

# DOWNLOAD PDF ASPECTS OF EFFICIENCY IN A SOCIALIST DEVELOPING COUNTRY, IRAQ

## Chapter 1 : The differences between capitalism and socialism

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All telephone lines were cut at Abdul Rahman Arif, the then-President of Iraq, first knew of the coup when jubilant members of the Republican Guard started shooting into the air in "a premature triumph". Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, the leader of the operation, told Arif about his situation through military communication hardware at the base of operations. Arif asked for more time, during which he contacted other military units to seek support. As he soon found out, the odds were against him, and he surrendered. Arif telephoned al-Bakr and told him that he was willing to resign; to show his gratitude, al-Bakr guaranteed his safety. The coup was carried out with such ease that no lives were lost. For his participation in the coup, Naif demanded to be given the post of Prime Minister after the coup as a reward, and a symbol for his strength. Daud was also "rewarded" with a post; he became Minister of Defence. In the immediate aftermath of the coup, a power struggle developed between al-Bakr and Naif. In all practicality, Naif should have had the upper hand; he was a respected officer and was supported by the common soldier. The following day, Naif was invited to eat lunch at the Presidential Palace with al-Bakr, during which Saddam burst into the room with three accomplices and threatened Naif with death. Naif responded by crying out; "I have four children". Saddam ordered Naif to leave Iraq immediately if he wanted to live. An assassination attempt in was unsuccessful, but he was assassinated in London on the orders of Saddam in Daud shared a similar fate, and was exiled to Saudi Arabia. However, as historian Charles Tripp notes in *A History of Iraq*, the campaign started "a curious game" whereby the government alternately persecuted and courted the party until it accepted, membership in the National Progressive Front NPF. When Aziz al-Haji broke away from the ICP, established the Iraqi Communist Party Central Command and initiated a "popular revolutionary war" against the government, it was duly crushed. By April the "popular revolutionary" uprising had been crushed, and al-Haji recanted his beliefs publicly. By the end of , al-Bakr had little control over the country through his office as president. Saddam had initiated a similar campaign in , that time to check where the loyalties of certain left-wingers were: Once he assumed the presidency, a cult of personality was created around Saddam. He was represented as the father of the nation and, by extension, of the Iraqi people. National institutions such as the National Assembly were established to strengthen the image of him fostered by the Iraqi propaganda machine. At first relations between Iran and Iraq were fairly good, but ideological differences could not remain concealed forever. Iraq considered the newly established Iran to be "weak"; the country was in a state of continued civil unrest, and the Iranian leaders had purged thousands of officers and soldiers because of their political views. This abrogation was followed shortly afterwards by several preemptive strikes on Iran and by the invasion of Iran. Saddam believed that the Iranian government would have "to disengage in order to survive". Not only was this view faulty, but it overestimated the strength of the Iraqi military; the Iranian government saw the invasion as a test of the revolution itself and all its achievements. Saddam, "in a rare moment of frankness, [ In , Iran counter-attacked and was successful in driving the Iraqis back into Iraq. That year alone, an estimated 40, Iraqis were taken prisoner. The defeats of were a blow to Iraq. With the economic situation worsening because of falling oil prices and the rising military budget, the Iraqi standard of living worsened. The ceasefire proposal made at the meeting was rejected by the Iranian government. If the proposal had been accepted Saddam would have not have survived politically, since it was supported by all members of the Regional Command, National Command and the Revolutionary Command Council. It was at this time that rumours started circulating that Hussein would step down as president to make way for al-Bakr, the former president. As events proved, this did not happen and al-Bakr died in under mysterious circumstances. Shortly afterwards, the Iraqi Air Force once again established air superiority. Saddam appointed his cousin Ali Hasan

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al-Majid as military chief in Kurdistan. Saddam reacted by threatening to invade Kuwait if it continued to increase its oil output which Kuwait did nevertheless. However, when Kuwait lowered its oil output Venezuela increased its output. The Kuwaiti leadership failed to respond, and on 2 August the Iraqi military began the invasion of Kuwait. The invasion led to an international outcry; the United Nations, United States and the United Kingdom condemned the invasion and introduced sanctions against Iraq, and the Soviet Union and several Arab states also condemned the invasion. Bush, President of the United States, demanded the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and restoration of the Kuwaiti government; Saddam responded by making Kuwait an Iraqi province. Instead of occupying Iraqi Kurdistan, the Kurdish Autonomous Republic was established, with thousands of Iraqi troops stationed at the Iraqi-Kurdish border. The Security Council adopted Resolution 660, which stated that Iraq had to allow access for international humanitarian organisations and report openly about government repression. Bush included Saddam in his Axis of evil.

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## Chapter 2 : DIALECTICAL MARXISM: The Writings of Bertell Ollman

*Aspects of Efficiency in a Socialist Developing Country: Iraq (Outstanding Dissertations in Economics) [Levy] on calendrierdelascience.com \*FREE\* shipping on qualifying offers.*

Select Page Development and Developing Countries Development refers to developing countries working their way up the ladder of economic performance, living standards, sustainability and equality that differentiates them from so-called developed countries. The definition of development is fundamental to the comparison of developed and developing countries. It is about expanding choices. Freedoms and capabilities are a more expansive notion than basic needs. It is worth noting that this definition aligns development with more choice and may not be directly comparable to well-being or happiness, which can depend on social relationships and a variety of other factors. Most developing countries have made great progress over the past several decades judging by improvements to their HDIs. The average HDI increased by 41 percent overall and 60 percent for the lower quartile of developing countries since 1980. In China alone, 400 million people were lifted out of extreme poverty. The HDR evenly assigns one quarter of all countries in the index to each of the four levels of development. It is debatable whether a better approach to classifying developed and developing countries might consist of assigning a range of scores to each level of development. For example, the development indicators of some very high HDI countries like Hungary and Argentina are closer to those of the group of high HDI countries. On the other hand, this would add another layer of subjectivity to an already subjective exercise, and the quartile-based allocation results in surprisingly consistent groupings for the most part. Far too many people have not shared enough in the development progress to date. Inequality Inequality plays an important role in evaluating development statistics. While country averages can indicate overall progress, they can also obscure large numbers of people who may have been left out of the gains enjoyed by others. The UNDP has refined its approach to measuring human development by adjusting for several dimensions of inequality. The HDR introduced three new multidimensional measures of inequality and poverty: For the lower levels of development, HDI losses due to inequality range from 10 to 20 percent. Other Approaches to Assessing Development and Developing Countries Some organizations have devised other approaches to evaluating the progress of developed and developing countries. The most recent version of the Prosperity Index covers 180 countries, whereas the HDI evaluates development indicators for 187 countries. Sustainable Development The issue of sustainability adds another dimension to the concept of development. A Positive, Useful Yardstick Development is a hopeful concept that provides a vision for a better future. Development indicators and indexes are useful tools for measuring progress and identifying areas for improvement. Regardless of definitions and statistics, all countries can embrace the charge of developing countries by taking action to expand opportunities, eliminate inequities and enhance well-being for everyone. Related articles and content:

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## Chapter 3 : Revolutionary Iraq - Chapter 5

*This lesson explores formal and informal economies by discussing the differences between capitalism, socialism, and the underground economy. Key characteristics, advantages, and disadvantages of.*

What are the differences between capitalism and socialism? By Osi Momoh Updated January 6, 2013: Their distinctions are many, but perhaps the fundamental difference between capitalism and socialism lies in the scope of government intervention in the economy. The capitalist economic model allows free market conditions to drive innovation and wealth creation; this liberalization of market forces allows for the freedom of choice, resulting in either success or failure. The socialist-based economy incorporates elements of centralized economic planning, utilized to ensure conformity and to encourage equality of opportunity and economic outcome.

**Ownership** In a capitalist economy, property and businesses are owned and controlled by individuals. In a socialist economy, the state owns and controls the major means of production. In some socialist economic models, worker cooperatives have primacy over production. Other socialist economic models allow individual ownership of enterprise and property, albeit with high taxes and stringent government controls.

**Equity** The capitalist economy is unconcerned about equity in the sense of equality. The argument is that inequality is the driving force that encourages innovation, which then pushes economic development. The primary concern of the socialist model, in contrast, is an equitable redistribution of wealth and resources from the rich to the poor, out of fairness and to ensure "an even playing field" in opportunity and outcome.

**Efficiency** The capitalist argument is that the profit incentive drives corporations to develop innovative new products that have demand in the marketplace. It is argued that the state ownership of the means of production leads to inefficiency because without the motivation to earn more money, management, workers and developers are less likely to put forth the extra effort to push new ideas or products.

**Employment** In a capitalist economy, the state does not directly employ the workforce. This can lead to unemployment during times of economic recession. In a socialist economy, the state is the primary employer. During times of economic hardship, the socialist state can order hiring, so there is full employment even if workers are not performing tasks that are particularly useful.

**Mixed Economy** Some countries incorporate both the private sector system of capitalism and the public sector enterprise of socialism to overcome the disadvantages of both systems. These countries are referred to as having mixed economies. In these economies, the government intervenes to prevent any individual or company from having a monopolistic stance and undue concentration of economic power. Resources in these systems may be owned by both state and individuals.

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### Chapter 4 : Aspects of efficiency in a socialist developing country, Iraq (Book, ) [calendrierdelascience.com

*A: Their distinctions are many, but perhaps the fundamental difference between capitalism and socialism lies in the scope of government intervention in the economy. The capitalist economic model.*

The term socialism is commonly used to refer both to an ideology--a comprehensive set of beliefs or ideas about the nature of human society and its future desirable state--and to a state of society based on that ideology. Socialists have always claimed to stand above all for the values of equality, social justice, cooperation, progress, and individual freedom and happiness, and they have generally sought to realize these values by the abolition of the private-enterprise economy see CAPITALISM and its replacement by "public ownership," a system of social or state control over production and distribution. Methods of transformation advocated by socialists range from constitutional change to violent revolution. Some scholars believe that the basic principles of socialism were derived from the philosophy of Plato, the teachings of the Hebrew prophets, and some parts of the New Testament the Sermon on the Mount, for example. Modern socialist ideology, however, is essentially a joint product of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in England--the word socialist first occurred in an English journal in 1827. These two great historical events, establishing democratic government in France and the conditions for vast future economic expansion in England, also engendered a state of incipient conflict between the property owners the bourgeoisie and the growing class of industrial workers; socialists have since been striving to eliminate or at least mitigate this conflict. Marx, who was influenced in his youth by German idealist philosophy and the humanism of Ludwig Andreas FEUERBACH, believed that human beings, and particularly workers, were "alienated" in modern capitalist society; he argued in his early writings that the institution of private property would have to be completely abolished before the individual could be reconciled with both society and nature. His mature doctrine, however, worked out in collaboration with Engels and based on the teachings of classical English political economy, struck a harder note, and Marx claimed for it "scientific" status. There has in the past always been a ruling and an oppressed class. The modern, or bourgeois, epoch, characterized by the capitalist mode of production with manufacturing industry and a free market, would lead according to Marx and Engels to the growing intensity of the struggle between capitalists and workers the proletariat, the latter being progressively impoverished and as a result assuming an increasingly revolutionary attitude. Marx further asserted, in his most famous work, *Das KAPITAL*, that the capitalist employer of labor had, in order to make a profit, to extract "surplus value" from his employees, thereby exploiting them and reducing them to "wage-slavery. Religion, philosophy, and most other forms of culture likewise simply fulfilled the "ideological" function of making the working class contented with their subordinate position. Capitalism, however, as Marx claimed, would soon and necessarily grind to a halt: Under this ideal condition goods would be distributed according to need, and the unity of all humankind would be assured because of elimination of greed. By the second half of the 19th century socialists in Europe were organizing into viable political parties with considerable and growing electoral support; they also forged close links in most countries with trade unions and other working-class associations. Their short-term programs were mainly concerned with increasing the franchise, introducing state welfare benefits for the needy, gaining the right to strike, and improving working conditions, especially shortening the work day. Ideas other than those of Marx were at this time also becoming influential. These moderates sought to achieve socialism by parliamentary means and by appealing deliberately to the middle class. The Fabians believed that the cause of socialism would also be aided by the advancement of the social sciences, especially economics and sociology. These doctrines, collectively known as social democracy, did not, like Marxism, look toward the complete abolition of private property and the disappearance of the state but instead envisaged socialism more as a form of society in which full democratic control would be exercised over wealth, and production would be controlled by a group of responsible experts working in the interests of the whole community. The achievement of socialism was seen by social democrats as a long-term

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goal, the result of an evolutionary process involving the growth of economic efficiency advanced technology, large-scale organization, planning, education in moral responsibility, and the voluntary acceptance of equal shares in benefits and burdens; socialism would be the triumph of common sense, the inevitable outcome of LIBERALISM, the extension of democracy from politics to industry. They in the main supported moderate social democracy, emphasizing what they understood as the central message of the church in social ethics, notably the values of cooperation, brotherhood, simplicity of tastes, and the spirit of self-sacrifice. Their ideas proved fertile in both the short and the long runs, although in actual political terms Christian socialism never succeeded in altering the predominantly secular orientation of most socialist movements. On the other hand, many doctrines and movements were decidedly more militant than Marxism. Unlike the Marxists, whom they bitterly criticized, anarchists were against the formation of socialist parties, and they repudiated parliamentary politics as well as the idea of revolutionary dictatorship. Their followers, never very numerous, were and are found mainly in the Latin countries of Europe and America. SYNDICALISM, an offshoot of anarchism, was a movement of militant working-class trade unionists who endeavored to achieve socialism through industrial action only, notably by using the weapon of the general strike. Their doctrine was similar to Marxism in that they also believed that socialism was to be achieved only by and for the working class, but unlike the Marxists they rejected the notion of a future centralized socialist state. Guild socialism in England, dominated by George Douglas Howard Cole, the academic economist and historian, represented a modified and milder form of syndicalism. In Russia, where it was impossible to organize openly a popular socialist movement under the tsarist regime, socialism became mainly the ideology of young militant intellectuals whose favored means of furthering the cause were secret conspiracies and acts of individual terrorism. Debate raged between those who believed in the native socialist ethos of the Russian village community and those who wanted to adopt Western ideas of modernization. The latter party, which eventually emerged victorious, soon came under Marxist influence. Among its adherents was V. Lenin was also the theorist who irrevocably gave a markedly elitist and authoritarian twist to Marxism: The Second International assumed for a time at least an outward appearance of unity, in that it represented the high watermark of classical Marxist influence in West European socialism. Their spokesmen emphasized the need to foster international solidarity among the mass of the working class and thus to avert the threat of a major war in Europe. This effort proved singularly unsuccessful: Apart from a few exceptions, such as Lenin and his Bolshevik group, socialist movements supported the war effort of their respective governments. As a result of the general conflagration in the Second International disintegrated and therewith also the hopes of socialist unity. Revisionism Another important controversy broke out in the 1890s within Marxism, involving the German Social Democratic party. This party was divided then between a militant revolutionary left wing, an orthodox center that held to the classical Marxist doctrine of economic determinism, and a right wing moving rapidly toward a position of open reformism. Bernstein repudiated the notion of violent revolution and argued that conditions in civilized countries such as Germany made possible a peaceful, gradual transformation to socialism. He sought to reinterpret Marxist doctrine in the light of fresh advances made in economic science, such as those also embraced in Fabian doctrine, and argued that socialism was compatible with individual economic responsibility. He rejected, furthermore, the idea of "class morality," which judged all actions according to their revolutionary import. Consequently, Bernstein asserted the need for socialists to concentrate on immediate tasks instead of ultimate and remote objectives; the movement, he wrote, was everything; the goal, nothing. This doctrine, henceforward called revisionism, immediately became the subject of bitter attacks by the revolutionary left wing, represented above all by Rosa LUXEMBURG, which on this issue was supported by the orthodox center and its principal theorist, Karl Kautsky. The terms of the debate on revisionism centered on the facts, noted by Bernstein, of considerable improvement in the living standards of the working class, its resultant political integration in the constitutional republican or monarchical state, the purely reformist stance of trade unions, and the virtual absence of any desire for a radical change on the part of the great majority of workers. The opponents of revisionism, while acknowledging these tendencies, argued that material improvements were insufficient and ephemeral. They

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felt that if the working class and its organizations accepted the constitutional state they were merely postponing indefinitely the change to socialism. According to them, the principal tasks of the socialist leader are to arouse dissatisfaction with existing conditions and to reemphasize constantly the worth of the ultimate goal. The arguments on both sides continue with only slight changes in the debate between reformist and revolutionary socialists everywhere. In Marxist jargon the term revisionism became synonymous with treason. Ironically--but in a way that pointed toward the subsequent fate of Marxist doctrine--the orthodox center in the German party was soon to be denounced by left-wingers as revisionist. Lenin, too, came to condemn sharply the German social democrats and the "renegade" Kautsky. The latter, in turn, vehemently denounced Lenin and the Bolsheviks for their adoption of terrorist methods in the consolidation of their revolutionary gains in Russia. Marxist unity, like the Second International, thus also fell victim to World War I and its aftermath: Modern socialism owes its shape and fortune at least as much to secular events as to the continuing attraction of its various doctrines. The major upheavals caused by two world wars greatly contributed to the success of the Russian and Chinese revolutions, and the governments of these two powerful countries thereafter endeavored by diverse means to spread the Marxist revolutionary doctrine further afield, resorting to military methods as in Eastern Europe, economic pressures, and military and economic aid, as well as subversion and propaganda. Indigenous Marxist movements also succeeded in gaining and maintaining power in Cuba and Nicaragua. During most of the 20th century, Marxist socialism meant the dictatorial rule of the Communist party, intensive industrialization, central state direction of the economy, and the collectivization of agriculture. As the Soviet regime loosened its grip, the countries of Eastern Europe threw off the Communist governments that had been imposed on them after World War II. In the USSR itself long-cherished doctrines of Leninism were jettisoned with bewildering speed, and, following an abortive coup by party hard-liners in , the Soviet regime collapsed. This predominance of reformist trends over revolutionary aspirations undoubtedly was occasioned by economic stability and the deterrent example of Marxist rule in the East. The social democratic parties of Sweden, Britain, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany the former West Germany and present reunified state, in particular, governed their respective countries for lengthy periods during the postwar era through constitutional means, fully accepting the principles of parliamentary liberal democracy. The spirit of these Western European parties has tended to be pragmatic and tolerant, seeking accommodation rather than confrontation. Their programs repudiate the doctrines of the class war, revolution, and communism. Instead, they have relied on the expedients of progressive taxation, deficit financing, selective nationalization, the mixed economy, and vast welfare programs in order to bring about socialism; their political success has depended on considerable middle-class support. Although most of these parties have recently accommodated themselves to free-market reforms, they remain committed to the social democratic vision of a "middle way" between the extremes of communism and unfettered capitalism. Social democratic foreign policy has generally been pacific and until recently was mainly concerned with defusing the cold war and accelerating the processes of decolonization and the banning of nuclear weapons. In domestic politics, European social democrats generally refused to cooperate with communist parties and other extremist socialist groups. The Social Democratic party SPD in Germany, although at one time the citadel of orthodox Marxism, has since been a purely reformist party, abandoning its original goals. The British LABOUR PARTY, socialist in its aims its constitution since has had reference to "public ownership", has never had any serious doctrinal or organizational links with Marxism, although its powerful left wing consistently advocates radical policies. A dispute with the leftists prompted a group of Labour moderates to secede and found the Social Democratic party, which later merged with the Liberal party to form the Social and Liberal Democrats later, Liberal Democrats. The Eurocommunists, breaking not only with Stalinism but with some aspects of the Leninist tradition, began moving toward full acceptance of parliamentary democracy and the multiparty system, in many ways prefiguring the glasnost-perestroika reforms that dramatically changed the Communist world in the Gorbachev era. In the United States no socialist movement ever held a very large following, and although the country has produced renowned socialist authors and popular leaders, they have not been distinguished for

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their originality or for their impact on the worldwide development of socialism. Whereas in Europe the distribution of wealth was a pressing problem, facilitating the rise of socialist movements, in the United States the moving "frontier" meant the constant creation of new land and wealth and its accessibility for those endowed with initiative and a spirit of individual enterprise. Thus in the United States even radical thinkers tended to be "individualists" and "anarchists," rather than socialists. Numerous, although small, utopian socialist communities did flourish, however, in the United States, mostly during the early 19th century. In 1892, Norman Thomas, running on the Socialist ticket, polled more than 100,000 votes. The New Deal in the 1930s, although not socialist in inspiration, also tended to draw votes away from the party. In the economic boom following World War II and especially in the cold-war era of the 1950s and 1960s, U. S. In the United States many people no longer discuss socialism in its conventional political and economic sense, but rather as a remote ethical and social ideal. But only in Israel has moderate social democracy proved successful for long periods, mainly as a result of the European socialist tradition brought in by immigrants. There the Labor party in various forms has had a large following and has governed the country longer than any other party. Israel has other socialist parties as well, including a militant Marxist party. At least of equal significance, however, are the cooperative agricultural communes kibbutzim, which have flourished since 1930. Elsewhere in the Third World, Marxism and various indigenous traditions have been predominant in socialist movements. In developing countries socialism as an ideology generally has been fused with various doctrines of nationalism, also a European cultural import but enriched by diverse motifs drawn from local traditions and cast in the idiom of indigenous cultures. In India, for example, the largest socialist movement has partially adapted the pacifist teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, and distinct native brands of socialism exist in Japan, Burma Myanmar, and Indonesia. Similarly, in black Africa native traditions were used in the adaptation of socialist, mainly Marxist, doctrines and political systems based on them. Noteworthy instances were the socialist system of Tanzania decentralized under an internationally supported economic reform program of the early 1980s and the socialist theories of intellectual leaders such as Kwame NKRUMAH of Ghana, Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania, and Ambedkar of India. Socialism in these theories is usually understood as a combination of Marxism, anticolonialism, and the updated tradition of communal landownership and tribal customs of decision making. Arab socialism likewise represents an effort to combine modern European socialist ideology with some Islamic principles. In the Third World, however, socialism has often been simply an ideology of anticolonialism and modernization. In the West in the 1960s a radical socialist movement, known as the New Left, arose principally out of the disaffection of young people with the way of life of advanced industrial society, and not least with its prosperity and conformism. The movement, which was apolitical in nature, sought to expose the growing "alienation" of the individual in advanced industrial conditions, castigating the values of the "consumer society" and attacking many prevailing social institutions. The beliefs of this movement, particularly strong in France, West Germany, and the United States, sprang from many diverse sources. Despite its initial appeal and successes, however, the New Left did not prove to be a significant or lasting influence on socialism in its worldwide context or even within advanced industrial societies where conventional varieties still dominated. It could well be argued that socialism as an alternative system of society and government failed to live up to its promises; by and large it is today no more than a dream or at best a set of ideal criteria whereby to judge the shortcomings of existing institutions.

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### Chapter 5 : Socialism - Wikipedia

*Essay Socialism The term socialism is commonly used to refer both to an ideology--a comprehensive set of beliefs or ideas about the nature of human society and its future desirable state--and to a state of society based on that ideology.*

Charles Fourier , influential early French socialist thinker Socialist models and ideas espousing common or public ownership have existed since antiquity. It has been claimedâ€”though controversiallyâ€”that there were elements of socialist thought in the politics of classical Greek philosophers Plato [60] and Aristotle. Christian socialism was one of the founding threads of the UK Labour Party and is said to be a tradition going back years to the uprising of Wat Tyler and John Ball [69]. The Owenites , Saint-Simonians and Fourierists provided a series of coherent analyses and interpretations of society. They also, especially in the case of the Owenites, overlapped with a number of other working-class movements like the Chartists in the United Kingdom". Leaders in the movement also called for a more equitable distribution of income and better living conditions for the working classes. Count Henri de Saint-Simon is regarded as the first individual to coin the term "socialism". They reasoned that the equilibrium value of commodities approximated prices charged by the producer when those commodities were in elastic supply and that these producer prices corresponded to the embodied labourâ€”the cost of the labour essentially the wages paid that was required to produce the commodities. The Ricardian socialists viewed profit, interest and rent as deductions from this exchange-value. They advocated reform, with some such as Robert Owen advocating the transformation of society to small communities without private property. Paris Commune The celebration of the election of the Commune on 28 March â€”the Paris Commune was a major early implementation of socialist ideas The Paris Commune was a government that briefly ruled Paris from 18 March more formally, from 28 March to 28 May The Commune elections held on 26 March elected a Commune council of 92 members, one member for each 20, residents. It also reached a consensus on certain policies that tended towards a progressive, secular and highly-democratic social democracy. Because the Commune was only able to meet on fewer than 60 days in all, only a few decrees were actually implemented. The IWA held a preliminary conference in and had its first congress at Geneva in Due to the wide variety of philosophies present in the First International, there was conflict from the start. The first objections to Marx came from the mutualists who opposed communism and statism. However, shortly after Mikhail Bakunin and his followers called collectivists while in the International joined in , the First International became polarised into two camps headed by Marx and Bakunin respectively. The First International became the first major international forum for the promulgation of socialist ideas. The followers of Bakunin were called collectivist anarchists and sought to collectivise ownership of the means of production while retaining payment proportional to the amount and kind of labour of each individual. Like Proudhonists, they asserted the right of each individual to the product of his labour and to be remunerated for their particular contribution to production. By contrast, anarcho-communists sought collective ownership of both the means and the products of labour. Errico Malatesta put it: In this way each will give to society all that his strength permits until enough is produced for every one; and each will take all that he needs, limiting his needs only in those things of which there is not yet plenty for every one". It was a significant force in Italy and Spain in the early 20th century until it was crushed by the fascist regimes in those countries. In the United States, syndicalism appeared in the guise of the Industrial Workers of the World , or "Wobblies", founded in An influential anarchist movement based on syndicalist ideas is anarcho-syndicalism. The Fabian Society is a British socialist organisation which was established with the purpose of advancing the principles of socialism via gradualist and reformist means. Originally, the Fabian Society was committed to the establishment of a socialist economy , alongside a commitment to British imperialism as a progressive and modernising force. Inspired by medieval guilds, theorists such as Samuel G. Cole advocated the public ownership of industries and their organisation into guilds, each of which would be under the democratic control of its trade union. Guild socialists were less inclined than Fabians to invest power in a state. In the centennial of the French

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Revolution of , the Second International was founded, with delegates from twenty countries representing about labour and socialist organisations. Anarchists were ejected and not allowed in, mainly due to pressure from Marxists. Not only did they effectively present themselves as champions of minority rights; they also provoked the German Marxists into demonstrating a dictatorial intolerance which was a factor in preventing the British labor movement from following the Marxist direction indicated by such leaders as H. Eduard Bernstein was a leading social democrat in Germany who proposed the concept of evolutionary socialism. Revolutionary socialists quickly targeted reformism: Revolutionary socialism encompasses multiple social and political movements that may define "revolution" differently from one another. The Social Democratic Party SPD in Germany became the largest and most powerful socialist party in Europe, despite working illegally until the anti-socialist laws were dropped in . In the elections, it gained 1,, votes, a quarter of the total votes cast, according to Engels. The party affiliated itself with the Second International. The Kibbutz Movement would then expand through the 20th century following a doctrine of Zionist socialism. Russian Revolution Main article: Russian Revolution In February , revolution exploded in Russia. Workers, soldiers and peasants established soviets councils , the monarchy fell and a provisional government convoked pending the election of a constituent assembly. In April of that year, Vladimir Lenin , leader of the Bolshevik faction of socialists in Russia and known for his profound and controversial expansions of Marxism , was allowed to cross Germany to return to his country from exile in Switzerland. Lenin had published essays on his analysis of imperialism , the monopoly and globalisation phase of capitalism as predicted by Marx, as well as analyses on the social conditions of his contemporary time. He observed that as capitalism had further developed in Europe and America, the workers remained unable to gain class consciousness so long as they were too busy working and concerning with how to make ends meet. He therefore proposed that the social revolution would require the leadership of a vanguard party of class-conscious revolutionaries from the educated and politically active part of the population. The Bolsheviks became the most influential force in the soviets and on 7 November the capitol of the provisional government was stormed by Bolshevik Red Guards in what afterwards known as the " Great October Socialist Revolution ". On 25 January at the Petrograd Soviet , Lenin declared "Long live the world socialist revolution! The next day, the Bolsheviks declared that the assembly was elected on outdated party lists [] and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets dissolved it. Communist International The Bolshevik Russian Revolution of January engendered communist parties worldwide and their concomitant revolutions of â€”

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### Chapter 6 : Socialism Today - Capitalism, globalisation and migration

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Earl Conteh-Morgan Introduction The end of the 20th Century and the transition to the 21st is characterized by two simultaneous trends: Accordingly, the international relations of the new millennium is impelling many analysts to broaden their conception of security to include issues of human security broadly defined. In other words, while internationalization is producing positive effects in some states, it is also generating many negative results in others. The well-documented and publicized ideological resistance towards globalization-Seattle, Prague, the May Day Protests in London, Davos, and the recent World Economic Forum in New York-demonstrate that the benefits of neoliberal internationalism are not equally distributed among individuals, groups, or states that make up the international system. The widening scope and intensification of a global free market is beneficial to some states, but in others it has eliminated a "social contract" between state and society, accompanied by a strong perception that economic globalization is largely a process of "disorganized capitalism. In this paper, I utilize the neo-Gramscian framework to transnational historical materialism to examine this process and provide evidence of specific instances of negative globalization, insecurity, and dissatisfaction within nations. A theory of international relations based on the Gramscian conceptualization of hegemony is useful for a better understanding of the inherently problematic nature of internationalization Cox, ; Robinson, Stated differently, the aim of this analysis is to explore the relationship between the processes of globalization and the changing nature of human security. Accordingly, the paper will proceed in the following manner: In other words, the analysis will focus on the following questions: What, so far, is the impact of globalization processes on income and poverty in developing countries? Globalization is the widening scope and intensification of socio-economic, political, and cultural activities and their worldwide effects positive and negative on individuals, groups, and entire societies. The rapidity and profundity of this interconnectedness is manifested in the expansion and internationalization of financial markets, global corporate management, worldwide epistemic and interpretive communities, newly emerging power relationships derived from changing global investment patterns, and new social constructions of cognition, identity and meaning built upon postmodern global conditions. Liberalization Policies as Power Relations: When a consensus, or form of consent between the two is fully fashioned, a hegemonic order is said to be in existence. When this hegemonic order is firmly in place, it develops into a "historic bloc" which is the solid structure that is produced by an existing hegemonic order Gramsci, Its role is to cement or bind together all the other segments of society into a relationship characterized by common political, economic, and cultural practices. The works of Gramsci have been especially applied by the "Italian School" to analyze global politics through an emphasis on concepts like hegemony and historic bloc which are viewed as corresponding to political and economic internationalization. Once a hegemonic order is consolidated, its dominant mode of production coalesces with other subordinate modes of production. The outcome is the establishment of an international civil society characterized by adherence to homogenous rules and regulations as well as the strengthening of links between the social classes of the countries that comprise the historic bloc. Moreover, while a Gramscian analysis underscores the analytical relevance of power relations, it also emphasizes the pertinence of culture to hegemonic contestations. In other words, for a hegemony to be consolidated, religious and political values which include institutions must be entrenched within an ideology or reflect both elite and mass values in order for the institutions produced by that ideology to be successful. Ideology is defined in Gramscian analysis as organic cement or social glue that integrates institutions as well as societal and state apparatuses, as opposed to a system of ideas. From a neo-Gramscian or transnational historical materialist perspective, globalization and its human security impact on developing countries reflects the cultural and moral as well as economic dominance of the hegemonic states which constitute a ruling class within

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international society made up of developed and developing states. The ongoing process of globalization, especially its economic component, reflects a particular set of class interests those of the advanced industrial states as the general interest. In Gramscian analysis, hegemony is viewed as a negotiated process because dominant groups must secure the consent of subordinate social forces in order to guarantee the legitimate rule of the former. When challenges to the hegemonic order erupt from the subordinate groups, the dominant groups attempt to accommodate such challenges through material concessions, co-opting the discourse of challengers, and integrating moderate groups into the coalition of the hegemonic bloc while marginalizing more radical elements. All these methods ensure that no fundamental changes in social relations occur between the dominant and subordinate groups. In addition to hegemony being negotiated and therefore not completely stable, it is also characterized by dynamism in the sense that changes in markets, technologies, relative power positions, or ideologies can undermine the stability of an historic bloc by introducing crisis triggered by challenges to the existing alliances and arrangements. The organizational competence and political will of subordinates determine whether the historic bloc maintains hegemony through "passive revolution" granting concessions, co-optation or undergoes a more profound social change from below in which subordinate groups replace existing cultural expressions and social institutions with new ones which eventually undermine the historic bloc Gramsci, Transnational historical materialism underscores the role and functions of international institutions such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development OECD, the World Economic Forum, the Trilateral Commission, the International Monetary Fund IMF, and the World Bank, among others, as constituting a transnational hegemonic bloc which binds together both developed and developing states and both elite and masses. In combination, they constitute a global alliance of capitalists, state managers and intellectuals characterized by common material and ideological structures. Their goal is unrestricted internationalization of markets and trade interactions in general. While the role of transnational capital is central in the construction of this transnational hegemonic bloc, the national state is seen as playing a major mediating role. The dominance of the transnational hegemonic bloc is ensured because the nation-state is willing to or "coerced" into adopting the fiscal and monetary policy necessary to maintain economic stability and social control. It is only through the successful integration of the international and national realms can capitalist internationalization be effected. However, in the alliance between the national and the supranational, the national state clearly assumes and plays a subordinate role. Robert Cox describes the role of the state in the internationalization of global capital this way: First, there is a process of interstate formation regarding the need or requirements of the world economy that takes place within a common ideological framework - Second, participation in this consensus formation is hierarchically structured. Third, the internal structures of states are adjusted so that each can best transform the global consensus into national policy and practice. However, where the "weak" developing state is concerned, its role could more accurately be described as "coerced consent" rather than willing participation. Whether willing or coerced, the nation state is more or less an appendage or instrument of the global economic consensus to implement the goals of dominant capital. In this era of globalization, the nation state is, in varying degrees, being bypassed by the hegemonic class through an array of international financial institutions and a web of economic relationships. All are utilized in the process of imposing and implementing the national agenda. The weak, developing state especially acts on behalf of international financial institutions like the IMF and the World Bank, who supply the funds that guarantee the legitimacy of or ensure the neopatrimonial ties of state leaders. The consequence is an emerging world culture glued together by a common rhetoric focused on issues of economic liberalization, democratization, the environment, human rights, and the like. Globalization and Human Security The transition to the 21st Century is characterized by glaring differences in the levels of development among states along with the widening scope and intensification of economic, political, and cultural interdependence. This internationalization of politico-economic and socio-cultural processes designated by the term "globalization" has two effects: In particular, the level of economic globalization is moving at such a rapid pace that it is, in many states, adversely affecting the status quo. The leading role in this transnational

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flow of goods, services, and capital is played by an elite group of countries known as the G-7, who are in league with international financial organizations and corporations. Under their hegemony, the vast majority of the other states must acquiesce to politico-economic prescriptions shaped almost entirely without their input. According to the Human Development Report Human security is people-centered. It is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities-and whether they live in conflict or in peace United Nations Development Programme, In other words, human insecurity broadly conceived affects not just economic security but other areas of existence as well. This is why the first major reference to human security in identified seven areas of concern. These are the following United Nations Development Programme, As globalization increases the level of prosperity, so also is poverty becoming globalized. The developing nations are perennially at the receiving end of economic models emanating from industrialized states and international financial institutions. The transmitted models classical and neo-classical development models and their elements of profit maximization, the invisible hand, rugged individualism, and the like have often destabilized and confused many developing states Williams, In other words, the impact of economic globalization on many developing economies has often resulted in limited benefits to the majority of individuals, groups, or society. The outcome is very slow or negative growth rates, markedly skewed distribution of income, and widespread poverty. However, while the economies of the developing nations are adversely affected by hegemonic economic impositions, those of the G-7 nations and their advanced states have institutionalized important social welfare measures homestead acts, a common agricultural policy, price support mechanisms, tax holiday, social security, and subsidies to offset or forestall the most painful effects of globalization. In addition to the absence of human security measures within developing states, they are also constrained by several limitations such as the institutionalized patron-client networks based on parochial and selfish inclination, and the socio-cultural and political dilemmas that stem from the transnational imposition of values inherent in economic liberalization. For example, while the reduction in government expenditure, devaluation, and liberalization of the national economy and international trade that accompany structural adjustment programs are expected to tackle the problems of inflation and the balance of payments deficit by changing the incentive structure, they also have a wider impact on society, especially its immediate impact on the poor Messkoub, A reduction or elimination in food subsidies affect the nutritional intake of children in poor households, in addition to destabilizing the opportunity structure for the varied individuals, groups, and classes in society. As a result of economic liberalization policies, in the general area of basic needs education, health, social security, and housing. In particular, economic adjustment programs affected, in varying degrees, individuals and groups in relation to income distribution and basic needs. The number of children seen on the main roads and the streets of Dar es Salaam and in other towns has increased dramatically. Until recently, the phenomenon of street children was unknown in Tanzania. In other words, the once respectable Tanzanian educational system has been adversely affected by the economic crisis and adjustment policies prescribed by the hegemonic state and non-state actors. The human security experience of poor countries associated with economic globalization underscores the limitations of the new historic bloc and its hegemonic order, which seem, so far, to be meaningless to many individuals and groups in poor countries. The relaxation of social controls over markets, the presence of even a handful of sharp, ruthless, essentially amoral operators, and normal competitive processes will inevitably lead to the worst, most unscrupulous practices becoming the norm West Africa, While liberalization policies are being diffused globally, they are at the same time producing dissimilar effects depending on the socio-economic and cultural context. The interactions of the local and the global are having serious economic, food, health, community, and other security concerns in many developing societies. The vacuum created by the forces of liberalization contributes to a process of atomization manifested in psychological uncertainty or a loss of security attachment to government. This process in turn produces a resurgence of primordial sentiments because of the ideological absence fostered by an authoritarian vacuum. The consequence is inter-group tensions along ethnolinguistic, ethnoreligious, ethnoregional, or class lines. In

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the process, communal values are eliminated in favor of individualistic, impersonal behavior patterns. The intensification of group rivalries translates into competition even within families, where before there was cooperation and community. The previous values of free sharing are replaced by an emphasis on individuality and putting a monetary value to everything, including relationships. In the end, the family relationships are weakened. While the transition from primary allegiance to the family unit, community, ethnic, or tribal group to primary allegiance to the state may be beneficial in the long-run, in the short-run it causes a great deal of psychological uncertainty, problems of material deprivation, and general social dislocation. Human security broadly defined is adversely affected when economic marginalization of the general population is fueled by the rising militancy of local strongmen who have forfeited an economically advantageous patron-client infrastructure due to economic and political liberalization measures. Often armed warlords or bandits fight against the government for control of natural resources. Such control provides a substantial political base for these local strongmen as various economically disadvantaged groups begin to regard them as better able to support their economic needs Foreign Systems Research Center, The eruption of resource wars within a country severely destroys community security because traditional practices are disrupted, ethnic groups are targeted, and individual physical security is affected. Most significant, direct control of the revenue producing natural resources also gives local strongmen the financial assets to buy weapons and build paramilitary forces to protect their economic territory against government forces and other warlords. Resource struggles which breed warlordism have produced conflicts and established the basis for the irregular nature of subsequent warfare in developing countries. In irregular warfare, combatants often perpetuate violence and cruelty against not only each other but the civilian population as well White, Motivations of the combatants most of whom have experienced years of either political, economic and other deprivations were often based on factors other than politics. For them, instant economic gratification is seen in their ability to pillage and loot the countryside. At times, in these conflicts, the distinction between professional soldier and rebel fighter becomes blurred. In the Sierra Leone conflict, for example, close to 50 per cent of some 14, soldiers became soldier-rebels "sobels" who operated on both sides of the conflict, motivated by their own economic self-interest or personal gratification. Warlordism produces more misery because governments are forced to spend an overwhelming amount of resources to contain warlords, leaving insufficient amounts to provide government services to its constituents Reno, The globalization of democracy in developing countries has equally contributed to human insecurity in some countries. While political rights and freedom from political oppression, is desirable, the spread of democratic values has simultaneously and quite ironically produced societal instability. As some states experience an improvement in political or civil liberties, they shortly thereafter experience civil strife e. In Burundi, a candidate from the long oppressed Hutu majority won presidential elections in , only to be overthrown in a bloody Tutsi-led military coup that left some 50, dead. The increasing press freedom in neighboring Rwanda preceded the Rwandan genocide that left roughly , Tutsi dead along with some moderate Hutus Steering Committee on Rwanda,

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### Chapter 7 : Globalization and Human Security- Conteh-Morgan

*Among developing countries, the share of public enterprises in the manufacturing sector exceeds 90 percent in Iraq and Syria; it was above this level in Egypt in the mids but declined to 80 percent by*

Kang Ouyang for his clear and concise summary of the main tendencies in Marxist philosophy in China, a country whose development is becoming ever more important to the fate of the entire world. It is an impressive list. For this I can come up with no better criterion than the test of practice advanced by Kang himself and also by Deng Xiaoping whose writings are so influential in China today. On the basis of this criterion, what is decisive is not what someone says or how well they say it, but what they do, what it gets them to do, and how "successful" that is. My choice can also be justified on the grounds that this is the subject on which the new generation of Chinese scholars have made their most distinctive contribution and for which they are best known outside China. Let me suggest what the main arguments both for and against the market socialist as well as capitalist market look like, and sketch how using the market has effected China, both for good and for bad. A market economy has seven main characteristics: Whether the society is developed or underdeveloped, a market economy has several important advantages and several major disadvantages: Among the advantages, we find the following: These are the main advantages of the market economy, and in his article Professor Kang gives a good account of them. But, as I said, there are also major disadvantages, and these Kang neglects. Among the disadvantages, we find the following: As part of this, people no longer believe in a future that could be qualitatively different or in their ability, either individually or collectively, to help bring it about. In short, what Marx called "ideological thinking" becomes general ; The same market experiences develop a set of anti-social attitudes and emotions people become egotistical, concerned only with themselves. They also become very anxious and economically insecure, afraid of losing their job, their home, their sale, etc. Exaggerating the positive achievements of society and seldom if ever mentioning its negative features is also the best means of attracting foreign investment. But if a crisis does away with most of the important advantages associated with the market, this is no longer possible. It simply makes no sense to continue arguing that we must give priority to the advantages of the market when they are in the process of disappearing. Once we have recognized all the main advantages and disadvantages of the market economy, and once we have had a chance to examine and compare them, there are three major questions that remain to be answered. First, is it possible to have the advantages of the market economy without the disadvantages? Both theory and empirical evidence argue strongly that the answer is "no". For example, market experiences produce, of necessity, market personalities in people, and market personalities become a necessary precondition for people of all classes to engage in market relations effectively, and hence for the market to work as well as it does. And the same glue holds together all the economic, social and psychological aspects of a market economy. The Chinese government would have liked nothing better than to avoid these crippling disadvantages. It simply was not possible. The answer is that they are constantly changing, and if changes sometimes favor the advantages not by making the disadvantages disappear, which is impossible, but by making them appear smaller , the movement toward economic crisis that is taking place in all market economies today makes it clear that it is the disadvantages associated with the market that are becoming its most prominent features. They do so all the time, moving from "against" to "in favor" or from "in favor" to "against". If the answers I have given to these three questions are correct, then the central problem facing China today might be posed as follows: It is, of course, not for me but for the Chinese people to say what should be done. Anything less, any recourse to one-sidedness in confronting this situation, is bad economics and bad philosophy, Marxist or otherwise.

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### Chapter 8 : Essay on Political Science. Research Paper on Socialism

*Ba'athist Iraq, formally the Iraqi Republic, covers the history of Iraq between and , during the period of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party's rule. This period began with high economic growth and soaring prosperity, but ended with Iraq facing social, political, and economic stagnation.*

In the United States, capitalism has always been the prevailing system. But, even at their extremes, both systems have their pros and cons. Capitalism and the Invisible Hand In capitalist economies, governments play a minimal role in deciding what to produce, how much to produce, and when to produce it, leaving the cost of goods and services to market forces. When entrepreneurs spot openings in the marketplace, they rush in to fill the vacuum. This tendency serves as the basis for capitalism, with the invisible hand of the market serving as the balance between competing tendencies. Because markets distribute the factors of production land, labor, capital and entrepreneurship in accord with supply and demand , the government can limit itself to enacting and enforcing rules of fair play. Socialism and Centralized Planning In socialist economies, important economic decisions are not left to the markets, or decided by self-interested individuals. Capitalism Provides More Incentives In capitalist economies, people have strong incentives to work hard, increase efficiency and produce superior products. By rewarding ingenuity and innovation, the market maximizes economic growth and individual prosperity while providing a variety of goods for consumers. By encouraging the production of desirable goods and discouraging the production of unwanted or unnecessary ones, the marketplace self-regulates, leaving less room for government interference and mismanagement. In theory, economic inequity is reduced. So is economic insecurity. Basic necessities are provided for. Government itself can produce the goods people require to meet their needs, even if the production of those goods does not result in a profit. But with Fewer Incentives Socialism sounds more compassionate, but it does have its shortcomings. One disadvantage is that people have less to strive for, and feel less connected to the fruits of their efforts. With their basic needs already provided for, they have fewer incentives to innovate and increase efficiency. Another strike against socialism? Government planners and planning mechanisms are not infallible, or incorruptible. In some socialist economies there are shortfalls of even the most essential goods. Equality is another concern. In theory, everyone is equal under socialism. In practice, hierarchies do emerge, and party officials and well-connected individuals find themselves in better positions to receive favored goods. Capitalism is based on individual initiative and favors market mechanisms over government intervention. Socialism is based on government planning and limitations on private control of resources. But, left to themselves, economies tend to combine elements of both systems: Trading Center Want to learn how to invest? Get a free 10 week email series that will teach you how to start investing. Delivered twice a week, straight to your inbox.

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### Chapter 9 : Development and Developing Countries - Global Sherpa

*The socialist developing countries are under represented in a listing of the 40 fastest growing urban agglomerations from Apart from Zibo and Chengdu in China, only Algiers (Algeria), Rangoon (Myanmar/Burma), and Baghdad (Iraq) are specified.*

The Party seeks to propagate socialist values and ideology and apply them in practice in its struggle, and in every respect in accordance with the requirements of each phase wherever possible in any part of the Arab World and within a unionist horizon. For an integrated Arab socialist system can only be applied within the context of Arab unity i. The Party must apply a programme of socialist transformation in accordance with the requirement of the phase in that area. This of course applies to the Party in Iraq. We must review the circumstances of Iraq concerning socialist transformation. The political situation in Iraq differs from that in other Arab and Third World countries in many respects. This is so, apart from the special features and peculiarities affected by the monarchy which will be dealt with later on. Before the Revolution of July 17th , three changes of regime took place on July 14th , February 8th and November 18th Each of these changes had its positive and negative effects on socialist transformation which further complicated an already complex matter. During the monarchy, semifeudal production relationships prevailed in the countryside. A small capitalist sector existed in agriculture and some limited areas in Iraq. Bourgeoisie and feudal interests intermixed. The bourgeoisie owned the land and practiced usury with peasants while some feudal lords owned industrial and commercial projects. Despite the extensive land ownership of the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie, the State was the biggest land owner. The State also owned facilities, production and essential services such as electricity, railways, a significant portion of communications and a part of the oil industry. After , the State became, without doubt, the biggest capitalist in the country and began building many comparatively large factories such as textiles, sugar, cement, etc.. The capitalist sector in industry was comparatively small and weak. The bulk of it was small or middle class. Commerce was the best field for the Iraqi bourgeoisie. Internal and foreign trade prospered in the last few years of the monarchy. The period was characterized by the spread of consumerist tendencies, unbalanced increases in the incomes of employees, professionals and other, as a result of increased oil incomes and expanded economic activity spurred by large-scale projects under the auspices of the Development Council in particular. The contracting sector expanded and was one of the most corrupt profit-spinning sectors. Legal and illegal profits were made under the corrupt political and social system prevalent at that time. After the July 14th Revolution, Law No. Small and middle-size ownerships increased greatly. But because of the reformist rather than the revolutionary nature of the law and the many loopholes compensation was guaranteed as was the choice of land for distribution among relatives and favourites. The bureaucratic and rightist nature of the Qassem and Aref regimes compelled them to introduce modifications in the interests of the feudalists. Apalling conditions prevailed in the countryside in Iraq. The feudal influence, though theoretically and legislatively destroyed, was still very strong on the eve of the July 17th Revolution. It gained in strength because of the misapplication of the law and the run-down of the agricultural sector. The small holdings sector created by the law of agricultural reform was weak and unproductive. Farmers lacked capital, seeds, machinery and market expertise. Arable land decreased because of increased salinity and government negligence. New exploitative relationships appeared as a result of the leasing of lands, which the farmers, beneficiaries of the land reform, could not work on, to the bourgeoisie and feudist classes. In the North, old patterns of ownership and feudal relationships remained intact because of armed conflict. The number of landless peasants increased in the countryside as did the exodus to the cities. Lower agricultural productivity made Iraq, for many years after the revolution of July 14th , an importer of agricultural produce after it had been an exporter or at least self sufficient. This was not the result of population growth or increased consumption. In the industrial field, the July 14th revolution brought about many significant progressive developments. At the same time, the

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government provided wide opportunities for the growth of the private sector in industry through loans, protection and other facilities. But the nature of the two bureaucratic regimes of Qassem and Aref was counterproductive. The implementation of many projects in which large amounts of capital had been invested was delayed. By the time some projects were finally completed, they were out of date technologically. Maladministration made many projects uneconomic. Measures to prepare the required personnel for industry. In , the Aref regime nationalized many large and middle - sized factories belonging to the private sector. This increased the dominance of the public sector in industry and confined the private sector to small and middle-sized industries and to some mixed public-private industries. Such a progressive step would have produced better results had it not been for the impetuous way in which it was taken and the insincerity of its motivations. The nationalized industries came directly and indirectly under the mismanagement and corrupt manipulation of the rightist bureaucrats and bourgeoisie class. Thus, the progressive step was emptied of its progressive content. The industrial public sector became a burden on the state, a drain on the budget instead of a source of income and hard currency. The July 14th Revolution did not impose any essential changes on internal and external trade which remained largely in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, the Revolution made the first step towards establishing a public sector in internal trade by the establishment of the governmental Transactions Department. Nationalization decrees enlarged further the trade public sector. But the general phenomena of corruption prevalent in the industrial and agricultural sectors were also apparent in commerce. The State did not reap any benefit. Only some basic consumer goods were provided for the people at reasonable prices. Perhaps the most important results of the decrees were those concerning foreign and Iraqi private banks and the insurance companies. This sector, despite the prevalent corruption, maintained a degree of efficiency under state control. It should be noted, however, when evaluating the nationalization measures that the public sector had been itself the highest shareholder in the factories and corporations that were nationalized. This may indicate that the nationalization was propagandistic in nature, and may explain also why it was later emptied of its progressive content. It is clear therefore that the Revolution of July 17th had to face three tasks in the field of socialist transformation: It is natural that these aspects should interweave in the interests of achieving economic independence. Reform requires large scale administrative and organizational power. It also requires changes in government structure and methods of work and legislation. There is a need also to emphasize national and progressive cultural values. Because of the relative scarcity of national cadres, in particular, socialist and revolutionary cadres, for such tasks, it was necessary to depend on the available national cadres without emphasizing their class identity and ideological background. At the same time, socialist transformation relies on socialist culture and on socialist revolutionary cadres to confront the bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudalism. That is why it is no easy task to fulfill the process in its three aforementioned aspects. It involves many-sided activity, great flexibility of means, no loss of equilibrium, a meticulous attention to the circumstances, quick resolution of the contradictions that arise and a singleness of purpose that would lead in the end to the realization of socialism. However, the shortcomings in ideological activity and the weakness of socialist education among the circles concerned made this task more difficult and led the Party and government machinery into many errors. A trial and error method was often followed. While it is true that experimenting is necessary, it is true that it needs clear theoretical pointers to make it meaningful and purposeful. This was lacking in the past phase. Many things were done without proper theoretical framework and scientific research. They were not accompanied by revolutionary re-evaluation, at a distance from subjective outlooks and narrow interests. It has been therefore very difficult to measure real success or failure. Even inability to draw accurate conclusions greatly affects the capacity of the Party and the Revolution to measure the rate of progress in this sphere or that. Among the unhealthy phenomena which deserve special attention is that of reliance on "accumulated achievements". In the first days of the Revolution there was an urgent need for projects to employ the people and give them a feeling of confidence in the Revolution. Time and temper did not allow for long-range efforts. Quick results with direct moral and material impact on the masses were wanted. But to continue in this way trying to win over the masses with semi-planned projects, to

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deceive oneself that this is the socialist way is mistaken and can lead to chaos not only in the political, economic and development fields but also in the fields of thought and social development. For this would impede the development plan and work against the completion of the necessary steps in the preparation for the application of socialism. Accumulation of achievements in this sense is not only born out of a weak socialist culture and ideological activity but also out of complacency by some Party members and organizations who try to take the easy way out, shying away from hard work with the masses and long term effort. Even self-seeking trends amongst the unions, who fought only for their own sectional gains without enough attention to the interest of society as a whole, hindered the course of socialist transformation. In addition to this there has been since later confusing of socialist tenets and State capitalism, the democratic content of socialism which requires dialectical commitment to centralism, and other chaotic thoughts and practices. State capitalism is a distorted image of socialism. It negates or at least fakes democratic relations in production, freezes the role of the working class and kills its vitality. It makes the bureaucrats, the masters and overlords of production who impose upon the working classes and lower strata of employees, a new dictatorship not very different from that of the bourgeoisie class and its exploitation. It has a distorted view of socialism as a mere economic activity unrelated to the other aspects of the life of Society. Justifications of centralism with democratic content are one thing and the centralism of the capitalism of the State are another. They are contradictory and run counter to each other. When the working class, its organizations and some officials of the various production sectors are not sufficiently aware of this, it is the responsibility of the Party to raise their cultural, technical, organizational and political standards in order to protect the interests of all in Arab society. It is our responsibility to meet any such lack of awareness and not allow it to obstruct the development of the working class by sliding into State capitalism. Lack of awareness and experience is not helped by preventing the working class from taking part in the actual programming and control of development, thus depriving them of ever acquiring the necessary experience and knowledge regarding the problems involved. One of the main tasks of the Revolution was make radical agricultural reform very early on. It was also necessary to modify radically the old agricultural reform law of 1958. The modifications were made in and cancelled compensation for the feudal landlords and their so-called land option for the areas left to them under the old law.