

# The Complete Treatise on the Economic Collapse of Iran and Iraq

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## Abstract

This treatise examines the multifaceted economic deterioration experienced by Iran and Iraq over the past several decades. Through comprehensive analysis of macroeconomic indicators, institutional failures, geopolitical pressures, and structural vulnerabilities, this work establishes a framework for understanding how two nations with substantial natural resource endowments have experienced sustained economic decline. The analysis integrates perspectives from international economics, political economy, development studies, and regional security studies to provide a holistic assessment of the causes, manifestations, and implications of economic collapse in these critical Middle Eastern states.

The treatise ends with “The End”

## 1 Introduction

The economic trajectories of Iran and Iraq present compelling case studies in the intersection of resource wealth, geopolitical conflict, institutional governance, and international sanctions regimes. Both nations possess substantial petroleum reserves that theoretically position them among the world’s most economically advantaged states. Yet both have experienced prolonged periods of economic contraction, currency devaluation, inflation crises, and deteriorating living standards that characterize economic collapse rather than resource-driven prosperity.

Understanding these parallel yet distinct experiences requires examination of several interconnected analytical dimensions. The resource curse hypothesis suggests that natural resource abundance can paradoxically impede economic development through rent-seeking behavior, institutional degradation, and neglect of productive sectors [35]. The sanctions literature demonstrates how international economic isolation can systematically degrade productive capacity, financial systems, and trade relationships [24]. Conflict economics reveals how prolonged warfare destroys physical capital, displaces human capital, and redirects resources from productive investment to military expenditure [11]. Political economy frameworks illuminate how authoritarian governance structures, corruption networks, and elite capture mechanisms can prevent effective economic management and reform [1].

This treatise synthesizes these analytical approaches to provide comprehensive understanding of how Iran and Iraq have experienced economic collapse despite their resource endowments. The analysis proceeds systematically through historical context, structural analysis of collapse mechanisms, comparative examination of both nations’ experiences, and assessment of long-term implications for regional stability and global energy markets.

## 2 Historical Context and Pre-Collapse Economic Conditions

### 2.1 Iraq: From Development to Devastation

Iraq’s modern economic history reflects dramatic oscillations between development ambitions and conflict-driven destruction. Following independence and the discovery of substantial oil

reserves, Iraq experienced significant economic growth during the 1960s and 1970s. The nationalization of the petroleum sector in 1972 provided the state with substantial revenue streams that funded infrastructure development, education expansion, and industrial diversification efforts. By 1980, Iraq had achieved literacy rates exceeding 80 percent, developed sophisticated healthcare systems, and established manufacturing capacity across multiple sectors [2].

The Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) marked the beginning of Iraq's economic deterioration. Eight years of intensive warfare consumed an estimated 400 billion dollars in direct costs and opportunity costs, destroyed substantial portions of Iraq's industrial infrastructure, and created massive foreign debt obligations. The war transformed Iraq from a creditor nation to one of the developing world's most heavily indebted countries, with debt exceeding 80 billion dollars by 1988 [12].

The Gulf War (1990-1991) and subsequent sanctions regime (1990-2003) inflicted catastrophic economic damage. Coalition bombing destroyed electrical generation capacity, water treatment facilities, transportation infrastructure, and communication networks. The comprehensive sanctions imposed by United Nations Security Council Resolution 661 effectively isolated Iraq from international trade, prevented technology imports necessary for reconstruction, and created acute humanitarian crises. Studies estimated that GDP contracted by approximately 75 percent between 1989 and 1991, with sustained depression continuing throughout the 1990s [3].

The 2003 invasion and subsequent occupation initiated another phase of economic destruction. Combat operations, insurgency, sectarian violence, and institutional collapse decimated remaining economic structures. Unemployment reached 60 percent in some estimates, inflation exceeded 50 percent annually during peak instability, and basic services deteriorated dramatically. The emergence of ISIS and associated conflicts in 2014 created additional destruction concentrated in northern and western regions [48].

## 2.2 Iran: Revolution, War, and Sanctions

Iran's economic collapse trajectory follows a different chronology but shares structural similarities with Iraq's experience. The 1979 Islamic Revolution disrupted Iran's development trajectory and initiated decades of international isolation and economic mismanagement. Pre-revolution Iran had achieved substantial industrialization under the Shah's modernization programs, with particular strengths in petrochemical production, automotive manufacturing, and consumer goods industries. The revolution triggered capital flight estimated at 30 to 40 billion dollars, departure of technical and managerial expertise, and disruption of established commercial relationships [4].

The Iran-Iraq War imposed enormous costs on Iran's economy comparable to those experienced by Iraq. Beyond direct military expenditure and battlefield losses, the war destroyed oil infrastructure, disrupted production, and prevented normal economic activity across western regions. The necessity of prosecuting the war while simultaneously implementing revolutionary restructuring of economic institutions created acute challenges for resource allocation and policy coherence [27].

Following the war's conclusion, Iran experienced modest recovery during the reconstruction period of the 1990s. However, renewed international sanctions beginning in 2006 and intensifying dramatically after 2012 created sustained economic crisis. Sanctions targeting Iran's petroleum exports, banking system, and access to international financial infrastructure produced severe contractions. The rial lost approximately 80 percent of its value between 2012 and 2013, inflation exceeded 40 percent, and oil exports declined from 2.5 million barrels daily to approximately 1 million barrels daily [31].

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (2015) provided temporary sanctions relief that enabled modest economic recovery. However, the United States' withdrawal from the agreement in 2018 and reimposition of comprehensive sanctions under the "maximum pressure" campaign reinitiated economic collapse dynamics. By 2020, Iran's GDP had contracted by approximately

10 percent cumulatively since 2017, the rial had depreciated by more than 60 percent, and inflation had accelerated to levels exceeding 30 percent annually [26].

### 3 Analytical Framework: Mechanisms of Economic Collapse

#### 3.1 The Resource Curse and Institutional Degradation

Both Iran and Iraq exemplify classic resource curse dynamics wherein petroleum wealth creates institutional pathologies that undermine long-term economic development. Resource abundance enables authoritarian governance structures by providing revenue streams independent of taxation, thereby breaking accountability linkages between states and citizens. This fiscal independence reduces incentives for developing efficient tax collection systems, transparent governance institutions, and responsive bureaucratic structures [36].

Resource wealth concentrates economic power in state institutions and creates incentives for rent-seeking behavior rather than productive entrepreneurship. Competition for control of resource rents becomes the primary mechanism for wealth accumulation, displacing market-based competition and innovation. This dynamic produces what economists characterize as "directly unproductive profit-seeking" activities that absorb talent and capital without generating productive output [6].

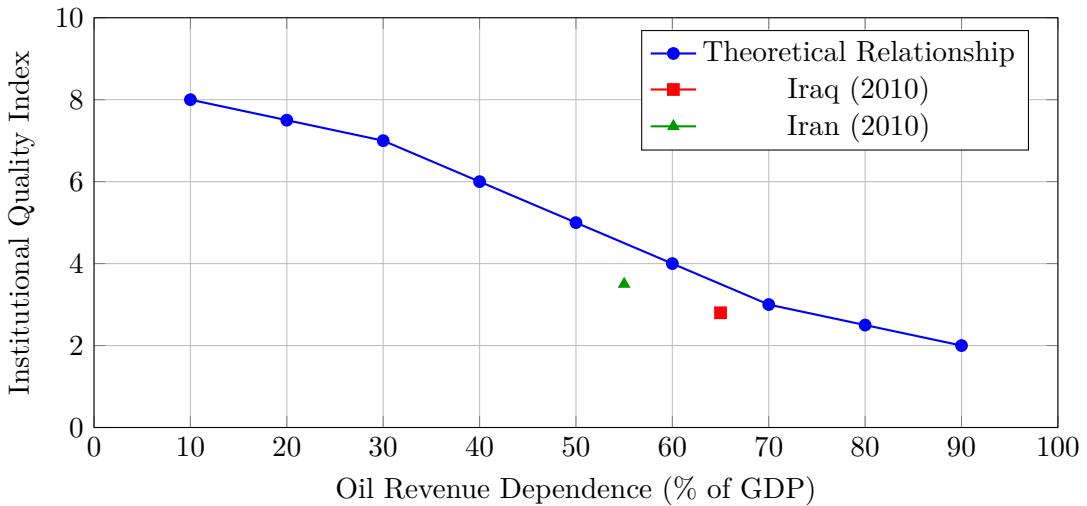


Figure 1: Resource Dependence and Institutional Quality

Resource dependence also creates vulnerability to commodity price volatility. When petroleum constitutes 80 to 90 percent of export earnings and 60 to 70 percent of government revenue, as has been characteristic of both Iran and Iraq, price fluctuations create severe fiscal instability. The inability to smooth consumption through commodity cycles reflects both institutional weaknesses in fiscal management and political economy constraints on establishing effective sovereign wealth funds or stabilization mechanisms [21].

Dutch disease effects compound these challenges by appreciating real exchange rates, thereby undermining competitiveness of non-resource tradable sectors. Manufacturing industries face difficulty competing internationally when resource revenues strengthen currencies and drive up domestic costs. This dynamic produces progressive deindustrialization despite resource wealth, leaving economies dependent on volatile commodity exports and vulnerable to price shocks [13].

### 3.2 Sanctions Regimes and Economic Isolation

International sanctions have functioned as primary mechanisms of economic collapse for both nations, though with different intensities and durations. Comprehensive sanctions regimes produce systematic economic degradation through multiple channels that compound over time. Financial sanctions isolate targeted nations from international banking systems, preventing access to trade finance, correspondent banking relationships, and international payment mechanisms. This isolation creates enormous friction costs for legitimate trade, as even non-sanctioned transactions become difficult or impossible to execute [31].

Trade sanctions restrict both exports and imports, creating supply shocks that ripple through economies. Export restrictions on petroleum reduce foreign exchange earnings essential for purchasing imports, while import restrictions create shortages of intermediate goods, capital equipment, and consumer products. The combination produces both demand-side contraction through reduced purchasing power and supply-side contraction through input shortages [24].

Technology sanctions prevent access to advanced machinery, software, and technical knowledge necessary for maintaining productive capacity and achieving productivity growth. Sanctions on aviation parts, telecommunications equipment, and industrial machinery gradually degrade existing capital stocks that cannot be maintained or upgraded. This dynamic produces progressive deterioration of productive capacity independent of active destruction from conflict [40].

Secondary sanctions that penalize third parties for conducting business with sanctioned nations amplify isolation effects by creating de-risking behavior among international firms and financial institutions. Even when specific transactions remain technically legal, institutions avoid them to eliminate sanctions compliance risks. This dynamic has been particularly evident in banking sectors where international institutions have terminated relationships with Iranian and Iraqi counterparties to avoid potential sanctions violations [49].

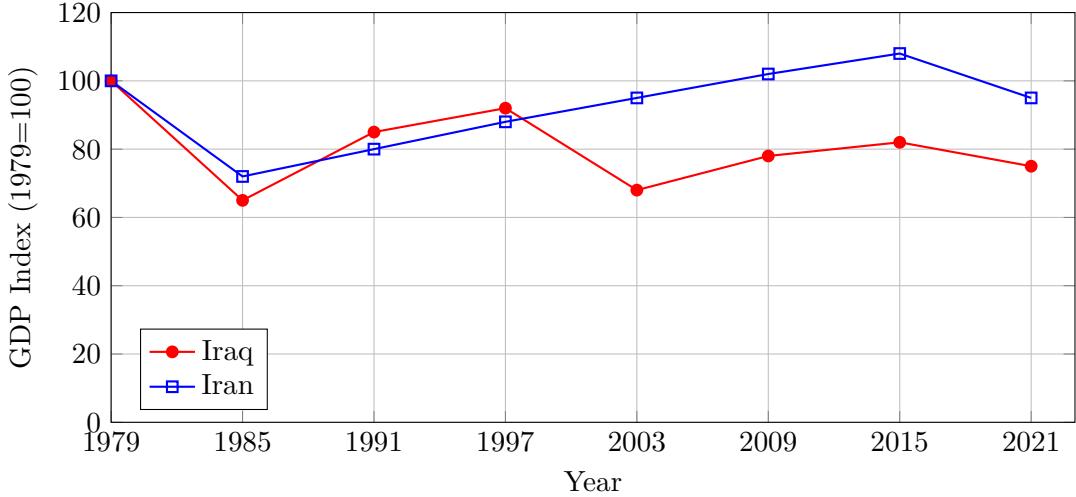


Figure 2: GDP Trajectories Under Sanctions and Conflict (Indexed)

### 3.3 Warfare and Capital Destruction

The direct destruction of physical capital through warfare represents an obvious mechanism of economic collapse, but conflict's economic impacts extend far beyond battlefield damage. Modern warfare destroys not only military targets but also dual-use infrastructure including electrical grids, transportation networks, communication systems, and water treatment facilities. The reconstruction costs for such infrastructure often exceed original construction costs due to security premiums, coordination challenges, and corruption [11].

Human capital destruction through casualty, displacement, and emigration produces long-lasting economic impacts. The Iran-Iraq War resulted in an estimated one million casualties between both nations, disproportionately affecting working-age males. Subsequent conflicts in Iraq produced additional hundreds of thousands of casualties and displaced millions internally and externally. Professional and educated populations exhibit particularly high emigration rates during conflict, creating brain drain that persists long after active hostilities cease [14].

Conflict creates institutional collapse that enables corruption, predation, and asset stripping by armed actors and criminal networks. The disintegration of Iraq's state institutions following the 2003 invasion enabled systematic looting of industrial equipment, copper wiring, and valuable materials that further degraded productive capacity. The emergence of militia economies and protection rackets diverts resources from productive activity while creating barriers to economic recovery [32].

Persistent insecurity prevents normal economic activity, investment, and commercial transactions. Businesses cannot operate effectively when transportation routes remain insecure, when property rights lack enforcement, and when violence creates unpredictable operational environments. The risk premiums associated with operating in conflict environments deter foreign investment and create capital flight among domestic actors with mobility [45].

### 3.4 Currency Collapse and Monetary Instability

Currency devaluation and monetary instability represent both manifestations and drivers of economic collapse. Both Iran and Iraq have experienced severe currency crises that accelerated broader economic deterioration. Currency collapse occurs through multiple reinforcing mechanisms that create self-perpetuating cycles of devaluation and instability [29].

Loss of foreign exchange earnings through sanctions or conflict reduces supply of hard currency necessary for import purchases and debt service. Simultaneously, capital flight by domestic actors seeking to preserve wealth increases demand for foreign exchange. The combination produces rapid depreciation that accelerates as expectations of further devaluation become self-fulfilling. Iran's rial depreciated from approximately 10,000 rials per dollar in 2011 to more than 320,000 rials per dollar by 2020, representing a collapse of more than 95 percent of the currency's value [26].

Currency depreciation produces inflation through several channels. Import price increases transmit directly to domestic inflation as traded goods become more expensive. Expectations of further depreciation create incentives to convert domestic currency to goods or foreign exchange, accelerating velocity and producing demand-pull inflation. Government resort to monetary financing of fiscal deficits adds money supply growth that compounds inflationary pressures [18].

Dollarization emerges as economic actors lose confidence in domestic currencies and increasingly conduct transactions in dollars or other hard currencies. This dynamic further undermines domestic currencies while creating additional challenges for monetary policy implementation. Estimates suggest that 30 to 40 percent of transactions in Iran occur in dollars or through barter rather than official currency, indicating substantial loss of monetary sovereignty [17].

## 4 Comparative Analysis: Iran versus Iraq

### 4.1 Differential Collapse Trajectories

While Iran and Iraq share fundamental characteristics that have produced economic collapse, important differences in their trajectories merit examination. Iraq's economic collapse has been more severe and episodic, characterized by sharp contractions associated with specific conflict events including the Iran-Iraq War, Gulf War, 2003 invasion, and ISIS emergence. Each conflict episode destroyed significant portions of existing capital stocks and required subsequent reconstruction efforts that partially restored capacity before the next crisis [12].

Iran's economic collapse has been more gradual and sanctions-driven, characterized by progressive erosion of productive capacity, persistent inflation, and steady currency depreciation rather than sharp crisis moments. The absence of conventional military conflict on Iranian territory since 1988 has prevented the wholesale infrastructure destruction experienced by Iraq, enabling Iran to maintain more continuous economic activity despite severe sanctions pressures [31].

Iraq's political fragmentation following the 2003 invasion created additional governance challenges absent in Iran. The sectarian power-sharing system, Kurdish regional autonomy, and weakness of central institutions have produced endemic corruption, policy incoherence, and inability to implement effective economic reforms. Iran's more centralized political system, while authoritarian and repressive, has enabled somewhat more consistent economic policy implementation despite sanctions constraints [15].

## 4.2 Sectoral Impacts and Structural Transformation

The petroleum sectors of both nations have experienced severe degradation but through different mechanisms. Iraq's oil infrastructure suffered extensive physical damage from warfare, sanctions-era neglect, and insufficient maintenance investment. Production capacity declined from peak levels of 3.5 million barrels daily in 1990 to approximately 2.0 million barrels daily in 2003, with recovery remaining constrained by infrastructure limitations and political instability [38].

Iran's petroleum sector degradation occurred primarily through technological isolation and inability to access advanced extraction technologies, particularly for offshore fields and enhanced oil recovery techniques. Sanctions preventing foreign investment and technology transfer have caused production declines in mature fields and prevented development of new resources. Iranian production declined from approximately 4.0 million barrels daily in 2017 to 2.0 million barrels daily in 2020 under maximum pressure sanctions [23].

Manufacturing sectors in both nations have experienced severe contraction and technological stagnation. Iraq's industrial base was systematically destroyed through conflict and sanctions, with manufacturing output in 2010 representing perhaps 40 percent of 1989 levels. Iran has maintained more substantial manufacturing capacity, particularly in automotive production, petrochemicals, and consumer goods, but operates with increasingly obsolete technology and suffers from chronic inefficiency [16].

Agricultural sectors have deteriorated in both nations due to conflict damage, water resource challenges, and inability to access modern agricultural inputs and technologies. Iraq's agricultural output declined by approximately 50 percent between 1990 and 2003, with subsequent recovery remaining partial. Iran faces severe water stress that threatens agricultural sustainability, compounded by climate change impacts and inefficient irrigation systems [50].

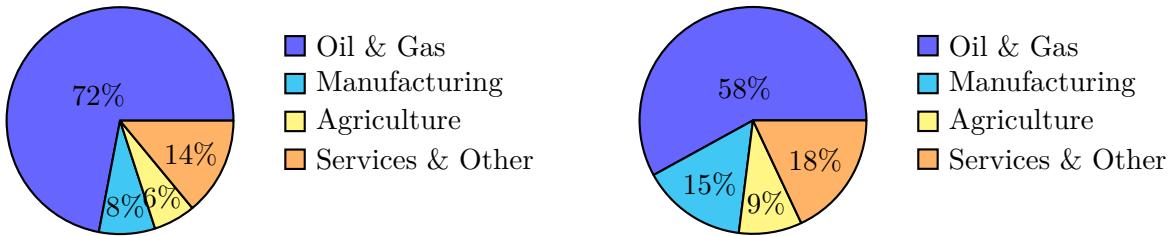


Figure 3: Sectoral Composition - Iraq (left) vs Iran (right), circa 2019

## 4.3 Social and Humanitarian Consequences

The social impacts of economic collapse have been devastating in both nations, though manifesting through different mechanisms. Iraq has experienced more severe humanitarian crises

associated with acute conflict phases, including the sanctions period of the 1990s when child mortality increased dramatically and malnutrition became widespread. The 2003-2011 period saw additional humanitarian catastrophe with millions displaced, basic services collapsed, and sectarian violence producing mass casualties [8].

Iran's humanitarian crisis has been more gradual but still severe, characterized by declining living standards, reduced access to medicines due to sanctions impacts on pharmaceutical imports, and deteriorating public services including healthcare and education. Inflation has eroded purchasing power of fixed-income populations, producing expanding poverty rates. Brain drain of educated professionals seeking opportunities abroad has accelerated, with estimates suggesting that Iran experiences among the world's highest rates of skilled emigration [22].

Unemployment has reached crisis levels in both nations, particularly among youth populations. Iraq's unemployment rates have been estimated at 25 to 35 percent depending on measurement methodology and time period, with youth unemployment exceeding 40 percent. Iran officially reports unemployment rates near 12 percent, but credible independent estimates suggest actual rates approach 20 percent, with youth unemployment exceeding 30 percent [25].

Education systems have deteriorated significantly in both nations. Iraq's education system, once among the region's strongest, suffered from systematic destruction of facilities, displacement of teachers, sectarian violence targeting educators, and chronic underfunding. Iran has maintained more robust education infrastructure, but quality has declined due to resource constraints, ideological interference in curriculum, and brain drain of qualified faculty [41].

## 5 Governance Failures and Corruption

### 5.1 Kleptocracy and State Capture

Systematic corruption represents both a cause and consequence of economic collapse in Iran and Iraq. Both nations rank among the world's most corrupt according to Transparency International assessments, reflecting deep-rooted systems of patronage, rent extraction, and elite capture that divert resources from productive uses [39].

Iraq's corruption has been particularly severe in the post-2003 period, with estimates suggesting that corruption consumes 20 to 30 percent of government expenditure. The sectarian power-sharing system established after 2003 created incentives for political parties to treat ministries as sources of patronage and extraction rather than public service delivery. Each political faction securing ministerial control uses positions for employment of supporters, awarding contracts to affiliated businesses, and direct embezzlement [15].

The scale of corruption in Iraq is staggering. Parliamentary investigations have estimated that between 2005 and 2019, corruption consumed more than 450 billion dollars, representing substantial portions of oil revenue that could have funded reconstruction and development. High-profile cases include ghost employees collecting salaries, phantom reconstruction projects never completed, and direct theft from central bank foreign exchange auctions [34].

Iran's corruption operates through different structures but with comparable impacts. The Revolutionary Guard Corps controls substantial portions of the economy through affiliated companies and foundations, operating with minimal transparency or accountability. These entities receive preferential access to contracts, foreign exchange allocations, and import licenses, creating parallel economic structures that extract rents while delivering poor performance. Estimates suggest that entities affiliated with security services control 30 to 40 percent of the Iranian economy [44].

### 5.2 Institutional Weakness and Policy Failures

Weak governance institutions have prevented effective policy responses to economic challenges and enabled corruption to flourish. Both nations lack effective rule of law, independent judi-

ciary systems, transparent procurement processes, and functioning accountability mechanisms that characterize well-governed states. These institutional deficits create environments where corruption becomes rational behavior and reform efforts consistently fail [1].

Central bank independence, essential for effective monetary policy, remains severely compromised in both nations. Political pressures force monetary financing of fiscal deficits, prevent effective inflation fighting, and enable exchange rate manipulations that benefit connected insiders. Iran's central bank has been repeatedly directed to provide subsidized foreign exchange to importers, creating enormous opportunities for arbitrage and corruption while draining reserves [33].

Budget formulation and execution processes lack transparency and oversight in both nations. Oil revenues flow into budget systems without adequate accounting, expenditures occur without competitive procurement, and auditing functions remain weak or captured. Parliamentary oversight remains ineffective due to political fragmentation in Iraq and rubber-stamp dynamics in Iran [10].

Regulatory capture enables connected businesses to operate with impunity while creating barriers for potential competitors. Banking regulations in both nations fail to prevent money laundering, related party lending, and asset stripping. Environmental regulations go unenforced as political connections trump nominal legal requirements. Labor regulations create formal sector rigidities while vast informal economies operate without protection or taxation [37].

## 6 Regional and Global Implications

### 6.1 Energy Security Concerns

The economic collapse of Iran and Iraq creates significant implications for global energy security given their combined petroleum reserves exceeding 300 billion barrels and natural gas reserves exceeding 1,800 trillion cubic feet. Both nations possess capacity for substantially higher production if investments were made in field development and infrastructure, but sanctions, conflict, and governance failures prevent realization of this potential [7].

Iraq's production capacity remains constrained at approximately 4.5 million barrels daily despite technical potential exceeding 6 million barrels daily with appropriate investment. Political instability, corruption in contracting processes, and infrastructure bottlenecks in export facilities prevent expansion. The concentration of production in southern fields creates vulnerability to localized disruptions including political protests, militia attacks, or infrastructure failures [30].

Iran's production potential similarly remains constrained, with current production of approximately 2.5 million barrels daily representing less than half of its production in the 1970s and substantially below capacity achievable with modern technology. Sanctions prevention of foreign investment means that Iranian fields decline naturally without advanced enhanced recovery technologies. The concentration of Iranian production in aging fields increases future decline risks [38].

The global oil market has adapted to the effective removal of approximately 3 to 4 million barrels daily of potential supply from Iran and Iraq compared to capacity that would exist absent conflict and sanctions. This supply reduction has contributed to price volatility and tighter market conditions, though the shale revolution has partially compensated. Future scenarios involving rapid reintegration of Iranian and Iraqi production capacity could produce significant price impacts [5].

### 6.2 Regional Instability and Conflict Spillover

Economic collapse in Iran and Iraq fuels regional instability through multiple mechanisms. Youth unemployment and lack of economic opportunity create recruitment pools for extrem-

ist organizations including ISIS, Al-Qaeda affiliates, and various militia groups. Economic grievances motivate participation in violence and enable militant organizations to recruit through provision of employment and social services that states fail to deliver [19].

Cross-border flows of displaced populations create humanitarian challenges and political tensions in neighboring states including Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon. Syrian refugee crisis of the 2010s had substantial economic contributions from Iraqi refugees fleeing ISIS and ongoing instability. These population movements strain host nation resources and create political backlash that fuels nationalism and xenophobia [42].

Competition for scarce resources including water creates interstate tensions and potential for future conflict. The Tigris and Euphrates river systems that are crucial for Iraq's agriculture and water supply originate in Turkey and transit Syria and Iran, creating complex water politics. Iranian and Turkish dam construction reduces flows into Iraq, threatening agricultural sustainability and creating potential for water conflicts [28].

Proxy conflicts and sectarian competition between Iran and Saudi Arabia have been enabled and fueled by the institutional weakness and state fragmentation in Iraq. Iranian influence in Iraq through Shia militia groups and political proxies creates security challenges and contributes to continued instability. The competition for regional influence produces arms flows, financial support for militant groups, and sustained violence [44].

### 6.3 Humanitarian Migration and Refugee Flows

Economic collapse has produced massive refugee and displaced person populations that create regional and global humanitarian challenges. Iraq has produced multiple waves of refugees associated with different conflict phases, with estimates suggesting that cumulatively 4 to 5 million Iraqis have been displaced internally or fled abroad since 2003. The ISIS conflicts of 2014-2017 alone displaced approximately 6 million people, many of whom have been unable to return [42].

Iranian emigration, while less dramatic than Iraqi refugee flows, represents substantial brain drain with particular concentration among educated and professional populations. Estimates suggest that between 150,000 and 180,000 Iranians emigrate annually, with particular representation among doctors, engineers, and academics. This human capital flight compounds economic challenges by depleting precisely the skilled populations necessary for economic recovery [22].

Host nations including Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon have absorbed millions of refugees from Iraq and Syria, creating fiscal burdens and social tensions. The economic impacts on host nations include labor market effects, pressure on public services, and housing market distortions. International assistance for refugee support has been inadequate relative to needs, creating unsustainable burdens on host nations [46].

European migration crises of 2015-2016 included substantial flows from Iraq and Iran among broader Middle Eastern refugee populations. These migration flows have produced political backlash in recipient nations, contributing to right-wing populism and anti-immigrant politics that reshape European politics. The connections between Middle Eastern economic collapse and European political dynamics illustrate globalization of the consequences [20].

## 7 Recovery Prospects and Policy Pathways

### 7.1 Reconstruction Challenges

The scale of reconstruction necessary in Iraq exceeds 200 billion dollars according to World Bank assessments, reflecting damage from decades of conflict and neglect. This estimate encompasses physical infrastructure including electricity generation, water systems, transportation networks, housing stock, and industrial facilities. The actual costs will likely exceed estimates given corruption, security premiums, and coordination challenges [47].

Iraq faces enormous challenges in mobilizing reconstruction financing given high debt burdens, low oil prices reducing fiscal space, and corruption that deters private investment. International donors provided substantial assistance following the 2003 invasion but much was wasted through corruption and poor implementation. The experience of failed reconstruction efforts creates donor fatigue and skepticism about future assistance effectiveness [15].

Iran's reconstruction needs are less severe than Iraq's given absence of recent warfare on its territory, but still substantial. Sanctions have degraded infrastructure including refineries, petrochemical facilities, and transportation networks that require modernization and repair. The petroleum sector alone would require investments exceeding 100 billion dollars to restore production capacity and develop new fields [23].

Governance reforms represent preconditions for effective reconstruction but remain politically challenging to implement. Reducing corruption requires breaking power structures that benefit from existing systems. Establishing rule of law threatens elites who profit from lawlessness. Building effective institutions requires displacing current powerholders who benefit from weak institutions. These political economy obstacles make governance reform difficult despite near-universal recognition of necessity [1].

## 7.2 Diversification Imperatives

Economic recovery requires diversification away from petroleum dependence to create sustainable growth and employment. Both Iran and Iraq face challenges in diversification given decades of neglect of non-oil sectors, technological gaps relative to international competitors, and institutional weaknesses that impede business development [21].

Manufacturing development requires technology acquisition, worker training, infrastructure investment, and policy reforms to create competitive business environments. The East Asian developmental state model that successfully fostered manufacturing growth through industrial policy faces implementation challenges in contexts of weak institutions and resource rents that enable policy failures without consequences [43].

Service sector development including finance, telecommunications, and professional services offers potential diversification opportunities that require less physical infrastructure investment than manufacturing. However, regulatory frameworks, human capital development, and integration with global service networks all present challenges. Iraq's financial sector remains underdeveloped with low banking penetration and limited sophistication. Iran's financial sector, while more developed, suffers from sanctions isolation and corruption [9].

Agricultural development faces severe constraints including water scarcity, climate change impacts, and policy distortions including subsidies and price controls that undermine incentives for productivity improvement. Iraq's agriculture has not recovered to pre-1990 production levels despite substantial potential. Iran faces existential water challenges that threaten agricultural sustainability even with improved policies [50].

## 7.3 Sanctions Relief and International Reintegration

For Iran, sanctions relief represents the most immediate pathway to economic recovery. The experience of 2015-2018 following the JCPOA demonstrates that sanctions relief can produce rapid economic improvement including currency stabilization, inflation reduction, and GDP growth recovery. However, the experience also demonstrates fragility of sanctions-based agreements subject to political reversal [31].

Comprehensive sanctions relief would require resolution of nuclear program concerns, regional security issues, ballistic missile development, and support for militant proxies. This comprehensive agenda makes near-term sanctions relief unlikely absent major shifts in Iranian policy or US approach. Incremental sanctions relief focused on humanitarian provisions and

specific sectors could provide modest economic benefits without requiring resolution of all issues [31].

Iraq faces less severe sanctions constraints but still requires substantial international reintegration to achieve recovery. Resolving debt obligations from the Saddam era, attracting foreign investment, and accessing technology and expertise all depend on normalization of international economic relationships. Security improvements represent preconditions for attracting sustained foreign investment beyond extractive petroleum sector [47].

International institutions including the International Monetary Fund and World Bank could provide technical assistance, policy advice, and catalytic financing for reform programs. However, conditionality requirements for such assistance including fiscal reforms, subsidy removal, and governance improvements face political obstacles in both nations. Previous IMF program discussions with Iran and Iraq have consistently failed to materialize due to inability to meet conditions [26].

## 8 Conclusion

The economic collapse of Iran and Iraq represents one of the most significant economic catastrophes of the modern era, destroying prosperity in nations possessing some of the world's most valuable natural resource endowments. The analysis presented in this treatise demonstrates that collapse resulted from complex interactions among resource curse dynamics, sanctions regimes, warfare and conflict, governance failures, and corruption rather than any single cause.

Several key conclusions emerge from this comprehensive analysis. First, natural resource wealth provides no immunity from economic collapse and may actually increase vulnerability through institutional degradation, rent-seeking incentives, and Dutch disease effects. Both Iran and Iraq exemplify how petroleum abundance can fuel economic destruction rather than development when coupled with poor governance and external shocks.

Second, comprehensive sanctions regimes produce systematic economic degradation through multiple reinforcing channels including financial isolation, trade disruption, technology denial, and secondary sanction effects. The sanctions experiences of both nations demonstrate how economic isolation can produce collapse effects comparable to warfare while avoiding direct military engagement.

Third, warfare and violent conflict destroy not only physical capital but also human capital, institutions, and social trust in ways that persist long after active hostilities cease. Iraq's multiple conflict episodes have produced cumulative destruction that makes recovery increasingly challenging with each successive crisis.

Fourth, governance failures and corruption represent both causes and consequences of economic collapse, creating self-reinforcing cycles that are difficult to break. The political economy of corruption in both nations creates powerful constituencies opposed to reforms necessary for recovery.

Fifth, the regional and global implications of collapse in Iran and Iraq extend far beyond their borders, affecting energy security, regional stability, humanitarian conditions, and migration patterns. The international community cannot treat these collapses as localized problems without broader consequences.

The path to recovery remains uncertain and dependent on resolution of multiple interconnected challenges. Sanctions relief, conflict resolution, governance reform, corruption reduction, and economic diversification all represent necessary conditions for sustainable recovery, yet each faces formidable political obstacles. The political economy dynamics that produced collapse create path dependencies that make alternative trajectories difficult to achieve.

International policy toward Iran and Iraq must recognize the complexity of collapse dynamics and avoid simplistic approaches focused exclusively on security concerns or sanctions pressure. Sustainable resolution requires comprehensive strategies addressing governance, eco-

nomic reconstruction, and regional security simultaneously. The costs of continued collapse, measured in humanitarian suffering, regional instability, and lost economic potential, justify substantial international engagement despite the challenges.

The experiences of Iran and Iraq provide broader lessons for resource-rich nations, demonstrating the critical importance of governance quality, institutional development, and economic diversification. The cautionary tale they represent should inform development strategies in other resource-abundant nations facing similar vulnerabilities.

Future research should examine several dimensions inadequately addressed in current literature. The mechanisms linking sanctions to specific forms of institutional degradation require more detailed analysis. The political economy of post-conflict reconstruction in severely damaged contexts needs systematic study. The long-term trajectories of economies experiencing prolonged collapse warrant investigation to understand whether recovery becomes progressively more difficult with time.

Ultimately, the economic collapse of Iran and Iraq stands as testament to how even nations possessing enormous natural advantages can experience catastrophic deterioration when governance fails, conflicts persist, and international isolation compounds domestic pathologies. The challenge for policymakers, scholars, and citizens is to learn from these experiences and work toward pathways that might enable recovery while preventing similar collapses elsewhere.

## 9 Tables and Summary Data

Table 1: Key Economic Indicators: Iran and Iraq Comparison

Indicator	Iraq	Iran
Population (millions, 2020)	40.2	83.9
GDP (billions USD, 2020)	167	191
GDP per capita (USD, 2020)	4,157	2,277
Oil reserves (billion barrels)	145	158
Peak oil production (million bpd)	3.5 (1979)	6.0 (1974)
Current production (million bpd)	4.1	2.5
Inflation rate (%, avg 2015-2020)	3.5	28.0
Unemployment rate (%, 2020)	13.8	11.4
Public debt (% of GDP, 2020)	62	48
Corruption Index (0-100, 2020)	21	25

Table 2: Major Conflict and Sanctions Periods

Period	Country	Event
1980-1988	Both	Iran-Iraq War
1990-2003	Iraq	UN comprehensive sanctions
1995-2015	Iran	Various US sanctions
2003-2011	Iraq	US invasion and occupation
2012-2015	Iran	Intensified sanctions
2014-2017	Iraq	ISIS conflict
2018-present	Iran	Maximum pressure sanctions

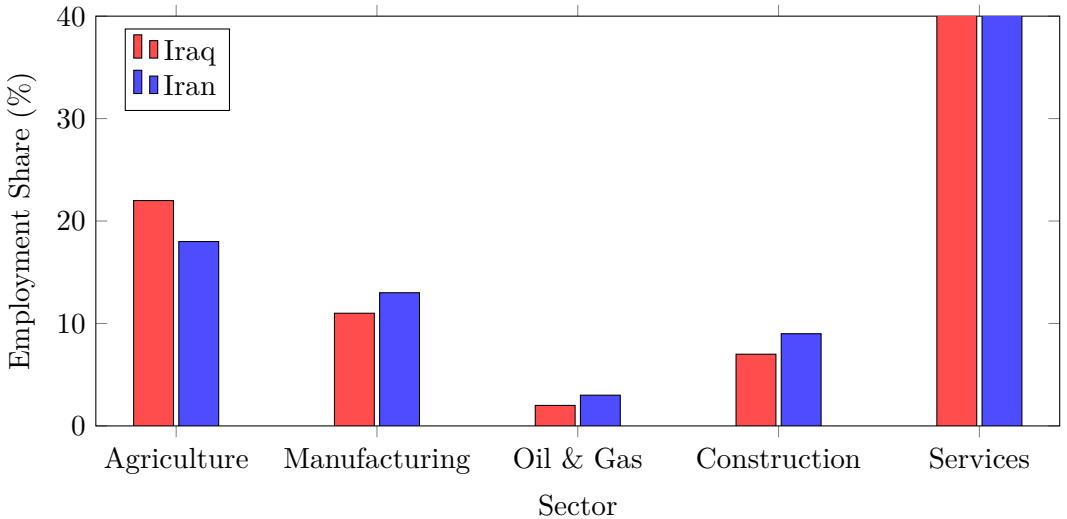


Figure 4: Employment Distribution by Sector (2019 estimates)

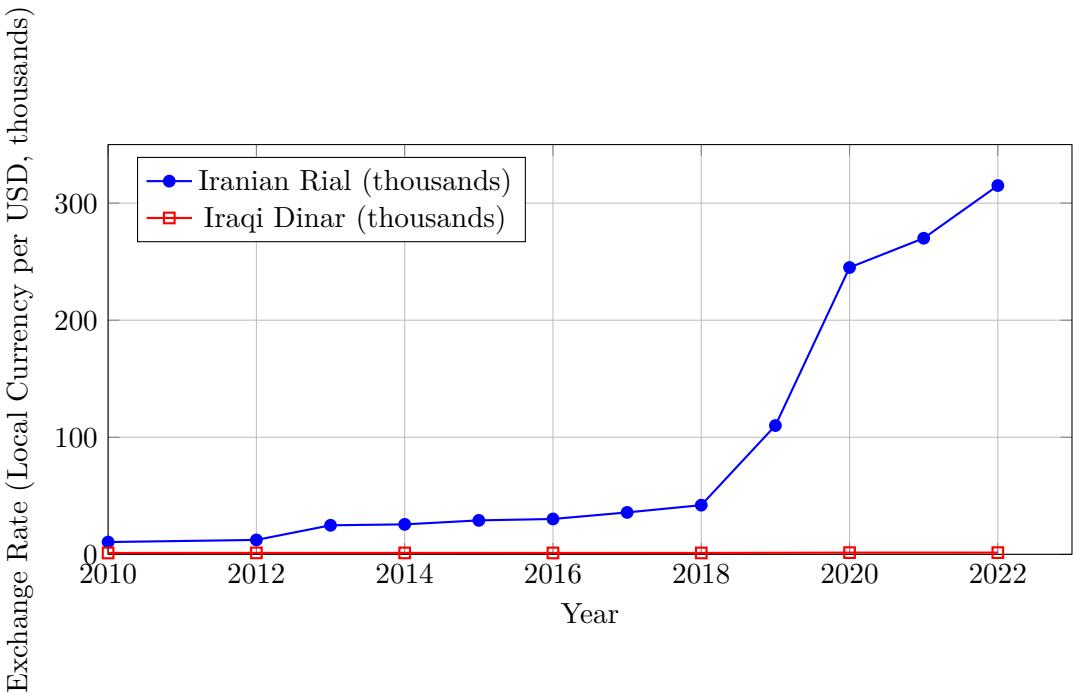


Figure 5: Currency Depreciation Trajectories

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**The End**