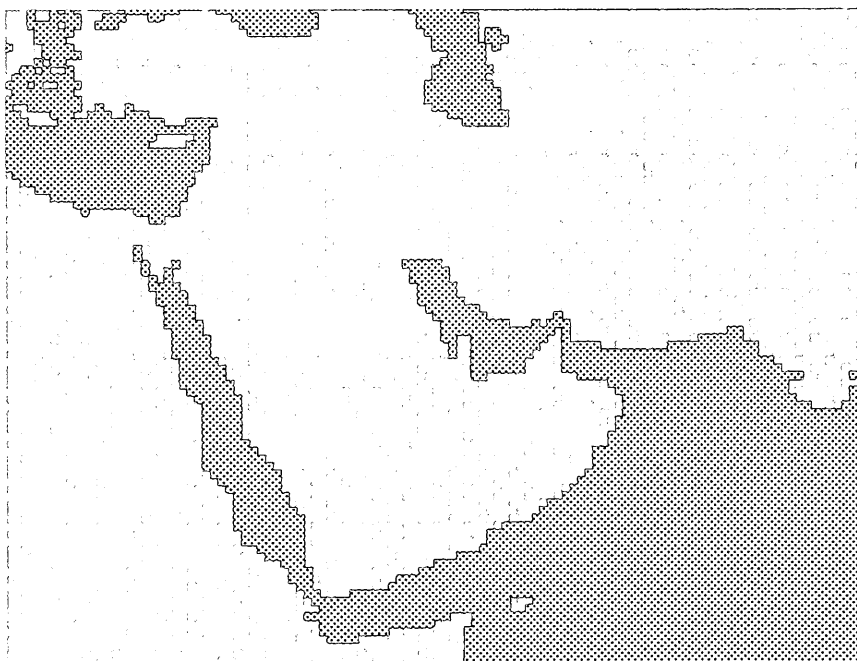


# IDE Spot Survey

## ***From Storm to Thunder***

*Unfinished Showdown  
Between Iraq and U.S.*

March 1998



Faleh A. Jabbar  
Ahmad Shikara  
Keiko Sakai

**INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPING ECONOMIES  
TOKYO**

*The aim of the Institute of Developing Economies (Aija Keizai Kenkyusho) is to conduct basic and comprehensive research on economic and related affairs in Asia and other areas which are on the road to development. It, thereby, contributes to the promotion of economic cooperation and the improvement of trade relations between Japan and these areas and, ultimately, toward the prosperity and welfare of developing countries.*

*The Institute was founded in December 1958 as a non-profit organization. In July 1960, it was recognized by law as a semi-governmental body.*

*As of March 1, 1998, the number of staff members was 253, of whom about two-thirds are engaged in research (including 33 stationed overseas), with the rest employed as librarians, statisticians, or secretarial personnel.*

*The budget of the Institute for the fiscal year 1997/98 is estimated at US\$73.98 million of which 90 percent is subsidized by the government.*

*IDE Spot Survey intends to respond to public demand by offering prompt and proper analyses of emerging problems in developing countries. Previous issues include **Investment Risk in Post-Deng China**, March 1995, **Dynamic Vietnam**, June 1995, **The Automotive Industry in Asia: The Great Leap Forward?**, October 1995, **Exchange Rate Fluctuations and Asian Responses—Growth Strategy in the Age of Global Money—**, August 1996, **Hong Kong 1997—Society in Transition—**, November 1996, **One Country Two Systems—China's Dilemma—**, March 1997, **Kim Jong Il's North Korea—An Arduous March—**, March 1997, **Cuba's Survival—Socialism with Reality—**, March 1997, **Examining Asia's Tigers—Nine Economies Challenging Common Structural Problems—**, July 1997 and **Economic Outlook for East Asian Economies over the Next Decade—Is Continuous High Growth Possible?**, October 1997.*

42 Ichigaya-Hommura-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo  
162-8442, Japan  
Telephone: 81-3-3353-4231  
Fax: 81-3-3226-8475  
Homepage: <http://www.ide.go.jp>

# IDE Spot Survey

*From Storm to Thunder*  
***Unfinished Showdown***  
***Between Iraq and U.S.***

March 1998

Faleh A. Jabbar  
Ahmad Shikara  
Keiko Sakai

**INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPING ECONOMIES**  
**TOKYO**

## **Contributors**

- Faleh Abdul Jabbar** London-based Iraqi researcher, Berbeck College,  
University of London (Chapter 1)
- Ahmad Shikara** Honorary Research Fellow, Department of Political Studies,  
The University of Auckland (Chapter 2)
- Keiko Sakai** Researcher, Middle East Project, Development Studies Dept.,  
Institute of Developing Economies (Chapter 3)



❧ from Recent IDE Publication List ❧

*Symposium Proceedings*

**East Asian Development Experience:**

Economic System Approach and Its Applicability

Edited by Toru Yanagihara and Susumu Sambommatsu

March, 1997

**Asia's Challenges in the Coming Century:**

New Ways for Japan to Cooperate in Regional Development

March, 1997

*Occasional Papers Series*

**No. 31 Rural Industrialization in Indonesia**

A Case Study of Community-Based Weaving  
Industry in West Java

by Kosuke Mizuno

March, 1996

**No. 32 Understanding the Developing World**

— Thirty-five Years of Area Studies at the IDE

Edited by Hiroichi Yamaguchi and Hiroshi Sato


March, 1996

**No. 33 Malayan Chinese and China**

— Conversion in Identity Consciousness, 1945-1957

by Fujio Hara

March, 1997



---

***IDE Spot Survey***

**Exchange Rate Fluctuations and Asian Responses  
Growth Strategy in the Age of Global Money**  
Edited by Toru Yanagihara and Susumu Sambommatsu  
August, 1996

**Hong Kong 1997  
Society in Transition**  
November, 1996

**One Country Two Systems  
China's Dilemma**  
Edited by Yasuo Onishi  
March, 1997

**Kim Jong Il's North Korea  
An Arduous March**  
Edited by Kazunobu Hayashi and Teruo Komaki  
March, 1997

**Cuba's Survival  
Socialism with Reality**  
Edited by Kanako Yamaoka  
April, 1997

**Examining Asia's Tigers  
Nine Economies Challenging Common Structural Problems**  
Edited by Kayoko Kitamura and Tsuneo Tanaka  
July, 1997

**Economic Outlook for East Asian Economies over the Next Decade  
Is Continuous High Growth Possible?**  
Mitsuru Toida  
October, 1997

*Published by*

**INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPING ECONOMIES**

TOKYO, JAPAN

---

# Contents

## Chapter I

### **The State, Society, Clan, Party and Army in Iraq: A Totalitarian State in the Twilight of Totalitarianism ..... 1**

Introduction .....	1
Section One: The Totalitarian State .....	1
Section Two: The Kinship System .....	4
Section Three: Formidable State versus Weak Civil Society .....	9
Section Four: Khaldounian versus Durkheimian Solidarities .....	15
Section Five: Crisis and Prospects .....	27

## Chapter II

### **Iraqi Relations with its Neighbouring Countries (Including Arab Countries, Turkey, and Iran) .....29**

Introduction .....	29
Section One: Is Iraq a Regional Threat? .....	30
Section Two: Regional Powers Between Principles and Pragmatic Interests .....	32
Section Three: Conclusions .....	47

## Chapter III

### **Oil for Food as a Political Tool for Iraq .....53**

Section One: Background to Iraqi Acceptance of the Oil-for-Food Program .....	53
Section Two: Economic Effect of the Oil-for-Food Program on the Iraqi Economy .....	56
Section Three: How Iraq Manipulated the Oil-for-Food Program as a Political Tool: the Case of Russia, China, and France .....	59
Section Four: How Were the Results of the Oil-for-Food Program and Other Economic Privileges Offered to Russia and China? .....	67
Section Five: Conclusion: US Policy for Iraq – Topple Saddam or Do Nothing? .....	68