediately the broader educational and political trajectories of the two Mandates began to diverge. In Iraq, a larger and richer country, the Iraqis and the British quickly reopened its Ottoman-era law college as well as Technical schools in Baghdad, Mosul, Basra, and Kirkuk.<sup>(5)</sup> Iraq witnessed a series of uprisings. The British, in response, set up a figurehead monarchy and reframed the system of administration so as to give the appearance of Iraqi control. As the British cast around for which departments to relinquish to local jurisdiction, they settled on education. In 1923 the British, and the newly appointed monarch King Faisal, hired Sati al-Husari to be the Director of the Department of Education. Al-Husari was an Ottoman-Arab

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pedagogue who sought to impose a very uniform, politically driven curriculum on the entire country in order to promote a Pan-Arab identity.<sup>(6)</sup> Although increasingly marginalized (and disgruntled) British officials remained in an advisory capacity, the battle for control over schooling shifted. Now, competing local factions under watchful and increasingly discomfited British supervision, fought over how much and what type of schooling to implement.

In contrast, in the Mandate for Palestine, the upper echelons of the educational bureaucracy were generally occupied by British civil servants rather than local individuals. The Palestinian system of education was divided between non-government schools, which included those set up by the fledgling government of the Zionist Jewish community, and the government schools which served the majority Arab population. The Director of Education remained British throughout the Mandate period, thus imposing a more direct

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level of British control, justified as a way of precluding Arab or Jewish complaints.

### **The Institutes for Teacher Training: Curricula, Criteria and Examinations**

While the Arab College of Jerusalem resembled an English elite public school in curriculum and methods, the Iraqi Teachers Training College had a more international staff and curriculum due to the legacy of Ottoman era educational reforms, the influence of the Arab Director of Education and the influence of the military even on civilian institutions.

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an approximation to an English public school education as the British Director of Education, Jerome Farrell and the Arab principal Ahmad Sameh Khalidi as well as the teachers of the college could manage. During the 1920s the Teachers College was the site of teacher and administrator resignations, nationalist protests and eventually the supplanting of a utilitarian education for one of a more general, liberal nature. The first principal of the college resigned to protest the appointment of Herbert Samuel, an English Jew and Zionist, as high commissioner of Palestine.<sup>(7)</sup> His successor also resigned in the face of student and teacher protests in March of 1925.<sup>(8)</sup> Due to this agitation, the Colonial Office argued an Englishman would be preferable as principal of the College. However, Humphrey Bowman, then Director of Education and Farrell's predecessor as well as the High Commissioner of Palestine advocated the appointment of Ahmed Sameh al-Khalidi, a Palestinian Arab educator of distinguished family. Khalidi became the principal of the Teachers College

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in 1926 rather than an Englishman, “it having occurred to the Colonial Office that an Arab would be cheaper.”<sup>(9)</sup>

At first, the Jerusalem College gave students not only free room, board and tuition but also pocket money to sell them on a career as teachers in the government schools of the Mandate. In 1927, the school began to not only train teachers but to provide

a “liberal education for those wishing to go to universities...”<sup>(10)</sup> Only the best and the brightest Palestinian students attended the college; each class was composed of the top one or two students from the government schools of the Mandate. Therefore, by this time, in accordance with the philosophy of Ahmed Sameh Khalidi as well as that of the British, schooling would separate and define a Palestinian elite. In, 1939 Director of Education Jerome Farrell established a two year college-level course leading to the attainment of an “Intermediate Certificate.” The Intermediate Certificate, graded by local as well as international scholars, was eventually granted parity with the London Intermediate, rendering

this local examination officially international.

<sup>(11)</sup> Students would choose either a science or literature track, beginning with a two-year

post-matriculation general course and then continuing with a two year specialized course specifically for teachers. The curriculum consisted of English and Arabic for both sections. Students in science learned theoretical

and applied mathematics while their literature counterparts studied the hallmarks of an English liberal education: philosophy, classical history, Greek and Latin.<sup>(12)</sup>

In Iraq, the Higher Teachers Training College in Baghdad, similarly provided a meritocratic path of advancement for smart, poor boys. This Iraqi institution was one of the few to grant students a free ride, including pocket money as well as a job after graduation, although its selection process was less strict than that of the Palestinian college. Admittance to the Iraqi college was based on results from an exam given in all government schools, supplemented by a personal interview and medical evaluation.

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The curriculum in the Iraqi college and the schools in which its graduates taught included what foreign observers termed a “French” bias of academic instruction.<sup>(13)</sup> The syllabus was overwhelmingly geared towards language instruction, particularly in Arabic, to the exclusion of scientific and other subjects. In part, this was because the first Iraqi Director of Education, Sati al-Husari viewed this method as the best way of inculcating a Pan-Arab nationalist project. Moreover, Ottoman education had prepared students for government service, requiring a high level of language proficiency. By the 1930s however, the assumption that an advanced education would automatically lead to a position in government led some Iraqi observers to complain of the “lethargy that drove the youth into the civil service instead of business and professional occupations,” arguing that an injection of the “futuwwah” or militaristic youth movement would be just what the doctor ordered.<sup>(14)</sup>

In contrast to the Palestinian teachers college, the Iraqi had a different, more utilitarian level of specialization in terms of the training of teachers, as well as a stronger devotion to foreign languages. The Iraqi college, like the Palestinian, had both literary and scientific sections, and consisted of either

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a two year course for those who had obtained a secondary school certificate, or included a third preparatory year for those who had not.<sup>(15)</sup> The Iraqi teachers’ curriculum included a course on general psychology, followed by child and adolescent psychology, methods of test taking, mental hygiene and behavioral problems, culminating in the third year in a course in special methods and philosophy of education based on John Dewey’s Democracy and Education. Students were required to know either French or Latin. The faculty itself was international, including Iraqi, Lebanese, Egyptian English and American professors.<sup>(16)</sup>

The more international curriculum of Iraq may have been due in part to its more international staff and the stronger legacy of Ottoman educational reforms, including Ottoman government-schools, and the creation of the Iraqi army. Many who attended the military colleges of Iraq rejected quintessentially British styles of pedagogy. Also, the legacy of Ottoman military schooling



in Iraq and the prominence of its army contributed to a more militaristic and specialist education even in civilian Government schools such as the Teacher Training College.<sup>(17)</sup> Many of the first teachers in Iraq were in fact former officers from the Ottoman army.<sup>(18)</sup>

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Ottoman educational methods were also given more scope and credence because Sati al-Husari had been trained during the Ottoman period. Moreover, as the Director of Education, he employed educators he believed would not only promote development and rational thought, but also Pan-Arabism. These educators included Syrians, Egyptians, Palestinians as well as a few English and German individuals.<sup>(19)</sup> Most of these Arab educators had studied, either on their own or abroad, from European textbooks of a wide variety, including those influenced by positivism and different types of sociology, in languages which included English, French, German, and of course Arabic. These varied combinations of local and international educational influences, coupled with the ability of Arab educators to implement and shape the system of education, contributed to

the adoption of varied methods and projects of schooling.<sup>(20)</sup>

The officials in the Iraqi Ministry of Education during the late 1930s and early 1940s indicate the range of educational methods and content employed in Iraq. Fadhil al-Jamali, the second Director of Education, had a unique educational background, including the American University of Beirut, Teachers College, Columbia University and the local schools of Kadhimain in Iraq. He was extremely interested in the work of John Dewey, and wrote his Ph.D. thesis on Bedouin education in Iraq.<sup>(21)</sup> On the other hand, the minister of education during this time period was Dr. Sami Shawkat, who was most focused on promoting German and even Nazi style militarism in the Iraqi schools. Shawkat

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The Arab College of Jerusalem, like the one in Iraq, produced students who rejected British political policies. However, when it came to the curriculum and the type of education the British claimed for their own, Palestinians if anything wanted even

more of a British bent to their schooling. Abdul Latif Tibawi,<sup>(25)</sup> a graduate of the Arab College in Jerusalem and the leading historian of the schools of the Mandate, argued that English should have been introduced in the sixth year of education during the “progressive selection on grounds of merit to the higher elementary cycle and secondary education.”<sup>(26)</sup> The discipline and skill required to learn the English language would therefore not only shape the students who could learn it, but would also indicate their intellectual superiority. According to Tibawi, only those students who were meritorious enough to reach a secondary level of education would benefit from learning English. He claimed that the Arab masses only desired to learn English in order to “find employment in workshops or canteens,” and therefore their exposure to the English language should be limited. Tibawi argued that English, rather than being a tool of domination

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their own culture.”<sup>(27)</sup> Tibawi’s desired separation between the language of English as a tool for employment, a measure of intelligence and a means of shaping character indicates how firmly he believed in the value of a liberal education for the select

few.<sup>(28)</sup> For Tibawi, he and his compatriots constituted “the new aristocracy - an aristocracy that came to the foreground, not because of its birth or wealth, but chiefly because of intelligence and academic attainments...”<sup>(29)</sup>

There has been controversy over whether or not Palestinians wholeheartedly accepted the full curriculum of the college, particularly Greek and Latin, or if they viewed these subjects as an alien imposition out of touch with realities in the Arab World. For Jerome Farrell, the teaching of Latin in Palestine trained a natural elite for public life and provided a public performance and confirmation of their pre-eminence. For the Arab College students, the study of classics including Latin and ancient history became a site of contested utility. Some Arab nationalists portrayed Latin and a British liberal education in general as

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an alien imposition that diverted the best and the brightest away from service to their nation.<sup>(30)</sup>

One former student of the rural schools of Palestine provides one of the most stringent historical critiques of the

British system of education. Dr. Abdulqadir Yousuf was not among those select few who benefitted from the Arab College experience, although he eventually moved to the United States and became a professor of education at Binghamton in New York.<sup>(31)</sup> In fact he provides a utilitarian dénouement of the British curriculum as a whole. Yousuf argues that not only did the British curriculum “merely encourage... memorization...with very little or no care about the prevailing problems of life” but it also “appeared to contribute only slightly the character as was supposed to be true of the liberal education program in the British secondary schools.”<sup>(32)</sup> Yousuf claimed that students only studied Latin and Greek in order to obtain scholarships sponsored by Farrell for classical study in British Universities. He dismissed the value of a liberal education wholesale writing «thus instead of initiating

professional studies in agriculture, engineering, medicine, health, and other technical subjects necessary for the life of the Arabs of Palestine, Farrell's policy was to produce amateur or experts in Latin and Greek."<sup>(33)</sup> Writing in the 1950s, Yousuf's critique feeds into debates of the value of a liberal education in a developing country. His argument exemplifies the post-1948 Arab appraisal of the results of British policy from the point of view of someone who did not experience the Arab College. For him, the educated elite had no place in the modern world. Yousuf's critique indicates also, perhaps the results of his pedagogical training in the United States. His analysis also shows the disparity between the views of those who attended the College, and/or worked for the Mandate Government and those who had never been forced to choose between loyalty to a post and loyalty to a nation or community.

In contrast, graduates of the Arab College in hindsight sought to justify the utility of Latin, and therefore of their own educational achievements. For example, one student who in fact refused to study Latin as he viewed it as taking time away from his studying his own culture, later viewed this step as a "big mistake" preventing him from achieving a scholarship to study abroad.<sup>(34)</sup> Another graduate noted that he and his contemporaries

questioned "the usefulness of studying a dead language like Latin."<sup>(35)</sup> He claimed that both Jerome Farrell and the eminent Arab novelist, educator and academic Dr. Taha Hussein "were in agreement as to the importance of Latin in transmitting the products of the Arabo-Islamic civilization to Europe, which apparently encouraged Farrell to institute Latin in the curricula of Palestinian higher education instead of French or German or other living languages used on a wide scale."<sup>(36)</sup> With Taha Hussein providing Arab authority, Farrell's use of Latin becomes a universal good, a transparent media that would not "civilize" the Arabs while estranging them from their native culture. Instead, Latin was part of a historical legacy that actually brought Arab civilization to Europe.

The Palestine Matriculation Exam, and the Palestinian Intermediate Certificate Exam, like the Civil Service Examination in England, purported to legitimize the liberal education taught in both the English Public Schools and

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the Arab College. The Intermediate Certificate exam in particular, designed by Farrell, corresponded to the educational subjects he most valued. Those who succeeded in passing this examination also believed in its validity as a measure of an innate intellectual superiority. In their recollections they do not highlight the utility of a passing grade, the gateway to a university education and often an illustrious career. Instead they underscore the passing of the exam itself as a hallmark of success and a signifier of intelligence. For example, graduate Sadiq Ibrahim 'Odeh in his eulogizing account of the College lists as many of his fellow Arab College graduates as he can remember, their professions and achievements. In his account, written some fifty years after his graduation he still remembers those who attained the highest rank in the Intermediate Examination.<sup>(37)</sup> The technology of the exam, the hard work, diligence and ability required for its completion led to recognition on the part of those who

succeeded at it of its legitimacy.

The Arab College graduates' acceptance of the Intermediate Examination as a measurement of intelligence and accomplishment did not by any means imply that they approved of British political policy. During the last ten years of the Mandate for Palestine, after the destruction of much of the Palestinian Arab nationalist movement during the 1936-1939 revolt and with the ever-increasing immigration of Jews fleeing Nazi persecution in Europe, Arab opinion of the British and their promises was decidedly poor. Students and teachers at the College as well as those of the Mandate were torn between their loyalty to their community and their obligation to a system which provided employment and in the case of the Arab College, prestige.<sup>(38)</sup> In order to salvage the criteria that defined them as elites, Arab College graduates then sought to render their education universally valid and therefore separate from Britain's Mandate rule.<sup>(39)</sup>

In Iraq, examinations for entrance to the Teachers College included social studies, mathematics, biology and hygiene, physics and chemistry, Arabic and English. In order to forego the preparatory third year at the College, students would have to pass the public secondary or preparatory examination,

which entailed seven papers, one in English, one in Arabic, two in one of three categories: social studies, mathematics or the sciences, and one final paper in the remaining category.

<sup>(40)</sup> These exams and therefore the preparation within schools for the exams, were applied throughout Iraq, regardless of the location of a school, resulting in a fully national curriculum.

<sup>(41)</sup> The Iraqi curriculum was unique to Iraq and did not automatically correspond to European matriculation exams, a standard which persisted through to the late 1940s and 50s.<sup>(42)</sup> In the late 1930s, the Iraqi government sought to render the Iraqi secondary school certificate equal to British matriculation tests, in order to facilitate the matriculation of Iraqi students at British universities. However, the Iraqi certificate was deemed by British officials to be not “a very valuable test of knowledge” and required additional certificates.<sup>(43)</sup> Passing the various exam stages in Iraq was a matter of national rather than international advancement.

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### **The Internationalization of Educational Norms:**

In part this essay has judged the effects of the League of Nations proscriptions on individual mandates, but it has also highlighted the achievements of local individuals and their ability to affect the implementation of schooling in a colonial context. Although I have looked broadly at institutions, it is the individuals who staffed and created these institutions who shaped the experience of schooling, and also its value to those who studied and graduated from its schools. During the 1930s and 40s, Iraqis and Palestinians both viewed schooling as not only tied to nationality but also as a way of promoting nationalism. However, educational standards either had to be de-nationalized, in the case of Palestine, in order to become accepted as universally applicable or to be combined and claimed as belonging to one particular nationality, in the case of Iraq. Yet, as Arab educational leaders in both Iraq and Palestine argued, there was not to be one

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form of education for the “East” and another for the “West.”<sup>(44)</sup>

Throughout the 20th century, internationalization of Western norms has been inextricably linked to colonialism, its legacy and also the power differentials between Western and non-Western countries. Education has been framed in the language of economics, as if it were a commodity to be imported or exported. I do not believe that Iraq imported a Western and therefore alien type of education, resulting in “ivory towers where the students are seldom bothered by the realities of life surrounding them.”<sup>(45)</sup> I contend that the Iraqis, as they were given the chance, adopted the subjects and methods they deemed most salient resulting in a hybrid system which pleased none of the foreign observers and few of the Iraqis themselves, due to the contested implementation of

these pedagogical methods. In contrast, the more restrictive environment in Palestine led locals to universalize one type of education as universally valid and applicable, a “good education” for the few who experienced it.

The utility of schooling in general, as a means of economic and social advancement was never questioned by the populations of Iraq and Palestine. Palestinian students did not accept British educational methods due to any love for the British, rather those methods justified their belief in themselves and their view of themselves as an elite, created not by birth but by intellectual merit. Iraqi policy makers and students did not accept one international curriculum wholesale, rather in a piecemeal fashion they used various tactics and subject matters to forge a uniquely Iraqi system of education. Education therefore constituted a unique site where local desires frequently coincided with international norms, a place where the local claimed the international, the global and the modern.



## Notes

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  - 2 Their inhabitants, deemed "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" should be cared for, taught and civilized by "advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility..." League of Nations, ed. The Covenant of the League of Nations (Including Amendments Adopted to December, 1924) (Champaign, Ill.; Boulder, Colo.: Project Gutenberg ; NetLibrary, 1921).
  - 3 Sharkey, Heather J. 2003. Living with colonialism: nationalism and culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2
  - 4 Jane Priestland, and Alan DeLacy Rush. 2001. Records of Iraq : 1914 - 1966 Vol. 2 Vol. 2. [Slough]: Archive Editions. 98
  - 5 Great Britain. Colonial Office, Special Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Progress of Iraq During the Period 1920-1931 (London: H.M.S.O, 1931). 224
  - 6 William L. Cleveland, The Making of an Arab Nationalist : Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati-al-Husri (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971)., 62-64
  - 7 Government of Palestine Department of Education, Department of Education Annual Report 1923 (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1923). 223-224.
  - 8 In March 1925, the Men's Training College went on strike and demonstrated against Lord Balfour's (the author of the much reviled Balfour declaration that called for the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine) visit to Palestine on the occasion of the founding of the Hebrew University. Students from the College began demonstrating in the playground behind the school, marching and

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- “singing national songs.” Mahmud Abidi, «The Arab College, Jerusalem,» in *Encyclopaedic Survey of Islamic Culture*. Vol. 3, Educational Developments in Muslim World, ed. Mohamed Taher (New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1997). 109 After the student strike, the British government briefly closed the college and sent its students home, escorted by the police.
- 9 Bernard Wasserstein, ««Clipping the Claws of the Colonisers»: Arab Officials in the Government of Palestine, 1917-48,» *Middle Eastern Studies* 13, no. 2 (1977). 177-178
  - 10 Mahmud Abidi, «The Arab College, Jerusalem,» in *Encyclopaedic Survey of Islamic Culture*. Vol. 3, Educational Developments in Muslim World, ed. Mohamed Taher (New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1997). 211
  - 11 Rochelle Davis, «Commemorating Education: Recollections of the Arab College in Jerusalem, 1918-1948,» *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 23, no. 1 (2005).203
  - 12 Ibid. 195
  - 13 Paul Monroe, Director of the International Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University, Government of Iraq, Report of the Educational Inquiry Commission (Baghdad: Government Press, 1932). 5
  - 14 “Al-Bilad” quoted in Phebe Ann Marr, «Yasin Al-Hashimi : The Rise and Fall of a Nationalist: A Study of the Nationalist Leadership in Iraq, 1920-1936» (Harvard University, 1966).350.
  - 15 UNESCO report page 27, Planning Methodology in Iraq 1953-1979, 1982
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  - 17 Reeva Simon, Iraq between the Two World Wars.
  - 18 Akrawi, Education in the Near East page 160.
  - 19 Michael Eppel, «The Elite, the «Effendiyya», and the Growth of Nationalism and Pan-Arabism in Hashemite Iraq, 1921-1958,» *International journal of Middle East studies* 30, no. 2 (1998). 233
  - 20 Ibid.234
  - 21 Reeva S. Simon, «The Teaching of History in Iraq before the Rashid Ali Coup of 1941,» *Middle Eastern Studies* 22, no. 1 (1986)., 37. Muhammad Fadil Jamali, *The New Iraq: Its Problem of Bedouin Education* (New York city: Teachers college, Columbia university, 1934).
  - 22 Simon, «The Teaching of History in Iraq before the Rashid Ali Coup of 1941.», 37-38
  - 23 Ibid. 41
  - 24 FO 371/24559-0026, October 3 1940 Right honourable viscount halifa,x from basil newton
  - 25 Dr. Abdul Latif Tibawi the son of a landowning family in Palestine, matriculated at the Training College at the age of 12. He became first a teacher of history in Ramlah, then a personal assistant to Humphrey Bowman with the rank of assistant inspector. He was promoted to the Palestine Board of Higher Studies, acted as a senior examiner in Arabic and history, and

- finally, in 1941, became the chief education officer for the largest educational division in Palestine. Riadh El-Droubie Mahmud Akhal, «A Biography,» in Arabic and Islamic Garland : Historical, Educational and Literary Papers Presented to Abdul-Latif Tibawi, ed. Riadh El-Droubie (London: Islamic Cultural Centre, 1977). 11, 13, 15
- 26 Abdul Latif Tibawi, Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration (London: Luzac, 1956). 85
- 27 Tibawi, Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration. 243
- 28 in both Iraq and Palestine, mastery of English was viewed as a marker of intelligence, but for different reasons. In Palestine the process of mastery was linked to character building. In Iraq, it was not the process of learning English but rather the result that was given the most importance. The preparatory year in Iraq was conducted entirely in English, as a method of weeding out poor students. In Palestine the assumption was that those who reached the elite level of the Arab College were already of the highest caliber, a choice metal to be honed and polished. In Iraq, up to 25% of the teachers' preparatory class usually failed. Arab education in the near east, pages 189-192
- 29 Ibid. 243-4
- 30 Rochelle Davis, «Commemorating Education: Recollections of the Arab College in Jerusalem, 1918-1948,» Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East 23, no. 1 (2005). 196-7
- 31 Binghamton University, «Interdisciplinary Departments, Programs and Cross-Disciplinary Concentrations, Middle East and North African Studies,» <http://www.binghamton.edu/bulletin/1997-98/interdis.html>.
- 32 Abdulqadir Mohammad Yousuf, The British Educational Policy in the Arab Public Schools of Palestine During the Mandate ([s.l.]: Indiana University, 1956). 185
- 33 Ibid. 186
- 34 Davis, «Commemorating Education: Recollections of the Arab College in Jerusalem, 1918-1948.», 197
- 35 Sadiq Ibrahim «Odeh, «The Arab College in Jerusalem, 1918-1948: Recollections,» The Jerusalem Quarterly, no. 9 (1999). 57-58
- 36 Ibid. 58
- 37 Sadiq Ibrahim «Odeh, «The Arab College in Jerusalem, 1918-1948: Recollections,» The Jerusalem Quarterly, no. 9 (1999). 55
- 38 Tibawi, Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration. 196
- 39
- 40 Akrawi, Near East Education page 135
- 41 This curriculum had been constantly revised. In the 1930s there was an attempt to include not only languages, social sciences, science and mathematics but also a required course on «Iraq in all phases of its political, economic and social life.» However, this course proved too disruptive and controversial, due to competing views over the political and economic

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life of Iraq in particular, and the course was integrated into social studies, particularly in the literary track of secondary schools.

42 Hilary Falb, «Interview with Y.H. », (July 18, 2012).

43 Mr. James Morgan, «Annual Report on Iraq for 1937,» in India Office Records Political and Secret Letters (London: The British Library, 25 January 1937). 16. Until 1938, the additional certificates required were those defined by British authorities, however in 1938 the Universities of Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Wales, Bristol, Reading and Durham accepted a certification by the Iraqi Ministry of Education indicating the students fitness to matriculate, in addition to the Iraqi Secondary School Certificate. Students who desired to matriculate at foreign universities generally

attended a special school, known as the Matriculation School in 1936, renamed the School of Languages in 1938. Sir Maurice Peterson, «Annual Report on Iraq for the Year 1938,» in India Office Records Political and Secret Letters (London: The British Library, 21 January 1939). 16

44 Abu Khaldun Sati Husari, *Mudhakkirati Fi Al-`Iraq 1921-1941*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Bayrut: Dar al-Tali`ah, 1967). 199-200. See also the translations and adaptations of Ahmed Samih Khalidi of English pedagogical works, for example Ahmad Samih Khalidi, *Arkan Al-Tadris* (Ram Allah: Markaz al-Qattan lil-Bahth wa-al-Tatwir al-Tarbawi, Muassasat `Abd al-Muhsin al-Qattan, 2002).

45 Compatibility of Education in Iraq, 235.

