

RESEARCH ARTICLE

# The Welfare State and Evaluation of the Process of Guaranteeing Survival in the Liberal Economy and Democratization (Case Study: Baath Party of Iraq)

Morteza Bandari<sup>1</sup>, Habibollah Abolhassan Shirazi<sup>2</sup>, Abdolreza Alishahi<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>PhD in International Relations, Islamic Azad University, Ahvaz branch, Ahvaz, Iran.

<sup>2</sup>Professor, Department of International Relations, Central Tehran Branch, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran.

<sup>3</sup>PhD in Political Science, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran.

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**Corresponding Author:** Morteza Bandari, PhD in International Relations, Islamic Azad University, Ahvaz branch, Ahvaz, Iran.

## Abstract

The concept of the welfare state implies the realization of two main and important issues. The first is the government's intervention, commitment and responsibility in providing the minimum living needs of citizens regardless of their race, religion, ethnicity and social class, and the second is the effort to realize democracy. At the beginning, this concept was noticed and welcomed by many countries of the world in such a way that many societies tried to implement the welfare state in their political system, but the fact is that some countries, such as Sweden, had a successful experience of realizing the welfare state, and others, such as Iraq During Saddam's time, they did not succeed in this field. Therefore, the aim of the current research is to answer this main question: "How can we evaluate the process of realizing the welfare state in Iraq during the Saddam era, considering the dual indicators?" The hypothesis of the research implies that the Baath Party, despite its attention and desire for socialist foundations and the welfare state, implemented a completely different reading of this issue in the political-social system of Iraq in such a way that it had minimal success in providing the minimum life needs of the deprived Iraqi society. But not only was it not successful in the concept of democracy, but it turned into one of the most totalitarian political systems. The findings of the research, emphasizing the concept of political culture, the use of historical sociology methods and library sources, showed that the Baath Party, regarding the index of guaranteeing survival in a liberal economy centered on distributive justice And the transparency of financial resources has been an unsuccessful process and in relation to the effort to remove deprivation in Iraq, it has been a relatively successful process, but in the issue of democracy, due to the closed and submissive political culture of the Iraqi society, the process of rotation of power and the participation of political spectrums, and the process of monitoring and inspecting the performance of the rulers. It has been a completely unsuccessful process.

**Keywords:** Totalitarianism, Baath Party, Democracy, Welfare State, Iraq.

**JEL Classification:** B55, D60, E61.

## 1. Introduction

Basically, schools of thought and philosophy try to discuss and evaluate many important problems and challenges of human life in political, economic, social and cultural fields. In fact, when big and important

problems such as war, political instability, inequality, poverty, discrimination, etc. become widespread in a particular political system or at broad international levels, then various theorists, while discussing and examining the reasons These problems identify its

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roots and finally provide a solution (Lanz, 2018: 3). One of the important influential philosophical-political schools has been socialism. Socialism in its main meaning and concept means trying to create a kind of equality and balance in the society. In this sense, while rejecting and condemning the exploitation of the deprived classes by the ruling and dominant classes, socialism has focused its efforts on creating a social and economic order based on equality. Therefore, the basis of the discourse of socialism is to try to achieve equality and balance of all layers and classes of society in profit, benefit and fair distribution of wealth (Wolff, 2019: 9). With this definition, socialism has a long history, because such concepts are much earlier and in the time of ancient Greece and rooted in the thoughts of Plato and Aristotle and even Jesus Christ (PBUH), because all of them somehow support common or public property and also support They were the deprived classes (Honneth, 2024: 11). In fact, based on Plato's theory in the book of *Presidents*, who believed that the ruling class does not have any special privileges and also proposes a communal system for the two classes of guardians and philosophers, which is a kind of socialist system, Plato can be considered to be a socialist (Larson, 2021:14). On the other hand, the teachings in the Bible in the Old Testament also described a set of socialist laws, which include the protection of workers, women, and the disadvantaged in society (Gilbert, 2023: 18).

The important point is that several schools were created from the concept of socialism. Schools such as social democracy, social feminism, and imaginative socialism, each of which tried to provide a realistic and efficient explanation of socialism in different social-political systems. One of the important concepts derived from the teachings of socialism is the concept of the welfare state, based on which the government makes targeted policies to ensure and prepare the minimum living standards of the society, especially the deprived and oppressed (Newman, 1402: 28). In fact, the main foundation of the welfare state is the government's responsibility in providing healthcare facilities, unemployment and retirement, providing housing and educational services and the like for all citizens from birth to death (Sweezy, 2021: 30). This concept was greatly welcomed by many countries of the world and its leaders, and on the other hand, it also brought many critics, because

they believed that the welfare state will limit the scope of individual freedoms, especially in economic and commercial matters, and therefore the amount of ingenuity It will also reduce people and make them merely government pensioners (Hermann Hoppe, 2021: 69). However, many countries in the world, in order to support the deprived sections of the society, turned to the implementation of welfare state policies and tried to be responsible for the weak sections, secondly, to provide the minimum facilities needed for their life and livelihood, and thirdly, their relative satisfaction. in order to further reduce the risk of any riots, protests and unrest and fourthly to increase their political legitimacy (Belyaev, 2024: 97-98).

The main issue in this is the multiple perceptions and sometimes different readings of the concept of the welfare state among different countries. In fact, just as a wide range of interpretations, new and sometimes diverse interpretations were made from the concept of socialism, this issue was also realized from the concept of the welfare state, which is itself one of the concepts of attention and emphasis of socialism, in such a way that the process and result of the implementation of the policies of the welfare state In such societies, it also leaves many consequences, and this consequence was manifested in two very important issues: first; Different approaches of the government to support different sections of the society, this approach in some governments resulted in high degrees of distributive justice, elimination of deprivation, allocation of extensive welfare facilities, especially for the deprived and oppressed sections of the society, but in some other governments, this approach produced minimal results. brought along Second; The process of democratization in these societies, based on which some governments have succeeded in institutionalizing democratic structures and institutions, and others have not only not achieved success, but have pushed the situation towards totalitarian and authoritarian systems. In explaining why this is the case, despite the stability of the theories of the welfare state and the multitude of consequences of its realization in various political systems, many reasons can be listed, but the authors of the present study, paying attention and focusing on the concept of political culture, try to analyze the main issue of the present study. In fact, the main argument is that, for example, the Swedish government and the Iraqi Ba'ath government both believed in the high effectiveness of the welfare

state for their political systems and subsequently put their efforts to apply the welfare state more and more qualitatively in their societies. But the fact is that the Swedish political system, based on the principles of the welfare state, acted successfully both in terms of realizing democratization and in terms of supporting the deprived classes based on guaranteeing survival in the liberal economy, but the Iraqi Baath government, despite the minimal success in removing deprivation from Many parts of Iraq did not succeed in the process of democratization and created one of the most authoritarian and autocratic governments in the Middle East.

With these preliminaries, the present research, using the method of historical sociology and the theory of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, has devoted its efforts to experimenting and analyzing and investigating this main question: “According to the dual and main indicators, the process of realizing the welfare state in How can you evaluate Saddam’s Iraq?” In other words, “Why despite the fact that the main foundations of the welfare state are clear, a country like Iraq during Saddam’s time has had a completely unsuccessful process in realizing it?”

## 2. Methodology

Regarding the research method used in the current research, the authors have used the historical sociology method. Basically, in this method, the set of tools and feedbacks of a specific political or social phenomenon are examined and discussed (Alishahi et al., 2021: 123). For example, in order to investigate and epistemology the process of realizing the welfare state in Iraq by using this type of method, it is possible to scientifically explain the set of approaches, tools and strategies used in this country to realize the welfare state and also to examine the reasons for their success or failure in this.

## 3. Literature Review

Political culture means a set of beliefs, ideas, feelings and attitudes of the citizens of a society towards politics and government (Clemens, 2023: 134). Also, political culture implies the intellectual, normative and behavioral rules of the members of a society to the political system as well (Dormagen, 2022: 55). On the one hand, the political culture is based on the subjective attitudes of the people of the society on political issues (such as the nature of politics, political

rights, political participation, political responsibility, political demands, and political supervision), and on the other hand, political culture can be derived from a macro-ideal approach. or be realistic. In both issues, the political culture is greatly influenced by the historical and cultural events of that society (Naghibzadeh, 2016: 41).

In the 1960s, two American sociologists named Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba considered three major indicators in order to better explain the concept of political culture: first; Mutual respect of members of the society and the ruling system. Based on this, effective and ineffective political culture are variable and distinct based on the extent to which the political system and its citizens consider each other “low” or “respectable”; The second indicator; It is the concept of consensus based on which it shows the degree of agreement, interaction and understanding between the citizens of the society and the rulers. This concept also implies another important issue, the satisfaction of the citizens with the behavior and political performance of the rulers. Based on the concept of consensus, citizens will have direct activities in important issues such as the administration of the country, determining the level of their welfare and citizenship rights, determining the rulers and policymakers of the country and the manner and extent of their powers; The third indicator; It is a matter of unity. At the micro level, this issue indicates the existence of unity or division between citizens and rulers, and at the macro level, the issue of the independence of countries. In this regard, Almond and Verba mentioned the independence and separatism of Scotland and Wales from England (Almond & Verba, 1989: 207-211). The important point is that Almond and Verba tried to explain the efficient political culture of the United States and promote it as an efficient model of political sociology for other societies in their famous book entitled: “Civil Culture”, but later some sociologists such as Lambra and Lijphart By examining the political situation of countries such as Switzerland and the Netherlands, they showed that issues such as political stability, social welfare, the state of relations between citizens and rulers, and the process of democratization in both Dutch and Swiss societies are far better than the United States (Bashirieh, 2023: 227). Finally, Almond and Verba explained three types of political culture based on the nature of the attitude of society citizens towards politics as follows.

### 3.1 Limited Political Culture

In this type of political culture, the citizens mainly do not have detailed and comprehensive information about the nature of politics, the desired and adopted approaches by the rulers, but they are aware of the generalities of the mentioned political issues. On the other hand, citizens in such societies lack the necessary political knowledge and awareness, and secondly, they do not show much relation to political issues. According to Almond and Verba, such a culture is mainly observed in traditional societies.

### 3.2 Obedient Political Culture

In this type of culture, citizens, while being aware of the decisions of the rulers, show less approaches based on opposition to the policies adopted by the government. In fact, in such a culture, citizens are more accepting of political decisions, which is seen in the opinion of Almond and Verba in authoritarian societies.

### 3.3 Participatory Political Culture

In this type of culture, citizens have an impact on the set of policies and strategies adopted by the rulers and show a great desire to be present in the political arena. According to Almond and Verba, the democratization process will take place effectively in such societies. This culture is mostly seen in developed and democratic societies (Almond & Verba, 1989: 222-224).

Lijphart has also mentioned two types of popular and evolved political culture in the classification and separation of political culture. In popular political culture, citizens are mostly observers and obedient to political issues, but in evolved political culture, citizens become active participants and influencers in the arena of politics (Lijphart, 2006: 87-88). Another sociologist named William Stewart believes that in classifying and separating the political culture of all societies, attention should be paid to the following eight cases: anarchism, oligarchy, conservative corporatism, fascism, classical liberalism, radical liberalism, democratic socialism, and Leninist socialism. In fact, according to Stewart's opinion, all behaviors resulting from political culture are individually or a combination of the aforementioned eight items (Stewart, 2018: 63-66).

The study, based on the concept of political culture and theories of Almond and Verba, tries to explain

and provide a reasoned answer to the main goal of the research, which is to investigate and evaluate the process of the welfare state and the process of democratization and ensuring survival in the liberal economy in Iraq. In fact, the authors believe that it is important that despite the great desire and tendency of the Baathist government of Iraq to realize the welfare state in its political system, due to the political culture governing the system of this country as well as a different reading and understanding of the concept of socialism, there have been important failures in This field has been achieved, which we will discuss further.

In relation to the background of the research, it should be acknowledged that the authors did not find any research that independently investigated the process of realizing the welfare state by emphasizing the concept of political culture. On the other hand, there was no research that addressed this issue from the perspective of evaluating the two concepts of guaranteeing survival in the liberal economy and the process of democracy in Iraq during Saddam Hussein's era. These two issues are the main aspects of the innovation of the current research. However, some of the most important researches that are somehow related to the title and purpose of the current research will be briefly reviewed below.

Tohidifar et l., (2024) in an article titled: "A comparative study of general social welfare policies in the period of the 8th and 9th governments using fuzzy logic" showed that the level of welfare and social security was higher in the ninth term of the presidency, and the people enjoyed better welfare services and citizen interaction, and in the ninth government, this level of welfare was less, although the ninth government also provided subsidies and housing. The lower social classes have provided decent services. Therefore, finally, all the aforementioned findings made it clear that social welfare in Iran is a process that is largely connected to "governments" and government planning in this regard will greatly contribute to social security and national solidarity.

Bandari & Alishahi (2024) in research titled: "The concept of the welfare state and the pathology of its application in the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran" showed that there are important weaknesses in the four economic, political, legal and social fields that have challenged the realization of the welfare state in the political system of the Islamic Republic

of Iran. In the field of economy, the components of government monopoly, lack of competitive economy, unbalanced distribution economy, severe weakness in privatization; In the field of politics, the components of the dysfunctional party system, weak institutionalism, weak structuralism and political stances. In the legal field, the components of weakness in adhering to welfare laws, functional weakness of the parliament, weakness in the monitoring process, and weakness in transparency, and finally in the social field, lack of belief in the culture of public interest, severe weakness in demanding, weakness in accountability, and weakness in accountability are the most important known weaknesses. are available.

Mozdkhah & Hamidi (2024) in research titled: "Welfare State and Hybrid Geopolitical Aspects of Development in the Nordic Countries" dedicated that the foundation of development in the Nordic region is the meaningful creation of a normal and quality life in the material world. For the Nordics, development is a social lifestyle meant for better well-being, which has led to the positive reputation of these countries in the international system and has linked the name and brand of this region with development.

Mendes Rufino Barbosa (2024) in an article titled: "The developmental welfare state in South Korea under globalization" showed that between the 1990s and the 2010s, South Korea expanded all sectors of social policies analyzed. Beyond the expansion of passive policies, active policies (including education) were reshaped in an integrated manner with the industrial policy to promote innovation, pursuing the transition to the knowledge-based society; also the family policy became one of the most generous among OECD countries.

Schoenholzer & Burger (2024) in research titled: "Welfare state policy and educational inequality: a cross-national multicohort study" conclude that The approaches of the welfare state in the education and training system will lead to a significant reduction of educational inequalities. In other words, the welfare government's policies in supporting students have led to significant academic progress of students. The main argument of the authors in this regard is the meaningful relationship between public government support for families who do not have the necessary capacity to increase their children's educational opportunities.

Farkas et al., (2024) in an article titled: "Last place aversion, labor market competition or welfare state model? Explaining anti-immigrant sentiment in Hungary with a conjoint experiment" showed that fears related to welfare exploits might be the most plausible explanation for widespread anti-immigrant sentiment in the Hungarian public, as the less education fictive refugee profiles showcased, the less likely respondents were to admit them. Contrarily, no evidence corroborating worries associated with labor market competition or last place aversion was found.

Thane (2024) in a study titled: "Poverty and the Rise and Fall of the Welfare State in Britain, 1900 to the Present" showed that Poverty in the UK has recently risen to levels and created conditions not seen since c.1900. Then, the poverty revealed in major surveys by Booth and Rowntree created shock and proposals for change leading to the first measures of what became the Welfare State. Then, as now, a major cause of poverty was inadequate pay for precarious work, though another significant cause now is the decline of the Welfare State. State welfare expanded gradually from 1906 to 1945, then much faster, along with full employment and labor market regulation, especially under Labor governments until the late 1970s. Poverty declined but never disappeared. Under Thatcher's Conservative government, 1979–1990, state welfare was severely cut and poverty shot up. After some respite under New Labor, 1997–2010, a period of successive Conservative governments since 2010 has witnessed significant cuts to social welfare and an increase in poverty causing serious deprivation comparable with the early 1900s. But there are fewer proposals for reform now than then, though they are urgently needed.

Bavandpour et al., (2023). Analysis of the position of Iran's welfare state in welfare paradigms with an emphasis on legal standards and Legatum Report 2021 (from theory to practice)" showed that on the one hand, the fundamental laws in Iran, despite the intensity and weakness of the welfare programs, indicate a relatively comprehensive view and the desire to implement the welfare state system of the social democratic type, and on the other hand, the state of welfare indicators in Legatum's report shows the very unfavorable state of welfare in the country and Iran's inappropriate position in the international and even regional arena. Also, the comparison of welfare indicators in the Legatum report shows that

in terms of the welfare system, Iran is next to the less efficient informal supply countries. Therefore, there is a huge gap between what is introduced in theory as the welfare policies resulting from the basic laws and the practice that is the result of the current state of welfare in the country.

## 4. Findings

### 4.1 Arab Socialist Baath Party

The Baath Party was based on socialist doctrines, which was founded for the first time by Michel Aflaq, Zaki al-Arsuzi and Salah al-Din al-Bitar in Syria, whose main discourse was to try to realize the three major issues of freedom, unity and socialism (Esposito, 2021: 146). The freedom considered by the Ba'ath party has been an effort to get rid of the restrictions of the colonialists and the ruling imperialist system of the Arab world, especially England and France; The desired unity of the Baath party, the effort for the unity and coalition of the Arab countries (the realization of a united Arab nationalism in the form of a united country) and the desired socialism of this party were also based on the cooperation and cooperation of different social strata (Movassaghi, 2017: 81). A very important point is that the socialism of the Baath Party was not based on the war and class struggles of the Marxists, but simply an attempt to unite and converge the different political and social spectrums of the Arab world, as well as freeing them from economic dependence on the West, so the Baath Party's socialist reading of scientific socialism is The opinion of Marxists, which is based on class struggles and the realization of the proletarian revolution, is completely different and emphasizes more on nationalism, consensus, coalition and unity of the Arab world. Moreover, Arsuzi believed in this regard: "The Arabs are one nation and the Arab country is an indivisible homeland." (Shamsalddini, 2023: 33). On the other hand, the socialism of the Baath party emphasized the separation of religion from politics and paid attention to the religious principles of Islam only in terms of cultural and ethnic issues. Another important issue regarding the Baath party's socialism has been its high emphasis and attention on the dimension of militarism. In fact, the leaders of the Baath Party believed that in order to realize freedom and achieve the goals of a single Arab nation, it should have an efficient and powerful military force, for this reason, the senior leaders and the main core of the Baath Party in Iraq and Syria were mainly military generals of the army. (Ahmadi, 2017: 107).

### 4.2 Evaluating the Process of Realizing the Welfare State in Saddam Era Iraq

#### 4.2.1 Ensuring Survival in a Liberal Economy

The political structure of Iraq has been based on a traditional system with ethnic pluralism. In addition to this issue, the religious structure of the country of Iraq has placed its political system under a traditional conservative religious system. Also, the political culture of the Iraqi people is also a limited political culture because the traditional economic context of this country (based on agriculture and then pure dependence on oil) along with the dominant tribal culture, has subordinated most of the citizens of this country to the heads of tribes or the rulers of the central government. (Akbari, 2020: 46). On the other hand, despite Iraq's rich resources of oil and gas, abundant water and fertile soil, this country is one of the relatively poor countries among Islamic societies and has faced a wide range of oppressed and deprived classes. An important part of this issue is due to the traditional structure governing the economic system, and another important part is due to the political instability caused by the war, coup, military occupation and inefficiency of different governments on Iraq (ibid.: 49). But the fact is that with the leadership of the Baath Party over the political system of Iraq, Saddam Hussein took several measures to reduce deprivation and increase welfare services for Iraqi citizens. It became based on obedience to the decisions of the Baath party (submissive political culture), which we will discuss further.

In general, Saddam Hussein's approaches to guarantee the survival of the Iraqi society according to the conditions of the liberal economy ruling the world have been as follows.

#### 4.2.2 Distributive Justice Based on the Exclusivity of the Baath Party

One of the most important principles of welfare governments is to try to distribute wealth and government income fairly among different sections of the society regardless of race, ethnicity, religion and social classes of citizens. This issue had an exclusive nature in the Iraqi Baath party, especially in Saddam Hussein. In other words, almost all the wealth and income of the Iraqi Ba'ath government, not only did not have a distribution nature (or it was very weak and limited), but it was the Ba'ath party that distributed the income and state wealth based on the discretion it determined. Based on this, one of

the concrete characteristics of the Baath party is the widespread discrimination of services and welfare facilities (although minimal) first among the senior members of the Baath party, their loyalists, then among the Sunnis and Iraqi nomads, and finally the lowest level of government welfare and income services to Ethnicities such as Kurds, Shiites and Turkmens of Iraq were allocated. On the other hand, the structure based on repression and intimidation of the Baath Party, the lack of non-governmental supervisory institutions, the lack of a parliamentary system, the limited and closed political culture of the Iraqi society and the citizens who are mostly uninformed, uninformed and unwilling to political issues left no room for any objections to the distribution policies of this party. Because in case of such an action, it would face the most severe attacks and repressions from the Baath party (Clausen, 2020: 93-94).

#### ***4.2.3 Transparency in Government Financial Resources***

One of the most important approaches necessary for the realization of the welfare state is the identification of the government's financial resources and the process of providing them from different axes. In fact, this issue implies the important issue that as long as there is no transparency and clarity in the provision of government resources and income, the welfare programs of the government cannot be carried forward, because the basis of the realization of the welfare state in public welfare services depends on the provision of financial resources. For this reason, the government adopts and implements many and diverse approaches in this regard.

First: Determining the solutions for providing government financial resources (private companies, tax system, etc.).

Second; Accurate and targeted monitoring of the process of adopting financial resources to prevent any financial abuse or money laundering; third; Monitoring of non-governmental institutions to evaluate the process of government distribution justice among different classes and strata (Barr, 2021: 567-568).

In this regard, the Baath Party of Iraq, considering the limited and submissive political culture of the Iraqi society, did not create any necessary, clear and specific structure for the necessary and sufficient financial income in the Iraqi economic system, except for the resources from oil revenues. Although traces of the

tax system were created in this country, especially during 1974 to 1984, for some oil, petrochemical and agricultural companies, the financial resources obtained from them are by no means necessary and sufficient to advance the goals of the welfare state - even welfare. Minimal - it was not. On the other hand, the Baath Party of Iraq did not provide any clear, documented and accurate reports even regarding the sale of oil resources and its revenues, because this party did not believe in accountability and accountability to any institution or organization except for its senior leaders. For this reason, the only available documents regarding the resources obtained from the sale of Iraq's oil and gas have been published by other countries, and the Baath party never announced the necessary transparency regarding its financial resources for the limited and obedient Iraqi political community (Sasson, 2019: 1092).

#### ***4.2.4 Efforts to Eliminate Deprivation in Iraq***

The Baath government of Iraq was able to cover an important part of the widespread institutional deprivation in Iraq due to its large oil revenues. The first macro-economic action of the Baath Party was the attempt to industrialize the Iraqi economy by relying on large oil revenues. Based on this, the Baath Party designed two five-year economic development programs from 1970-1975 and 1975-1980. In the first program, the Baath party tried to create an economic stability and then achieve independence in order to achieve this important issue based on nationalizing the Iraqi oil industry and increasing investments in this industry. In the second program, efforts have been made to realize the macro infrastructure of non-oil fields such as petrochemicals, chemical fertilizers, military industries, iron and steel and other factories. When the Baath Party achieved the desired large oil revenues in such a way that during the years 1967 to 1980, Iraq's oil revenues reached 14.2 billion dollars, the realization of the second development plans was started and many large industries of interest to the Baath Party were formed in Iraq (Esmailnezhad Ardebili, 2019: 151-152).

With a realistic view, it is necessary to emphasize this important issue, the economic-welfare conditions of Iraq before Saddam's time were in a very difficult situation, which only in issues such as education, basic health, road and transportation, electricity supply network and even drinking water of Iraq is one of the It has been the most deprived countries in

the region and even the world, but Saddam's Baath government was able to create minimal prosperity in the aforementioned fields by relying on oil revenues and focusing politics in the Baath Party. However, the two important factors of the aggression against Iran and the eight-year war, as well as the policies based on the economic punishment of the West against Saddam due to the aggression against Kuwait, while the Iraqi economy faced a huge challenge, many of the large-scale industrial, economic and welfare programs of the Baath Party failed, because firstly, Iraq's macro-economic debt caused by the eight-year war with Iran and secondly, the economic embargo of this country from the West made Saddam's development plans for Iraq a big failure. A very important issue in the process of realizing the welfare state and providing government services by the Iraqi Baath party is that Saddam Hussein's government is completely biased in the process of implementing the policies of the welfare state in Iraq and in providing public services to the Shiites and the country's agrarianism towards the nomads and non-Muslims. The Iraqi tradition adopted a process based on pure discrimination. This issue had a tremendous impact on the process of democratization in Iraq, which we will discuss further.

#### **4.3 Employment**

It was mentioned earlier that the economic structure in Iraq was a traditional structure and mainly based on traditional agriculture. The governments before Saddam also did not achieve important achievements in this field due to fragile and unbalanced political structures and dependent economy. With the formation of heavy industries in Iraq and the establishment of numerous factories during the Baath era, which tried to achieve independence and then stability and economic development based on socialist principles, an important part of the Iraqi workforce was employed in the newly established industries of this country in such a way that during from 1976 to 1986, 160,000 Iraqi engineers and technical personnel worked in the country's industries. This is except for 800,000 people who were employed in the iron, steel, petrochemical and other industries of Iraq. Although such a statistic may seem limited, the reality is that in the political-economic conditions governing the Iraqi system, such a volume is important and significant because the organization of the workforce, whether specialized or regular, in such a traditional system

is limited due to the multiple ethnic and cultural conditions. It is a difficult matter (Sommer, 2024: 371-372).

#### **4.4 Agriculture**

Iraq is one of the biggest food importers despite having abundant water and fertile land. Baath party of Iraq started several general strategies for the development of agricultural industry: first; The increase of cultivable land in such a way that the cultivable land increased more than three times during the time of the Baath party from 1978 to 1988; Second; Modernizing Iraq's agriculture; third; Extensive agricultural contracts with the Soviet Union and some other countries of the world. In this regard, the Baath party has concluded more than 88 large contracts for the promotion of Iraqi agriculture with Japan, Russia, France, Italy, England, Canada and Germany, amounting to 40 million dollars in this regard. spent; fourth; Industrial irrigation system; Fifth, supporting Iraqi farmers in the form of financial aid. However, in the field of agriculture, due to extensive damage in the war with Iran, many infrastructures were either destroyed or left unfinished. Also, the wide-ranging punitive policy of the West against Saddam faced important challenges to the country's large-scale agricultural projects, in a way, he was forced to accept the approach of oil versus food and was forced to import a large amount of agricultural and food products from other countries (Andrew, 2021: 8).

#### **4.5 Education**

Iraq's education structure was one of the most traditional and backward educational systems before the Baath party. So that until 1970, more than a quarter of the young population of Iraq, especially in the rural areas, did not even have literacy. The Baath Party tried to compensate an important part of this shortage by hiring more than 95 thousand teachers and establishing more than 240 thousand schools during the years 1976 to 1982. However, in the recruitment of Iraqi teachers, the Baath Party applied its political orientations and people whose loyalty to the Baath Party was proven were qualified as teachers, and on the other hand, there are still great deficiencies in the field of education in the Iraqi Kurdish and Shiite areas of this country. Also, the number of universities, centers and scientific-research associations established in Iraq in the years 1977 to 1981 reached 26 universities and research centers, as

well as sending Iraqi elite forces to study abroad to the number of 6 thousand people (Rojhelati, 2023: 32).

#### **4.6 Health and Treatment**

Iraq has had very difficult conditions in the field of health and treatment in such a way that apart from the lack of health insurance for the people of this country, access to health centers and health and medical equipment in this country has been one of the weakest countries in the region. According to the report of the World Health Organization, among the cities of the Iraqi provinces in 1960, on average, every 4 cities had a medical center, that too in the form of primary medical services. This is despite the fact that according to the report of the same organization, out of all fifty Iraqi villages in 1960, only one village had medical services. Since the time of the Baath party rule, every city has at least one hospital, 18 hospitals in Baghdad, 8 hospitals in Mosul, and at least one health and treatment center in every village. On the other hand, the number of medical staff increased by more than 80 times from the time of the Baath Party until the end of 2002 compared to 1960 to 1970 (Dodge & Mansour, 2020: 62-63).

#### **4.7 Electricity Supply Network and Road Construction**

Another measure of the Baath party to build and provide welfare services to the citizens of this country is the development of the electricity supply network and road construction in this country. According to the reports of the United Nations Industrial Development Center, by 1968 at least 75 percent of Iraqi cities and regions had either essentially no electricity or a very unstable electricity situation. This issue has been far more serious for Iraqi villages, in such a way that 96% of Iraqi villages did not have any nationwide electricity network. After the beginning of the Ba'ath rule in Iraq, until the end of 1996, one hundred percent of Iraqi cities had electricity, and this issue reached an amazing figure of 88 percent in the villages of Iraq (Al-Muhaisen, 2024: 66-67). Regarding the condition of road and transportation in different cities and regions of Iraq, according to the UNIDO report, the Iraqi Baath party increased and upgraded the standardization of road and transportation in Iraq more than 200 times from 1976 to 2002. Of course, apart from the discussion of public welfare, this issue is also related to important issues such as energy transit, transportation of weapons and military bases, the ease of the Baath party in transferring industrial

equipment and even the monitoring and control of decentralized forces such as the Kurds and Shiites. However, the development The mentioned cases from the Iraqi Baath Party helped to improve the social and welfare conditions of the people of this country (Ibid.: 71).

##### ***4.7.1 Baath Party and Democratization Process in Iraq***

As mentioned at the beginning of this research, the two important components of the welfare state are the realization of the guarantee of survival in the liberal economy (with the aim of providing economic and livelihood support to the deprived classes and ensuring their survival in a difficult economic situation) and the effort to realize democracy. According to the political culture ruling this country, the Baathist government of Iraq made an extensive effort to realize the first principle, which the authors believe in some cases, especially the attempt to remove deprivation from the Iraqi society, has also been successful, although it has been completely unsuccessful in applying distributive justice policies. And he acted based on his desired discourse - not the common distributive justice discourse of the welfare state. However, the second part of the process of the welfare state in Iraq during the time of Saddam Hussein is dedicated to the issue of the democratization process in this country, which we will discuss below.

##### ***4.7.2 The Political Culture of the Iraqi People***

One of the most important reasons for the realization and stability and implementation of the principles of democracy in political systems is the political culture of the citizens of that society. In this regard, Almond and Verba believed that participatory political culture is the interest, commitment and monitoring of citizens in political issues, who, while having the necessary knowledge and awareness, try to have increasing effects on the process of adoption, implementation and monitoring of the policies of their rulers, which will be realized. This issue will lead to the realization of efficient democracy in the political system. It was mentioned earlier that the political culture of the Iraqi people has been a traditional, tribal and limited political culture due to the traditional structure of this country. For this reason, it is basically impossible to imagine political participation in the constructive sense for the people of Iraq in that period of time, because the sheikhs and leaders of the tribes and ethnic groups of this country, as micro-leaders, were the main decision-makers of various issues, and

the government, as the big leader, in the issues Main only announced his policies to them (tribal leaders). Such a limited political culture during the time of the Baath party was further degraded in such a way that the limited political culture of Iraqi society turned into a submissive and completely closed political culture without any participation or appeasement (Machlis, 2024: 211).

#### ***4.7.3 The Process of Rotation of Power and the Participation of Political Spectrums***

Among other concepts of democracy, the process of rotation of power is based on peaceful principles, free elections and the participation of all political strata without applying any force, threat, pressure and internal or external tension (Cunningham, 2024: 17). In this regard, the Ba'ath party came to power in Iraq after a series of twists and turns and by insisting on successive military coups and the removal of Abdul Salam Mohammed 'Arif and Abdul-Karim Qasim, so this party did not believe in the nature of power based on political pluralism and did not He used to interact or appease his opponents and even critics (Akbari, 2020: 145). For this reason, force, threats, arrest, torture and murder of opponents became one of the most important foundations of the stability of the power of the Baath party in Iraq. This approach towards the opponents was adopted and implemented in a wider way, so that the Shiites and Kurds of Iraq during the Baath party, not only became completely isolated and passive in political issues, but also the policies of threats, torture, murder and extensive military campaign in the regions. Shia and Kurds of Iraq were involved in several military and paramilitary operations by the Baath party. On the other hand, the Baath Party of Iraq created an extensive security-police structure in Iraq and, while showing widespread skepticism towards all the ethnic groups and leaders of this country, it monitored all their visible and hidden activities and even raised this issue regarding some members and leaders. Arshad also executed himself in such a way that several senior officers and generals of the Baath Party and some other civilian members were handed over to the death squad on charges such as treason and attempting a coup (Ibid.: 152).

#### ***4.7.4 The Process of Monitoring and Inspecting the Performance of the Rulers***

Another important and emphasized thing in the process of realizing democratization is the process

of monitoring the performance of power, monitoring the correct application of the law and inspecting the performance of the rulers. This issue implies the important principle of preventing corruption. Based on this, in the Iraqi political system, as explained earlier, due to the limited political culture and mostly uninterested and uninformed citizens, not only the process of monitoring and inspecting the performance of the rulers was not realized publicly, but the Baath Party of Iraq itself with its plan And the implementation of an extensive police-security system put all processes under its extensive control and supervision, and due to its single-party system, lack of a parliamentary system, and the application of policies based on force and violence, it did not show commitment to any legal-political authorities. Therefore, in a general summary, it should be acknowledged that, firstly, the Baath Socialist Party of Iraq showed a completely distinct and different reading of the concept of socialism and then the welfare state, which was mostly based on Arab nationalism, militarism, and the one-party system, and in realizing the government Welfare based on the elimination of deprivation and the provision of social services in a minimal way and after the realization of democratization has had a completely unsuccessful process.

## **5. Discussion and Conclusion**

The concept of welfare state, in its heart, means the attention and commitment of governments in providing minimum welfare and life facilities for all their citizens. This issue was noticed when due to the prevailing conditions of the liberal economy, many people in the society faced a big crisis due to their low wages, insurance and employment status, in such a way that while poverty spread to a wide range of workers, providing the minimum and basic needs of their livelihood and life turned into a big crisis. Therefore, in its main foundations, the welfare state has focused on two important issues: ensuring the survival of people, especially the disadvantaged and workers, in a liberal economy and realizing democratization in society without resorting to violence, war, unrest and instability. Therefore, the main goal of the authors in the research was the process of evaluating the two main issues of the welfare state, i.e. ensuring the survival of people according to the conditions governing the global economy, and the process of realizing democratization with an

emphasis on the Iraqi Baath Party. In the first step, the findings of the current research have shown that the desired socialism and the attention of the leaders of the Iraqi Baath Party were more reminiscent of the issue of Arab nationalism in the military and political dimensions, so the perception of socialism and then the welfare state in the Iraqi Baath Party is a different process and It has been distinguished from socialism and the welfare state in its original reading. In fact, the Baath Party of Iraq and Syria has focused its efforts on the theoretical and practical unity of the Arab world and trying to free itself from the exploitation of Western imperialism, and in the future, by emphasizing the same concept of Arab nationalism, they tried to achieve some kind of stability in political, economic and cultural issues. achieve for this reason, first by emphasizing the military forces to establish stability and security in its borders, and then by eliminating all its opponents and critics in various ways (including assassination, arrest, torture, murder, etc.) and finally Relying on the party structure and without any responsibility and political commitment towards other socio-political classes, they did not show themselves to achieve their desired development goals. In this regard, the current research showed that the Iraqi Baath party, in the first issue, which is to ensure survival in the liberal economy, with emphasis on three issues of distributive justice, transparency of financial resources, as well as the effort to remove deprivation from the traditional and deprived society of Iraq, is a different process with achievements. It has been encountered in various ways. Based on this, the Baath party, completely contrary to the principles of the welfare state, did not observe the principle of distribution justice in the incomes and wealth obtained from the sale of Iraqi oil, because not based on legal grounds but based on the discretion of the senior members of the party, the large oil revenues of this country were first distributed in A large amount was distributed among the members of this party and then the nomads and Sunnis loyal to the Baath Party, and the lowest amount of government income was distributed among the Kurds and Shiites, and this issue was not realized in many cases, so the assessment of the Baath Party on the issue of distributive justice - Based on the standards of the welfare state, it is evaluated as unsuccessful. Regarding the effort to remove deprivation in Iraq, the fact is that due to the extent of the number of the deprived and the economic, welfare, health and basic services of life

in Iraq, on the one hand, and the traditional political context based on the tribal system and also the limited political culture Unbeknownst to the people of this country, fruitful measures were taken by the Iraqi party, and this issue is especially evident in the fields of employment, agriculture, education, health and treatment, electricity supply network and road construction, however, the authors point out in this regard. They said that the actions carried out by the Baath party had a discriminatory nature, especially in comparison between the nomads and Sunnis of Iraq with the Kurds, Shias and Turkmens of this country, so that the mentioned services among the Sunnis and nomads are much more than in the Shiite and Kurds areas. In relation to the process of democratization in Iraq, which has been one of the other important foundations of the welfare state, the actions of the Baath party have had a downward trend in a way that based on the principles of distribution of power, political participation, the political culture of the Iraqi people, the process of rotation of power and the participation of spectrums. Political and monitoring and inspection of the performance of the Baathist rulers was not only not realized, but with the application of the police-security system at large levels, any oppositional, critical and assessment-based action of the performance of the Baath party with the most severe responses based on repression from this party. The answer was given. Therefore, the process of democratization by the Baathist Socialist Party of Iraq is not only not considered successful, but it pushed Iraq towards a totally totalitarian or totalitarian system in such a way that the first and second Persian Gulf wars and then the punitive economic policies of the West against Iraq and finally the US military attack on this country and the fall of the Baath party was the final result of this issue.

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