

**IMPACT OF UN SANCTION ON THE SOCIAL
SECTOR IN IRAQ, 1990-2003**

*Dissertation: submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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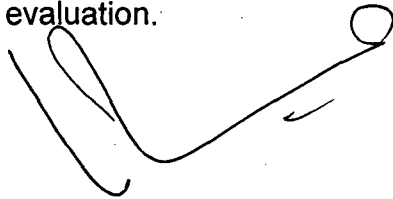
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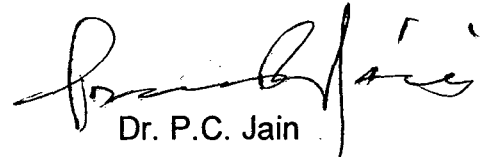


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We recommend that the dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.



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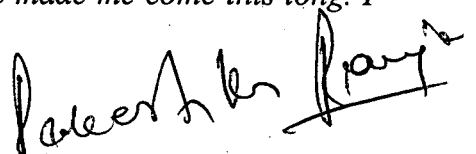
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Rakesh Kumar Ranjan

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Socio-Economic and Political Development in Iraq

The social sector occupies a pivotal place in development of any country. The major developmental programmes in social sector are directed towards improving the quality of life, reducing poverty and ensuring social justice in the field of education, health and social security. It has also been defined as the process of increasing knowledge, skills and capability of all the people in a given society. Social sector is not just seen as the institution which underpin a society but it is also the glue that holds them together.

The cohesion between different social sectors in society is critical for it to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. It acts as a parameter to know the development of a country. Analysing the last decade of Iraq's development one can justify the importance of social sector in the progress of a country. While analysing the condition of social sector in Iraq during the period 1990 – 2003, the impact of embargoes and sanctions by the Security Councils can not be over looked. Disruption in social sector abstracts any nation's growth and development. The problem of social sector's development is mainly due to economic situation of the family, lack of social security, lack of education facilities and the policies adopted by the government. Almost all of these elements have played a predominant role in the under development of the social sector in Iraq. Here the role of UN sanction can not be over seen because it's the mechanism which has intensified the effect and augmented the factors.

The history of Iraq can be traced back to 7000 years¹. It has been the seat of several civilizations. Iraq, unlike its neighbours, has a long history of civilization, an antiquity as greater as or even greater than that of its principal rival in the Arab World, Egypt. Iraq known in the ancient period as Mesopotamia, was ruled such great rulers as King Hammurabi, who codified the law governing life of the citizens, and king Nebuchadnezzar. Subsequently, the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arab, Mongols, Ottomans and others dominated this area.

The famous Sumerian civilization was the first to flourish on the banks of Tigris and Euphrates rivers four millennium ago. When recorded history began, the people of what is now Iraq were known as Sumerians, although it is not clear whether the term was originally applied to a composite people or was first introduced by a group of immigrants and then gradually applied to all the inhabitants of the area². With the Sumerian federation of city-states appears one of the first examples of government reaching beyond the local level. The archeological discoveries shows that there was a whole succession of dynasties, and although there is no account of actual political events in the early period, the reigns of some of the kings mentioned in chronicles have been dated. A relatively detailed picture of the religious and domestic life of the period, constructed from the remains of its ancient cities, indicates that a common Sumerian culture existed throughout Mesopotamia³.

The Sumerian dynasties probably ended around 2800 B.C. with the conquest of the Sumerian federation by the Akkadians under Sargon. He is the first impressive historic figure to emerge out of the confused historical record. During his reign the Akkadians conquered large territories. They treated the

¹ A.K Pasha, *Sanctions and Wars*, (New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 2003), p. 1-2.

² George L. Harris, *Iraq: its people its society, its culture*, (New Haven , Hraf press), p. 10.

³ Geoff Simons, *Iraq: from Sumer to Saddam*, (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996), p. 115-127.

religions of the conquered places with respect, collecting their Gods into a kind of pantheon protected by a new and a larger political order.

The Sumerians and Akkadians in effect combined their forces and controlled a large territory extending from Mediterranean and into Asia Minor. But with the death of Sargon the empire slowly collapsed. In the last days of the failing Sumerian power, in about 2000 B.C., there rose to prominence a new state centering at Babylon. Babylonian authority was first asserted over southern Mesopotamia by the great Hammurabi, with the final blow to the Sumerians coming from Hammurabi's son, which is symbolized by the destruction of the walls of Ur.

Babylon was both the centre of political empire and a religious metropolis. It did not lose its latter status, which added to its lustre as a centre of wealth and power, until the time of Alexander, the Great. Culturally, Babylon further refined the basic Sumerian patterns as after the collapse of the Sumerian civilization, the people were reunited in 1700 B.C. by King Hammurabi of Babylon and the country again flourished under the name of Babylonia. The civilization at that time witnessed the first systematic development in different fields like, administration, navigation, irrigation, agriculture, tax collection, and the infrastructure developments. Under the Hammurabi's code of law, "equal justice before the law" was established. Hammurabi, sixth in the line of Amoritic rulers, is remembered not only as a conqueror but also as a great law-giver. His code of laws dealt with problems of living which are still pressing in the twentieth century: land tenure, rent, the position of women, marriage, divorce, inheritance, conditions and pay of labour, the functions of money and types of exchange contracts, public order, and so on. Babylon again rose as the centre of a new Babylonian empire and produced in the second ruler of a new dynasty, Nebuchadnezzar, one of the most illustrious monarchs of the ancient world.

Later on, under Abo al Abbas, Baghdad was founded in 762 A.D. which soon became a famous centre of learning in the Middle Age⁴. During this period, Baghdad became a vast emporium of trade linking Mesopotamia with the rest of the Asia. Like every civilization Mesopotamia also faced down thrown of its development. In the 13th century, a powerful Mongol leader named Temujin brought together a majority of the Mangole tribes and led them on a devastating sweep through China. The rapid deterioration of sedentary life led to the growth of tribally based pastoral nomadism. By the end of Mongol period, the focus of Iraqi history had shifted from the urban based Abbasid culture to the tribes of the river valleys, where it would remain so until well into the 20th century. From the 16th to the 20th centuries, the course of Iraqi history was affected by the continuing conflicts between the Safavid Empire in Iran and the Ottoman Turks⁵. In the Abbasid capital at Baghdad, there was kindled a blaze of philosophical, scientific, and literary glory remembered throughout the Arab world and by Iraqis in particular, as the pinnacle of the Islamic past. The greatest caliphs of the period combined outstanding administrative and intellectual capacity of the substitution, perhaps under Persians influence of the idea of the caliph as an absolute autocrat for the Arab notion of him as a leader chosen by council of his peers and answerable to it.

The cycle of tribal warfare and of deteriorating urban life that began in the 13th century with the Mongol invasion was temporarily reversed with the emergence of the Mamluks. Through economic revival, they established administration and the political system. The Mamluks initiated the important modernisation programmes that included clearing canals, establishing industries, training army and starting a printing press. However, severe

⁴ W.H.Bouton, *Babylonia*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co. Ltd.), pp. 56-18.

⁵ M.A Saleem Khan, *The Monaric Iraq: A Political Study*, (Aligarh: Centre of West Asian Studies), pp. 15-27; Also see, Samir al-Khalid, *Republic of Modern Iraq*, (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989), p. 85.

floods and epidemic devastated Iraq, which made it easy for the Ottoman Empire to reassert their sovereignty over Iraq. Ottomans under Kamal Pasha set out to modernise Iraq on the western model. Some of the important reforms were to create codes to criminal and commercial law, secularisation of education and improvement in administration. Due to the new land reforms introduced by Pasha, Iraq's social structure was severely altered. The different political systems in Iraq since historical times led to the evolution of developmental prospects. In modern Iraq, rule of monarch, Britishers, and political parties added to the development of an ancient civilisation into its present modern form.

Iraq was predominantly an agricultural society but after the extraction of oil started the economic concentrated mainly on oil sector. Now agriculture contributes only 16% of the economy (in 1990s). The reform of 1990 opened up state and collective farms, to be rented by private farmers at moderate rent. This was necessitated by a food shortage.

The importance of oil in Iraqi economy can be seen from the fact that Iraq gained major foreign currencies from the sale of oil. Iraq's oil income rose from \$266 million in 1960 to \$521 million in 1970. However, the extraordinary developments of the 1970s, such as the phenomenal, organization of petroleum exporting countries (OPEC) – led to rise in oil exports. It pushed Iraq's oil income from \$1 billion in 1971 to \$26.1 billion in 1980.⁶ With such a rise in income there was an associated increase in the relative importance of the oil sector from a mere 3 per cent of GDP in 1950 to 56 per cent in 1980.⁷

⁶ Tareq Y. Ismael and William W. Haddad, *Iraq: The Human Cost of History*, (London: Pluto Press), p. 120.

⁷ *Ibid.* p.121.

It is worth pointing out that the 1970 was Iraq's prosperous decade. The spectacular rise in oil revenue made it possible for all economic and social indicators to rise at very impressive rates. That performance was never to be repeated. The decade of the 1970 also witnessed the growth of Iraq's oil industry in all its components, as funds were available for investment. But this growth could not sustained in the next two decades because of the Iraq – Iran war and the UN – imposed sanctions following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. That was the end of the oil – dependent country as it has no more control over its oil income.

Ba'thist Regime and Social Sector

When the Ba'th party came into power in 1968, its main policy strategy was to modernise Society as a route to prosperity. Iraqi resources had long been exploited by foreigners and it was assumed that progressive policies would work to national advantage without the need for wholesale socialist measures. However, socialist doctrine remained popular in the country maintaining various accommodations internally. The Iraqi economy saw an era of change in June 1972 with the nationalisation of Iraqi Petroleum Company (IPC) under the Law 61⁸. The aim of these programmes was to industrialise, to reduce the dependence on foreign imports and to increase the general welfare of the society.

But the Ba,thist government, despite its nationalisation of the IPC and its sensitivity to the popularity of socialism, continued to favour the development of capitalist economic structure. Due to the cut short in the investment on the various other sectors led to a massive social problem. At the same time in 1980s, there were 700 multimillionaires of which most of

⁸ Geoff Simons, *Iraq: From Sumer to Saddam*, (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), p. 284.

them were directly or indirectly linked to Ba'th party. The Ba'thist ruler saw nothing in this situation to control the Iraqi economy because their principal aim had changed by then and had shifted from earlier egalitarian commitments to the protection of Ba'thist power. Hence, the large portion of the revenues which had been generated in 1970s were used in the strengthening of the army rather than the development of different sectors.

Guided by socialist ideology, the government initiated a process of economic nationalisation as early as in 1964. The government subsequently seized 27 largest privately owned industrial firms. The Ba'thist regime continued the nationalisation process after their takeover in 1968 and nationalised the oil industry in the 1970s. The government used the growing oil revenue to finance various development programmes. We can say progress was directly proportional to the economic growth of the country. The development of the social sector mainly took place after the economic boom due to the strong steps taken by the government. The early 1970s was a time of important development. In 1972 the government nationalized the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) which was earlier owned by foreign oil companies. The nationalisation, together with the steep rise in the price of crude oil that the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) engineered in 1973, had the effect of raising Iraq's oil revenues by more than eight fold, from \$ 1 billion in 1972 to \$8.2 billion in 1975⁹. The sharp increase in revenue solidified government's role in the economy, making the government the primary agent for transferring wealth from the petroleum industry to the rest of the economy. In this way, government acquired the unprecedented power to allocate economic resources to various sectors of the economy and among different social classes and groups. But though in January 1990 the oil price reached up to \$20 per barrel from \$12 in 1988 due

⁹ Cortright, David and George A. Lopez, "Are Sanctions just? The Problematic Case of Iraq", *Journal of International Affairs*, vol.52 no.2, Spring 1999, pp. 735-56.

to improvement in the market condition, in June 1990 it went down to \$ 6 per barrel after the OPEC countries raised the output drastically.¹⁰ The loss of \$ 6 billion per year in the oil revenue was not affordable by Iraq, as by now its economy was totally dependent on the oil sector. Its impact on the social sector was not different to a conventional war.

The oil boom not only strengthened the economy of Iraq but also provided an opportunity to stabilize the political condition that was marked by turbulence. The then existing Ba'th party used this opportunity to some extent. It came in power with the policies, which were supported by the economic growth of the nation due to oil boom. The Iraqi Government introduced central planning which was largely about distribution of wealth as extensive social welfare programmes were initiated. As a result, the standard of living improved significantly during the 1970s. Besides, due to large-scale investments in education and health care, government consumption expenditure as percentage of GDP varied from 15.4 per cent in 1980 to 28.6 per cent in 1985. Rise in the oil revenue which had reached to \$ 21.3 in 1980, could only feed the hunger of Ba'thist power but the other sectors some how managed to remain sustainable. This lust of power and position paved the path of destruction for the Iraq, with the invasion on Kuwait subsequently leading to the sanctioned regime¹¹.

It was for the first time that the country's economy was cut back because of the costly Iraq-Iran War (1980-88). Oil pipelines, pumping stations, refineries and tankers in the Gulf were targeted. In spite of domestic trouble and political turbulence due to prolonged war the social sector was not much affected by it. To overcome the economic damage done during the Iraq – Iran war the government then decided to restore the economy through the

¹⁰ Tariq Y. Ismael and William, *The Human Cost of History*, (London: Pluto Press, 2004), p. 124.

¹¹ Abbas Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq: Oil, Wars, Destruction of Development and Prospects, 1950-2010*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), p. 83.

introduction of liberal reforms. Fore sighting the condition Saddam Hussein, in 1987 launched a programme of economic reforms that aimed to create a more open and free economy. Contravening earlier Ba'athist principles on state control over industry, the government privatized several state-owned companies, and lifted restrictions on foreign direct investment. The policies adopted by the Saddam Government were quite capable of covering the losses suffered during the Iraq-Iran War.

Kuwait Invasion and Economic Sanctions

After the Iraq-Iran war Iraq entered the post-war period with small and disorganized economy that was overburdened with unemployment, inflation and foreign debt. Iraq had no option other than to rely on it shrinking oil revenue, which generated only \$11 billion compared to \$26 billion in 1980¹².

However, in 1990, before the Iraqi economy had started to recover Iraq invaded Kuwait. As a result, the allied forces launched a bombing campaign in which key industries and communication facilities were damaged which was detrimental to the Iraqi economy. It is estimated that about 80 per cent of Iraq's economic infrastructure was destroyed during the bombings.

Sanctions are potentially a very important tool that the UN Security Council uses to enforce international law. They are supposed to persuade rulers to change their military, economic, or human rights policies, so as to end wars, civil conflicts or other crisis that threaten international peace and security.

Rising from the reins of World War II, the United Nations was described by its founders as the international organisation that world being an era of peace and harmony. The preamble of the UN lays that the objective of the UN is,

¹² Tariq Y. Ismael and William, *The Human Cost of History*, (London: Pluto Press, 2004), p. 124.

“to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war” and “to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security” by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used in the common interest. It is necessary to act in accordance with these goals to ensure the survival of the human race. The very first article of the UN Charter clearly states that its main objective is to maintain international peace and security. The Security Council has been given the main responsibility of implementing the objectives and principles of collective security as contained in chapter IV of the UN charter. The member – states are obliged to contribute armed forces to the UN in order to make it possible for the organisation to meet its responsibilities. The use of force, if other means fail, is to be decided by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee .The study of the role of the United Nations during the Gulf crisis raises question on its partial attitude. Especially, the Security Council Resolution 687 endorsing the use of force, which led to the destruction of military and civilian infrastructure in Iraq. The Gulf crisis provided a case of testing UN’s capability to resolve a dispute favourable to the interest of all parties. Perhaps after four decades of its formation, the Gulf crisis has occasioned the necessity to ask whether the United Nations has been successful in achieving its primary objectives.

UN could have used its authority to diffuse the conflict by peaceful means but its handling of the crisis indicates that it failed to be an effective apparatus to solve problems through co – operation. Rather, it was compelled to sanction war.

The embargo regime against Iraq is founded on resolution 661 of 6th August 1990¹³, which imposed the sanctions of the UN and two subsequent resolutions, namely 665 (1990) of 25th August 1990 and 670 (1990) of

¹³ Geoff Simons, *The Scourging of Iraq*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, Inc., 1998), p. 280-85.

September 25th, 1990¹⁴. These embargoes represent the most comprehensive system of punitive action ever adopted against a member state by the UN. The punitive action of the Security Council, in fact, amounted to threaten the very existence of Iraq's twenty three million people.

The UN Security Council imposed comprehensive economic sanctions against Iraq on August 6, 1990, just after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. When the coalition had ousted Iraq from Kuwait the following year, the Council did not lift the sanctions, keeping them in place as leverage to press for Iraqi disarmament and other goals. UN Security Council Resolution 661 and subsequent sanctions resolutions created a set of conditions, which virtually cut off Iraq from the world economy. The sanctions regime included a ban on all imports enforced by a naval and air blockade, an oil embargo, a freezing of Iraqi government financial assets abroad, an arms embargo, suspension of international flights, and a prohibition on financial transactions with Iraq. In short, the embargo was intended to prevent anything from getting into or out of Iraq. The embargo appeared to support the contention that the Security Council was using famine and starvation as potential weapons to force Iraq into submission.

In 1996, Iraq reached an accord with the UN that allowed it to sell \$ 1 billion worth of oil every 90 days, with the money set aside for food and medicine and compensation to Kuwaitis¹⁵. Further failing to co-operate with the weapons inspections, Iraq faced bombing by British and US forces in November 1998 which persisted on a smaller scale till second Gulf war. The sanctions remained in place despite a harsh impact on innocent Iraqi civilians and evident lack of pressure on Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Vinod Anand, "Iraq Under Siege: Human Costs of Economic Warfare", *Strategic Analysis*/May 2000.

United Nations "Oil-For-Food Programme," started in late 1997 offered some relief to Iraqis, but the humanitarian crisis continued. The US and UK governments always made it clear that they would block any lifting or serious reforming of sanctions as long as Hussein remained in power. Again, in March 2003 US demanded Saddam to step down or face an invasion. Saddam refused the demand and in retaliation to his 'no' Iraq on March 19, 2003, faced an air strike leading to more destruction and loss of life. Saddam Hussein has been dethroned and held captivated. Washington called for and obtained the lifting of sanctions, the step that gave the US occupation authority full control over Iraq's oil sales and oil industry.

Impact of Sanctions on Iraq

The combined effect of war and sanctions pushed Iraq to its worst condition, whether we talk of its economy, health or assets and infrastructure and so forth. This destruction had an immense affect on public health, food supplies, and the over all infrastructure. Sanctions have had catastrophic impact on the well being of the people of Iraq. From a population with a comfortable living standard, Iraqis now face symptoms of severe deprivation. Although not facing famine, large parts of the population, particularly infants and children, suffer from severe malnutrition.

The conditions were severe and the mechanisms to check the outbreak of diseases were almost absent. In totality, these conditions effected the development of social sector and were the factors responsible for retarding the growth of the Iraqi economy.

In the 1980s, there had been a shift in the economic policies, leading to the reduction of state involvement in industries, and the selling of state enterprises to private interests. The result was self-sufficiency and surplus

production available for export. Unlike many other oil-producing countries Iraq had the benefits of a large human resource to run the newly emerging industries, and an agricultural sector producing enough for the domestic market. But due to the hardships following the UN sanction and the war in 1991, state control was resumed.

Today oil exports are limited, foreign assets frozen and a staggering war debt of US \$ 70 billion, which is equal to 7 years of Iraqi oil revenue. Prices levels have increased manifolds have peaked while wages have lagged seriously behind, and people with state jobs often have to wait to receive their salaries. Iraq's economy did not plumb directly after the start of the first UN sanctions on August 6, 1990, its decline continued deep into the 1990's. The fall in Gross Domestic Products (GDP) fell with 15% only till 1996¹⁶. Their increasing importance of petroleum resources since the independence of Iraq in 1920, through the foreign domination of the industry, saw Iraq manipulated and exploited until the 1961 passage of "law 80". This act limited the concession rights of the Iraq's Petroleum Company (IPC), thereby confining the petroleum reserves in the rest of the country to the Iraq's state. The efforts were made by the IPC and foreign oil interests to curtail "law 80" with the overwhelming support against it from the Iraqi people. But the negotiations with foreign oil interests continued as the Iraqi state withheld away at their influence. Iraq played an important role in founding of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1960. By doing so it introduced a new and a more radical element in the relations between the oil-producing states and the global oil industry there by challenging foreign domination over the natural resources of the region. The agreement with the Soviet Union in 1969 and the OPEC crisis of 1973

¹⁶ Abbas Alnasraw, *The Economy of Iraq: Oil, Wars, Destruction of development and Prospects, 1950-2010*, (Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1994), p. 83-85

finally allowed Iraq to have the freedom to exploit its own resources. The ability to have control over its petroleum resources as well as its mineral wealth, to reclaim vast tracts of land, to harness its rivers for its national development¹⁷. However the role of government in developing social sector has also been negative during this period of sanctions. During the period of sanctions also the government did not employ all its resources to take care of social sector and programmes related to import of food and medical aids. The government instead diverted large amount of resources in strengthening the Iraqi army.

However, Iraq's development efforts with all its successes and failures can not be seen as independent of regional and international politics. The aggressive planning by the state, resulting in the meteoric development of Iraqi infrastructure and social programmes, adopted the classic contours of what was identified as a rentier economy, an economic relationship "in which income from rent dominates the distribution of national income, and thus where rentiers wield considerable political influence."¹⁸ Nonetheless, the emboldened political orientation of the period allowed for a positive outlook, and the Iraqi position within the global politics was that of a confident state with increasing influence. The concentration of power at the centre of the state apparatus accentuated by the increased bureaucratic requirements of the national petroleum industry and the management of state expenditures as well as by the political vicissitudes of the clash between competing Arab leadership in dealing with Israel, contributed to increasingly dictatorial rule and the eventual rise of Saddam Hussein. The dramatic rise in the oppression of political opposition, spurred on by the cold war, and the increased prerogative and privileges of the executive through petroleum

17 Celline Whittleton, "Oil and the Iraqi Economy", in *Committee Against Repression and for Democratic rights in Iraq, Saddam's Iraq, Revolution or Reaction?*, op. cit., p. 55

18 Simon Bromley, *Rethinking Middle East Politics*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), p. 94.

wealth altered the world's perception about Iraq, question from one of Iraq's increasing interrelation with the global economy and politics to one ruled by dictator.

With ruinous devastation caused by with Iran (1980-88), the ensuing concentration of power and the attendant abuses and oppression within Iraqi society intensified. Consequently, the development of Iraq, both in terms of planning and implementation, was severely damaged. The focus of the Iraq question in world politics become fixed on the actions of a lone individual Saddam Hussein. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait highlighted the notion and the Iraqi question was reformulated yet again to be one of the containment of Arab radicalism and the equating of Iraq, its 20 million people and vast resources, with one individual. Till than the people of Iraq were not the target of draconian economic sanctions.

The following decade (2000) saw efforts by international civil society, human rights groups, UN member agencies, concerned states and individuals, and eventually Iraq's neighbours to put an end to the suffering and near genocide of its population caused by the UN sanctions regime. By 2000, the Iraqi question was again altering to reflect and recognise the role of Iraq – including all of its human resources and rich cultural heritage – was to play in world politics. The silence of an entire society was louder than the propaganda and criminally corrupt and morally bankrupt regime lavished on itself. Iraq, through its immense suffering, was gaining friends and champions from across the globe. Many well-known figures from different walk of life and diverse background took up the cause of suffering Iraqi population.

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan discussing the humanitarian situation in Iraq before the Security Council on March 24, 2000, pointed out that the United Nations was risking the loss of support for continued sanctions in the

court of international public opinion which assigned responsibility for the humanitarian crisis to the embargo on the Iraqi regime, “if we haven’t already lost it.”¹⁹

The bottom-up momentum to alleviate the suffering of Iraq people built up by an increasing opposition to sanctions across the world. They were no longer willing to accept the imposition of sanctions was resoundingly recorded in the “Court of international Public Opinion.” It was not a call simply to end the sufferings of the Iraqi people, but rather a recognition of the injustice resulting from the power being wielded by the Security Council: a power that was not accountable to any authority outside its veto wielding five permanent members²⁰.

Between the August 1990 imposition of the UN sanctions and the December 1996 resumption of oil sales, the Iraqi people endured conditions of poverty, disease, economic underdevelopment, social disintegration, and a higher levels of emigration, unemployment and rising school dropout rate; described by some as genocidal, the condition of Iraqi populace remains largely unaltered to this day (2003)²¹.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Against this background the present study is done. The study is organised into the following chapters. Following are the objectives of my studies:

1. To investigate the rise and decline of the social sector in Iraq, before and after the UN sanctions.

¹⁹ “Security Council Considers Humanitarian Situation in Iraq”, (United Nations *Daily Highlights*, 24 March 2000).

²⁰ Tariq Y. Ismael and William, *The Human Cost of History*, (London: Pluto Press, 2004), p. 3

²¹ Geoff Simons, *The Scourging of Iraq*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, Inc., 1998), p. 313

2. To high light the relevant features of education system in Iraq.
3. To analyse the condition of health sector during the period 1990-2003.
4. To look into the development of social security system in Iraq.
5. To study the policies adopted by the Iraqi government regarding the social sector.
6. To asses the overall impact of UN sanctions on the social sector in Iraq.

SURVEY OF LITERATURE

Since the topic of the study is relatively new in the related field, no book exclusively has been published so far. Because of its analytical nature, the primary sources i.e. - UN's and government publications were of great importance. Availability of the secondary materials thus shrinks to periodicals and a handful of books yielding valuable information related to this research.

Among these books, *Population and Society in West Asia*, written by Prakash C. Jain (National Publishing House, Jaipur and New Delhi, 2001) attempts to cover the demographic profile of the region. It also gives an over all view of Human resources and socio-demographic implications of the Kuwaiti crisis.

The two books *Iraq: Sanctions and Wars*, by A.K. Pasha (sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 2003) and *Iraq War 2003*, by K. Santhanam and the IDSA insight team (Ane Books, New Delhi) looks into the Gulf crisis, political conflicts and sanctions on Iraq. The former also looks into the establishment of modern Iraq.

The book, *Hidden Casualties*, edited by Saul Bloom, Miller, Warner and Philippa Winkler (Earthscan Publications, London 1994) and the book, *The Gulf War and the Environment*, edited by Farouk El-Baz and R.M. Makharita, (Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1994) focuses on the environmental, health and ecosystem distribution as a result of the Persian Gulf War. It also deals with the impact of sanction on the general masses. The former also discusses the marine and human problems, distribution and loss of human lives and infrastructure.

Another book *Aspects of Political Participation in the Gulf States* by A.K. Pasha (Kalinga Publication, New Delhi, 1999) helped in getting information on population, education and the Saddam's Ba'th ideology.

Adding to the information the book *The Integration of Modern Iraq*, edited by Abbas Kelidar (Croom Helm, London, 1979) deals with the change in the policies with the change of government. It focuses on the problems of regional development, income distribution, Industrial policies and performances in Iraq in 1970s.

Further in course of readings, the two books by Geoff Simons - *The Scourging of Iraq*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1998), and *Iraq: From Sumer to Saddam*, forwarded by Tony Benn, has provided good knowledge about Iraq's history and present development conditions. It provided recent data related to the study.

Beside books several articles were also helpful in gathering important information regarding the topic of study.

Articles by Raad Alkadiri, "Saddam's survival strategy", *World Today*, (January) 1999, pp.7-9 and article by Amatzia Baram, "Neo-tribalism in Iraq: Saddam Hussein's tribal policies", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 29 no.1, 1997, pp.1-31, throw light on the change in the

policies by Saddam for his existence. The change in policies has an adverse effect on the Social sector of the country.

Other articles like “US and Iraq” End of the Crisis?, *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 32, no. 48, 1997, pp.3057-58 by Girijesh Pant; and “Fragile Future”, *World Today*, vol. 56, no.1, 2000, pp.7-9 by Toby Dodge; Arshi Khan, “New US Administration and Iraq”, *Mainstream*, vol. 39, no. 13, 2001, pp. 5-6, were of great help in getting the information regarding the World Politics involved in Iraq.

Articles by Mohan Rao, “Sanctions kill Children in Iraq”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 35, no. 18, 2000, pp. 1520-21; Nasra Al-Sadoun, “Why the US needs to destroy Iraq: Nasra Al Sadoun on the Iraqi peoples hardships and sufferings imposed by Washington”, (interview), *Mainstream*, vol. 38, no. 17, 2000, pp. 21-23 and “Eyewitness Iraq”, *National Geographic*, vol. 196, November 5, 1999, pp. 2-27 by Mike Edwards, focuses on the effect of wars and sanctions on the environment and people of Iraq.

These articles with many more, although with their limitations provides valuable information for this proposed study.

Though scattered works have been done on the effects of the wars and sanctions and the changing policies of the government but no work have been done focusing the effect of these on the social sector of Iraq. These articles and books with information will assist in analyzing the condition of social sector based on the data and information gathered from the primary sources.

HYPOTHESES

Based on the objectives of the study following are the hypotheses:

1. A well developed social sector existed in Iraq prior to the imposition of UN sanction.
2. The growth in social sector mostly occurred during the period from 1975-85.
3. The social sector in Iraq began to deteriorate after mid 1980s apparently due to the impact of Iraq-Iran war.
4. The government's policies during the wars were responsible for the Iraq's poor and slow development in social sector.
5. The education system was most neglected during and after the war with Kuwait.
6. The health sector was most affected by the UN sanctions.
7. UN sanctions had accelerated the decline of the social sector in Iraq.

METHODOLOGY

The proposed study would adopt historical and analytical approach and will be based on primary and secondary sources. However, due to the contemporary nature of the topic, major source of consultation and perusal would be the secondary sources. In the primary sources the proposed study would rely mainly on speeches and other official statements published by the government and UN Agencies. To understand the socio-economic condition in Iraq, government statistics, and reports of various multilateral agencies would be consulted. The research work demands a historical and analytical approach on the basis of the nature of the subject. The resources

available in various libraries like the Jawaharlal Nehru University Central Library, American Central Library, British Council Library, UN Information Centre Library, Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis Library, Sapru House Library etc. as well as relevant material from numerous Internet sites will be used in a significant manner in the due course of this study.

CHAPTERISATION

The study is organised into the following chapters:

1. Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the topic. It shows the importance and meaning of social sector. Since the proposal is focused on Iraq, the situations in Iraq since 1990 and little prior to it will be discussed. Brief social, economic and political history of Iraq has also been provided. Further on, it outlines in general terms the impact of UN sanction on Iraq since 1990-91. Besides, the organisation of the study it also highlights the development of rest of the chapters.

2. Impact of UN Sanction on the Health Sector in Iraq

The main focus in this chapter will be to look into the consequences of wars and sanctions on the health sector. It will also focus on the after effects of these on the women and children. There will be a data representation of the human consequences of the wars and the sanctions which will help in analysing the health condition before and after the UN sanctions.

3. Development of Education System and Impact of Sanction

This chapter will look into the educational system in Iraq since 1990. It will analyse the existing educational system, comparing it with the earlier one.



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Data representation will be there for the analysis of the number of pupils affected and the reasons for their dropping out of the school in decadal gaps. It will also try to find out the reasons responsible for the deterioration of the education system which once was considered as the best in the region.

4. Impact of Sanction on Development and Social Security in Iraq

In this chapter development and social security system in Iraq will be discussed. More focus will be on the policies adopted by the government under this system. It will also cover the benefits assigned by the government i.e., old age pension, workers policies, child education, health, maternal care, etc. prior to the Kuwait war and after the sanctions.

5. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter would summarize and conclude the analysis.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study will be an analytical work on the social sector in Iraq during the sanction regime. Since no direct work has been done on the topic it will act as an additional literature for the research in future. It will fill the knowledge gap.

CHAPTER 2

IMPACT OF UN SANCTION ON THE HEALTH SECTOR IN IRAQ

Chapter 2

IMPACT OF UN SANCTION ON THE HEALTH SECTOR IN IRAQ

Iraq since the early 1990s has been subject to the most humiliating and punishing sanctions which is imposed by the Security Council of the United Nations. The health system of Iraq was widely regarded as the best in the region during the period from 1975-85. According to the regulatory framework, the health services were provided free through government health centres. Increasing number of clinics brought health care within the reach of rural population. Till the first half of 1980s, all medical facilities continued to be controlled by the government, and most physicians were ministries of health officials. Health care system had deteriorated since 1980s during the Iran-Iraq war and by 1990s it was in its worst condition. It was only when the International Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) and other groups drew the world's attention to the manmade health disaster that the seriousness that sanctions had made to the common people's life, came to be realized¹.

It has been widely accepted that the development of health sector in any country goes side by side with education for example, in the developed countries or even in developing countries where the literacy rate is high the health system is better compared to that country where the literacy rate is low. Supporting this notion, in the Eighth Regional Congress it was decided to implement the policies giving priority to the educational and health sector². Due to the development in the education sector people became aware of their health status and even the general population becomes

¹ The Central Report of the Ninth Regional Congress, June 1982, (Baghdad, 1983), pp. 170.

² Antony Arnove, (ed.) *Iraq Under Siege*, (London: Pluto Press, 2003), p. 190.

conscious about their health and healthy environment. In case of Iraq we can see it very clearly, in 1970s the health of Iraqi people improved with the improvement in the education system and it went down during 1990s due to the sanctions that worst hit the health sector. Looking broadly the combined affect of these it will be logically true to say that any country which is developed has better education and health system or we can say education and health sector plays an important role in the development of any country.

With the development of Iraqi economy in 1970s due to the Oil boom in 1973, the government planed different policies where the oil income were to be invested keeping in view the development of the country. Various sectors were included in it, one of which was the health sector. The Iraqi government planned an elaborate health system, expanding its network to reach out even to the remotest region. The health system was modern, with elaborate infrastructure and latest equipments operated by trained professionals. Many of these professionals were trained abroad in Europe and US. This made the Iraqi health system one of the best in the region.

War Condition and Health in Iraq

Reportedly, in the mid-1980s during the Iran–Iraq War, Iraq had a high incidence of trachoma, influenza, measles, whooping cough, and tuberculosis. And after the war, poor sanitation and polluted water sources were reported to be one of the principal factors in the spread of these diseases. During the war, health services were disrupted and hospitals and clinics were looted. Health professionals were unable to maintain training, and professional skills were lacking. The policies adopted by the Saddam government were mainly focused on strengthening military and defence

system. More of the investment in war and security resulted in the negligence of health system. Even after the Iran-Iraq War, Iraqi government did not pay much attention to the deteriorating health care system and instead got involved in the preparation of other war, the Gulf War. The Gulf War and post war UN sanctions resulted in more deterioration in health conditions and standard of living of the Iraqi people.

The sanctions on Iraq were comprehensive and, thus, affected Iraq's entire economy. In the first UN decisions (i.e. Res. 661, 1990), allowance was made for imports of food and medicine, so as not to create undue hardship for the population³. But the humanitarian consequences of the sanctions against Iraq, early, became an extremely politicized issue. The first Security Council resolutions allowed Iraq to pursue imports for humanitarian reasons. It was early observed, for instance, in a Security Council Presidential statement in December 1991 that Iraq had not used that possibility. For some participants this was an indication that the regime was not really concerned about the welfare of the population.

Internationally, the child mortality rate under sanction was heavily debated. It was, of course, a reason for the creation of the oil for food program. During the early period of sanction, estimates on preventable deaths were discussed and it remained center of discussion worldwide. In different medical journals, the figures of preventable child deaths in Iraq were published. The survey made for the publication pointed out that the poor urban areas had the higher mortality rate than the rest areas⁴. Nevertheless, everyone

³ Peter Wallenstein, Carina and Eriksson, "The 2004 Roundtable on UN sanctions against Iraq", *UN Sanction against Iraq: Lesson Learned*, 2005, pp. 6.

⁴ Ibid. p. 3.

agreed that there had been considerable negative humanitarian effects of the sanctions.

The discussion in the Roundtable on the sanctions against Iraq pointed to a particular feature of the public health system in Iraq which says that it was highly hospital based, urbanized and catering to the needs of the elite⁵. It meant that it was not prepared to manage a situation of nutritional shortages in the entire population, or managing the health consequences from the break-down of the water supply system, for instance. In other health systems, there may be better preparedness to manage epidemics, large outbreaks of diarrhea and other common effects of deteriorating sanitary conditions. This was not the only condition but discrimination is also visible in the food supply. It can be pointed out that the health condition and food availability was markedly better in the north, where the regime had lost practically all control.

Environmental Hazard on Iraqi Population

The massive and indiscriminate onslaught of the Gulf war extended far beyond military targets to include elements of Iraq's industry and social infrastructure. Nearly every corner of Iraqi towns were bombed. It also destroyed the oil installations, pipelines, refineries, storage facilities, stations, and delivery vehicles. As a result hydrocarbons and chemicals were released into the air, soil and water resources. Rates of pollution kept escalating because of the

⁵ Ibid. p. 18.

continuation of comprehensive sanction, which has paralyzed the efforts to control environmental degradation.

The massive destruction of Iraqi infrastructure inevitably produced substantial damages to its flora, fauna and food chain. Soil productivity was destroyed or damaged, contamination of soil with heavy metals, reduced permeability and aeration, hindering seed germination. Since the components of the ecosystem were changed, Iraq has seen an increase in rodents and scorpions, which has caused considerable problems for health and agriculture.

In August 1999, a US Congressional group visited Iraq to see at first hand the living conditions of Iraqi people, especially the children⁶. They visited three cities, namely Ammara, Nasirya and Basra, which have been at the receiving end since the Gulf war of 1991 and the ten year old UN trade sanctions since then. They were really stoned to hear that two in ten babies born in southern Iraq were deformed. This was the early impact of the 1991 war or the early sanctions but according to the official statistics the number of babies with defects had increased threefold in the South, the main battlefield of Iraq's wars.⁷

⁶ Mohan Rao, "Sanctions Kill Children in Iraq", *Economic and Political Weekly*, April, 2000, p. 1520

⁷ Vinod Anand, "Iraq Under Seige", *Strategic Analysis*, May 2000, p. 302.

Table 2.1: Mean value of petroleum hydrocarbons ($\mu\text{g/l}$) in Iraq Coastal waters (September - October 1988, 1989, 1991)

Year	September	October
1988	6.88	6.71
1989	2.69	2.78
1991	27.9	89.8

Source: *EPC Final Report*, 1991.

The number of Iraqi children with cancer raced up to 130,000 in 1997 from 32 in 1990.⁸ This was the result of large use of depleted Uranium by the US and British anti-tank armour piercing shells during the war. It is roughly estimated that over 700 tons of such ammunitions were used. The use of depleted Uranium against Iraq amounts to carrying out a radiological and chemical attack. It is the cause of slow and agonising death and deaths would continue to occur because of the residual effects of this deadly material. According to a research document prepared by former US Attorney General Ramsay Clark, the effect would trouble for million years.⁹ Other than cancer, many cases of genetic disorders, water and weather pollution have been found in southern Iraq.

There has been growing concern over radiation poisoning in the neighbourhood near al-Tuwaitha. The local doctors have also reported cases of radiation sickness in villages. There is also fear

⁸ "Iraqi Kids Plight Moves US Team", *The Times of India*, September 5, 1999.

⁹ Felicity Arbuthnot, "Iraq's Children Playing Washington's Price With Their Lives", February 1998, <http://www.leb.net/iac/main.html>.

that local farms as well as the water supply may have been contaminated in the post-war chaos. According to the local doctors, as many as 2000 residents in the villages showed the tell-tale symptoms of acute radiation sickness-nosebleeds, rashes, hair loss, respiratory distress, and vomiting. People have drunk water stored in plastic barrels stolen from the complex. Doctors fear that hundreds could have been contaminated and may have ingested radioactive material. An Iraqi nuclear engineer and a founder of the al-Tuwaitha site, Dr. Hamid Al-Bah'ly, interviewed on Al-Jazeera TV, witnessed the spread of nuclear contamination firsthand. At one home, Al-Bah'ly discovered radioactive contamination in clothes and beds. In others, it recorded radiation levels 500 to 600 times higher than acceptable levels¹⁰. Though, the depleted Uranium was in use since the beginning of the 1991 war, it came to light only after 1997 when its affect was visible through out the region. It was then when strange birth defects and deformities were noticed among the Iraqi children. The depleted Uranium which produces radioactive dust will remain in the area for almost all times to come and is ought to have chemical and radiological effect on the human body¹¹. The result of it can be seen as a slow and agonising death. In spite of its causes and effect been detected, it is not easy for the Iraqi's to fight with it due to lack of health facilities and enough economic backup which was completely broken due to the economic sanctions.

¹⁰ Farouk El-Baz and R.M.Makharita, *The Gulf War and the Environment*, (USA: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers), pp. 85-95.

¹¹ "Efficacy and Radiation Safety in Interventional Radiology", (Geneva: WHO, vi, 2000), p.90

Economic Impact on Health conditions in Iraq

In pre-Gulf war Iraq, free and state-of-the-art health facilities were being provided. Because of the economic embargo, its health care standards have declined drastically. Besides, the increase in incidences of infant deaths the mortality rate which had been brought down to double digits has increased to 117 per 100,000 births.¹² In comparison to 1989's data which reported the death of 7,110 children in the below five age group across the country rose up to 29,782 children in the same group in the first half of 1999.¹³ This might be a conservative figure as the people during this period of sanction did not report deaths for fear of their names being struck off the ration cards. Since food and even medicines and daily use things were rationed, it means more name more food and medicines. Such a pathetic condition was witnessed by the general population in Iraq. Adding to it, due to short supply of these necessary things, black market over took the supply system. Thus the poor people, who needed the medicines most, were deprived of their basic coats.

Due to the economic break down during the sanction period, the allotted money for the basic requirements were cut short. Iraq, which used to import medicines and medical equipments worth \$500 million, was allotted only \$210 million for the health sector that also under the provision of Oil-for-food programme. And more over even the medicines reached their destination after their expiry dates due to the complicated checks and procedures evolved by the UN.¹⁴

¹² UN Report, March 30, 1999, pp. 3-13.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

During the period of sanction, status of women in Iraq was as in many 'Third World' countries, one expects that women have borne and are still bearing the brunt of recent upheavals in family, economy and society. Due to the lack of proper nutrition most of the women patients in the hospital are found to be anemic. The incidents of miscarriage, premature labour and low-birth weight babies are very high compared to pre-sanction. According to doctors there this is due to physical and psychological pressures, lack of medicines or needed parental care, or difficulty in reaching the hospital due to transportation problems.

During the period of sanction there was an increase in illegal abortions which reached several maternal deaths due to lack of health facilities. Poverty due to sanction was the main reason which motivated most women to abort. Very often the husbands encouraged their wives to abort, fearing that they could not support another child. It was really a problem to feed the large family with inadequate amount of food. Women were to be aware of market prices and of what is most cheaply available, for most of the things women use to mix up the similar and cheaper food gradients just to increase the amount. Mostly the mothers used to go hungry to feed their children. In no situation the pregnant women were given priority.

Psychological Impact

It was not that sanction affected the Iraqi people only by depriving or disrupting the basic health and infrastructural facilities but also affected the people psychologically. The feeling of insecurity had rose the number of women having disturbance in menstruation or excessive bleeding or severe pains and other problems like hair loss skin problems or other psychosomatic symptoms such as insomnia and weight loss. The availability

of medicine is a major concern, especially for those women with permanent health problems such as diabetes, rheumatism, or high blood pressure. Most of the medicines are out of market and, if obtainable, unaffordable for the average household. For major of these problems they are to rely on home remedies.

The psychological trauma of the war and insecurity had not spared children. Infact they were more severely into it. The children experienced conflict at close range and were invariably forced to endure conditions of severe hardship and stores, leading to long-term psychological manifestation. The children are not able to forget what they heard – people screaming, desperate voices, planes and explosions. The children are haunted by the smell of gunfire, fuel from planes and burned flesh. Many children are still struggling with the memories of what they touched – remains of planes, blood, dead bodies, and wounded relatives. Every night these children go to bed with memories of the terrible sounds, shaking grounds and the fear of the whole family being buried in the ruins of the house. One of the most worrisome feature of these is that children experiencing sadness and worry as if it's their innate nature. They also feared of losing their family through death or separation.

This mental condition of the children in almost every part of the county has hampered their personnel development as well as future of the country. These mental trauma or condition was so grave that it effected mainly to the older people and it was equally fatal like the other diseases. In the table: 2.2, it shows how deadly the consequences was.

Moreover, the then Iraqi government was not capable of providing healthy environment which could have helped the Iraqi children to erase the insecure feeling which they had observed. The government had not enough money to

reestablish the old facilities and above all the limitations of medical facilities due to sanction had forced the existing situation on the Iraqi people.

Table 2.2: Over 50 Mortality rates

Period	Hypertension		Diabetes		Malignant Neoplasia	
	Death	Rate of Increase	Death	Rate of Increase	Death	Rate of Increase
June 1989	128	--	70	--	236	--
June 1999	412	221.88%	274	291.43%	1133	380.1%

Source: Geoff Simons, *The Scourging of Iraq*.

Health Consequences of Sanction

The steady investment in social welfare had measurable impacts on life expectancy and child survival rates. Between 1960 and 1990, life expectancy climbed from 49 to 67 years, a level comparable to many Latin American countries, including Brazil and Mexico.¹⁵ There were also noticeable declines in infant and child mortality during the same period. According to the data provided by the United Nations Children's Fund, between 1960 and 1990 infant mortality in Iraq dropped steadily from 117 deaths per 1000 live births to 40 deaths per 1000 live births, while child mortality dropped from 171 deaths per 1000 live births to 50 deaths per 1000 live births. The situation in the last decade of the last century has reverted back from bad to worst as reflected in Table 2.3.

¹⁵ Haskins, "Humanitarian Impacts", p.92.

Table 2.3: Under 5 and infant mortality rates (U5MR and IMR) in Iraq
1960-1998

Year	U5MR	IMR
1960	171	117
1970	127	90
1980	83	63
1990	50	40
1995	117	98
1998	125	103

UNICEF, August 1999.
Mortality Rate: Death per 1000 lives births.

As one can see from the last two columns of the Table 2.4 that sanctions against Iraq, unlike other countries, had hit ordinary people the hardest. The comprehensiveness of the sanctions was aggravated by the fact that the country depended almost totally on imports for the survival of its population. The simple reason for this result was the embargo imposed by the Security Council by which Iraq was not able to generate enough money from export so as to import the basic accessories related to health and basic life.

UNICEF carried out a survey and field work to analyse the impact of sanctions on the most vulnerable sections of the Iraqi population. The given data (Table 2.5) was obtained from the field work which was led by doctors. The data indicate that both the infant mortality rate and the under-five mortality rate were declining in the period between 1979-89. In the years since the war and the imposition of sanctions, however, both the infant mortality rate and under-five mortality rate have risen sharply.

Table 2.4: A Decade of Sanction – Iraq and the Region: Population (per Thousand)

Country	Population	Pop. Under 5 years	Pop. under 18 years	Annual no. of birth	Infant Mortality Rate	Under 5 Mortality Rate
Iraq	22,900	3,560	11,100	813	105	130
Syria	16,200	2,200	7,900	484	24	29
Jordan	493	761	2,300	166	28	34
Iran	70,300	7,650	31,900	1,586	36	44
Kuwait	1,900	144	759	32	9	0
SA	20,400	3,157	10,005	692	24	29
UAE	2,600	199	815	41	8	9

Source: www.unicef.org/2001 seen on June 2 2004.

The IMR increased from 47 deaths per thousand live births for 1984-89 to 108 deaths per 1000 live birth for the period 1994-99, 230 per cent increase¹⁶. Under – five mortality rates increased in the same period from 56 deaths per

Table 2.5: Infant and Under-five mortality Rates per 1000 live births

Year	Infant Mortality Rate (IMR)	(U5MR) Under 5 age Mortality
1979-84	54.1	67.1
1984-89	47.1	56.0
1989-94	78.9	91.5
1994-99	107.9	130.6

Source: www.unicef.org/200, July 2

¹⁶ Anthony Arnov, (ed.), *Iraq Under Siege*,(New Delhi: viva), p. 211

1000 live births to 131 deaths per 1000 live births, also a 230 per cent increase. In other words both mortality indices more than doubled over the 10 year span of sanction. During the period from 1990 to 2000 it has been reported that one in eight Iraqi children dies before the age of 5, which is one of the world's worst child mortality rate. The maternal mortality rate has increased to 294 deaths for every 100,000 births. It has almost doubled to what it was in 1970s and till early 1980s. Lack of proper care and facilities placed Iraq among the 30 worst rated countries in the world. The child mortality rates in Iraq have more than doubled in the past ten years.

Table 2.6: Malnutrition, Children under five, monthly average

Year	Kwashiorkor	Marasmus	Other Malnutrition
1990	41	433	8,063
1992	1145	9.289	93.610
1994	1748	16.025	131.349
1995 (till July)	2.237	20.549	140.354

Source: Government of Iraq, Vital and Health Statistics Department, Cited in Clark, 1996.

In 1996, poverty and lack of food resulted in acute child malnutrition in 11 per cent of the children aged under-five. By 2003, almost a third of the children in the south and central part of the country suffered from malnutrition. Seventy percent of child deaths in Iraq are due to preventable infectious diseases of diarrhoeal and acute pneumonia. Younger children are at greater risk for diarrhoeal disease deaths. In September 1998, the first coordinator of the UN oil-for-food programme instituted in 1996 estimated that 4,000-5,000 Iraqi children were dying each month as a result of

contaminated water supplies, poor sanitation, malnutrition and inadequate health facilities.

A report issued by the International Committee of the Red Cross in February 2000 stated that infant mortality had risen threefold since the imposition of sanctions in 1990. And also the death rate among children due to malnutrition, shortages of power and water in hospital and the incidence of communicable diseases have increased. In May 1999, a delegation of doctors specializing in public health, who went to see the impact of sanctions on medical training, found that the new generation of doctors was not in a position to cope with a medical crisis within the country. This was due to the lack of maintenance and new medical equipments. Due to the heavy investment made in the war the government had to reduce the expenses from the health service. It is estimated that 90 per cent of the hospital buildings and clinics were destroyed in the war. But government was paralyzed to improve the condition due to economic crisis created because of UN sanctions on Iraq.

The suffering of the Iraqi people has reached a point where it can no longer be ignored or overlooked because it now threatens to bring upon the society as a whole, a horrendous disaster that may lead to its collapse. In his 1995 report on the work of the United Nations, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali acknowledged the desperate plight of the Iraqi people:

Health conditions have continued to deteriorate throughout the country because of shortages of essential drugs and medical supplies. The situation is further aggravated by the inadequate supply of potable water and poor sanitation facilities, as essential equipment and spare parts are lacking to rehabilitate the water, sewage and electricity supply systems... Children are

increasingly dying of ailments linked to malnutrition and lack of adequate medical care¹⁷.

The suffering of the Iraqi people has reached a point where it can no longer be ignored or overlooked because it now threatens to bring upon the society as a whole a horrendous disaster that may lead to its collapse. In 1993, the former US Attorney General Ramsey Clark, informing about the situation in Iraq, asked for an immediate end to the sanctions. The impact of UN sanction during this period were causing the deaths of more than 2000 people a week from the lack of medicine, medical services, food and diet supplements, bad water and equipments, and parts needed for healthcare.

Table 2.7: Increase in disease incidence in Iraq,1989-92

Disease	Year	No. of Cases	Year	No. of Cases	Increase
Kwashiorkor	1990	485	1992	13.744	28 times
Marasmus	1990	5.193	1992	111.477	21times
Cholera	1980-90	None	1991-02	2.100	--
Viral Hepatitis	1989	1.816	1992	13.776	7+ times
Typhoid Fever	1989	1.812	1992	19.276	10+times

Geoff Simons, *The Scourging of Iraq*.

Conclusion

¹⁷ Geoff Simons, *The Scourging of Iraq*, (New York: St. Martin's Press,1998), p. 27; also see, Saul Bloom, Miller, Warner and Philippa Winkler, *Hidden Casualties*, (Earthscan Publications, London 1994).

Iraq at the end of 1970s was one of the richest and most developed nations West Asia. From 1975 to 1985, massive social investment by the government raised standards of living and improved the country's social sectors. In the second half of the 1980s social sector as a whole was badly affected including communication and development planning by the Iran-Iraq War. But the social sector, mainly health sector was worst affected during the sanction period due to the economic embargo which resulted in mass poverty affecting badly the health of children and women. Due to lack of intensive training, the medical graduates were not well equipped and trained enough to manage the health programmes properly.

The dependency of food on foreign aid has further deteriorated the health conditions of Iraqi populations. The destroyed infrastructure in the form of schools, hospital buildings, clinics, dispensaries, roads, other transportations, electricity, telecommunications and the financial shortages together have culminated into a disaster. The increase in infant and child mortality rates is historically rather unique in the case of Iraq. Neither famines nor wars in the past have been witness to such a protracted attrition of child populations. It has been estimated that the number of deaths due to sanctions in Iraq exceeds the total deaths in the 20th century attributable to weapons of mass destruction, including the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.¹⁸

¹⁸ Mohan Rao, "Sanctions kill Children in Iraq", *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 29, 2000, p.1520. These unnoticed, unrelenting and innocent deaths in Iraq are a blot on the face of humanity.

CHAPTER 3

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION SYSTEM AND IMPACT OF SANCTION

Chapter 3

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION SYSTEM AND IMPACT OF SANCTION

The spread of illiteracy in any country is one of the most serious social obstacles to development and progress. Illiteracy has a bad effect on the society's activity. It denies Man his humanity, paralyses his ability checks his creativity and strips him of any positive role in his everyday life, thus depriving society of the possibility of making use of his ability and potential. For any country the eradication of illiteracy is an important national task closely linked to the process of construction and freedom. It is even one of its essential pillars.¹

Since the formation of modern Iraq in 1921, the country suffered from a variety of deep schisms. Prominent among these was the huge gap which separated the urban and rural populations. The rural population was itself divided on the basis of the tribal system of organisation, being united only in the common suffering of primitive socio-economic conditions. The most challenging problem which faced the nascent state was that of social and national integration of all the different groups – Kurds, non-Arabs or non-Muslim groups, each possessing a sense of identity of its own. These groups through centuries of Ottoman rule had become accustomed to living in isolation from one another. All the Iraqi governments since 1921, in their own way looked education as the principal means whereby integration could be achieved.²

¹ *The Central Report of the ninth Regional Congress, June 1982*, (Baghdad, 1983), p. 156.

² Iraq: the contemporary State, Bagdad, 1982, pp. 156.

But the base on which the educational system developed after 1921 was extremely narrow. The old Ottoman provinces of Baghdad, Mosul and Basra, which constitute the Iraq of today, had been only slightly affected by the cultural revival witnessed by some other Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Modern schools were very few in number and access to them was limited to a very small wealthy elite. Traditional education was provided by traditional religious institutions, basically in the form of the *katatib* (elementary school) at which small children received basic religious education by a *mullah*.³ Though the system and content of education was unsuitable, the *katatib* continued to serve as the principal centre of primary education until the end of Ottoman rule and the passing of the country into British hands after the World War I.

Despite the existence of a few government schools together with the *Katatib* and some foreign and private missionary schools under the Ottomans, the percentage of literacy did not exceed 0.5 per cent.⁴ The period between the British occupation and the 1958 revolution witnessed some important developments on the educational and social levels. The *Katatib* gradually gave way to public primary schools, such that by 1958 only two recognised *Katatib* remained. The relative expansion in primary education, however, was unable to match the increase in the population. Thus, the percentage of illiteracy registered in 1957 was 81.71 per cent, ranging from 91.51 per cent in rural areas to 63.3 per cent in urban centres, and from 91.6 per cent among women to 72.4 per cent among men.⁵

Under the post-1958 republican regime education received more serious attention. Education was made compulsory and the number of pupils

³ A. at Hilali, *History of Education in Iraq in the Ottoman Period* (al-Ani Press, Baghdad, 1959) p. 100.

⁴ M. al-Rawi and Q. Qurbanba, *Readings in Illiteracy Eradication and Adult Teaching*, (al-Thawrah Press, Baghdad, 1981) p. 208

⁵ A. Jasim, 'Patterns of Social Life in Iraq', *Social Science Bulletin* (Baghdad), vol.2, no.2, July 1977, p.16.

admitted to primary level increased from 430,00 in 1957-58 to 849,00 in 1963, then to 926,000 in 1957-58 to 3,849,00 in 1963, then to 926,000 in 1965. Despite the legislation of compulsory education, however, it was not until the 1970s that the measure was fully implemented and all children started attending school.

The expansion of the educational system, however, necessarily focused exclusively on school age children. To bring some enlightenment to the illiterate sections of the adult population required a different approach. From the 1920s onwards, schemes were proposed at official as well as at private level to reduce or eradicate illiteracy. The first attempt was made by the Ahali grouping to organise the society for combating illiteracy, in 1930s. The schemes which were implemented before 1958, however, achieved little or no success. By 1963 a framework of illiteracy centres had been established 330 for men and 56 for women, falling to 323 for men and 45 for women in 1965⁶. But the impact was limited.

The causes of the failure or limited success of illiteracy eradication schemes before 1968 are to be found principally in the lack of an overall vision. For a clear strategy to solve the problem, illiteracy needed to be viewed within its political dimension which involves the phenomenon of cultural illiteracy as well as that of alphabetical illiteracy. The approach to the problem, moreover, lacked the necessary determination and dedication. Other factors contributing to failure were the absence of accurate statistical information on the members, age groups, employment, sex and distribution of illiterates; the insufficiency and inadequacy of the texts prescribed for adult learners; the lack of adequate funds to provided suitable learning conditions; and the low motivation among adult learners in the absence of mature guidance.

⁶ M. at. Rawi and Q. Qaranba, Readings in Illiteracyj Eradication and Adult Teaching (at thawrah Press, Baghdad, 1981) p. 223.

Some scholars have the opinion that it might be that during the 1950s and 1960s Iraq's population was growing very quickly⁷. So even if the number of literates was increasing the proportion remained the same. Therefore, to combat illiteracy decisively a compulsory and comprehensive scheme was necessary.

Ba'thist ideology and Government Planning for Education

For the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, the educational sector was of vital importance. To reshape education along national and socialist lines and to develop it thoroughly with a view to achieve comprehensive progress in the society and meeting the needs of development plans serious attention was given. The Bath party consistently stated that illiteracy was not just an educational, social and economic problem, but a central political issue with far reaching implication⁸. The issue was mentioned in the Party's first manifesto in 1947, and in the Report of the Sixth National Conference (1963) the party leadership committed itself to the eradication of illiteracy. Illiteracy was quoted as an obstacle to the fulfillment of the objectives of the Arab nation. The building up of socialism and the practice of democracy necessitate the complete and immediate eradication of illiteracy and the mobilisation of the potentialities to fulfill this mission with immediacy and success.⁹ In Ninth National Conference it articulated a vision of a future society free from the old, obsolete, and exploitative relationships that held the women prisoner in their own society¹⁰.

⁷ E. Farah, *The Political Dimensions of the Comprehensive National Campaign for the Eradication of Illiteracy*, (al-Thawrah Press, Baghdad, 1976), p. 102.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, Report of the Sixth National Conference (al-Thawrah press, Baghdad, 1964), p.23

¹⁰ Arab Ba'th socialist Party, Revolutionary Iraq: 1968-73 (the political report adopted by the eighth regional congress of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party) al-Thawrah Publications, Baghdad, 197, pp.174-5.

The objective of eradicating illiteracy was incorporated in Article 27 of the Provisional Constitution adopted following the Ba'th take over of power in 1968 and the Report of the Eighth Regional Congress of the Party stated that:

The coming stage must witness a reappraisal of the means previously employed in this field in order to achieve a transition from the phase of reducing illiteracy to the phase of its complete eradication.... The noble aim of eradicating illiteracy is one of the main fields of our strife and activity. On its success will depend the determination of many vital political, economic and social issues in this country...¹¹

Education after Oil Boom

Following Iraq's nationalisation of the oil industry in 1972, and the oil price rise of 1973-74, Iraq entered a period of unprecedented social change and economic growth. The overall improvement in standards of living, under new production relations, has naturally brought benefits to both man and women, which created the framework within which the age-old problem of illiteracy could be solved.

The legislative basis which laid the guidelines for educational policies in the 1970s was set by three laws. An Illiteracy Eradication Law was promulgated in 1971 which was followed by a free Education law in 1974, whereby the state undertook the responsibility of covering all financial costs at all educational stages i.e. from Kindergartens to Universities. At all stages, education has become free since 1974. The state has started to offer all education requirements to all students from kindergartens to universities. In

¹¹ Arab Ba'th Socialist party, *The 1968 Revolution in Iraq*, (Ithaca Press, London, 1964), p.174.

1976, a compulsory Education Law was passed which made the primary schooling compulsory for all children between 6 and 15, and committed the state to provide all the necessary facilities. Also free school food meals to all students in kindergartens and primary schools were provided.

A large-scale expansion in this field has been made in line with the requirements of qualitatively building up "Man under the Revolution" programme. The initiation of the national comprehensive campaign for the eradication of illiteracy in December 1978 was spent in creating the infrastructural base for eradicating illiteracy. Measures were taken to train literacy teachers and administrative personnel through a National Training Centre for Fundamental Education which was created for this purpose. A number of decrees were passed with the object of encouraging illiterate citizens to enroll at literacy centres. Further, literacy was made a condition for employment in government departments.

After the comprehensive national campaign in May 1978 Supreme Council for the Eradication of Illiteracy was created, with members drawn from relevant ministries and organisations and others serving in their capacities as educational experts or social workers. The Supreme Council sought to mobilize educationalists, statisticians, psychologists, social workers and religious and community leaders for the campaign. For the first time army and internal security force was specified in this campaign. Further in November 1977, a general census was carried out in order to provide the necessary data regarding the number of illiterates, their age groups, sex, income and ethnic and geographical distributions. The data collected for the census revealed that there were 2,212, 630 people between the ages of 15 and 45 who did not have the basic skills of reading and writing. Of these, there were 676,693 men and 1,535,937 women (The percentage of women

coming to 69.42 percent of the total)¹². The percentage of illiterates in rural areas averaged 48.67 per cent of the rural population, while the Governorate of Baghdad alone held one-fifth of the total number of illiterates.

In May 1978, the National Comprehensive Campaign for Compulsory Literacy Law was issued, making the eradication of illiteracy a national issue towards which all the country's facilities on both official and popular levels were to be oriented. The law specified the objectives to be achieved as follows:

- To teach reading, writing and arithmetic
- To develop professional skills.
- To help illiterates raise their culture, economic and social standards of living
- To promote national consciousness among illiterates.
- And to encourages those who gained literacy.

The law made regular attendance at illiteracy eradication classes obligatory, and laid down punitive measures to deal with those who failed to comply with its provisions. Trade unions and popular organisations played a decisive role in carrying out the decisions and recommendations of the Supreme Council. The mass media was fully employed to familiarise the public with the objectives and seriousness of the campaign and the benefits to be reaped, therefore. special programmes were broadcast on radio and television and exhibitions depicting the various aspects of the battle against ignorance were offered to the public. Daily evening literacy lessons were

¹² Supreme Council of the Comprehensive National Campaign for Compulsory Literacy, *The Illiteracy Eradication Campaign: Review and Statistics* (SCCNCCL, Baghdad, 1980)

televised on all channels of the national networks¹³. It was not only that the laws were made without any groundwork done, basic infrastructures were developed and priorities were quite visible. All schools and public buildings were used in literacy classrooms. The circumstances and special needs to each village and community were taken into consideration. The handicapped, the disabled and the blind were enabled to attend special literacy centres equipped with the requisite teaching aids. Above all provisionary were told that any progress they showed in learning would be taken into consideration in remission of sentences.

Apart from these lucrative ideas which the government implemented it also tried to solidify the base of the campaign by recreating literacy teachers from among primary school teachers, government employees, university students and volunteers. Most of them were offered special training programmes. The syllabus were based on the requirements of the readers i.e. the terms and information were used which related t the occupational functions of each groups. And the government also tried to develop the consciousness of individuals as to obligations as citizens.

Women Education

Despite primary education for girls having begun early in the century, with the first secondary school for girls opening in 1929, the number of educated women remained comparatively limited in the mid-1960s. Till then the opportunity for girls to pursue their education was effectively open only to those who came from wealthy and middle class families in the cities. In 1965, 12 percent of adult literacy centers for women, although female illiterates outnumbered males by more than two to one. In 1980s out of 762

¹³ S. Amin, 'Television in the Service of Literacy', *Al-Mu' allim al-Jadid*, Vol.40, no.2, 1979.

people's schools, 416 for women and the rest were mixed. The entry of women into the educational system as a whole is another noteworthy Baathist accomplishment. The tables 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 & 3.4 show that there is a drastic increase in the girls education at all the three levels in the period 1970-1980. The year 1974 constituted a major development in the Iraqi educational system. This involved not only exemption from study fees but also free books and all other educational requirements. Therefore school expenses were no longer an obstacle in the way of enrolment of lower-class girls. As a result by 1980s there was increase in women literacy. It raised the involvement in employment and also the job opportunities. Women in 1980s accounted for 46 percent of all teachers, 29 percent of physicians, 46 percent of dentists, 70 percent of pharmists, 15 percent of accountants, 14 percent factory workers and 16 per cent of civil servants. And women participation in non-agricultural labour force raised from 7 per cent in 1968 to 19 percent in 1980¹⁴.

Table 3.1: Percentage of Girls at Primary Level, 1970-71 and 1979-80.

School Year	No. of Girls	Percentage
1970-71	318/524	29
1979-80	1,165/856	45

Source: Central Statistical Organization, Annual Abstract of Statistics 1979 (Ministry of Planning, Baghdad, 1980)

Adding to the benefits and planning by the government, in 1979-80 education at primary school level was made obligatory for all Iraqi children. As a result of the latter ruling the number of girls enrolled at the primary school level increased sharply that year.

¹⁴ Amal al-Sharki, "The Emancipation of Iraqi Women," in Niblock, *Iraq*, pp. 80-81.

Table 3.2: Percentage of Girls at Secondary level, 1970-71 and 1979-80

School Year	No. of Girls	Percentage
1970-71	88,595	29
1979-80	278,485	31

Source: Central Statistical Organization, *Annual Abstract of Statistics 1979* (Ministry of Planning, Baghdad, 1980)

Table 3.3: Percentage of Women at University level, 1970-71 and 1979-81

School Year	No. of Girls	Percentage
1970-71	9,212	23
1979-80	28,677	31

Source: Central Statistical Organization, *Annual Abstract of Statistics 1979* (Ministry of Planning, Baghdad, 1980)

Table 3.4: Percentage increase of Girls/Women at all Educational Level, 1970/71 and 1979/80

Educational Level	School year 1970/71	School year 1979/80	Percentage increase
Primary level	318/524	1,165/856	366
Secondary level	88/595	278/485	314
University level	9/212	28/647	310

Source: Central Statistical Organization, *Annual Abstract of Statistics 1979* (Ministry of Planning, Baghdad, 1980)

Until the 1980s the education system in Iraq was widely regarded as one of the best in the Middle East. During this period the

number of students seeking to pursue higher education in the 1980s increased dramatically. Accordingly, in the mid-1980s, the government made plans to expand Salah ad Din University in Irbil in the north and to establish Ar Rashid University outside Baghdad. The later was not yet in existence in early 1988 but both were designed ultimately to accommodate 50,000 students. In addition, at the end of December 1987, the government announced plans to create four more universities- one in Tikrit in the central area, one each at Al Kufah Al Qadisiyah in the south and at Al Anbar in the west. But in reality the details of these universities were not known.

Earlier the education was provided by the government through a centrally organised system. Compared to the early system of education Hussein was returning to a very different school system from the one in 1975. It is then when government passed a compulsory education law mandating that both sexes attend school through the primary level. Although middle and upper class Iraqi women had been attending university since the 1920s, rural women and girls were largely uneducated until the second half of 1970s.

Early in his rule, Saddam was credited with creating one of the strongest school systems in the Middle East. Iraq won UNESCO prize for eradicating illiteracy in 1982. Literacy rates for women were among the highest of all Islamic nations, and unlike most Middle East school systems, Iraqi education was large secular. But the Iraq's modern history is seen as if it has lost its ethos. Iraq in the immediate post Saddam era is witnessing lawlessness unheard of in modern history. One can say that Iraq's future may lie in its past.

Concluding Remarks

The Educational system seriously deteriorated due to overall neglect in large part by the government as a consequence of Iraq's engagement in long Iran-Iraq war, Kuwait war and imposed sanction by the United Nations Security Council. With the outbreak of the Gulf war, the government faced a difficult dilemma regarding education. Despite the shortage of wartime manpower, the regime was unwilling to tap the pool of available university students, arguing that these young people were Iraq's hope for the future. As of early 1988, therefore, the government routinely exempted students from military services until graduation, a policy it has adhered to rigorously. This policy, however, has likely caused resentment among the poor class and those who are forced to serve multiple tours at the front because of continuing shortages. This was one of the reasons for the high drop out from the higher study in early 1990s.

Due to the negligence on the government's part that led to the quality declined at all levels of the education system, teaching and learning conditions deteriorated. Teachers were not paid enough to sustain their life. The course content was either distorted or was outdated, and the policy and the system development came to a standstill. In the decade after the 1991 Gulf War UNICEF estimates, school spending plummeted by 90 per cent. The UN sanctions imposed after the war have had a disproportionate impact on women and children (especially girls) education. The government no longer enforces compulsory education law. Teacher's salaries dropped to \$6 a month and buildings deteriorated. The high depreciation in Iraqi currency has forced children to work to support their family. The gender gap in school enrolment (subsequently female illiteracy increased dramatically due to families' financial inability to send their children to school. When faced with limited resources, many families chose to keep their girl child at home.

By 2002 the US Agency for International Development estimated the school enrollment had fallen to 53 percent. During this period of sanction many children were forced to drop out of school because they could not afford to pay bribes, or they had to contribute to support their families, or were punished harshly in the classroom. Because of this many Iraqi children have missed valuable years of school, lack basic skills, and now are so far behind that they could not return to school. Immediately after the conflict in May 2003, only one in six children had textbooks; school facilities were in poor condition, shortages of supplies and equipments were endemic, and the quality of education was in serious decline.

CHAPTER 4

IMPACT F SANCTION ON DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL SECURITY IN IRAQ

Chapter 4

IMPACT OF SANCTION ON DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL SECURITY IN IRAQ

Although Iraqi economy was essentially a centrally planned economy with government's management of industry and trade, the social sector of Iraq has suffered negligence and degradation due to different wars and lack of comprehensive social security policy. In 1990, before the Iraqi economy had started to recover, Iraq invaded Kuwait. The subsequent allied bombing campaign damaged key industrial and communications facilities .It created adverse conditions for further economic development.

The Iran-Iraq War (1980-88) had left Iraq massively in debt but the profligate dissipation of lives and treasure had accomplished nothing except, to prepare the way for another Gulf War. In Iraq all the baleful features of the regime remained in place – disinformation, torture and the persecution of dissident and minority groups. But during this period of crisis and harsh rigors of the war, many social gains had been protected. Despite the eight year long war the social sector was not harmed. By 1990 infant mortality had fallen to 35 per 1000 births, life expectancy was 68 years and out of the population of 18.87 million 26.6 per cent were under the age of 5 years. At the same time the literacy rate had reached to 90 per cent.¹ Immunisation cover had reached 95 per cent of the population, and a comprehensive health service with 135 modern and well-equipped hospitals having more than 37,000 beds and 850 community health centres remained in place.

¹ Geoff Simons, *The Scourging of Iraq*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, INC., 1998), p. 27.

Till the 1990s, despite the disturbance due to the international political situations, the Ba'athist socialism kept pursuing developmental programmes. But the reckless and ill-judged invasion of Kuwait in 1990, all these benefits were to be swept away. The ensuing conflict was set to reduce Iraq to little more than an extermination camp. The devastation of the social infrastructure, inevitably resulted in a mounting toll of civilian casualties which has been estimated to be approx. 200,000 fatalities by the end of 1991. In the late 1980s most of the infrastructural development had taken place in the cities and the social provisions such as hospitals, clean water, sewage treatment, communications, manufacture agriculture, etc. depended on electrical power. But the attacks on the infrastructure specially power stations as principal target, resulted in comprehensive erosion of all these provisions. The condition of Iraq due to infrastructural devastation and embargoed sanction was so bad that while describing the situation Denis Halliday, UN Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq, in charge of the operation of oil-for-food, stated that \$10 billion was required to restore the electrical system, but only \$ 300 million can be afforded every six months under oil-for-food.² The deterioration in Iraq's civilian infrastructure is so bad that it can only be reversed with extensive investment and development efforts. The total amount which was roughly estimated for the reconstruction of the infrastructure ranged from \$50 billion to \$ 100 billion, of which \$ 30 billion must be spent on imported equipment, machinery and spare parts.³

Industrial Development

Apart from the exploitation of oil resources, industry played a minor role in Iraq's economy. Nevertheless, industrial activities grew between 1939 and

² Patrick Cockburn, *Independent* (25 April 1998).

³ Also see, Cordesman and Hashim, *Iraq*, p.140.

1956 at a rate probably exceeding that of the economy as a whole. The reason, apart from the expansion of petroleum production, was the increase in domestic manufacturing stimulated by the drastic reduction in imports during World War II, Woolen textiles and cigarettes were the only products manufactured in modern factories in Iraq before 1939. Manufacturing of cement, cotton textiles, distillery and tannery products, and vegetable oil was developed when the government was able to contribute part of the capital and when the end of hostilities made possible the importation of foreign machinery. The investments were increased from ID 3 million in 1948 to about ID 20 million in 1954.⁴

The Iraq Development Board, established in 1950, has been responsible for the promotion and development of such major Iraqi industries as oil refining, cotton spinning and weaving, and cement production. In 1956 laws to this end were further liberalized, industry received one of the highest priority in the Iraq development programme, and the Industrial Development Bank, a major financial support for modern enterprise, was provided with a substantial increase in authorized capital. This was also associated with the desire for higher income levels, fuller economic independence, greater military strength, and international prestige.

Further the state entered new fields of industry such as steel, engineering, electrical and extractive industries. With the increase in the industrial sector more employments were generated and there were consumption of unemployed people in it. The value of production had risen from 266.5 million Iraqi Dinars in 1968 to 594.9 million in 1974 and to 1797 million ID in 1981 with a rate of growth of 14.3 for the first period and 14.2 for the second.

⁴ Harris George L. 'Iraq: It's people its society its culture', USA, Hraf Press, New Haven, 1958,p. 216.

In accordance with the strategy of industrialisation, the public sector in this field had expanded and occupied a leading position in the whole industrial activities in the country. The wages in the public sector of the manufacturing industry made a big rise showing the great attention paid by the revolution to raise the living standards of the employees of the public sector and increasing their purchasing power. The relative importance of the wages in the public sector to the total wages in the industrial sector raised from 56.6 per cent in 1968 to 59.3 per cent in 1974 and to 71.9 per cent in 1981. As a consequence, importance of the number of employees in this sector rose from 47.5 per cent to 69.5 per cent and to 78 per cent for the same period.⁵

It is quite clear from the statistics that the predominance of the socialist sector in the manufacturing industries field had established in Iraq during 1980s. It is understood that the prevalence and control of the public sector in this field can not be undermined, especially if we take into consideration the nature of the composition of both socialist and private sectors. The socialist sector concentrated on big, basic and strategic industries while the private sector concentrates on small consumer industries. But due to the 1991 war and imposed sanction by the Security Council completed the situation to its worst. The government changed its socialistic ideology, which was there since the Ba'th party came into the power.

Further, the combined effect of bombing and sanction led to the complete destruction of the industrial set ups and life of the people who were dependent on it. The embargo blocked the import of the raw materials and the spare parts that were needed for repairing machinery. This directly effected the employment of the Iraqi population since most of the industries were shut down. And few of the industries, which were still in working

⁵ The Central Report of the Ninth Regional Congress June 1982, Baghdad, January 1983, p.127.

condition, were not able to pay enough that was required for maintaining the basic living standard of the Iraqi population. Instead of focusing on the maintenance of the industrial sector, government was more interested in investing on maintaining a large fleet of armed forces.

Today in the post sanction period the importance of industry is limited by lack of capital, adequate market and raw materials. Except the problem of raw material rest all the problems regarding the industrial development can be minimized. At present Iraq's foreign revenue from the manufacturing unit is nil and the government is not in a condition to invest aid money provided by UN for its development.

Agricultural Development

The Tigris and Euphrates have posed a challenge to the agricultural populations on their banks since earliest times. The ancient Mesopotamian empires were founded on the power and prosperity that came with the harnessing of the two rivers and the construction and management of an irrigation and drainage system which made possible a level of food production the country has not known since. Traditionally Iraq is an agricultural country. Since the era of civilization more emphasis in Iraq was on agriculture and agricultural products. The Tigris and the Euphrates allowed the early development of a complex irrigated agriculture. Increase in food supply caused population growth and the rise of the earliest cities. New forms of social and political organization succeeded the simpler patterns of the wandering bands of food gatherers and hunters and the small villages of dry farmers who inhabited the area in the earlier, Neolithic age. With the development of Vocational specialization and the creation of leisure for a wealthy elite there were originated, or at least perfected, the basic ideas and

techniques that marked man's emergence from his pre-historic past – the wheel, the plow etc.⁶

Economically, Iraq, before the oil boom was considered to be a complete agricultural country. The work methods and tools of its peasant majority and the aspect of its village's rural market places, and nomadic camps, reflected a mode of existence that has changed very little over the centuries. But the change occurred here too with the development of oil sector and modern engineering knowledge which had made possible a vast governmental programme of dam and canal building that promises to revolutionize Iraqi agriculture and create the basis for the growth of agro-based industries.⁷ Though the progress was made and more employment was generated by converting the landless farmer into an independent farmer, the authority was not able to match their ambitious programme of irrigation. As a result there was increase in the number of peasants drifting off the land to seek wage employment in the cities.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s the effort was made to bring a radical change in the agriculture field. To some extent, the aim was achieved. More priority was given to socialist modes of production in agriculture. The achievements during this period have predominance of the socialist made in terms of plot and production. By the two Agrarian Reform Laws: 117 of 1970 and 90 of 1975, agricultural acquisition was reorganized in accordance with the Revolution's socialist line and the scientific approach. Feudal ownership was totally liquidated and the life of countryside population has prospered for the first time, after centuries of backwardness, oppression and exploitation.

⁶ Harris George L. '*Iraq: its people its society its culture*', (USA, Hraf Press, New Haven), 1958 p.7.

⁷ *ibid*, p. 4.

Despite such revolutionary and radical changes and positive developments in this sector, a number of drawbacks and problems appeared. However, inspite the difficulties faced by the agricultural sector, the recent years had seen important achievements, great attentions has been paid by the leadership (1980s) to this sector to help it over come the problems which has been obstructing its growth and development.

The production increased with the use of modern methods on a large scale. New techniques were like covered agriculture, and plastic and glass houses were introduced. The state offered necessary services to agricultural production such as seeds, chemical fertilizers, agricultural credits, marketing, agricultural instructions etc. These services were offered either free of charge or at low prices. As a result total weight of marketed goods through this sector rose to 1.1 million tons in 1980s, which was only 3700 tons in 1968.⁸ Irrigation projects and dams have drawn certain attention in 1980s with the purpose of regulating the exploitation of water resources in the country and expanding the area of irrigated plots. Hamrin Dam and six other dams in the western desert, including that of Rutba, were so far built. The progress made in this sector not only consumed the Iraqi workforce but also gave food security to them. Till 1980s Iraq was able to produce enough of food crops to satisfy atleast their basic requirements.

But though till 1990 about one-third of the Iraqi workforce was engaged in agriculture, their efforts were being steadily eroded by the impact of sanctions that made it impossible to import fertilizers, insecticides and spare parts for machinery. The cropping became mono form and areas specific. During the war due to short of manpower the farmers were forced to join the military camp, which led to shortage of workforce in agriculture sector. It

⁸ "The Central Report of the Ninth Regional Congress, June 1982", (Baghdad, January 1983), pp. 133.

was the agriculture sector which had supported the Iraqi economy during the Iraq-Iran war but during the 1991 war the government did not focus on it and most of its revenue was invested on military field. Further, the sanction added enough to its complete destruction.

Due to the complete destruction of the Iraqi economy the government stopped giving free services to the farmers. The earlier free supply of seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, loans, etc. All were stopped. The necessary things for the irrigation were still provided in the market but were in limited supply or were out of stock. The things that were available in the market were not easy for the farmers to buy as it was too costly for them due to inflation of ID because of economic sanctions. The farmers could not rely completely on the agriculture for their better life, for that they had to try their hand in some other work also. This deviation resulted in low workforce in the agricultural field leading to low production. Lack of proper facilities and guidelines, which were earlier provided by the western specialists were affected by the anti-Iraq propaganda.

In the global scenario, where the agriculture is looked at as an important component for the economic growth of a country, it has faced a shattering negligence in Iraqi condition of sanction. Very few countries in the world today have experienced significant economic growth without a solid foundation of agriculture. Though many developing countries focused on industrialization, which also accelerated the pace of urbanization through much of the second half of the twentieth century, agriculture is once again seen as the engine of economic growth which leads to the development of social sector as a whole.

Food Security

The concept of food security has been seminal in developing policies to end hunger and malnutrition during the last 25 years. Yet, when our planet entered the twenty-first century, it did so with more than 800 million hungry people on board.⁹ The reason most people are hungry today is not because enough food cannot be produced, but because it does not get distributed fairly and because some people are too poor to buy it. This concept has mainly highlighted that increase in per capita food production alone cannot significantly reduce hunger and malnutrition. In the case of Iraq both these facts were implacable. Due to the economic sanction the population had grown poor and the food production units were shattered due to infrastructural destruction and lack of repairing facilities.

Just after the 1991 war it was noted that Iraq has been heavily dependent on food imports, which have amounted to at least 70 per cent of consumption needs. By then, the sanction decided upon by the Security Council had already adversely affected the country's ability to feed its people.¹⁰ The food stocks were at critically low level and at some places it has already been exhausted. The basic food places it has already been exhausted and was only available by sick people and that also on medical prescription.

The rationing system was established in September 1990, just a few weeks after the imposition of the sanctions regime. Even at that time, when the government could rely on some food stocks, the allocation provided only

⁹ Vandana Desai and Robert B. Potter, 'The companion to development studies', New York, Arnold and Oxford University press, INC., 2002.

¹⁰ The impact of war on Iraq, Report to the Secretary General on humanitarian needs in Iraq in the immediate post crisis environment by a mission to the area led by Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management, United Nations, New York, 20 March 1991.

1300 calories per day per person which is far below the necessary energy intake (2280-2850 Kcal) for an adult.

Table 4.1: Inflation of basic food prices, July 1990-Nov. 1993

Commodity (kg)	Food Price July 1990 ¹¹	Food price Nov. 1993 ¹²	Times Increase
Wheat	0.060 dinars	24.300 dinars	405
Rice	0.240	16.500	69
Vegetable Oil	0.600	63.000	105
Infant formula	1.600	532.000	332
Lentils	0.400	52.000	130
Potatoes	0.500	16.750	34
Sugar	0.600	57.000	95
Tea	2.000	153.000	77
Red meat	2.000	150.000	75

Source: Geoff Simons, *The Scourging of Iraq*, Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998, p.149

People already had to supplement the ration by purchases on the open market, which was an option that would become increasingly unrealistic with rocketing price inflation. But in further time with increase in the price of many basic necessities (having increased by 1000% and even more) most of the Iraq families were unable to supplement their food ration by purchases on-the open market.

The severe post-war conditions were affecting large parts of the population through the destruction of various parts of food producing and food

¹¹ 1990 Prices as reported by the Ministry of Planning.

¹² 1993 prices as collected from markets in Baghdad and Basra by Mission Members.

distributing systems. Many of the Iraq families were unable to draw their government set rations because the distribution centres were depleted and it was difficult to reach there in the absence of adequate transport services.

Table 4.2: Food Shortages in Iraq, 1995-96

Commodity	Estimated Production ('000 tons)	Total Requirement ('000 tons)	Shortage/import requirement ('000 tons)	Shortage as % of Total Requirement
Wheat	989	3209	2220	69
Rice	221	994	773	78
Barley	892	1217	327	27
Pulses	50	120	70	58
Vegetable Oil	100	298	198	66
Red Meat	94	227	133	58
Poultry Meat	20	227	207	90
Milk	Na	372	223	93
Tea	None	62	62	100
Sugar	80	814	734	90
Baby Milk	Negligible	43	43	100

Source: Geoff Simons, *The Scourging of Iraq*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998, p.218

The main purpose of the rationing system was to ensure that every citizen received at least a certain secure food allocation which was monthly per capita amount: 8 kg of flour, 1 kg of rice, 1.5 kg of sugar, 50 gram of tea, and 1 kg of legumes and 50 gram of oil, which when purchased in the open market would have cost 20 to 30 times as much.¹³ In November 1991, the

¹³ Geoff Simons, 'The Scourging of Iraq', London, Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998, p.144.

monthly foodstuff allocation was being distributed by 48,823 agents of the State Enterprise for Trade in Foodstuffs. The rationing system remained in place in subsequent years, though; it became increasingly inadequate with time. In July 1993, a report from the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) noted that the public rationing arrangements had provided food to the population at highly subsidised prices which at the same time represented less than 1 per cent of the cost of market purchases.¹⁴ Still the provided food was only 53 per cent of the average energy intake compare to 1987-89 periods. This system had prevented a massive famine but was not enough equipped to check the increasing malnutrition and morbidity rates, affecting a large section of the population. And also how long a government can manage the system without having the ability to earn foreign exchange due to sanction.

The factors which further contributed to the insecurity of food stuff were, rising prices, acute shortage of spare parts for agricultural equipment, the collapse of the transportation and electric-power infrastructure, most civil servants, the majority of Iraqis who are still employed, were earning between 250 and 500 dinars a month. In consequence large number of Iraqis have now food intake lower than those of the populations in the disaster stricken African countries. The shortage of food supply had so much aggravated that Iraqi society suffered a health superimposed on a worsening food crisis. The beggars asking for food rather than cash had become a regular sight. The sanction had caused persistent deprivation, severe hunger and malnutrition for a vast majority of the Iraqi population, particularly the vulnerable groups such as children, nursing women, widows, orphans, the elderly and disabled.

¹⁴ Food supply situation and crop outlook in Iraq', Evaluation of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), Rome, July 1993, pp.22-6.

UN food and Agriculture Organisation in its report described the condition of Iraqi people after surveying the area.

....It is a country whose economy has been devastated.... Above all by the continued sanctions... which have virtually paralyzed the whole economy and generated persistent deprivation, chronic hunger, endemic under nutrition massive unemployment and wide spread human suffering... a vast majority of the Iraqi populations is living under most deplorable conditions and is simply engaged in a struggle for survival .. a grave humanitarian tragedy a unfolding... the nutritional status of the population continues to deteriorate at an alarming rate... large number of Iraqis now have food intakes lower than those of the populations in the disaster stricken African countries.¹⁵

Water and Sanitation

In 1991 itself the scale of the catastrophe afflicting the Iraqi people was clear. In the capital city of Baghdad alone, the massively degraded water and sanitation services were causing a public health crisis of vast proportions. Since the beginning of the sanction imposed on Iraq, most civilians had been deprived of running water and electricity. In many areas water treatment was no longer a practical option, raw sewage flooded into rivers that supplied drinking water. The Tigris was the only source for the supply of drinking water for the most of capital's inhabitants, was being fouled by torrents of untreated sewage. And due to the destruction in postal, telephone and telex facilities it was impossible to communicate information about sanitation and health needs.

¹⁵ World Food Programme, Special Alert no. 237, July 1993.

According to Mohammad Furat, manager of the Rustumuja sewage treatment plant, which was like other such facilities, had come under allied bombing attacks and estimated that 65 million cubic yards of raw sewage was flowing into the Tigris every month.¹⁶ The destruction of pumping stations and the bombing of the plants that manufactured water purification chemicals together added to the problems regarding health. While concluding the report to the UN Secretary General, Martti Ahtisaari, the UN Under-secretary-General for Administration and Management said that:

It should, however, be said at once that nothing we had seen or read had quite prepared us for the particular form of devastation that has now befallen the country. The recent conflict has wrought near – apocalyptic results upon the economic infrastructure of what had been, until January 1991, a rather highly urbanized and mechanized society. Now, most means of modern life support have been destroyed or rendered tenuous. Iraq has, for some time to come, been relegated to a pre-industrial age, but with all the disabilities of post-industrial dependency on an intensive use of energy and technology.¹⁷

The Secretary General reported in September 2000 that: “In the area of water and sanitation, infrastructural degradation is evident across the subsector, from water treatment to water distribution”. He agreed on that the decay rate of the entire system is accelerating and also noted that four years of Oil-For-Food had not resulted in an improved situation, not even stabilized situation. Four years of oil-for-food in one of the most critical sectors, for child health had produced an accelerating rate of decay within the

¹⁶ Geoff Simons, *The Scourging of Iraq*, London, St. Martins’ Press INC., 1998, p.28.

¹⁷ The impact of the War on Iraq, Report to the Secretary-General on humanitarian needs in Iraq in the immediate post-crisis environment by a mission to the area led by Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, Under Secretary-General for Administration and Management, NY, UN, 20 March 1991.

sector. The reason behind it was that the key complementary items were on hold and adequate maintenance, spare parts and staffing were absent.

At present the Iraq's water and sanitation infrastructure is in dire need of repair. Water and sewage treatment plants have deteriorated over the years as a result of lack of maintenance, spare parts and dwindling number of professionals and/or operating personnel. In April 2000, \$702 million worth of contracts had been submitted to the sanction committee for the water and sanitation sectors. Over 90 per cent of the urban population is thought to have access to water, but quantities per person are insufficient. Moreover, in many areas leaking pipes have contaminated potable water networks. Less than half the rural population have direct access to piped potable water. The water treatment system in Iraq consists of 218 traditional water treatment plants and 1,191 mobile compact water treatment plants that mainly serve rural areas. A strategic plan to deliver safe drinking water to 0 per cent of Iraqis by the end of 2004, and 100 per cent by the end of 2005, has been put forth by the Ministry of Public works. Only half of the country's sewage treatment plants are operational. In Baghdad deteriorated sewage treatment installations are unable to handle increasing flow caused by Population growth.

Women's Condition and Security

While most advances in women's status occurred in the political and economic spheres, the government also made modest changes to the personal status laws in 1978. Changes were also made to the conditions under which a woman could seek divorce and regulations concerning polygamous marriages and inheritance. In 1986, Iraq became one of the first countries to ratify the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of

Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). But in June 2000, it also reportedly enacted a law requiring all state ministries to put restrictions on women working outside the home. As a result of these combined forces, by the last years of Saddam Hussein's government the majority of women and girls had been relegated to traditional roles within the home.

Since the 1991 Gulf War, the position of women and children within Iraqi society has deteriorated rapidly due to a combination of legal, economic, and political factors. Women and children were disproportionately affected by the economic consequences of the UN sanctions, and lacked access to food, health care, and education. These effects were compounded by changes in the law.

Due to the lack of social security within the society nearly two thirds of women are suffering from such psychological problems as depression, anxiety, headache and insomnia. Sick and weakened women now had to queue for water, to collect fire wood, and to cope with the consequences of marital breakdown through increased domestic tensions. Many marriages were breaking down; it was one increasingly difficult for families to afford marriage costs. The erosion of the education sector, the increased incidence of crime, the collapse of the family, all exacerbated by sanctions, were now combining to produce unprecedented levels of social dislocation. This deteriorating situation has impacted drastically on the condition of Iraqi women, by now increasingly bereaved, sick, abandoned, divorced and poor. Iraqi women have experienced this whole crisis not only as victims, but also as crucial actors who have sustained the family and the society. The basis of the Iraqi society, the home, has been held together by their ingenuity and strength despite of their own economic, social, emotional and psychological deprivation.

The extremes of deprivation that women have to face in Iraq during the sanction can horrify the people. They were not able to provide food to their crying children and sometimes they were compelled to cut single bread into pieces so that each child can get something to eat. Families drinking dirty water after being fed on single piece of bread were common scenarios. The suffering of the most vulnerable groups i.e. children, women, old, handicapped, the mentally ill and the destitute was more painful. Due to the lack of sanitation facilities homes were flooded with sewage. The pre-natal care had collapsed, the people lacked to afford medicines, women lost hair due to malnourishment.

The Ministry of Health is the only body responsible for drug importation and distribution. Even they were not able to provide basic treatment and medicine because of the low amount of imported drugs and insufficient amount of manufacturing. The drugs supplied to the private pharmacies were not enough, so the people had to pay heavy amount for lower quantities. One can imagine the unsecured feeling of the people regarding the health due to lack of health security on the governments part, which led to increased morbidity and mortality rates.

The doctors and medical students were also among the sufferers. There was lack of medical journals, papers, periodicals, literature and recently published books. They were not able to attend medical conferences abroad due to lack of economic backup and more over they were not issued visa to go abroad. The condition carved by the economic embargo made a situation where government cannot think to calling or inviting experts to the country due to lack of fund. The earlier practices of inviting doctors for lectures, consultations, or to do surgical procedures or to attend local conferences were out of question. There were no more scholarships for post-graduate studies, refreshers and training courses.

As far as diagnosis was concerned, the Iraqi people were back to the era where the clinical sense and experience were deprived of the new technology in medicine. Due to the lack of laboratory investigation to do minimum tests, people had to wait for days because manual methods were in practice then. The infrastructures which were damaged during the war were not fixed. There was a lack of x-ray films, developers and dyes. There were breakdown of x-ray machines and other equipment due to lack of spare parts and inadequate maintenance. In this dying situation one can not think of medical equipments like for ultrasound, echocardiography etc. There left very few places where CAT scan was available and that also in town.

Children's Wellbeing and their Rights

In the days of the League of Nations, for the first time the International concerns for the rights of the child was manifested. It adopted the Geneva Declaration on 26 September 1924. The Declaration contained seven principles focusing mainly on the protection, assistance, development, nutrition and upbringing of children, it also focused on the child's preservation from disasters and their enjoyment of 'social security'.¹⁸

Later on, on 20 November 1959, the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed a Declaration of the Child, which comprised a preamble and 10 principles. For the first time in these principles the most important human rights that children should enjoy, were specified. Rights such as the right to physical, mental, moral and social development, the right to enjoy the benefits of social security, the right to treatment for the physically, mentally or socially handicapped, the right to parental care, the right to education, the right to protection against all forms of neglect, cruelty and

¹⁸ Geoff Simons, *The Scourging of Iraq*, London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998, pp.284.

exploitation and the right to protection from all practices which might foster racial, religious or any other form of discrimination, were clearly specified. Since its proclamation, this Declaration has virtually become a guideline for private and public endeavour to further the interests of children.

But in case of Iraq, after the 1990-91 war it seems that Iraq has been a ground of foul play where exceptions of these resolutions has been practiced. At every point of these resolutions by the United Nations, children of Iraq has been discriminated and neglected.

Under the terms of Security Council resolution 661 of 8 August 1990, a compulsory and comprehensive embargo was imposed on Iraq¹⁹. Though it was clearly mentioned in the Declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations that medicine and foodstuffs were exempted, in practice this exemption was to no avail since Iraq was denied any opportunity to obtain financial resources following the ban on the export of its petroleum and the freezing of its assets abroad. In addition, Iraq was prevented from importing medical, laboratory and pharmaceutical requisites and various medicines that it had contracted to purchase and the price of which it had paid in hard currency before 2 August 1990.²⁰

Since the embargo was imposed, the mortality rate from certain diseases among children under 15 years of age has increased in comparison with the pre-embargo.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 280.

²⁰ Mohan Rao, "Sanctions Kill Children in Iraq", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (April 29, 2000), pp. 1520:21.

Table 4.3: comparison of deaths due to certain diseases

Year	No. of Deaths
1989	7.110
1990	8.903
1991	27.473
1992	46.933
1993	49.762
1994 (Jan-Sep)	38.844

Source: UNICEF, *The State of the World's children, 1999*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2000.

The effects of the embargo are not confined to the physical aspects. There was an increased feeling of fear and anxiety due to the child's exposure to frustration and repression. There was an increased desire to acquire and possess things due to the fact that the children's basic needs were not satisfied. During this phase of sanction and its affect aftermath increased aggressiveness in child's behaviour, they lost self-confidence and were not able to concentrate on anything. This also led to the ill-treatment of children by their families.

In Liew of a Conclusion

The social security system in Iraq can be traced back since 1956. Then a limited social security scheme was introduced which was extended in 1971. Benefits are given for old age, sickness, unemployment, maternity, marriage and death. Health services were provided free of charge. These provisions are only depended on certain cases. The terms and conditions for the benefits are almost same for the permanent disabled and the old age

pensioner. Since 1956 the minimum monthly pension is 54 dinars and maximum monthly pension is 140 dinars. These regulatory frameworks are supervised by the ministry of labour and social affairs.

The benefits for workers were framed much earlier in 1936. The law was made keeping in view the worker's need. The health services are provided through government health centres and hospitals financially supported by the labour and social security institute. The benefits include general and special care, surgery, medicine, X-ray etc. In case of death the government has introduced orphan's pension. The dependent parents, unmarried sister or brother till the age of 17, are liable to the insured pension. They can avail the medical facilities which the worker was given. These benefits are taken care by the ministry of health, local authorities, or private clinics.

Under the regulatory framework of 1956 and 1971 women are given much more attention than the other sections of the society. They are provided with 100 per cent of wages and are granted paid leaves during the period of pregnancy, they avail all the medical facilities and 50 per cent of wages at any time during the first 4 years of child.

In Iraq better civil society in comparison to sanction period, had existed prior to the coup *d'etat* in 1968. Under the programme of social assistance law was made in 1964 according to which the health and welfare ministry was authorized to provide employment assistance. The steps taken by the government at that time is appreciable but irony to it is that the laws were not revised after 1971. the conditions have changed and with it the needs. The benefits were granted on paper long back and are beneficial for every section of the society. During the period of sanctions till 2003 one does not find any account regarding the benefits. The policy adopted during Saddam government was not suitable for the development of social security system. The government gave least importance to the developmental sectors. Under

the repressive rule of Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi people suffered economically and socially for years. The policies of government during and after the wars and sanctions have destroyed the social security systems in Iraq.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary and Conclusion

In ancient times the land area now known as modern Iraq was almost equivalent to Mesopotamia, the land between the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates. In 762 AD, the capital city of Baghdad was founded and in the eighth century, it became the capital city of the Abbasid empire. It soon became an important commercial, cultural, and a famous center of learning in the Middle Ages. Iraq, the cradle of ancient civilization, had witnessed the glorious past. At the same time it has a continuous history of wars. In modern time Iraq was under Ottoman Empire, then British occupied it then internal conflicts which gave birth to the Bathist party around which Iraq Modern history revolves. Saddam Hussein made Iraq one of the major force in West Asia. Iraq experienced overall growth, its economy strengthened, modernization took place and social sectors were given utmost attention. Iraq was the only country having high rate of literacy in whole West Asia. But Iran-Iraq and invasion of Kuwait by Iraq which subsequently resulted into the Gulf War and numerous sanctions imposed by United Nations and other countries has made Iraq one of the worst governed state.

The impact of the sanction era was so grave that the situation of the ordinary person in Iraq has deteriorated immensely. Ordinary Iraqis have experienced a social regression of staggering dimensions. The country's infrastructure was already badly damaged in the Gulf War, when US-led forces deliberately targeted key installations. The UN sanctions regime undermined reconstruction work, and the 2003 invasion further exacerbated the crisis. For millions of people, life has become a matter of day-to-day survival, with a shattered economy, non-existent healthcare system, constant power blackouts, and a chronic shortage of food and clean drinking water.

The past 20 years have been economically traumatic for Iraq. Almost the entire Iraqi gross domestic product in the 1980s was consumed by the 1980-88 war with Iran. War's end fueled Iraqis' expectations of rising prosperity, but left the government deeply in debt, pursued by creditors and trying to absorb a large conscript army into a diminished and distorted civilian economy, dependent upon migrant labour and imports. It has been estimated that the Gulf war of 1991, destroyed more of Iraq's civilian infrastructure than had years of war with Iran. A decade of sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council has prevented any real economic recovery, both directly and by politicising economic and humanitarian issues. The sanctions directly reduced Iraq's potential exports and, hence, income. Non-oil exports were forbidden under the resolution passed by the UN Security Council. Though the export of non-oil commodities accounted for a small share of Iraq's pre-sanctions exports, it did reduce the income and employment, speeding the loss of skills among the Iraqi workers and encouraging their emigration.

Iraq has been undergoing an extreme economic recession as a result of the sanctions, and including oil, real GNP has fallen. High prices for basic commodities, low and declining real wages, and high rates of unemployment have reduced a large number of people to penury. This can be seen not only from the low absolute levels of income and consumption, but also from the proliferation in the country of various 'survival strategies' such as selling of assets, resort of petty trading, post-harvest gleaning and begging, that are usually confined to extremely poor regions of the world.

For the current predicament that Iraqi people are facing today, the US not only to be blamed for that but other nations are also equally guilty. It can not be forgotten that it was the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and other states who helped Saddam Hussein to build up the Iraqi military capacity. Through the 1980s Washington and London showed no concern

for persecuted Iraqi minorities or about Iraqi's protracted aggression against Iran. On the contrary, the US, Britain and others actively aided Saddam's adventures by providing weapons, technology, financial credits, intelligence, and in some cases, direct military support. In the nuclear field alone, Iraq was supplied with reactors and other equipments, nuclear materials, expertise and training. The US and British governments permitted staff from Saddam's Al-Qaaqaa nuclear weapon factory to receive special training in the West. Earlier West helped the Iraqi government to build up a substantial part of its military capability, then by 1991, resolved to destroy it completely. The aim of the coalition forces was to obliterate any industrial plant, research facility, transport system, power plant etc. that might have supported Saddam directly or indirectly in developing and manufacturing weapons. The bombing campaign begin with crushing nuclear capability without drawing line of distinction between peaceful power generation which is protected by the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the development of nuclear weapons. Moreover, they never bothered to even think about the amount of radioactive contamination that the bombing attacks had caused. It was a direct violation of international law, the Resolution 487 passed by the Security Council when Israel bombed the Iraq's Osiraq nuclear reactors early in 1981.

At the Non-proliferation Treaty review conference, held in Geneva 1990, a collective statement declared that the conference recognises an armed attack on a safeguarded nuclear facility, operational or under construction.... would create a situation in which the Security Council would have to act immediately in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. But despite the decision taken at the conference, in which United State was a leading participant, in December 1990 in the UN General Assembly US was the only state to vote against a resolution prohibiting bombing attacks on nuclear reactors. Not only that but if also neglected the

mandate by bombing of Iraqi nuclear plants just few weeks after the resolution had been passed. These events not only question marked the existence of UN Security Council but also become a defining feature of the Gulf War and the imposition of the sanction regime. The role played by the UN, during the Sanction period, supports the notion that any US-inspired policy would be justified by Washington, however disproportionate such policies might be however lacking UN authorisation, and however unrelated to specific overt policy objectives.

During the period of sanction the UN body called up several meetings to revise the earlier convention, and Resolutions were declared so that the general population gets less affected. But in reality Western powers pursued a strategic policy linked to the control of Gulf oil, which has nothing to do with support for human rights or condemnation of military aggression. This clearly means that the United States has consistently manipulated the United Nations to serve its foreign policy objectives and where this option has not been possible it has acted unilaterally in defiance of UN majority opinion, as it happened in the case of Iraq.

US overruling the Article 52 of the 1977 addition to the 1949 Geneva Convention, which prohibits military attacks on civilians and civilian property, targeted the civilian area. Here its principal goal was to maximise the economic and psychological devastation of the Iraqi nation. Some targets, especially late in the war, were bombed primarily to create post-war leverage over Iraq. Their intention war to destroy or damage valuable facilities so that Baghdad could not recover without foreign assistance. During these attacks Iraq lost around \$200 billion cost of assets which included as many as 20,000 homes, apartments and other dwellings were destroyed, with thousands of commercial centres including shops, retail stores, banks, offices, hotels, restaurants and other public buildings were

targeted and destroyed. The massive destruction of infrastructure inevitably resulted substantial number of fatalities mainly among the very young, the old and the sick. The death estimated during this massive attack has been estimated to be 113,000 Iraqi civilians of whom 60 per cent were children. This data has been provided before the implementation of sanction, after its implementation the volume of casualties had increased much.

The sanction of the targets that were attacked by US forces reveals their intention of destroying Iraq as a viable social system. Other principle targets were the assets which contributed to the Iraqi economy and supported all economic and social development. During these bombing campaign 157 centres for water and electricity services, 646 elementary and secondary schools, 16 universities and colleges, 28 hospitals, 45 health centres and many other economic and social facilities, including laboratories, dispensaries, pharmacies, grain silos etc. were destroyed. The conduct of the US-led forces in Iraq violated many provisions of international law and morality, including the UN Charter, the Hague and Geneva conventions, the Nuremberg Charter, and the laws of armed conflict. Further the imposition of UN sanction by the Security Council aggravated the disastrous condition in which the Iraqi people had to sustain their lives. The economic embargo did not allow the import and export of the essential things needed to minimize the impact of these on the Iraqi people.

These attacks had traumatised not only the children but also the elders. They had developed the feeling of unsecured about their lives. As a consequence of this the daily life of the Iraqi people was disturbed. More over, lack of economic support and withdrawal of facilities which were given free by the government prior to sanction era, has terrorised their life.

During this period of sanction there was maximum dropout from the schools as the education had gone to costly compare to earlier free education

campaign by the government. Most of the students were forced to leave school and help in family earning as it was getting very difficult to cope up with the increasing price of necessary things including food stuffs and inflation of dinar. Those who were capable of paying fee for only one child they preferred girl child to drop out from the school. It was not only the students who were leaving schools for earning for their family but even the teachers were also shifting to some other job because the payment at school was not enough to survive in the sanctioned Iraq. The quest for survival and corrupted the Iraqi society very badly, there was increase in theft, loot and corruption at every level. During the decade of UN economic sanctions, the Welfare state deteriorated, paychecks shrunk, many Iraqis did lose their jobs, and the middle class grew poor.

The cost of daily use touched the sky. Compare to the earlier costs one can buy only one day meal from the amount they use to buy for the whole month. Due to the short supply of the food items the price were too much for the poor but those who were in condition to buy were not able to get that, as it get out of stock. Some was the condition of health security. Lack of enough medical supply caused death even due to simple diseases. The medicos and pharmaceuticals were destroyed in the war and the few hospitals left un destructed were over crowded. The priorities were given to pregnant, old and child but many a times they were also deprived of proper medication due to lack of medical utensils and short of medicine. During this period of sanction the patients suffering from heridetric diseases had to take care of themselves by taking precautions and relying completely on the home made medicine. Forget about one proper meal, people were not having a bit to eat to take medicine.

The UN 'Oil-for-Food' programme was accepted late by the Iraqi government but that was also not enough to feed one time daily meal to the

whole population. Ration system was introduced for the proper distribution of food stuffs but corruption carried it to the black market and again it was difficult for the poor to buy. Moreover the food stuffs which were distributed were not in good condition due to short of proper facilities to keep it for long. The destruction of transportation system had made it difficult for medicine and food to reach in limited time so that it can be preserved. Lack of refrigerator could not help the costlier medicines to preserve. All together, the unfavorable condition resulted into the failure of the UN programme of 'Oil –for-food. Thus the condition of Iraqi people still remained in pathetic condition. The rationing introduced by the Iraqi government, at least in theory that each citizen would be guaranteed 1270 calories a day, supplemented by domestic produce of around 480 a day. But the diet was now only 57 per cent of pre-crisis levels, with a diet of less than 2000 calories meaning that Iraq, formerly a relatively well developed country, had been reduced to one of the poorest on earth.

Adding to its limit, veto in the sanction Committee, harassment of aid workers, threat to American citizens taking medicines and toys to dying infants were some of the tools sanctioned by an American government committed to the slow extermination of a people. The old and the sick, emaciated pregnant women, the Kwashiorkor children, grossly under-weight babies with no chance of survival, the desperately weaken and vulnerable million, are the most directly targeted for extinction by Washington.

In this whole episode of UN sanction on Iraq, US played a leading role. So, the condition created by the act played by the US seems to be villainous. The condition of Iraqi people in which they were compelled to dwell was created by the US. The sufferings of the Iraqi people was so grave that it sufferings of the Iraqi people was so grave that it created the situation of Genocide. Again it falls within the terms of the UN Genocide Convention,

which has been declared crime under international law. According to the Convention genocide means any of the acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a nation, ethnical, racial or religious group. It also includes any serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group or an individual.

The condition of the Iraqi people as a consequence of the UN sanction has an adverse affect not only on the physical and economic condition of the people but also their social life was shattered. It was mainly due to great suffer from the psychological and emotional stress related to war and sanctions, including the trauma of bombings and internal disturbances, the loss of loved ones, and constant anxiety about the well-being of their families.

As a result of the mental trauma and psychological stress Iraqi families are so dispossessed and demoralized that they can not celebrated marriage, welcome guests or enjoy any kind of social entertainment. Marital problems were reported to have increased as a result of economic and psychological pressures. Women due to their physical and financial powerlessness are the prime victims of increased discord. Women's mobility has been greatly reduced by fear of sexual harassment and theft. The condition of widows, divorced and deserted women is the worst of all. One important reason is that price increases have undermined the real value of the pensions that widows received from the state.

The days of primacy of regional politics has slowly but surely given way to one of wider and far reaching implications - one that embraces the entire world closes the gap between them and the developed world, the increment in their power potential begins to have a direct influence on the sum total of the global power equation. In most cases, this subtle change goes unnoticed, and those countries continue to formulate and operate their national policies

based on their perception of regional imperatives. Iraq was one such state. Iraq's policies were designed on Saddam Hussein's perception of his country's role in the Middle East. While he understood the incremental potential of Iraq's power potential on the regional scene, he failed to appreciate the destabilising effect of the consequences of his policies had on the global balance. Therefore, when he suddenly found himself confronted by a world wide reaction to his invasion of Kuwait, he was caught in a situation beyond his and his colleague's political comprehension. Not geared to conduct policy within the ambit of the global security and technological environment Iraq was unable to extricate itself politically and was hopelessly out of its depth militarily. The consequences are there for all to see-a shattered country which has put the clock back by at least two, if not three decades.

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