

Washington University in Saint Louis  
Law School

# Road to Iraq's New Democracy

Policy Paper

**By Ali Mohammed (Al-Athary)**

LLM in US Law 2006, Washington University law school.

**Under Supervision of Professor. John Owen Haley**

Wiley B. Rutledge Professor of Law and  
Director of the Whitney R. Harris Institute for  
Global Legal Studies

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## **Introduction**

Building new democracy have never been an easy and simple work. Neither one study can be enough to cover the subject. In addition to finding the suitable political and voting systems to represent people, successful democracy need essential and strong foundations in every aspect of people life socially, economically. Furthermore, Iraq enjoy complicated and several issues that makes it a new and unique experience of building democracy. However, it must be paid lots of attention to make such building successful, especially in tensed region like middle-east where many regimes and groups oppose democracy. Failure in Iraq's building democracy will just strength the power of dictatorship and the toughness of conflicts in that region

All these factors make it hard to find exact and one solution for the several complicated issues. However, nations along the history rose from very tough situations. Iraq's history witnessed several strong and well-founded civilizations along past centuries. Iraq's resources can provide all successful tools that is only need to be managed wisely and well. However, it makes it a sight-catching for anti-democratic and democratic nations as well that can reflect conflicts and struggles in the country.

This research is primarily done by Iraqi who lived and experienced the life in Iraq whether the Saddam's dictatorship, gulf war and the first year of US-led invasion. This can gives humble credit to the research, but it can not be assumed as representing other Iraqis respected opinions. There are always many ways to achieve any goal. In addition, this subject needs to be detailed in each side for hundreds of pages and research. However, with the great help and

support of Professor. John Owen Haley at Washington University Law School in Saint Louis, I tried my best to research and write this simple policy paper, promising to write more in this subject when I have the time and resources.

This paper will focus on three sides of building democracy in Iraq, first concern is security concerns which are the concerns of most Iraqi people according to several polls. It is logical to deal with this issue first, since building democracy need stable and safe environment to provide a ground for democratic change. Second chapter deals with the social structure struggles and the necessary changes and steps that have to be taken to secure a support for stable and successful democracy. Democracy can not be built without society has the readiness for such change. Finally, the last chapter discusses economical policy and concerns, steps have to be taken and economical transition necessary for building democracy in Iraq.

Ali Al-Athary

## Chapter One Security Concerns

The first issue to be discussed here is the security challenges and concerns in current Iraq because safe and secure environment is an important success key for building democracy.<sup>1</sup> People can not be involved in power and has potential control in governance without being safe and free of threats and attacks. Today, Iraq faces several challenges in its security including daily terror attacks, some of which are reported on the news and some others are not. It is reported that Iraqi civilians killed since the beginning of the war estimated about 33821 to 37943 according to Iraq body count website.<sup>2</sup>

The main streams of security threats to Iraq come from three major sources: 1. Loyalists of Saddam Hussein and banned Baath party members. 2. Islamists extremists whether foreigners or Iraqis. 3. Foreign involvement.<sup>3</sup> In order to stop or lessen these threats following steps must be taken;

1-Amnest, rebuild and return old baath members to normal life and stop any bans and restrictions on them in order to bring them and their experiences in military or other government experiences to under the national government away from armed groups.

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<sup>1</sup> Carl Bildt (May 2003). Hard-Earned Lessons on nation Building: Seven ways to rebuild Iraq.. Rand Objective Analysis. Effective Solutions. <http://www.rand.org/commentary/050703IHT.html> (last visited on Apr 25, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Iraq Body Count (Apr 2006). Reported Civilian deaths Resulting from the US-led military Intervention in Iraq. <http://www.iraqbodycount.net/database/> (last visited on Apr 25, 2006)

<sup>3</sup> See BBC News (Oct 2005). Who are the insurgents in iraq. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/4268904.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4268904.stm) (last visited on Apr 25, 2006). See also: Fox News (Nov. 2004) Extremists going from Iran to Iraq, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,137896,00.html> (last visited on Apr 25, 2006).

2-A. Provide a way for Iraqi armed Islamist groups for talk and amnesty if they drop weapons and distinct them from foreign terror groups. This shall include even Iraqis in those foreign groups in order to create national and patriot feelings that government is seeking Iraqis interests not foreign governments.

B. Dissolve all kind of militias including the ones affiliated with some governing parties. Militias shall not be assimilated into the national army because their loyalties could be doubted especially in the first years of creating the national armed forces.

C. Crackdown on foreign terror groups to create clear distinction between such groups and Iraqi ones to weaken their efforts and spread feelings of patriotism and nationalism and that these groups working for their interests not for driving out occupation.

D. Government must adopt more secular views and encourage dialogue and cultural exchange with other international communities. It should stop sponsoring religion that might create extreme religious society such as Iranian and Saudi societies that can be easily fall under the control of extremist.

3-A. National and patriotic feelings must be deepened to end several loyalties for foreign countries because of religion, sect or ethnicity by creating feeling of Iraqi culture, one history, one dialect that can be developed into national language.

B. Build relations with other countries based on shared interest and not interfering in each other affairs regardless of ethnic, sect and religious relations.

C. Iraqi government must show strong control over security and sovereignty, therefore must deal with foreign forces existed in Iraq in that manner. If foreign forces appeared to have more control on the government that makes mistrust of the nationality of such government and feed attacks and problems.

### **1-Re-Assimilate former Baath Party Members**

#### **- in dealing Loyalists of Saddam Hussein and banned Baath party members:**

Perhaps, Baath party former members play important role in sabotaging current government and supporting the insurgency as a result of that many Baath party members found themselves the most undesired members in the society and under process of being rooting up after all years of pleasure and power; therefore, The Iraqi government must show a pure intention towards those dismissed loyalists, in order to weaken the side of insurgency. The better way to bring back those loyalists to society again is to follow the way that Saddam used to bring them to his loyalty. Using promise of gratitude or else. That means opening opportunity for them to live normally and feel that they have a chance to be in good position if they accept peace, democracy and the new government.

If the government allow the Baath party to be established under a new name, giving its members amnesty from any criminal charges in exchange for dropping their arms and

cooperating to counter insurgency, it is more likely those members would give up their arms. However, the government must show that is amnestying out of care about Iraqi and Iraq interests not because it lacks the power to crack down the insurgency. Appearing weak, the government measures would possibly just increase and encourage insurgency by giving the wrong signal of “you are winning, you are strong. We are losing, that is why we need to talk”. It must learned from the lessons of Israeli withdrawal from south Lebanon which gave wrong signal to counter Israeli movements that they can force Israel only using arms. Government can show strength by making it a result of a deal with other Iraqi parties and fractions to make a national unity and end the invasion and foreign interference.

“Gratitude” also should be reached by promising each member admits all criminal acts committed and what they know about the insurgents’ activities and other members would receive a welfare and protection

“Or Else,” means that those Loyalists would face grave retaliation for losing that chance by persecution and wide-scale military operations.

However, these steps might also grow anger among people and doubts toward Iraqi government, if there was no special cautious and explanation to people. Such deal must be negotiated and explained well with other parties and religious figures in order to make people aware of the positive effects on road for a successful democracy and stable society.

Incorporating the ban on the Baath party into the Iraqi constitution must be also repealed for the harms it makes more than the satisfaction to the victims of Baath party. There is no need to establish that rule where it can be met by an ordinary law. This article only gives the idea that the constitution drafters think that Baath party could win someday majority of the seats in the parliament by the support of majority of people and then easily can repeal the law. The reform have to provide peaceful means to develop the society and prevent Baath or alike from coming to the government not by force but by education and reforms to socio-economic situation in the country. If the reasons that create Baath party still exist, what can prevent another similar party from gaining the power again? Or what can prevent Baath party of forming secret cells, if supported by majority, and make a military coup as what had happened in 1968 and 1963? It is unnecessary to have such rule that gives no hope to the members of that party of reforming their ideology and merge back into the society.

To track back the issue: After Coalition forces controlled the Iraqi Capital on April 9th, 2003, some hundred thousands of people knew at that moment that they lost their jobs, safety, land, respect and positions. Those people including Saddam:s guards, army, police and top ministry employees. Saddam Hussein secured loyalty of top ranking personals and key security forces of those who lost their jobs by giving special and immediate care in different ways for them such as high salaries, granting lands, gifts..etc and by giving them special supremacy and power over other state institutions. Their expectations became true by the decision of the American Administrator backed by some Iraqi politicians to dissolve the army, ministry of culture & media, intelligence directorate, security forces and Baath militias. According to Evgenii

Novikov citing the French Institute for International and Strategic Relations (IRIS), Iraqi republican guards which its main task to protect Saddam Hussein consisted before the invasion of about 80,000 members most of whom had experience in the eight years war between Iraq and Iran (1980-1988). In that war republican guards were 190,000 members<sup>4</sup> Most of those guards found themselves unemployed and as an enemy in their own country. Furthermore the Baath Party top members based on their ranks in the party not their history also found themselves unemployed, disrespectful, subject to revenge, or harassment. Definitely not all members of the Baath party did or participated in criminal acts against people of Iraq. The first order of American Administrator in Iraq Paul Bremer dismissed about 30,000 members of Baath party according to an Iraqi official, almost half of them returned to office after appeals and by Allawi government<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, revenges against Baath members took place all around Iraq, several members killed or their family hurt by revenging people or unknown gunmen while police and American army stand still without action.

Such unlawful and irresponsible discrimination against many members of Saddam loyalists, government officials and baathists perhaps drove some of them to carry their expertise to the side of insurgency, terror groups and armed resistance. Debathification policy still active in Iraq through law and even stated in the new Iraqi constitution. However, debathification committee aimed also to remerge ex-members of Baath party and government officials into public life. However, it couldn't yet solve the obvious hostility against them through the current new

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<sup>4</sup> Evgenii Novikov (Jun 2004). Unmasking the Iraqi Insurgency. Global Terrorism Analysis. <http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2368120> (last visited on Apr 25, 2006)

<sup>5</sup> Council on Foreign Relations (Apr 2005). Iraq Debaathification. <http://www.cfr.org/publication.html?id=7853#4> (last visited on Apr 25, 2006)

constitution and Iraqi government policy. Consider the last speeches by Iraqi Transitional President: Jalal Al-Talabani and US ambassador in Iraq and US secretary of state: Condoleezza Rice all agreed to make negotiations with Iraqi armed insurgency except Saddam Loyalists and Al-Qaeda members.

Saddam Loyalists are not few and are sympathized with by many of Iraqi Arab Sunni minority which feel its dominant power on politics over the past century had gone. This minority probably think that Baath is one of important parties that belongs to Sunnis and that not all members are criminals, but the new government, based on some Sunni politicians claims, discriminate that party just on a sectarian bases.

## **2- Re-assimilate Iraqi insurgents and Crackdown on Foreign terror groups**

### **in dealing with Islamists extremists whether foreigners or Iraqis:**

Islamism grew rapidly in the recent years in most Islamic countries including Iraq. However , Iraq is significantly different because Iraqis lived under secular governments for almost a century, witnessed the rise of communism in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century which dominated politics and gained support of many people. Communist party was popular that many people were members in the communist party including in conservative and religious areas. In addition, Iraqi people consist of different sects which have no absolute dominance on each other based on the population of each to the other. These facts make Iraq different from neighboring Iran which consists primarily of Shiite sect with no space for rivals or competition from other sects and religious groups. Same is true to Jordan, Saudi Arabia and many of the Arab countries

which compromise of Sunni sect primarily. Such facts make life of Islamists even harder, as Sunni and Shiite extremists can't get along with each other and therefore can not be one united group. Another difficulty for Islamists is that people can compare between the bitter taste of living divided among tensed and "everything-banned" rules of extremists comparing to the secular rules under national united feelings of patriotism to Iraq. However, these facts also make easier to think of civil war possibility because of the many-fractional groups.

Islamists varied in the scale of their goals, however, they all meet in the simple ideas of imposing Islamic laws whether Shiite Islam or Sunni Islam over the state and makes people loyalty to the religious clerics (religious class).

Islamists which considered threat to the national security of Iraq, according to the researcher view, can be classified into three major groups:

**A- Al-Qaeda and other foreign groups:**

Al-Qaeda and foreign terror groups have to be rooted up from the country by+

- 1- Tighten the control on every part of the borders of Iraq with all the countries using all possible technologies and force to make sure no illegal entry to the country can be made.
- 2- Distinct them from their Iraqi counterpart and show them as the only main enemy and struggle to the withdrawal of foreign forces off Iraq. Therefore, Iraqi members of foreign terror groups should have amnesty if they surrender , drop their arms and give

information about such groups, while cracking down on such groups without any way of amnesty or excuse.

- 3- Tighten the procedures on foreign visitors, workers and employees including the ones from coalition countries in order to provide security for them and to end terrorists sneaking to the county.

Al-Qaeda members sneaked to Iraq after invasion because of the failure of USA and other allied forces to secure the borders of Iraq for many months after the invasion which makes it so easy to enter Iraq without any check or documents. However, Al-Qaeda as any foreigner can not operate well without a support from some Iraqis. Those aids to Al-Qaeda could be from Islamists or Saddam loyalists that is why it is important to separate between foreign groups and Iraqi ones to turn the former ineffective or drive them out. The researcher suggest that government should deal with Iraqi members in Al-Qaeda terror network in Iraq in the same manner treating Saddam Loyalists and fight the others.

Al-Qaeda terror network joined by affiliated terror groups operate many of the terrorist attacks in Iraq on civilians and military targets. These groups by their acts are not aimed at driving out USA military or western involvement as they claim. Nevertheless, according to the leader of Al-Qaeda terrorist group Osama Bin Laden and based on their media show their goal as a defender to save the Islamic world and liberate it. In contrary, they hopes to achieve an old-traditional type of Islamic state (Islamic khilafa) that includes all of the Islamic countries to retrieve the power of that medieval Islamic Khilafa. This idea of conquer would gives huge power and control to Bin Laden and his group according to their wishes. Their conquering idea

creates more enemies to them including in Iraq that have different sects and interests that can not meet or surrender to the control of such terror group. Any support to secular government or any secular movement in Islamic world is an attack on Al-Qaeda ideology. Furthermore, it is no surprise that Al-Qaeda attacks Iraqi Shiite civilians and secular Sunnis because those are considered by Al-Qaeda as struggles for their state they wish.

**B- Iraqi Islamists who are anti-government.**

- 1- They must be treated as Saddam loyalists, providing them with amnesty and ways of participating in the political process and chances they can have their own rules applied on their areas unless it contradicts the constitution or any such deal that does not break the unity of the country.
- 2- Provide feelings of nationalism among population and patriotism emotions. In order to bring the members out of such groups and pledge loyalty to the country instead of the religion. This can be done by social change while cracking down on any continued terrorists.
- 3- Limiting the power of religious clerics by providing measures and emergency acts to observe religious powers, praying places and Friday sermons in order to prevent some religious clerics from taking advantage of religious sermons to recite for hate and attacks.

Those groups compromise the other dangerous part of insurgency who carrying significant numbers of attacks. Such groups are as the “Islamic Army in Iraq” which are consist of and led by mostly Iraqis according to news and published intelligent reports. They vary in their goals.

Some of them like Ansar Al-Sunnah carry same ideas of Al-Qaeda, some others seem their goals aim at driving out USA invasion and maintain Islamic rule using force means. Those groups have to be dealt with by negotiations and open opportunity of amnesty to distinct them and weaken them and foreign terror groups. Many members of such groups include former baath members.

### **C- Foreign involvement.**

1. It is important to prove control of the government over the sovereignty of Iraq to create trust between people, Iraqi armed groups and the government.
2. Government must deal with neighboring and other countries based on mutual interests not based on ethnicity and sect relations to stop fears of Iraq's minorities from foreign control and to create trust, patriotic feelings and loyalty to the country.
3. Treat the coalition forces countries on the same bases. However, in order to secure the rebuilding of the country and the interest of Iraq, the government can put agreements with such countries and put them clearly to the people. Government must do the efforts to end the direct contact between foreign forces actions and civilians or find away to involve Iraqi judicial system to persecute any abuse. This is important to create trust in the national government that it has power and sovereignty and also for the interests of foreign forces.

Foreign involvements find its way through different loyalties of different Iraqi groups. For example, Iran finds the way of interference through religious Shiites while Turkey through Turkmen ethnic group. The government should deal with this issue by growing national

identity. Feelings of people can be Encouraged to work in patriotism for the sake of the country creating feelings that other countries can not help or work for Iraq interests. An identity border line should be drawn clearly between Iraq and other countries on the same actual borders. Several steps can achieve these goals. Among such steps, distinct Iraqi culture from other Arab countries cultures by using civil institutions to grow distinguished local culture, language, art, creativity and other cultural means. The former governments create the feelings that Iraq is part of Arab world and Iraqis are citizens of the biggest (not existed) Arab country which led to create loyalty to many different Arab countries' interests. Take in consideration that most Arab countries have different structures and situations from Iraq as such in the people demography of Shiites and Sunnis. Current situations of terrorism, interference and sectarian tensions can be invested wisely to alter any cross-the-border loyalties by educating national self-identity and that people in Iraq can not be part of any other countries, ethnicities or sects.

Foreign involvements in Iraq are not less dangerous threat to Iraq's security and democracy than other threats because these involvements conflict in their goals. In the tense region of middle-east, where many foes to each other are located, it's hard to expect such foes to support one direction and goals in Iraq. For example, we can see the Iranian involvement and support to Shiite Islamic groups whether by arms or politics. Baath party in Syria, the historical origin of Iraqi Baath Party and long-term opponent to USA and western countries, supports Saddam Loyalists whether by arms, media or provding refuge for them. Most other Arab countries have interest to prevent Shiites from being in control in Iraq because most of those countries have historical conflict with Shiite and continuing oppression to them. Turkey sometimes involves in

Iraq because they believe that in their interest to support Turkmen against Kurdish through media and politics to counter any hope of Kurds to be independent which might encourage Turkish Kurdish separatists to do same off Turkey. Such interferences can contribute more division to already almost-divided people of Iraq by gulping the gaps between different groups leading the country for possible civil war or more tragic attacks.

The random involvement of USA and UK officials create some troubles. For instance, if USA openly back one of the candidates or party, such party's reputation would more likely be damaged by other rivals accusing it to be cooperating with invaders against the country's interests.

## **CHAPTER TWO SOCIAL STRUCTURE**

Society structure, values and attitude have to work in harmony with democracy such as the power of laws and people attitude toward these laws. Any democracy building can not be accomplished successfully if people do not treat laws and legal institutions as the powerful and the only refuge to solve disputes, claims and conflicts. There are several sides to the subject must be examined here; whether there are different powers involve in solving disputes away and far from legal authorities and without legal authorization such as religious authorities and tribal leaderships. The other issue is whether the most supreme and final rules regulating people life and conduct with each other are set by law or by tribes, religious powers or traditions? It is so important to examine these issues to find the right ground for stable and long-living democracy.

Law has to have a supreme and undisputed power in regulating life and solving disputes otherwise the establishment of democracy would be without strong bases.

Several goals must be approached in Iraq to secure the social structure;

1. End or weaken the tribal system and powers including traditions that mainly came for or from that system.
2. End or weaken religion rules and control on people life and weaken the power of religious clerics and powers.
3. Make individualist society where each individual has independent personality mixed but not melted in national groups. In such society, the attitude of population should be directed to obey and respect laws and in case of dispute, parties can ask assistant only from competent legal authorities to solve their disputes not any other powers.
4. Re-unite different ethnic and religious groups together to end tensions and hard divisions and gaps between such groups.

To approach these goals, several steps can be taken;

1. Limit and restrict the appearances of tribal relations in a way to make it difficult for each individual to indicate other individual tribal origin. For example, government should change the names system worked in the country, instead of Arabic names system that keep tracks of origin and ancestor, it can adopt the common global system of (first name and last name) without letting individuals choose tribe names as their last name. This might be seen tiny issue, but I believe Arabic traditional system of names has a big steak in reminding people of their origin and keep tribal

system. In addition, it makes it easy for other individuals to know others' origin and ancestors.

2. Open the Iraqi culture for the other cultures of the world to create exchanges of ideas and life ways by providing opportunities for Iraqis to study or work abroad for awhile and return especially for people from tribal or religious areas. In the same time, provide opportunity for individuals from different cultures to come work, study or sightseeing in Iraq for awhile in safe environment.
3. Encourage economic projects in the country to employ and motivate workers and professionals from other remote areas to make move in the country and avoid concentrations. Also, public universities can also offer more opportunities for students from different areas to come and reside far from their original home.
4. Regulate religious authorities and makes agreement similar to the agreement between Italy and Vatican. In order to put more legal control and end chaos of religious conflict with the law and control on people life.
5. Secularize public schools, public media, and political speeches, and separate them totally from religion in order to respect different Iraqi fractions to feel they all equal in the eyes of law and state institutions.
6. Makes a capitalist society based on tax system to maintain strong relations between government, people representatives and the country citizens in order to create individualist and self building society. (for this point please refer to next chapter).

Following is more details about most of above summarized issues;

### **1- Weak Legal Power:**

Law in a democratic society usually represent and reflect the society beliefs and policies that leads us to explain what is called “Legal Culture” that can refer to the relationship between society and law. According to James Gibson, legal culture consisted of three main values to be examined hereafter: A. Attitudes of people toward the power of law. B. Law neutrality. C. Individualism and Collectivism.<sup>6</sup> These values are essential to maintain a powerful law and justice. Law is not a tool of majority to accomplish that majority interests regardless of other fractions and minorities in the society. Therefore, law has to be neutral, and has to have some extent of exceptions to maintain justice among different sectors of the society. Because the law is the result of a society in a democratic system, society itself has to have those legal values above to achieve strong legal power.

#### **A- Iraqi society attitudes to the power of law:**

Iraq was part of the Ottoman Empire for nearly four centuries. Therefore, it shares a lot of same problems and social structure with Turkey and other former parts of that former empire. Tribes and regional leadership were a common theme under the empire and proceeded as such for decades after Iraq independence. Iraqi society described often as a tribal society where each person normally a member of a bigger family, branch of a tribe and then of a tribe. These tribes look similar to independent countries or municipally, They have their own leadership and important personals that can solve disputes among tribe members and even declare a fight or seek truce and peace with other tribes if a conflict broke down between them. Tribes often caused or solved lots of problems to Iraqi governments and even to British Invaders at the

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<sup>6</sup> Law and Society, Gibson

beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, in 1920 tribes rose and declared all-out-war against British forces and administration in Iraq because one of their leaders had put into jail by these forces. For an example of getting help from tribe is government or occupation authority negotiate and put agreement with tribe or tribes to give their allegiance to such authority or government and get tribes' support in exchange for some immunities from law, privileges or rewards. Despite, Iraq developed out of that system in the past decades and tribal structure became much weaker than it used to be especially under Saddam's rule. However, tribes got more power under vacant of power after 2003 invasion. Such vacancy encouraged some tribes to retrieve their power and also to protect their members who need that protection in absence of law and any authority. Not to mention Saddam's government changed its policy after Shiite reprisal of 1991 in the south from being against tribal system to supporting his loyal tribes and using them to protect his power. The tribal power can be observed also by the society relations, laws and even names system.

Social structure in Iraq can be shaped as a pyramid pointing down, starting from the small family to the bigger to the tribes and the government at the top. In most cases, there is a leader in each part of the structure starting from the small family that his/her (mostly male) decisions are final and cannot be discussed. For example, father and brothers in a family usually have the power to put the final decision for their family such as approve marriages or even sometimes deciding which college the son or daughter should enter or what is good or bad for the wife and family members. Even though this is not same for every family, but this is a typical theme that can be noticed easily. Not just the father and brothers have authority, but more often uncles and

aunts and grandfathers and sometimes elder people among relatives have strong power on family of their relatives. Brothers for instance have more control over their sisters and sometimes even mothers. This could be understood from the tribal society heritage which more over melted down with religious rules; then such system found its ways as rules into the legal system. The governments of Iraq including the royal government which backed by the British occupation at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century built in a pyramid form in contrary to the British royal system. The king of Iraq had lots of power including but not limited to dissolving the national assembly and approving the cabinet and calling for new election and also appointing certain numbers of representatives. The king was also immune criminally and politically. Same for the latter republic systems, in which the president or the prime minister have absolute power and undisputable control over everything in the first and/or last place. Saddam Hussein was a clear example of that power that he reduced the whole Iraqi state in his person.

Despite the main theme of the former governments is to counter tribal and sectarian structures, the government did not do enough to stop such system. For instance, the laws was and still recognize many of the tribal rules and traditions, such as the over control of the father, brothers over children and sisters including allowing beating children to some extent. The criminal law allowed mitigated punishment for a person kill his wife or female relative suspecting her of having sexual contact with another man. However, this rule justified by the Iraqi highest court as to the mental status of the criminal that gives him mitigated status, however it is not logical that if a woman killed her husband for same reason will not get a mitigation even

she could be in pressuring mental status<sup>7</sup> . A former law rooted back to tribal system allowed judicial competent authorities in crime of rape to suspend any criminal procedure against the criminal if he committed to marry the raped victim after obtaining her consent. However, this rule had been repealed in latter 1990s by a decision from the revolutionary command council (actual legislative authority under Baath governments).

Names system also finds its roots in tribal system. The names in Arabic society in general consisted of : first the person's name, second, the father name, third the grandfather name of such person, and so on depend on how many names required to be written in the identity card or official documents. Many times Iraqi government requires writing family name at the end of the name or in separate field. For example, the researcher name would be in three-name form: Ali Tariq Mohammed. Mohammed is the grandfather name. In most of the times, family name is usually the tribe name or a branch from tribe. More over, socially, it is considered shame for a person to be ignorant of his/her origin or having no known origin at all.

In such social structure, people tend to solve their disputes by informal meetings and mediations. Some laws ignored by social groups and the parties of a dispute. For instance even in some domestic violence cases or some crimes, parties could meet and reach agreement of paying certain amount of damages or settlement in exchange of not reporting the crime or dispute to police or courts. A relative of mine stabbed by a knife from a drunken friend of him. This caused a small injury that he healed from, but their families got together and agreed not to

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<sup>7</sup> The direction of the courts on this situation is unknown to the researcher due to lack of accessing information in Iraq.

report that incident to police and settle the issue by getting certain amount of damages and pay off all medical expenses. Even in case of inheritance or personal status laws, some people makes agreements to divide the properties of the deceased according to their traditions or religion regardless of what law says in the matter. Marriage Ceremonies are another examples too: many people do not recognize marriage at the court as a religiously acceptable marriage, however, the law punishes any marriage conducted without registration because of hardness in proving parenthood and the couples' rights on each other; therefore, many people tend to make a legal marriage then they go and make a religious marriage.

That gulf between law power and people life result in unwanted struggles in the face of stable democracy. Can that tribal attitude tolerate just exceptions in law for sake of justice and equality towards other groups? Absolutely at the moment, it is hard for current structure objects to tolerate such justice resulting in unjust rules toward minorities. Unilateral action by tribes and groups make situation even worse because even if we have just law and a solution which many might disagree with, some groups might act to disobey such laws or even try a violent way against the government or such law enforcement.

**B-Iraqi laws need to be neutral much more.**

The solution has to start from the constitution by toppling down these rules that preferring a group or religion over other, or putting away a specific group or coloring the constitution of themes belongs to specific group(s). The concerns of some people regarding laws that might

negate or contradict people's traditions or some religions or the religion of majority should not be genuine and just concerns. The reason is that laws should not be the laws of majority but rather have to make justice and fairness between different groups regardless of their sizes. If most of the population sees a rule comes from religion as just rule and does not harm people's interests, it can be enacted through legislation process without a need for a constitution article to impose that way. Laws have to be more neutral in order to make equality mentioned above among all people in the society regardless of their membership of different groups. Therefore, laws have to find its reasons and justifications by the justice to every individual on scientific, social or economical bases not on religious or traditional rules of majority bases. Former described goal is hard to achieve at the first start point, since laws in democratic society is a product of majority opinion and decision. However, this can be achieved over time by creating plans and allow the growth of tolerance in people mind by providing necessary steps. That is why the constitution is a necessary tool to provide space for such growth over time in the future. Educational institutions and government agencies must focus on growing such tolerance including educated the idea of that without having neutral laws providing everybody with justice, safety, security and development, stable society can not be approached and united democratic country can not be achieved. It is important for that same purpose to grow a national identity, so that people can think of themselves as one group, not as Shiite majority or Sunni minority. People must understand that different religions and ethnic groups all have to have same rights and just rules without looking back on their percentage among population or their religious and ethnic background.

Another value of law in Iraq has to be examined is how much neutrality is there in Iraqi laws? In other words, are laws take the interests of all components of the society, to what extent? Answering these questions have not to be separated from the Point (A) above. The social structure establishes the conflict between different interests and intolerance toward neutral laws that provide just view and rule to the conflicted interests.

Examining the new current constitution of Iraq and laws, we can see little neutrality. For example, article 2 (1<sup>st</sup>) which establishes Islam religion as the official religion of the country and a basic key source for enacting laws. Furthermore, paragraph (a) goes more extreme in here making “no law can be passed that contradicts the undisputed rule of Islam”<sup>8</sup>. The 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph of the same article imposes duty on the government to keep the Islamic identity as the identity of the majority of people.<sup>9</sup> However, the constitution put limits on how the Islamic rules can be source of law by stipulating laws shall not contradict democratic principles and fundamental freedoms outlined in the constitution. These show the intolerance of the political fractions to justice necessities, equal protection and each other different views, justice and equal protection. For instance, if people and political parties want to progress more in secularism in the future, such rules in the constitution will make a change too hard even if it is backed by majority of people since amending constitution needs more than just simple majority in the parliament. Such rules are intolerant toward minorities by imposing religious rules that are more likely would discriminate them.

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<sup>8</sup> Iraqi new constitution of 2005, articles 108 – 109, available online at Washington Post website (oct 2005) <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/10/12/AR2005101201450.html> (last visited on Apr 25, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> See article 2 (2<sup>nd</sup>) Id.

The researcher believe that at least the constitution has to be neutral in order to give the opportunity for future changes and hope to different groups among population for possible change and development. Establishing a system that puts tough measures for any possible change for minorities and other different fractions of getting their interests satisfied would just leave more possibilities for those groups to lean to use violence to meet their interests. Democracy is not the majority rule which many people misunderstand it as such. That misunderstanding noticed also by Irwin Deutscher in his book “preventing ethnic conflict: successful cross-national strategies” who mentioned this misunderstanding in Iraq<sup>10</sup>.

Iraqi constitution has also rules that paint the constitution with themes of specific groups. One can tells which ethnic or religious group pushed for that rule or another. For example, in the introduction of the constitution it is mentioned in the oppression of the majority, the religious leadership in Shiites’ terminology. In addition it mentions Kurdish sufferings under former governments. It’s easier to tell that Shiite religious groups pushed for the former theme and Kurdish pushed for the latter theme. Same is true about article 10 that puts obligation on the government in maintaining and ensuring the sanctity of holy and religious sites, shrines and ensuring the exercise of religion in them. Even though this article and the introduction of the constitution are break to breathe for oppressed groups under former government, they give the impression of or at least remind the people of divisiveness, and create feelings of fears and doubts among different groups especially inside minorities toward majorities Both the

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<sup>10</sup> Irwin Deutscher, preventing ethnic conflict: successful cross-national strategies, 19

introduction and article 10 is unnecessary at all and just satisfy the feelings of some people and those political parties who put forward the constitution under divisive circumstances<sup>11</sup>.

### **C. Collectivism and Individualism:**

According to Nathaniel Branden, individualism is “at once an ethical-psychological concept and an ethical-political one. As an ethical-psychological concept, individualism holds that a human being should think and judge independently, respecting nothing more than the sovereignty of his or her mind; thus, it is intimately connected with the concept of autonomy. As an ethical-political concept, individualism upholds the supremacy of individual rights, the principle that a human being is an end in him- or herself, and that the proper goal of life is self-realization.”<sup>12</sup> While Collectivism, according to Stephen Grabil and Gronbacher is “the theory and practice that makes some sort of group rather than the individual the fundamental unit of political, social and economic concern...claims of groups...most normally supersede the claims of individuals.”<sup>13</sup>

From the definition above, we can examine where the Iraqi social structure lies. Iraq used in the past decades to be a socialist country. On one hand, collectivism is one of the major principles of socialism and communism where the state interests must supersede individual interests. On the other hand, Iraq state in a region where collectivism and socialism are dominant as in neighboring Iran, Egypt, Syria and former soviet union. Socialism ideology

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<sup>11</sup> See Iraqi current constitution, the introduction and article 10.

<sup>12</sup> Freedom Daily, Nathaniel Branden, <http://www.fff.org/freedom/1194e.asp> November 1994

<sup>13</sup> Freedom keys, collectivism vs. individualism. <http://freedomkeys.com/collectivism.htm>

taught in school, mosques and practiced widely in Iraq. Close look at the structures of main current Iraqi parties, the constitutional rules, the tribal structure and social relations emphasize the collectivism roots that go deeply in the society. According to Branden, individual either get his/her needs peacefully or by force, and while this is true, individuals need to their individual rights to be protected from force used by others or by government which is an important idea of individualism. On the other hand, in collectivist systems, the government use the force to maintain certain state interests, that leads the individuals who need to meet their interests that contradict the many state interest to either surrender and give up or to take them by force too. Individualism put few burdens on the state that mainly are to protect people from others' abuse, foreign attack and offer legal means to settle disputes otherwise leave individuals to fulfill and meet their interest such as seeking their desired jobs...etc<sup>14</sup>.

In Iraq collectivism is obvious through the political structures. All former governments including the elected government of 2004 that came after the USA-led invasion were divided clearly into several ethnic and religious groups. That division according to Iraqi politicians has to represent the population based on the percentage of each group. That action represents the attitude of each party in working for its religious or ethnic group interests in a collectivist manner regardless of the separate individual interests. That might be seen also in the constitution as mentioned in the past article (Article 10) of imposing religious rules despite the individual rights contradicting even the opinions of the members of the major religion. It is also can be inferred from the behavior of different politicians, like the major bloc that won about 130 seats in the

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<sup>14</sup> Branden, supra.

election held on Dec 15, 2005, they often solve their internal dispute over political and legal issues by the help and the view of the religious leader of their sect disregarding the opinions of the public and the interests of individuals among that religious sect itself who elect such bloc.

For a successful democracy, individualism spirit has to be founded, because the backbone of democracy idea is that the power should be in the hands of people<sup>15</sup>. Is people collected as groups melted in their leadership interests going to have the power in the way meant by a democratic system? Collectivism can not give the real power of democracy because people have less freedom in their choice limited by religious and traditional duties; therefore, only few leaders control and decide the interests of the state over the individual ones.. Democracy has to be the power of ruling given to each individual in the society. Elections and establishing parliament are not enough for successful and real democracy. Iraqi society needs to be transferred into individualist society in order to achieve stable democracy. The strong social relations, tribal structure and people concentrations based on ethnic or religious bases in separate areas support the struggle for such transfer to individualism. People concentration, mentioned before, make it easier for people to group around their sects and focus their interests to be melted in their sect or ethnicity leadership interests. In addition, family and tribal relations make many people concentrated in one place or close areas; then, it concentrate people in smaller groups that share same interests based on their origin and family relations. The solution to be considered

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<sup>15</sup> George Woodcock, participatory democracy : Democracy, heretical and radical. p.11

to cure this problem, in addition to developing strong educational system, is by finding all the means to reallocate people voluntarily which also called assimilation<sup>16</sup>.

Allocation voluntarily can be done by encouraging or establishing projects, universities and businesses in remote places from the employees or students place to encourage spreading. This policy succeeded in the past decades in making more mixed and diverse cities. However, the policy of the former government of discrimination back fired that allocation policy caused tensions and many people returned to their original places. The researcher family itself lived in a northern city for purpose of working, then they return to the family-origin area few years after Saddam assumed power because of growing discrimination in that city. Diverse mixed communities promote understanding between different sects and ethnic groups and create shared interests between them instead of conflicting interests that distinct them. It also breaks the strong tribal relations by being far from the rest of the relatives and family.

Relative marriages are another social practice that tightens tribal relations, strength concentration and collectivism. The researcher recommends that the government should try to cure that problem by encouraging marriages among different families and groups or otherwise discourage marriages to relatives such as by giving loans to outside tribe marriage, or put high fees for internal marriages among one tribe. In addition, competent health authorities should explain well about the possible health and social problems for such marriage.

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<sup>16</sup> prevent conflict between ethnic ....

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **ECONOMICAL POLICY**

Politics and law are connected strongly to economy performance and structure. It can be seen in many examples in which people toppled down governments or at least used violent protests because of poor performance of their economy as such happened in Argentina or France. Keith Cowling stated that "...the form of political democracy is not fully determined by the system of voting, but also by the distribution of economic power, part of which will be devoted to gaining the consent of the majority."<sup>17</sup> Therefore, we must examine this key issue that is fundamental for stable and successful democracy and the struggles to democracy in Iraq's economy. In summary the following steps must be taken to maintain economy for side of democracy;

1. Transfer public businesses and services that still under the control of the government to private sector in smooth and cautious steps avoiding sudden transfer that Iraq's economy might not capable of at the moment. Such services as post office, communication services, electricity and other services and companies
2. Government should reduce its interference to protective state instead of involving state in the economy, that it means the government should provide people with security, justice and ways to encourage self-building of economy.
3. Oil industry must be given to exclusively Iraqi private companies. Such companies need to be developed over long term avoiding sudden change that can endanger this rich sector to fall under extreme control of multi-national companies.

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<sup>17</sup> Keith Cowling, economy and democracy, Economic Obstacle to Democracy, 236

4. State can get the revenue of oil through income, sale and real estate taxes instead of gaining percentage from the oil industry directly. This to strength the relationship between people and government. People would be in need to observe where the taxes will be spent, while the government will need people satisfaction and consent to collect taxes. Tax collection system for revenue can weaken the ethnic-sect relations between people and government and create interest and observation relation.
5. Enact laws and measures to support national industry and businesses and protect main sources from falling under monopoly of foreign companies. However, laws should enable foreign investment to get benefit and advantage of open economy and modern technology. However, it can be stipulated that such investments should use some national workers and professionals to create expertise.
6. Regional governments should also follow taxes as revenue system instead of collecting direct percentage. However, this should not prevent totally the government from supporting some projects that serve the public interest but through loans and grants not direct management.
7. For current free services such as health and high education, it can be achieved indirectly through establishing wide-scale health insurance policy and study loans the government can participate in it instead of funding these sectors directly.
8. Remove any direct support from the government to prices such as communication, electricity, water fees and other pricings. This should also include the monthly food rations that the government gives to citizens that should

be put under a plan to be removed in near future without harming poor families that depends on these rations.

For more details here, it is wise first to give background about the economic situation in Iraq in short and then we move on to problems analysis.

### **1- Economic Situation**

Iraq is primarily dependent on the oil sector as national revenue which the government controls totally and directly since the beginning of 1970s. Before the sanctions, Iraq's 95% of national revenue comes from oil sector. However, several figures impaired Iraq's economy: A. Military massive expenditure including the eight years war between Iraq and Iran, the invasion of Kuwait and international retaliation in the gulf war. B. The economic sanctions imposed as result of that invasion for about 13 years which heavily broke down Iraq's economy. C. Attacks on infrastructure both in the first gulf war 1991 and US-led invasion in 2003. D-Random and inconsistent policies of the former governments harmed economical sectors and scared the capital from being invested in Iraq. Those left Iraq with plenty of problems including high percentage of unemployment estimated in 2005 between 25% - 30%, damaged infrastructure including basic services such as electricity, water supplies and even fuel supplies<sup>18</sup>.

Many of the former regime employers and army members as mentioned in the first chapter lost their jobs and stayed and their families without job or any income. It is hard to estimate how

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<sup>18</sup> see CIA FACT BOOK, Iraq profile, <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/iz.html>

many of those stayed without income, but perhaps the number is high after looking how many have lost their jobs because of the dissolving of former government institutions. Perhaps some of those chose to give their military or government experience to the insurgent in exchange for rewards as shown in several news reports.

However, economy progressed better in the three recent years after the invasion as result of international support and Iraq's external debt reducing. The salaries of the employers rose for plenty times more than before and the market grew bigger all comparing to era of 1990s under the international sanctions. However, Iraqi market still counts on the government support. In addition, citizens expect more than what comparative countries: citizens expect from their government. For example, in December, when the government raised the price of oil products to about 15 cents instead of only 5 cents, many people protested and even violence broke out in different areas of the country. That happens despite the fact that the final price is still much below comparative countries in the world even in neighboring oil countries.

## **2- Oil sector should not be managed directly by the state:-**

Perhaps, many scholars agree that many oil countries shared problems in establishing democracy. Largest oil production lies in developing countries and particularly in the Arab world. However, these countries count solely or mostly on oil sales income. The problems come from oil industry is that it makes a high income that attract the attentions of several powers whether internationally, privately or the government officials. Even though there are several

materials that generated high income, however, the significance in oil is highly needed and therefore has a fortune of income. It is also founded in areas suffered deep economical problems and poverty as such in Iraq and Arab gulf countries.

### **A-Oil between government and people:**

Michael Ross denied the significance in the oil itself but in the region itself and the management of that oil and I agree with his view. Great wealth has to be distributed in just and equity among people and the needed sectors; therefore, that wealth has to be prevented from accumulating or controlled in hand of few or small group of people. Some might argue that the government can take that job and manage oil production and distribution of its income among population. Nevertheless, government control on oil could weaken interest of people to demand representations. Since people can get certain wealth income without much trouble, work. They do not have to worry about how the government will spend the money while there is no direct and immediate effect can impact them by that spending such as tax increase. In the gulf countries where government too generously gives its citizens high salaries and ways of income even in cases of unemployment which can drive away any interest of people to demand for government representation as long as they will not be impacted directly by government spending.

In Iraq and several oil-rich countries, tax system is very simple than the one in the developed countries. If the state has such huge income of oil production that they can give to their population easily without collecting tax or any direct contact with people's life, the state practically own the most power and control on its citizens. It has no need for taxation or consent

of its people. In Iraq, the scenario happens dramatically where different political parties during or before Baath party assumed power in 1970s were seeking for full and unilateral control over the country government such as communist party or Islamic Daawa party. They were just differing in which set of rules have to be imposed in Iraq not of how to seek people interests. Most of people would not be disturbed of many of the internal and foreign policy as long as they receive high salaries from the government without doing hard job because of oil income.

A new democratic government and people must be connected in real representation and interest relations. The government is no more than enforcing laws, determining general policy of the country, and dealing with threats providing safe environment. The government by interfering directly into the market, making companies and managing oil production is assuming more power and being in addition to a government, a powerful businessman with army and police that has the laws on his side without fair competition with private businesses. Therefore, the government in order to be directed and censored by the people must give up the business rule to its people and stay into the limit of drawing general economic policy.

Michael Ross mentioned that the first move to demand democracy and representations in England and France were after governments increased taxes. On the other hand, Ross cited several oil-rich countries, who have simple tax system and full control on oil revenue, spent that revenue of oil to support their control and against democratic movements such as in Kuwait, Libya and Saudi Arabia<sup>19</sup>. Iraqi former regime also spent most of the country income on

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<sup>19</sup> [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world\\_politics/v053/53.3ross.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v053/53.3ross.html)

military, securing the government control, oppressing opposition movements and on the regime top ranked official's personal use. In a country where private businesses and people control the economy, the state can not make their own decisions without gaining support from public. On the other hand, people doing the major business perhaps practice observation on the government to secure their businesses; and they perhaps would seek real representation in the government.

### **B- Problems of privatization:**

In transiting to a capitalist society in Iraq and transferring oil to the hands of private businesses, policy makers must take adequate care of not leaking major oil profits and control to foreign companies. It is one of main conflict between previous Iraqi governments and foreign companies were on profit that mostly goes to companies leaving the country with little income despite that huge source of wealth. Neither people nor the government was the major beneficent out of that profit. Those historical facts generated a reaction inside the society and fears of foreign oil companies back to the country for controlling that wealth. However, Iraqi companies are incapable at the moment to take that huge industry immediately alone..

Therefore, selling or giving away oil industry to private sector at once means giving it away to foreign companies or a foreign company with an Iraqi appearance. The right policy is to set an economic policy in the laws that can enable Iraqi investors to take shares in the government oil industry, so it can let them grow their capital and make more experience in the industry. At the same time, the revenue must not go directly to the government or local regional governments but rather to the same company. In other words, the governments should get the oil revenue only

through taxes and real estate fees and tax but not through direct management, sale or profit percentages.

National oil companies however, should benefit from foreign companies experience and technology away from letting such companies manage or dominate the oil industry. However, foreign companies can transfer their technologies by letting them invest in small shares or in limited time-tabled contracts or any similar means that secure national control on this source of wealth.

From above, there are two sides to the government oil management issue. One either the government to be renter or tax collector in dealing with oil productions and companies, and the other side is that the government owns its companies directly. However, there is different risk on each side. If the government be just a renter, it would be incapable of maximizing or expanding the income from oil and it can fall under the mercy of multinational oil companies if the government allowed free open market in investing the oil. These companies will not just gain economic power, but also political pressure to meet their interests. Iraqi government including Baath government complained in several occasions before 1973 about multinational companies pressure the government on certain political issues as such Israeli –Palestinian conflict by reducing the production and the revenue. Later, Baath government nationalized all multinational oil companies in Iraq during 1972-1973. Furthermore, many oil countries decided to run their state oil companies themselves as such in Iran in 1951, Libya and Indonesia, Malaysia. These states decided to move on to their own oil companies as result of energy

demands and mainly to expand profit that state can make from oil sales rather than subtracting from oil companies profits<sup>20</sup>. However, Klapp stated how the state oil companies obeyed same market rules of private companies to maximize its profits and enacted laws to protect its industry costs and prices; therefore, state-oil companies also needed the political pressure to meet their interest otherwise it can not make the maximum profit. Nevertheless, state-oil companies use in addition to business power and pressure, the government power to protect their interests by securing contracts or competition<sup>21</sup>. This emerges us to the risk of the government running the oil business. In other words, it is risk of using the power of the government into business harming competition and other industries. Here, the government act not just as a neutral side that provide safety and manage development in the country, but rather as a businessman trying to gain profit and dominance over the market. Private companies would perhaps find themselves in an unfair competition with more powerful companies that also collect taxes from them and impose its rules to prevent competition and secure its businesses against them.

Between these two risks, the middle way is to develop national private companies smoothly over-time and allow smooth transfer to only Iraqi companies or in restricted limits to multinational companies that can secure full national control on oil industry. Despite, Iraqi constitution in article 108 gives exclusive ownership of gas and oil to Iraqi people, however in article 109 stated that the federal government and regional governments have to undertake the management of oil and gas in the country for the maximum advantage of Iraqi people and

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<sup>20</sup> Merrie G. Klapp (1982), The state Landlord or Entrepreneur. International Organization. Vol 36. No. 3. 573-580.

<sup>21</sup> Id.

distribute them equally with preference to damaged areas under Saddam Hussein regime<sup>22</sup>. This is seems parallel to former Iraqi constitution and the former socialist governments principles in that all natural resources owned by the people of Iraq which means the government not the individuals. Therefore, stating this rule in the constitution can struggle any privatization efforts if it does not make it almost impossible. This article also might break out a legal conflict between regional governments who already demanding for more shares of oil benefits and the federal government and minorities in Iraq.

Part of the biggest concern of Sunni Arabs in Iraq on the constitution was the provision of allowing forming federal regions other than Kurdistan regional government which may, based on their concerns, prevent other parts of the country mostly Arab Sunnis areas from benefiting from oil produced in these new autonomous regions. It is true that several communities in rich oil areas rushing for federalism because what it seems their hope to own and spend all that wealth on their communities. Some might argue that the ones who demand regional place are Shiites in the south to protect their sect interest after decades of oppression. However, this is not so true in all sides if we look at the demands came for interest of three provinces in the south (Basrah, Dhe-Qar, Maysan) to form a regional government while there are more other Shiite areas who happens to be without rich oil fields. It is also the conflict between Kurdish regional government and federal government over rich-oil Kirkuk in northern Iraq to enjoin that city to Kurdish regions, while minorities in that city and other political parties in the federal government object to that demand for the sake of owning that source of wealth. All that problems might be

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<sup>22</sup> Iraqi Constitution 2005 supra articles 108-109.

avoided if it granted to private Iraqi companies in smooth ways after ensuring constitutional and legal measures that the government will not keep any oil-company under its ownership and management. Companies can work nation-wide and can make deals for the purposes of their maximum interest without concerning about ethnic or religious conflict. While the regional government and federal government can collect only taxes and real estate fees and taxes.

### **3- Unemployment Problems, creating new opportunities:**

The thirteen years of economic sanctions imposed by United Nations Security Council left huge unemployment. Even though there is no clear figure about how much unemployment in Iraq, however, it is estimated in about 25% to 30% in 2005, 2 years after the invasion according to CIA fact book<sup>23</sup>. However, there is a masked unemployment inside the government institutions and companies, since the government control many companies and jobs, there are several people over employed. Simply they receive salaries and they do little job. For example, I have been told that at certain time the telecommunication, post and phone services directorate in babil province held about 15 lawyers while they might done the work in less than the half of that number<sup>24</sup>. This is a known situation in socialist economic system where government has duty to employ people. However, the government in economic crisis has no actual opening jobs but it continues to employ. These figures perhaps are under-estimated

The only solution is that the government have to put plan to privatize all of the companies including electricity and water supplies and giving them up to Iraqi investors in smooth and long

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<sup>23</sup> CIA FACT BOOK, Iraq profile Supra.

<sup>24</sup> Personal conversation with a friend.

time. Once private owners take these companies, employees can determine the real limit that can serve the interests of the companies. Taking in consideration, by that time, the government has to make opportunities to already unemployed people and for future unemployment by giving loans, privileges, legal and educational support for private parties and experienced businessmen and women to create new businesses and economic projects. In addition, government must give extra care to business and management education and knowledge support.

If the government interferes directly by providing over employment jobs, it will just create more power to itself and less participation of people in the government, as it is mentioned above in the oil section. People will count more on the government which it would be in the government duties to give them jobs. Therefore, the government has to stay away from direct management of businesses. However, it should continue to encourage people's personal efforts to support the economy. It must be noticed that the former government failed to support itself and many of its employees during the economic sanctions which led it to count more on the private sector to supply the government with some needs whether for military or civil industry.