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SOCIALISM AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS
IN THE ARAB WORLD

By

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A B S T R A C T

Socialism is still a vague concept to many people in the Arab world. It is misinterpreted and misunderstood by some of them. Some believe that Arab socialism aims at bringing about a socialistic society in the Arab world. Others do not even differentiate between socialism and communism and think that Arab socialists are the followers of the world communist movement. Many do not know much about the organized socialist movements in the Arab world and about their programs and goals.

The purpose of this thesis is to study the principal socialist movements and parties in the Arab world. We think that Arab socialism, at present, does not aim at establishing a socialist regime in Arab society, it is rather a reformist movement aiming at introducing social and economic reforms with some socialistic measures. The programs of the Arab socialist parties are not exclusively and specifically socialist, but they rather offer reforms, with socialistic tendencies, which may lead to the establishment of a welfare state. They embody nationalistic and democratic principles. Thus, Arab socialism, which was created to fit the needs and conditions of Arab society, has its own distinct features and characteristics which differentiate it from communism, Western socialism, and other socialist movements in the world.

After defining socialism and stating briefly its principal movements in the world, after a short survey of the socialist spirit in some of the Islamic teachings and of the important movements with

socialistic trends that influenced Arab political thought, and after a brief discussion of the existing economic and social conditions in the Arab world and a brief indication to the reformist movements which acted as a connecting link between social and socialistic reform, we come to study the principal Arab socialist movements and parties, which compose the main body of this thesis. Such a study leads to the conclusion that these Arab socialist parties are not really socialistic, although they are inclined towards socialism. Their principles, which were drawn to respond to the needs of Arab society, advocate welfare and some socialistic reforms as well as democracy and national liberation.

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CHAPTER I

A Definition of Socialism

In order to make a comprehensive study of socialism and the socialist movements in the Arab World, and to examine the kind of socialism that these movements follow; we will try to define the term 'socialism' in general and give a brief description of its principal forms and aspects.

Since it is not possible to give one definition for socialism, a brief survey of the major socialist movements in the world will throw more light on this term before trying to define it. Socialist movements differ in the degree of controlling the means of production and in the means of achieving the same goal. These differences in the degree of socialism and in the means of its achievement have given rise to many kinds of socialism ranging from the socialism existing in the U.S.S.R. to the socialism of Great Britain, where certain key industries have been nationalized but the greater part of the economy remains in private hands.

If public ownership of the material means of production is an essential feature of a socialist economy, the British economy is not socialistic. The nationalized sector of the economy is, as yet, small, and it is doubtful whether it will grow very much in the future.¹

Socialism is not a new movement; it goes as far back as the

1. George N. Halm, Economic Systems: A Comparative Analysis, (New York & Toronto: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1955), p. 361.

times of the Greeks when Plato envisaged common wives and common property for guardians in his "Republic". Starting with the sixteenth century, symptoms of socialism were shown by the literature of the utopian writings such as the Utopia of Thomas More written in 1516, the utopia of Campanella, Civitas Solis (1623), and Oceana, the utopia of Harrington that appeared in 1656. Locke believed that property was commonly possessed in the state of nature, but it became private when labor was put into it. He believed in the equality and liberty of man which Karl Marx believed in, with the difference that the former believed that men are born free and equal, while the latter believed that freedom and equality cannot be realized in the existing economic and social systems but only when these systems are changed and altered.

Rousseau viewed property as a social right that can be used according to the will of society. If the interest of society requires that private property should be abolished and should be owned in common, then this should be done.

...the teachings of Rousseau were already markedly socialist in character. His philosophy is not distinctly communist, as some have declared it to be; but he did recognize the essential foundation of socialism when he stated, "my thought is not to destroy absolutely private property, because this is impossible but to restrict it to the closest limits, to give it ... a bridle which reins it, which directs it, which subjects it, and keeps it always subordinate to the general will."

With the spread of the Marxian teachings in the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a schism in the socialist movement in the

1. Oscar Jaszi, "Socialism", Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, V. 14, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934), p. 192

world. There was Marxism or the alleged Scientific Socialism represented by Karl Marx on the one hand, and Liberal or Utopian Socialism represented by Robert Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier, Proudhon and similar Liberal socialists on the other hand.

Marxism advocates the abolition of private property, complete economic planning, and full control of the wealth of society and its common ownership. Karl Marx believes that in the higher phase of communist society, each individual takes according to his need and offers according to his ability.

The fundamental premise of Karl Marx is that the economic factor is the most important factor that determines the people's thoughts, the structure of society, and the history of man. The material relations of production, which constitute the economic structure of society, condition the general character of cultural life of the society, whose legal, political, social and other institutions are affected by and formed according to the existing material relations. Marx says in his book A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.

The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual process of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.¹

Marx believes that a stage is reached at which the methods of

1. Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, trans. & edited by N.F. Stone, (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1904), pp. 11-12.

production are changing, whereas the political, social, and other institutions are still the same. This creates a disequilibrium in society. In a capitalist society the technological processes of production become collective and socialized, while the ownership of the materials of production is still in the hands of a few capitalists. The capitalists become fewer and richer while the proletariat and the working classes become larger in number and more miserable. Due to the extensive use of machinery that causes a lesser need for workers and to the wish of the employers to increase their profits, the wages of the labourers are reduced and unemployment is increased. As a result of these conditions existing in a capitalist society, the working classes organize and strengthen themselves until they seize political power; and by so doing they bring about the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat. So we see that capitalism brings its own destruction.

This is the basic premise of Karl Marx's theory. He believes that socialism is achieved by the revolution of the working class whose conditions are changing from bad to worse, and whose efforts are being exploited by the capitalists. He bases this premise upon his surplus value theory. For him the value of a commodity is equal to the amount of labour embodied in it. But the employer pays his employee a wage which is lower than the value of the latter's labour and keeps the difference for himself. Hence, the capitalists would be exploiting the workers by taking this difference between the value of the commodity produced and the wages paid to the labourers to produce it. This

difference Marx calls the "surplus value".

According to Marx the state represents the interests of a particular class and is used as an instrument of suppression in the hands of that class. The state will continue to represent the domination of one class over the others until all classes are abolished. With the abolition of all classes, all interests are reconciled by holding everything in common with plenty for everybody; there will be no more suppression and hence no need for the state.

Marx assumes that the only source of conflict among human beings is the economic and material differences. Once we get rid of these differences by having plenty for everybody, a government or a state to maintain order and peace in the community is no longer needed.

Marx called his socialism "Scientific Socialism", because he believed that socialism is inevitable after passing certain definite stages. Marxists believe that socialism is inevitable, but it has to be worked for. Inevitability does not mean that socialism is coming on a certain definite date, but it is coming after a period of time whose duration depends upon the amount of effort exerted to bring about the final stage of socialism in a classless and stateless society. The proletariat is driven towards socialism by the existing material conditions. The conditions in which the proletariat live make them socialists. So all that one can do about it is either to speed it up or to retard it, but one cannot prevent it from coming.

On the other hand, Liberal socialists believe that socialism should come because it represents a just order of things, not because it is inevitable. The latter believe that capitalism does not necessarily lead to the impoverishment of the workers and that instead of the middle class being proletarianized, as Marx thought, the proletariat are likely to become indistinguishable from the middle class. Then, capitalism may not die away at all. So to wait for the decay of capitalism is no guarantee for the coming of socialism; hence, there must be some other ground for being a socialist. That ground is the preference of socialism over capitalism on the basis of moral justice. In his book The Simple Case for Socialism, G.D.H. Cole says:

There is an old conflict in Socialism between the *moralists* and the *class-warriors*. The Utopian Socialists hoped to regenerate society by appealing to men's better feelings, through the spread of *enlightenment*, and by persuading the rich as well as the poor that they would be really happier in a classless society of economic equals. Scientific Socialists, of whom Karl Marx is a prophet, scoffed at the Utopians and offered, by way of refuting them, an interpretation of human history in terms of power and conflict ... Justice among men will come, they tell us, not when men in the mass are prepared to act more justly, but only when the material forces on the side of justice grow stronger than the forces ranged against it ... The call of the Marxists is to a class war waged for the victory of justice but with the weapons of sheer material force.¹

A Liberal or Utopian Socialist does not believe that the transition from capitalism into socialism should be brought about by force as the Marxists believe. Liberal socialism aims at bringing about socialism through evolutionary peaceful means, while Marxist socialism aims at bringing it about by force and revolutionary means; because

1. G.D.H. Cole, The Simple Case for Socialism, (London: V. Gollancz, Ltd., 1935), p. 194.

the former believes that socialism is a more just order of things and man adopts it by conviction, while the latter, which is not so much concerned with morals, believes in its inevitability and believes that morality and rationality are useless without force behind them.

The Socialist movement in Great Britain, which is not heavily committed in the matter of doctrine, is made up of several elements of Liberal Socialists who believe in peaceful change through persuasion. Creating and furthering the doctrine of government by consent England colored its socialism with democracy. The most important of the British socialist movements are: the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League, the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society, Guild Socialism, and the Labour Party.

The Social Democratic Federation, founded in 1831, was Marxian in the sense that it believed in class struggles as a means to achieve socialist ends. This group believed in collective ownership in the interest and good of the whole society. Its members have been few in number and of little influence.

The Socialist League, formed in 1884, existed for a period of around ten years, and its members, who did not exceed one hundred in number, were not in full agreement. Some of them advocated parliamentary action, others opposed it. Some favored anarchism, others resented it.

The Independent Labour Party, founded in 1893, came into existence as a result of the belief of some trade-union leaders that a political party functioning on some socialist bases was needed to promote the will of the workers. This party played a leading role in forming the British

Labour Party in 1900 and in supplying it with leaders.

The Fabian Society, organized in 1884, was named after a Roman General, Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator - the "Delayer". The early motto of the Fabian society was: "For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did; but when the right moment comes you must strike hard, or your waiting will have been vain and fruitless".

"No socialist group could be more unmarxian. Under the leadership of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, and, later, Harold Laski and G.D.H. Cole, the Fabian Society deliberately set out to convert the governing classes to socialism".¹ The Fabians aim at capturing the state not by violence but by peaceful powers, which are in the hands of the people, through democratic and parliamentary means. They believe that surplus production and wealth should be fairly and not equally distributed. A minimum standard of living should be set up and guaranteed by society. For them justice is more important than equality. Nationalization is the main way to achieve a fair and just distribution of the surplus product.

In a manifesto prepared by Shaw and adopted in September, 1884, just after he joined, the Society committed itself somewhat more explicitly to socialism, advocating that "the land" should be nationalized "in some form", and that "the state should compete with all its might in every department of production".²

The Fabians conceive of socialism as a means to transfer land and capital to the community which is represented by the state. They

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1. William Ebenstein, Great Political Thinkers, 2nd ed., (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1956), p. 730.
 2. Francis W. Coker, Recent Political Thought, (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1934), p. 102.

aim at transferring ownership gradually not to individual workers but to society. They are faithful to the state which represents the people and embodies their wishes. They are practical rather than theoretical. They try to achieve their aims by pressing concrete measures of reform which help raise the standard of living of the working classes and reduce the wealth of big businessmen and property-owners. Francis Coker said:

The chief factor of their strength has been their skill in working out definite and workable schemes for immediate application by way of: (1) "social legislation" - shorter hours, safeguards against unemployment; minimum standards for health, safety, and wages; improved educational opportunity; (2) public ownership, national or municipal, of public utilities and natural monopolies, and (3) taxation of inheritances, ground rents, and investment incomes. It is perhaps in the latter two fields that they have exerted their most distinctive influence.¹

The Fabian essays, published in 1889, are a very important source for British socialism. In these essays Sidney Webb defined British socialism as "The conscious and explicit assertion of principles of social organization which have been already in great part unconsciously adopted." For him socialism was the "economic side of the democratic ideal." Bernard Shaw stated:

In Fabian Essays Socialism is presented for the first time as a completely constitutional political movement, which the most respectable and least revolutionary citizen can join as irreproachably as he might join the nearest conservative club. Marx is not mentioned; and his peculiar theory of value is entirely ignored, the economic theories relied on being Jevon's theory of value and Ricardo's theory of the rent of land.²

Guild Socialism, established by English intellectuals like A.J. Penty, A.R. Orage, S.G. Hobson, in the early twentieth century, has

1. Ibid., p. 106.

2. Bernard Shaw, The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism, (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1928), p. 468.

its strength in Great Britain. It believes in state ownership and is concerned with the interests of both the consumers and the producers.

The workers, organized into occupational unions or guilds, should control the work of production; the consumers represented by the state, should own the means of production. To this is added the pluralistic theory of sovereignty based upon function. Guild Socialists believe that industry, church, education, and other essential activities should each have its own organization and control its affairs; and that the state should interfere only as a last resort, or should stand on a par with other natural groups, with final authority to adjust disputes resting in a body that represents all essential interests.

Guild socialism, like syndicalism and anarchism, dislikes the state. It disagrees with state socialism which believes in the control of the state over the industry, the thing which results in a bureaucracy. Labour conditions, hours of work, and wages should be determined by the cooperation of occupational groups. A socialist system results from reorganized labor unions. The guild socialists emphasized the small, decentralized shop units and handicraft industry more than the large-scale machine industry.

They believe that economic groups, not the state, should control production. As to the relation of the industrial organization to the state, they have two different views. That the state should have ultimate sovereignty over the guilds is the belief of the group which was led by S.G. Hobson. That the state should represent the interests of the consumers, a congress of national guilds must represent the interests of the producers, and a representative body of producers and consumers should settle disputes is the belief of the large group led by G.D.H. Cole.

1. Raymond G. Gettell, History of Political Thought, (New York & London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1924), pp. 481-482.

They all believe in democratic individualism. Guild Socialism believes "that control over the conditions of work should rest neither in owners of capital nor in the organized community, but in the laborers themselves, of all grades, grouped not on territorial but on professional or occupational lines."¹

The Labour Party was formed in 1900 by some members of the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society. "From the Independent Labour Party sprang the Labour Party, a political federation, much more powerful, of Trade Unions and Socialist Societies, whose delegates sat on its executive committee."² Since the First World War the Fabians became closer to the Labour Party. Sidney Webb wrote the party program in 1918. In the British General Elections of 1945, the Labour Party won a majority of 394 seats in Parliament. 229, out of the 394 Labour party members elected, were members of the Fabian Society. The Labour Legislation enacted by the Labour Government in 1945 was the program of the Fabian Society.

In addition to the Trade Unions movement, the Cooperative movement is another important element in British socialism. The Cooperative movement, founded by Robert Owen, preached that through cooperation it is possible to reform and change the capitalist system without violence. Owen believed that economic problems should be solved not by the state but by voluntary cooperative associations. By having the workers come together to produce and sell their products, the position of the middleman or the capitalist disappears. The consumers cooperative movements

1. Francis Coker, op.cit., p.283.

2. Bernard Shaw, op.cit., p.221.

are the only successful type of cooperatives in Britain. After 1850 the cooperative movement has spread rapidly in England providing a kind of organization to the workers. This movement contributes to the spreading of the socialist teachings, because it emphasizes the basic socialist ideas that wealth should not be owned by a few members but by the whole members of society. Describing the Socialism of Owen, G.D.H. Cole said:

Owenite Socialism was never concerned mainly in terms of state action or of politics. It was essentially a form of cooperation, aiming at a way of community living that was to come about by the voluntary action of the converted, and not through legislation.¹

There is also a religious element in British Socialism. Many people in Great Britain are socialists because of religious motives. The Socialist movement and the Labour Party have derived a part of their strength from religious elements. Christian Socialism was a school of thought which believed that socialism could only be founded on a Christian basis. This movement did not have a large number of followers, but a few educated people. One of its founders who wished to persuade the Church of England to identify itself with the working class was Charles Kingsley. It was under the humanitarian clergymen Maurice and Kingsley and the lawyer Ludlow that the Christian Socialist movement was organized in 1848.

The best representatives of French Socialism were: Comte Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Louis Blanc, and Pierre Joseph Proudhon.

Saint-Simon (1760-1825) is considered as the first socialist who

1. G.D.H. Cole, Socialist Thought: The Forerunners 1789-1850, (New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1953), V.I, p. 131.

believed in an economic form of government.

An economic rather than a political form of government, administering things instead of governing men, with a society modelled on the workshop and a nation transformed into a productive association having as its one object "the increase of positive utility by means of peaceful industry" - such are the ruling conceptions which distinguish Saint-Simon from the Liberals and serve to bring him into the ranks of the socialists.¹

Saint-Simon did not believe in the abolition of private property although his disciples, the most famous of whom was Auguste Comte, attacked it bitterly and argued that the state should be the only owner of property. However, the most distinguishing feature of the Saint-Simon Socialism is that his school insists "on the claims of merit; they advocate a social hierarchy in which each man shall be placed according to his capacity and rewarded according to his work."²

Fourier (1772-1837) designed to have a system of common ownership of production and consumption within his Phalanstère, which is some sort of a big house containing about fifteen hundred people, from all classes, working in cooperation together in order to attain a high standard of living with the least possible amount of expenses. He did not believe in the common ownership of wealth and its distribution nor in the abolition of private property.

Unlike Saint-Simon and Fourier, Louis Blanc's (1811-1882) teachings were not Utopian. In his book L'Organisation du Travail, he says that competition is the cause of crime, revolutions, and wars. He believes that industrial associations, or social workshops, should be created and

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1. Charles Gide and Charles Rist, A History of Economic Doctrines, 2nd ed., (Boston and New York: D.C. Heath & Co., 1949), p. 221.
 2. Thomas Kirkup, A History of Socialism, 5th ed., (London: A & C Black, Ltd., 1920), p. 29.

financed by the state. Wages are to be distributed equally among labourers. Profits are to be divided into three shares. The first share is to be distributed among the members of the shop, in addition to their wages; the second is to be used for achieving some social security measures; and the third is to finance the means of production in order to expand business. Due to his influence with the French government and with the working classes, some of these private associations, which were similar to those proposed by him, were subsidised by the government around the year 1848.

Proudhon (1809-1865) criticized private property. He did not believe in its abolition but in its limitation. Private property, for him, is not a natural right. Only labour gives right to property. He proposed the establishment of an Exchange Bank with no interest on loans given to labourers. Rist believes that:

Proudhon, though commonly considered a socialist, is above all else an individualist... He remains the most marked opponent of that State socialism which has at length won over almost every country during the last half-century, and that finds its completest embodiment in German National Socialism and Russian socialism.¹

The reformist and humanitarian tendency continued to exist in French Socialism, even with the spread of the Marxian teachings. Jean Jaurès (1859-1914), the leader of the French Socialist Party before 1914, believed that political developments depend upon the economic; but he did not believe in the inevitability of class struggles. For him, socialism was concerned not only with the material needs of man but also with his dignity and spirit as well.

1. Charles Gide and Charles Rist, op.cit., p. 328.

The French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O. - Section Francaise de l'Internationale Ouvriere, or French Section of the Workers' International), whose members are not predominantly labourers, has never been in control of the allegiance of the workers who form the bulwark of the Labour Party in Great Britain. Guy Mollet, Albert Gazier, and Christian Pineau may be considered the leaders of the party at present. This party was the largest French party immediately before World War II. With the outbreak of the war, there was a split among its members. While its leaders, Leon Blum and Vincent Auriol, supported the Republic and the war against the Nazis, some of its members, who were expelled from the party after the war, believing in maintaining peace, opposed war and collaborated with the Vichy government.

Some members of the party do not want to cooperate with middle-class parties; while others, the humanitarians, are willing to cooperate with those who adopt human values similar to theirs. All its members do not want to join the communists, yet it is considered a Marxist party in theory. The party has been facing a dilemma due to the difference between its theory and practice.

In theory, the SFIO is still a Marxist party, a party of the industrial proletariat, dedicated to the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society. Actually, under the influence of Jean Jaures, the party's outstanding leader before 1914, and of Blum after 1920, it has become a reformist party operating within the framework of the existing political and economic order. It retains a revolution-mongering platform and a nineteenth-century class-struggle lexicon, principally because many of the active and dedicated party workers, the militants, who control the party's machinery (and its annual congress), have never become reconciled to the reformist nature of the party and remain deeply attached to the old shibboleths of orthodoxy.¹

1. Joel Colton, "The French Socialist Party: A Case Study of the Non-Communist Left," Yale Review, V. 43, (March 1954), pp. 403-404.

National Socialism, that was adopted by Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany, meant the complete control of the whole national economy in the hands of the national government for the national interest. The nation is the society to which everybody belongs, so all members and classes of society should cooperate and work in the interest of the nation.

Both parties - Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany - adopted a program that, in order to attract the greatest possible number of people, promised happiness for everybody in a society which suffered the aftermath of the First World War. Nationalism attracted the emotional and young people, and socialism attracted the lower class and Labour Unions.

Recently there has been emerging what may be called *Asian Socialism* as a distinct and separate movement from the Western and the Marxist socialist movements.

A deep Schism seems to be developing in the world socialist movement, led by the Asian Socialist Parties. The separatist group revealed itself at the 1951 congress of the Socialist International in Frankfurt; and at the succeeding Milan Congress this group announced the intention of organizing an independent Asian Socialist movement. Its congress convened in Rangoon in January 1953... A separate and independent Asian Socialist Conference was formed....

The new Asian organization differs basically from the Western - oriented Socialists, although its thinking has not yet been clarified. Many of its adherents, like the left-wing socialist party of Japan, feature revolutionary radicalism and hail Marx as their true prophet.¹

On the other hand, "In some Asian countries - Burma and India, for example - socialists tend to blend their doctrine with the prevailing religious or social philosophies, most of them steering clear of Marxism and revo-

1. David J. Saposs, "The Split Between Asian and Western Socialism," Foreign Affairs, V. 32, (1954), p. 589.

lutionary radicalism."¹ They advocate social reform programs emphasizing land reform, anti-imperialism and national independence.

This difference between Asian and Western socialism is due mainly to the fact that Asia is facing different problems and is living in a different environment and conditions. Its economy is primarily agricultural and not fully developed, and it still faces the problem of imperialism, while the economy of Western countries is mainly industrial and they are fully independent and sovereign.

Excluding the Communist countries, India has taken the most practical step towards socialism among the Asiatic countries. Jawaharlal Nehru, who has been the Prime Minister of India since it became an independent republic in 1947, has some socialist tendencies. His First Five - Year Plan, unlike the second, was not socialistic, because "the *private sector* of India*s economy was left free to expand. The new plan, Nehru*s advisers agreed, must push more decisively towards socialism and *the public sector* must be expanded relatively faster than the private sector."²

The Second Five - Year Plan, which has started on the 22nd of May, 1956, adopts a socialist inclination embodied in its policy. This policy expands the public sector of the economy and makes more of the means of production the public ownership of the state. The Government of India Planning Commission said in its report about the Second Five Year Plan:

1. Ibid., p. 590.

2. "Five - Year Plan," Time, V. LXVI, No. 16, (October 17, 1955), p. 22.

The adoption of the socialist pattern of society as the national objective, as well as the need for planned and rapid development, require that all industries of basic and strategic importance, or in the nature of public utility services, should be in the public sector. Other industries which are essential and require investment on a scale which only the State, in present circumstances, could provide, have also to be in the public sector.¹

Under the leadership of Nehru, the Indian National Congress Party, which advocates democracy and social and economic policy aiming at a welfare state, was representing the socialist movement in India until 1947. During that year, the left-wing members of the party, led by J.B. Kripalani, A.N. Deva, J.P. Narayan, and others, formed the Praja-Socialist Party, which aims at establishing a democratic socialist regime in India. Although influential among trade unions and in industrial areas, the party is poorly represented in the Indian Legislatures. During the last elections which took place in May 1957, the socialists won 19 out of 488 seats in the "House of the People".

After surveying briefly the principal socialist ideas and movements in the world, we shall attempt to give a definition for the term socialism.

Socialism is a very difficult term to be defined in one statement or paragraph. It is a wide term that covers a wide variety of movements which all believe in the social exploitation of wealth and its fairer distribution, in equal social and political opportunities for all members of society, in limiting or abolishing private property, in the nationalization of public utilities, and in the establishment of an organized society based on collective ownership and control in order

1. India, Government Planning Commission, Second Five Year Plan, (1956), p. 45.

best to ensure social security and to provide the maximum of social justice. Socialists believe that human equality can best be realized when wealth is owned by the society as a whole, when all people have equal opportunities and enjoy the same rights and duties, and when there are no class distinctions and privileges. They all aim at having a prosperous society through increasing production by following a system of planned economy.

Different authorities have emphasized different aspects in their definitions of socialism. In defining a socialist society, Joseph Schumpeter said:

By socialist society we shall designate an institutional pattern in which the control over means of production and over production itself is vested with a central authority - or, as we may say, in which, as a matter of principle, the economic affairs of society belong to the public and not the private sphere.¹

A.C. Pigou said:

A socialised industry is one in which the material instruments of production are owned by a public authority or voluntary association and operated, not with a view to profit by sale to other people, but for the direct service of those whom the authority or association represents. A socialised system is one the main part of whose productive resources are engaged in socialised industries.²

Expressing, more or less, the same idea in different words, William Ebenstein mentioned that "Socialists believe ... that the basic economic decisions must be made by the community, not by private owners of the means of production; the basic industries, at least, will therefore have to be directly owned and controlled by the community."³ In his book Socialism, Paul M. Sweezy stated: "Socialism has been traditionally

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1. Joseph A. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, 4th ed., (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1954), p. 167.
 2. A.C. Pigou, Socialism Versus Capitalism, (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1937), p. 2.
 3. William Ebenstein, op.cit., p. 721.

defined as a social order which recognizes private property in the means of consumption but disallows private property in the means of production."¹ Boucke believed that

The core of socialism is the abolition of private property in production and distribution, and the substitution for it of public ownership. The public in general, and not particular individuals, are to own the means by which goods are produced and exchanged.²

Stressing the social aspect more than the economic one, Arthur Lewis said: "Socialism is not a particular way of dealing with property; it is a demand for equality and social justice... It is also a demand for individual liberty."³ He went on saying:

Socialism and the nationalization of property are now commonly identified, but this is as great an error as the identification of socialism and the extended state. Socialism is not, in the first instance, about property any more than it is about the state. Socialism is about equality. A passion for equality is the one thing that links all socialists; on all others they are divided. Because they are concerned about equality socialists have to be concerned about property, since the system of property is the most important cause of inequality.⁴

In differentiating between socialism and communism, Benjamin E. Lippincott said in his introduction to the book On the Economic Theory of Socialism: "A Socialist economy in the classical sense is one that socializes production alone, as contrasted with communism, which socializes both production and consumption."⁵

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1. Paul M. Sweezy, Socialism, (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949), p. 22.
 2. Fred O. Boucke, The Limits of Socialism, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), p. 2.
 3. Arthur W. Lewis, The Principles of Economic Planning, (London: Dennis Dobson Ltd, n.d.), p. 11.
 4. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
 5. Oskar Lange and Fred M. Taylor, On the Economic Theory of Socialism, (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1938), p. 9.

Since there is no agreement upon the definition of socialism and upon the criteria used to determine whether a certain measure is socialistic or not, the writer has to adopt a definition which he believes to be closest to the various definitions and in agreement with many of them.

For the purpose of this thesis, a socialist society may be defined as a society where the means of production are publicly owned, controlled, and directed for the welfare of the community as a whole. This means that at least the basic and major industries should be nationalized, and that private property is not necessarily abolished but must be limited. Equality, social justice, labour rights, and similar other ideals of socialism may come along with this policy and as an outproduct of it.

This is a brief definition and survey of socialism and of the principal socialist movements in the world that gives an idea about the meaning of the term Socialism. Having this in mind we come to study socialism and the socialist movement in the Arab World.

CHAPTER II

The Place of Socialism in Arab

Political Thought

Being concerned mainly with the study of Arab Socialism through the present socialist movements in the Arab world, a brief indication to some Islamic teachings and movements, which have some sort of a socialist spirit, may throw some light on the subject, because Arab political thought was mainly affected by Islam.

It is an exaggeration to say that Islamic teachings are socialistic. Islam, like other religions, has a reformist legislation which aims at establishing a better society. Among its teachings, there are many general principles which may be interpreted to be in conformity with socialism. In trying to indicate to the Islamic principles which have some socialist inclinations, it is necessary to look at the teachings of Islam as well as the practices of the Prophet, his followers, and the Caliphs after him.

In Islam private property is a right. The Quran states that "Wealth and children are the spice of life on earth." Although "Islam acknowledges private property, yet it limits its scope."¹ For according to the Quran "All that is in heavens and all that is on earth belongs to Allah." The Quran also states that "He created for all of you all what is on earth." As to the definition of private property al-Hanafi, one

1. Abi al-Nasr Al-Hussayni, Al-Mulkyah Fi al-Islam, (Cairo: Ahmad Abd an-Nabi at-Tager al-Hindi, 1952), p. 3.

of the best authorities on Islam in the fourteenth century, defined it as "A legal attachment between an object and its owner, who is free to dispose of it in any way he wants and to prevent others from using it."¹ Muhammad Abu Zahrah says in his book Abu Hanifa: "Abu Hanifa believes that the owner is free in dealing with his property in any way he likes... Because the ownership of property implies full freedom of the owner to dispose of his property."²

Thus, Islam protects the right of private property and inheritance, but it puts some limitations on that. It believes that work is a source of property, for the Prophet said: "The best diet is that which one gets out of his own work." A person has the right to own a piece of land when he cultivates it and puts his labour into it.

Before the coming of Islam the economy of Arabia was concerned mainly with trade, agriculture, and cattle raising. With the Islamic conquests in the seventh century A.D., the economic structure of the vast Islamic Empire, of which the Arab world was a part, was greatly changed since new laws had to be introduced to deal with the acquisition of the conquered lands. Plenty of land remained uncultivated, so that its occupation and exploitation was justified. One of the methods, recognized by Islam for acquiring land, which showed socialist inclinations was

irrigating waste lands which have no owner, by any method of irrigation. Here the individual must continue his irrigation of the ground for a space of three years after he has put his hand to it. If he does not, then his right of possession lapses, because the purpose of irrigating waste land is to ensure general prosperity through its full employment. Three years is a sufficient test of the ability of any man who puts his hand to the task; if such ability has not then shown itself,

1. Ibid., p. 10.

2. Muhammad Abu Zahrah, Abu-Hanifa, 2nd. ed., (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr al-'Arabi, 1947), p. 410.

the land reverts to the community and no individual can sequestrate it.¹

Water, fire, and herbage are collectively owned in Islam.

Some property is held in common, and this no individual has any right to possess. A proportion of all property is a due which must be paid to the community, in order that the latter may disburse it to specified individuals of its own number; these constitute cases of need which may thereby be remedied so that the community may preserve its health.²

The Musha'a system still exists in some parts of the Arab states. It is a system of common ownership usually of land owned by the whole community or village whereby every person has the right to use it but not the right of individual ownership.

Islamic waqf property is a property freely disposed of by an individual or by an institution as a pious endowment to be used for charitable purposes such as the care of the poor families, the building of mosques and orphanages, and the establishment of hospitals and schools for Moslems. Zakat, a religious tax, was a device to provide an equitable distribution of wealth by taking a part from the income of the rich and giving it to the poor. The Holy Quran states: "Take from their wealth alms to cleanse and purify them thereby; and pray for them; verily, the prayer is a repose for them; for God is He who is easily turned and merciful." (9: 103). Moslems are liable to pay Zakat when they possess a productive property or a nisab (taxable minimum) of property. That is property which contributes wealth to the owner. It is paid in money or in kind. Persons paying Zakat should have reason and maturity, faith

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1. Sayed Kotb, Social Justice in Islam, trans. by John B. Hardie, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1953), p. 11.
 2. Ibid., p. 110.

in Islam, and should be free. To pay Zakat is the duty of every Moslem. Al-Shafi'i, an important authority on Islam during the ninth century, said:

God ordered them to pray and to pay Zakat, and He said that those who possess gold and silver and do not spend them according to His will shall be punished in Hell... These two statements show that God made Zakat a duty on Moslems.¹

Zakat is given to the poor who have no property at all or who possess a small amount of property not sufficient to supply their primary needs, and to such people as the tax collectors, slaves, and those in debt. "Alms are only for the poor and needy, and those who work for them, and those whose hearts are reconciled, and those in captivity, and those in debt, and those who are on God's path, and for the wayfarer; - an ordinance this from God, for God is knowing, wise." (9: 90). This revenue derived from Zakat was not enough to provide for all social security in Islam, so other claims besides Zakat were imposed on the rich.

If the money in the Public Treasury (Bait al Mal) is not enough to ensure reasonable provision for every member of Muslim society, the Khalifa is empowered to get as much money as is needed, from the rich even though they may have paid up their Zakat dues in full.²

In addition to Zakat and Sadaqat (voluntary alms giving) al-futrah is another act whereby the rich give to the poor a certain portion of wealth on the occasion of feasts in order to lessen the sufferings of the poor and to enable them to get some of their primary needs.

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1. Al-Imam Abu Abd Allah Muhammad B. Idris Al-Shafi'i, Kitab al Um, (Egypt: al-Matba'a al-Kubra al-Amiryeh, 1321 Hijrah), V.II, p. 2.
 2. M.M. Hussain, Islam and Socialism, (Kashmir: Muhammad Ashraf, 1947), p. 153.

The Prophet and the Caliphs after him agreed to divide the spoils of war into three portions. The first used to go to the Bait al Mal of Islam (Treasury House), the second was divided among the warriors, and the third was given to the poor. Jihad was the duty of every Moslem with no exception. Every Moslem was required to fight in war to defend the Islamic faith, the Moslems' lives, their country and wealth.

Islam preaches equality, although it confirms the existence of classes. In Islam all Moslems are equal regardless of color, race, and nationality.

The brotherhood of all Muslims is one of the strongest influences that makes for the propagation of the faith. Islam is a kind of caste or freemasonry. Once you are admitted to it, you are the equal before God of everyone else within it.¹

Islamic teachings took an important step towards the liberation of slaves at a time when slavery was a common practice. The Quran and the Hadith, the two main sources of legislation in Islam, show this tendency of the abolition of slavery in their teachings. This can be affirmed by the following points:²

Islam confined slavery to the times of war, which was the only opportunity to take captives as slaves. It stated that the master must free his slave, when the latter pays for his freedom; and that a slave is freed after the death of his master.

After leaving Mecca to Madina, Prophet Muhammad established a

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1. Stanley Lane-Poole, Islam, (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., Ltd., 1903), p. 36.
 2. Anwar Al-Khatib, An-Naza'h al-Ishtirakiah Fi al-Islam, (Beirut: Dar al-'Ilm Lilmalayyn, 1956), pp. 154-158.

brotherhood between the immigrants from Mecca and his followers in Madina. He preached cooperation among them based on equal rights regardless of race, color, or nationality.

It can be concluded also from the Islamic teachings and from the practices of the Prophet and the Caliphs that Islam calls for social service and help for all those who need it, which is some sort of a social security system. Old and retired people should be helped by the strong and the able. Orphans should be taken care of until they become able to support themselves. Widows should be ensured with a safe and honorable life. Workers and employees should be fairly paid and should be granted enough time for rest. A Moslem should do all what he can to please others and make them happy.

In addition to these teachings, Islam witnessed some movements which have some socialist trends.

Abu Zurr al-Ghafari, a contemporary of the Prophet, believed that a Moslem should not own more than his diet for the day, unless what he owns is to be spent for fulfilling God's will. He started preaching his belief during the Caliphate of Uthman. In his book Fajr al-Islam, (The Dawn of Islam), Ahmad Amin says¹ that Abu Zurr was influenced by the teachings of Mazdak which appeared in Persia around the year 487 A.D. Mazdak taught that people were born equal and should be left to live equally; wealth and women are the two most important things to be held in common.

1. Ahmad Amin, Fajr al-Islam, 2nd ed., (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahda al-Masryah, 1933), pp. 109-110.

The movement of Babik was the result of the social and political factors that appeared at the beginning of the ninth century in the Abbasid Caliphate and especially in Azarbaijan. This movement started in 816, and for more than twenty years Babik and his followers were able to resist suppression and fight for spreading their ideas. This movement was neither against the Islamic faith nor against the Arabs as a conquering nation, but it was fighting to destroy the existing social system which was based on the supremacy of the landowners, religious men, and army leaders, and to replace it with a new system built on justice, fraternity, and equality with no class struggles, oppressor and oppressed, poor and rich, and master and slave.

The program of Babik contained social and economic reforms which may be summed up in two essential matters:

(1) The taking of the vast areas of land from its owners who had previously taken them from the peasants or from the state, and their free distribution among the farmers in need; and

(2) The liberation of the Eastern, or at least, the Persian woman from her everlasting slavery and to give her all the rights of man.

With the death of Babik during the Caliphate of al-Mu^tasim his movement died with him. Among the important reasons for the failure of Babik's movement were the facts that most of the inhabitants of the Abbasid state were not yet ready to accept his program, and that he and his followers limited the spreading of their movement to the Persian tribes only.

1. Bandaly Jawzi, Min Tarikh al-Harakat al-Fikriah Fi al-Islam, (Jerusalem: Matba^at Bait al-Mukaddas, 1928), V.I., p. 69.

The Isma^{*}ilia, originally one group of the Shi^{*}ite sect that formed some sort of a secret organization, included in its program (1) the equality between man and woman, and (2) the distribution of land ownership in an equitable way. They defended the idea of true brotherhood not only among Moslems, but also among all people regardless of nationality, class, or religion.

The teachings of Karmat, which spread in the year 887 in Najef and Karbala, were started by Abdullah Ibn Maymoun and were completed by his predecessor Karmat who was sentenced to death by al-Mahdi. In addition to his preaching of heresy, opposition to the ruling authorities and the Caliphs, and opposition to Islamic religious teachings, Karmat preached the distribution of the surplus wealth of the rich among the poor.

Out of the Karamitah there emerged a brotherhood called: Ikhwan as-Safa that was established during the second half of the tenth century. It was an intellectual secret society for spreading the principles of Isma^{*}iliah and for achieving them through peaceful and intellectual means. Its most important location was Basra. Its members preached that human beings should work to save themselves through cooperation and through other means especially education.

From this brief study of some of the Islamic teachings and movements, it can be concluded that Islam is not socialistic; it is rather a broad school of thought which contains various social and economic principles which may agree, somewhere, with socialism. These

Islamic teachings, which have a socialist spirit or tendency, might have affected Arab political thought.

With the spread of the Islamic faith in Arabia, the Arab cultural evolution was influenced by the process of Islamization. Muhammad was not only a prophet but a political leader and a statesman, who aimed at the religious as well as the political unification of Arabia.

Mohammed continued his preaching, supported by military campaigns, and by the time of his death in 632 he had succeeded in converting all the tribes of Arabia, and uniting them under his authority... Arabia was now united for the first time in history and fired with great zeal for the Moslem faith. The Arabs, instead of turning their swords continually against each other and wasting their strength in fruitless tribal wars, now presented a united front to the outer world and were inspired by a belief in their mission to spread Islam.¹

The Caliphs were the temporal and the spiritual rulers of the Islamic Empire. "At the head of this Empire... stood the Caliph, successor of the Prophet, Commander of the Faithful, leader of all Moslems everywhere."² From the rise of Islam, early in the seventh century, till the middle of the thirteenth century, the time the Abbasid Caliphate was overthrown by the Mongols in 1258, the Islamic Empire, of which the Arab world was a part, provided the Arabs with an administrative system based on Islamic laws, ideas and teachings.

It is true that Islamization and Arabisation were not the same movement, yet they were closely related together in Arabia, especially during the Umayyad Caliphate (661-750).

1. Walter N. Birks, A Short History of Islamic Egypt, (Cairo: S.O.P. Press, 1951), pp. 15-16.
2. Ibid., p. 25.

The two processes, islamisation and arabisation, were now at work together, but, although intimately interconnected, were by no means identical. Nor did they halt at the same frontiers.... Broadly speaking, every country which became permanently arabised became also permanently islamised. But the converse is not true.¹

So Islamic religion, which is adopted by the vast majority of the Arabs, has affected the Arabs not merely as a faith, but it has affected also their political thought.

While it cannot be denied that the everyday conduct of Moslem communities has departed, somewhat, from the real spirit and ideology of Islam, yet the study of Arab political thought is not merely an academic exercise. Islamic teachings have played a significant role in shaping and directing the stream of thought in the Arab world, and therefore the above mentioned socialist influences, that affected Arab political thought, have their own significance.

1. George Antonius, The Arab Awakening, (Norwich: Jarrold and sons Ltd., 1955), p. 16.

CHAPTER III

The Economic and Social Conditions of the Arab World

Before discussing the economic and the social conditions of the Arab world, the writer has to define what he means by the term 'Arab World' and discuss briefly its political divisions.

The Arabs have been defined as those "who inhabit the Arab world, speak the Arabic language, take pride in Arab history, cherish the general Arab feeling, and share in the characteristics of Arab mentality, irrespective of their religious affiliation and their racial descent."¹ The Arab world includes Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and the Arabian Peninsula. So it extends from the borders of Iran on the East to the Atlantic Ocean on the West, and from the Sahara desert and the Indian Ocean on the South to the Taurus Mountains and the Mediterranean sea on the North. Around eighty millions in number, the Arabs share a homogeneous culture. Most of them are Muslims with a considerable number of Christians and some Jews. It has not been until recently that most of the Arab states have achieved independence, while others are still struggling to get it.

The following table shows the area, the population, and the form

1. Nabih A. Faris and M.T. Husayn, The Crescent in Crisis, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1955), p. 8.

of government in each of the Arab states:¹

Name of State	Area in Square miles	Number of Population	Existing Form of Government
Iraq	116,600	4,950,000	Constitutional monarchy.
Syria	66,046	3,670,000	A parliamentary republic.
Lebanon	3,500	1,383,000	A parliamentary republic.
Jordan	37,900	1,500,000	A constitutional monarchy.
Egypt	386,198	23,000,000	A presidential republic.
Sudan	967,500	8,764,000	A republic.
Libya	1,000,000	1,350,000	A federal monarchy.
Tunisia	43,313	3,500,000	A presidential republic.
Algeria	851,075	9,251,000	Officially a part of metropolitan France.
Morocco	171,725	10,442,000	A monarchy.
Saudi Arabia	930,000	7,500,000	Theocratic monarchy.
Yemen	75,000	5,000,000	Theocratic Imamate.
Aden	112,075	730,800	Aden Colony: A British Colony with an area of 75. sq. miles and a population of 80,800 of whom 58,500 are Arabs and the rest are a combination of Indians, Somalis, and Jews. The Eastern and Western protectorates administered by the British from Aden have a population of 650,000 and an area of 112,000

1. This table is an approximate estimation as far as population is concerned. There are no recent statistics available to estimate the exact number of the population in each of the Arab States. For most of this table, the writer used the book The Crescent in Crisis, by N.A. Faris and M.T. Husayn, pp. 15-18, The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1956, and the Middle East for 1957 (Europa Publication Ltd.).

Name of State	Area in Square miles	Number of Population	Existing Form of Government
Kuwait	6,000	150,000	A principality.
Bahrain	250	125,000	A Sheikhdом.
Qatar	8,500	40,000	A Sheikhdом.
Muscat & Oman	82,000	550,000	A Sultanate.
Sheikhdoms of Trucial Coast	16,000	105,000	Sheikhdoms.

All these parts of the Peninsula just enumerated, which extend along the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea from Kuwait to Aden, are under one form or another of British protection and control. Some enjoy the benefits of more or less modern established government, such as Kuwait, Bahrain, and the Sultanate of Oman, while others are in effect tribal units governed by their respective Sheikhs in accordance with Islamic law, custom, and tradition.¹

Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, and Yemen are members of the United Nations Organizations; these same states, with the exception of Morocco and Tunisia, are members of the Arab League.

This is the general shape of the Arab world and the parts of which it consists. But for the purpose of this thesis not much emphasis will be put on the Arabian Peninsula and on the countries of the Arab West; Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria; because the socialist movement is not spreading in those parts of the Arab world as it has spread in the other parts.

1. Nabih A. Faris and M.T. Husayn, op.cit., p. 17.

For some of the Arabs of North Africa, Algerians, are still struggling for independence, and the others, Moroccans and Tunisians, got their independence recently and have been busy building their states; and in Arabia nomadism and illiteracy have delayed the spread of socialist movements.

The Arab economy depends mainly on agriculture. Although most of its land is a desert land, yet the small portion of its vast areas of land which is arable land would be sufficient to maintain much more than its population at a higher standard of living, provided that it were exploited by modern scientific methods and were better distributed among the people in a way to get rid of the¹ feudal system. Due to the feudal system, the ancient agricultural methods, the little rainfall, and the scarcity of forests that prevent land erosion, agriculture is still poor in the Arab world.

In addition to the antiquated methods of agriculture and the inadequate conservation and use of water supply, the peasant is himself impoverished. This poverty creates ignorance and illness which in turn weakens the productive powers that leads to the continuation of poverty. As a result of the very low standard of living of the peasants, who form the vast majority of the population, their purchasing and consumption powers are lowered, and the development of industry and commerce are thus hindered. Nomadic Bedouins, who form another section of the population and who are still living under the tribal system, are very poor producers and consumers because of the simplicity of their life. These are found

1. Feudalism is here used not as a strict equivalent of the economic and social relationship formerly existing in the West; but rather as a conventional translation of the Arabic iqta^{*}, system of large land-owners who have peasants living on their lands and cultivating them. From this system there has resulted a complex of unsatisfactory social relationships which are also loosely described as *feudal*.

not only in Saudi Arabia and the Arabian Peninsula but also in Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Morocco, Libya, and Egypt.

Other backward land systems are:

The share-tenancy, the semi-collective ownership of the land of a village by its inhabitants, known as masha^{*}, fragmentary land-holdings, the common charity and religious waqf institution, known as waqf khayri; and the descendents^{*} waqf, known as waqf dhuri.¹

Share-tenancy is the most widespread system.

Under this system the tenant has no definite lease on the land and is subject to eviction by the land-lord at will. The insecurity of tenure under this system and the fact that the rent is paid as a fixed share of the produce, discourage the tenant from fertilizing the land or undertaking any long-term improvements, and make him more like a miner than a farmer. Socially, the system destroys the initiative and ambition of the tenant and makes him almost a serf of his landlord.²

Hence this backwardness in agriculture, caused by these backward land systems that are characterized by extreme inequality of land ownership, reduce the efficiency and income of the population and increase their misery especially in the rural areas where diseases, bad sanitation, poor housing, and illiteracy are widespread.

Because of its geographic position, the Arab world has been an important commercial center concentrated in the cities. As these cities are increasing and developing, the economic and social gap between urban and rural areas has been widened. As a result of this, we have impoverished rural areas whose people are poor, illiterate and ill; and urban areas that control the political power in the country and legislate

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1. Said Himadeh, "The Economic Set-up in the Arab Middle East," United Asia, v. 5. No. 5, (1953), p. 288.
 2. Ibid.

according to their own interests regardless of the interests of the rural centers. This is shown by lack of responsibility for the welfare of the poor classes and peasants, lack of social justice, the big difference in the distribution of wealth and the existing systems of land-ownership, which are destructive of the economic interests of the peasants and hence of the vast majority of the population.

An important factor that makes agriculture poor is the scarcity of rainfall and of forests. This fact explains the existence of a great desert area in this region. Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Arab Palestine, and the Arabian Peninsula have an area of about 4,760,000 sq. km. out of which less ^{than} ten per cent is cultivable. This ratio is much lower in the Arabian Peninsula, the vast majority of whose land is desert. This is due to the irregular distribution of rainfall and of the small supply of river water that does not reach very far. This makes a large proportion of this land fit only for pasture. Forest lands are very scarce composing less than two-tenths per cent of the area, while the normal proportion in the world is estimated to be 15 per cent.

Excluding the countries of the Arabian Peninsula, of which we know very little, the total irrigated area in the other Arab countries amounts to about 42,000 square kilometers, which is roughly half of the cultivated area and little over a quarter of the cultivable land. Of these 42,000 sq. km., 59 per cent are in Egypt, 31 per cent in Iraq, 7 per cent in Syria and 3 per cent in Lebanon, Jordan and Arab Palestine. Recent studies have shown that the irrigated area in Iraq could be doubled, and that it could be increased by 90 per cent in each of Syria and Lebanon.¹

Water and petroleum are the two important natural resources in the Arab world. Water, if scientifically exploited, could be used for

1. Ibid., p. 287.

irrigation and for the generation of electric power. New projects are being worked to make use of it such as the High Dam and the Aswan projects in Egypt that will control water for hydro-electric and reclamation purposes, the Yarmouk River plan for irrigation and power in Jordan, the Litani project in Lebanon, and the Euphrates Dam in Syria.

Petroleum is an important source of wealth for the Arab states. The Oxford Economic Atlas of the World shows that Kuwait (15.9%), Saudi Arabia (11.0%), and Iraq (10.5%) alone were estimated to possess 37.4% of world reserves of crude petroleum in January 1952. The Middle East Oil Development¹ illustrates with a chart the tremendous growth of crude oil reserves in the Middle East. According to that chart, the number of barrels in billions grew between the years 1946 and 1955 from 4.0 to 40.4 in Kuwait, from 3.0 to 37.0 in Saudi Arabia, and from 4.8 to 20.0 in Iraq. According to the Mineral Industry Surveys of the United States Department of Interior of March 26, 1956, oil production of the Arab world, for the month of July 1955, amounted to 19.58% of the total world production. It was estimated² that the Arab Middle Eastern countries produced 143.4 million tons of oil in 1956. Of these, Kuwait produced 38.3%, Saudi Arabia 33.5%, and Iraq 21.6%. However, it is significant to point out that actual production of oil has been carried by foreign capital and experts, which are not available in these oil producing countries.

Both resources, water and petroleum, point to a possible direction in the economic future namely, industrialization.

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1. Middle East Oil Development, 4th ed., (Arabian American Oil Co., March 1956), p. 15.
 2. Suez Canal Company, Survey of the Future of the Suez Canal, 1956-1957; Egypt and U.N.O. Economic Developments in the Middle East, (n.d.).

The former raises the standard of agriculture, increases the purchasing power, widens the market to consume industrial production, and creates the motive power for industry. The latter provides the necessary capital to accomplish the necessary program if it is well used and also to give a motive force. But the Arab world is poor in minerals other than oil, so it is not expected that heavy industries can be established in it; as to light industries the potentialities are very great.¹

There is no coal, and only one known deposit of iron is found in the Aswan district in Egypt. This scarcity of iron and other minerals is a handicap for industrial development in this part of the world.

Although still backward, industry has been developing since the 1930*s.

In the ten years preceding the last world war industry in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine passed into an advanced stage of development. Many old industries previously using primitive methods and tools, were converted into industries equipped with modern machinery and applying modern methods, such as the cotton spinning and weaving industries, and a variety of new industries were established, such as cement, textiles, and matches.²

This was instigated by the economic awakening after the First World War as a result of the difficulties experienced by the agricultural countries in depending upon industrial countries for importing manufactured goods during the war. This created a desire for industrialization and for economic nationalism. This is in addition to the social changes introduced after the war, which hastened the adoption of the Western mode of living and which gave an incentive for establishing modern industries.

In spite of these favourable conditions for the development of industry, our industry is still poor. For in addition to the scarcity

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1. Albert Badr, "Mustakbal al-^{*}Alem al-Arabi al-Iktisadi," Al-Abhath, V. V, (March 31, 1952), p. 142.
 2. Said Himadeh, op.cit., p. 289.

of raw materials, technical and managerial ability as well as technicians and skilled labourers are lacking; and there is neither an adequate supply of financial capital nor sufficient purchasing power. Industrial development as well as the whole economic development in the Arab world needs an inflow of foreign capital and technical assistance.

A dangerous economic fact in the Arab world is the existence of economic barriers between the different Arab states. This political division is a serious factor in destroying the economic unity of the Arab countries. Each individual Arab state has its own currency, tax systems, customs, laws regulating export and import and the transfer of capital and other economic activities. This has resulted in commercial rivalry and competition instead of economic cooperation and almost in the disappearance of regional specialization in production. Such regional specialization would improve quality and diminish economic nationalism and would make the Arab countries more self-sufficient by having the products of one complementing the products of others in one large market instead of several small markets.

The importance of economic unity was realized by the framers of the Covenant of the Arab League. The Arab League declares in Article 2 of its Covenant:

It (the League) shall also provide for close cooperation between the member states ... in the following matters:

(i) Economic and financial affairs, including trade reciprocity, tariffs, currency, agricultural and industrial matters.

(ii) Communications, comprising railways, roads, aviation, navigation, posts and telegraphs.¹

Several proposals and attempts have been made by the Arab League to promote the economic cooperation among the Arab states. In 1953, two agreements to facilitate trade and capital movements among the members of the Arab League were concluded by these states. Among the important proposals were the establishment of a regional investment bank and the achievement of an inter-Arab economic union. Cooperation of economic and financial policies, unification of the taxation systems, of social security and labour legislation, and of transport and foreign trade policies were among the proposals of this union.

On the 26th of January 1956, the Economic Council of the Arab League had approved "the establishment of an inter-Arab Organization for economic development, with a capital of £20,000,000 to be financed jointly by member states in proportion to their contribution to the League's general funds."²

The Arab Chambers of Commerce will meet in Cairo, between November 23 to 30, 1957, in their seventh annual congress.

One of the main questions on schedule at the forthcoming seventh conference of Arab Chambers of Commerce was possibilities for the creation of a common Arab market... Meanwhile, before closing down its 28th session, the Arab League Council recommended the creation of an Arab economic union to face effects the European common market might have on the trade of the Arab states.³

The meagerness of natural resources, the prevailing backward

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1. "The Arab League," The Middle East 1957, 5th ed., (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1957), p. 15.
 2. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, V. X, (London: Keesing's Publications Ltd., January 1956), p. 14658D.
 3. The Arab World, no. 1015, (Beirut, November 18, 1957), p. 3.

land systems, the limited amount of cultivated lands, unemployment, the pressure of population on cultivated lands intensified by a lack of education are the economic factors causing the major social problem in the Arab countries namely, poverty. The average standard of living of the Arab individual is very low compared to that of the individual of the advanced countries. According to Dr. A. Badr¹, the average income of an individual Arab in the year 1952 was estimated to be between three to four hundred Lebanese pounds per year. If this is true, the average income of the individual in this part of the world then was almost less than one fifteenth of the average individual income in the United States of America at that time. This poverty promotes illiteracy and illness which in turn weakens the forces of production that leads to the persistence of poverty. In discussion the economic factors underlying social problems in the Arab Middle East, Sa'id Himadeh said:

If the poverty of the working classes is not treated in an efficient way, it will create a dangerous social situation during the coming twenty to thirty years. The Arab peasant has begun to lose his faith in fate and to realize the causes of the difficulties that confront him. The proof for the degree of his resentment of the conditions which he is in, and his eagerness to be liberated from poverty and serfdom is his recruitment in societies and organizations that promise him that they will bring about a change in the social systems.²

To understand the existing social conditions in the Arab world we have to discuss the influences by which the Arab culture was affected. Our social system has been influenced by the Ottoman and by the Western social systems. From medieval times we inherited an old social system that does not fit the intellectual, political, and economic revival of the last four decades. This system is based on restrictions. "There is

1. Albert Badr, op.cit., p. 137.

2. Sa'id Himadeh, "Al-'Awamel al-Iktisadiyah al-Musabibah lilmashakel al-Ijtima'iah Fi al-Shark al-Awsat," Al-Abhath, V. II, (January 1949), p. 403.

limited social interaction between man and woman, between young and old, between people with high positions and those with low positions, and between rich and poor."¹

This old system was faced by the modern Western social system which emphasizes individual liberty and equality and believes in science and education.

As a result of these two inherited systems there has developed a chaos in our social life. In general, the young people and the new generation want to have everything new and almost refuse to take anything from the past even if it is vital; the old conservative people want to stick to the old and reject everything that is new. The natural trend of this struggle will lead us to make what fits our mentality, culture, principles, and our political and economic life; for there will be no social stability without political and economic stability.

The family and the tribe are important social institutions in Arab society, and blood relation is still a strong tie of unity. Tribes still form separate social units in which the Sheikh assisted by some sort of a council is the only effective social control. Most individuals hold a great allegiance to the family or to the tribe.

Religion is a motivating factor in Arab culture. Most phases of life are affected by it. Customs and traditions are greatly affected by it. There are separate religious courts; and religious laws are extensive-

1. Munif ar-Razaz, Ma'alem al-Hayah al-Arabiah al-Jadidah, (Cairo: Dar Misr Littiba'ah, 1953), p. 226.

Chaos

ly used, so that Saudi Arabia and Yemen have the Quran as their constitution. Sectarianism is an important social problem in the Arab world, especially in Lebanon which has a number of small religious groups none of which is a majority.

With the exception of the more advanced parts and cities of the Arab world such as Beirut, Cairo, and Damascus, the Arab societies still neglect woman and ignore her as one of the important organs of society. Although women were given their political rights in some of the Arab states such as Syria in 1949, Lebanon in 1953, and Egypt in 1956; yet they do not share actually in the political, economic, and social life of the country as does the other half of society. A few Arab women are still veiled and many are illiterate and do not play a constructive part in the building up of Arab Society as they should. Polygamy is still practised but on a diminishing scale, for educated people and people of the upper and middle classes do not practise it any more except in rare exceptional cases. Polygamy is permitted in Islam for the Quran states: "Of other women who look good in your eyes, marry but two or three or four, and if you still fear that you shall not act equitably, then only one." (4: 3).

Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan are culturally more advanced than the other parts of the Arab world. They have higher standards of education and are more civilized. This cultural disparity among the different countries of the Arab world is found more between the urban and the rural areas.

The educational systems found in the Arab world are the American, the French, the British, and the national systems of education. Hence students grow up with different cultures and inclinations. Illiteracy is still high especially in villages. Its percentage in most of the rural areas ranges between 80 to 90 per cent. This problem of education is closely related to the economic and social conditions of the Arab world, for it is not possible for the workers and farmers to send their children to schools, instead of sending them to work, unless they get rid of poverty and secure better favourable economic and social conditions.

This brief description of the important economic and social conditions in the Arab world shows that Arab society is in need for social and economic reforms. The need for reforms was one of the main reasons for the emergence of the Arab socialist parties. However, there was no absolute lack of social reforms before the appearance of the socialist parties. There were other movements and other people who had called for and who had achieved some reforms. These reform movements expressed themselves in religion as well as in politics.

During the Ottoman occupation, there was a great lack of social reform. "The Empire was essentially military in its organization, and its object was frankly the power and well-being of the state, personified by the sovereign, with little thought for the well-being of its subjects."¹ The call for reforms did not come from the outside only, but it was

1. George E. Kirk, A Short History of the Middle East, 3rd. ed., (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1955), p. 58.

originated from within in the classical frame-work of religion. This call was represented by the Wahhabi movement, which found the answer for reforms by going back to the Quran.

The Wahhabi movement, which came into existence in the middle of the eighteenth century, was a revivalist movement started by the teachings of Muhammad Ibn Abdul-Wahhab, who studied theology and preached for reform. He wanted to reform Islam by purifying it and not by changing any of its principles.

He was a reformer not in the sense that he desired a change in the doctrines of Islam or even a new interpretation of its tenets, but in the sense that he felt it his mission to denounce innovations and accretions, and preach a return to Islam's former purity.¹

The European challenge brought a different school of thought, which believes in turning to Europe to learn how to reform our society. This school was started by Muhammad Ali, who introduced Western reforms to Egypt in the first half of the nineteenth century. Among the important elements of his administration in Egypt were "the economic exploitation, the military reorganization, the introduction of European technical experts..."² Khedive Isma'il wanted to Westernize Egypt. "The impact of the West became obvious in the political constitutional field... In 1866, Isma'il Pasha created a consultative elected Assembly of Notables along the lines of Western Parliaments."³ The principles of the French and American Revolutions, which called for equality, fraternity, liberty and self-determination, were imported to the Arabs, who were

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1. George Antonius, *op.cit.*, p. 22.
 2. H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1950), V. I, part 1, p. 231.
 3. Jacob M. Landau, *Parliaments and Parties in Egypt*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1954), p. 1.

influenced by them as well as by the socialist principles which were imported together with the Western thought.

The traditionalist answer to our need for social reform continued through such movements as al-Sanusi movement and the Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Moslem Brotherhood) movement, which was started in Egypt about 1930 by Hasan al-Banna, who called for the purification of Islam and its better observance.

The Sanusiya brotherhood was founded by Sidi Muhammad al-Sanusi (1791-1859), who established his first zawiya in 1837 and his last, in which liberated slaves were settled, in 1855. The zawiya is a building or a group of buildings where there are separate places for prayer, for the recitation of Quran, for pilgrims, students, travellers, and guests of the zawiya.

In between these two schools, there arose the *middle road* school which suggested that we can find the answer to our social reform question in both our legacy and in Westernization. This school had its views rationalized by Shaikh Muhammad Abduh, who led the Arab revival movement in the second half of the nineteenth century, and by contemporary Egyptian authors who have followed his school. If we could classify Arab social reformers to belong to one of these three schools, we can say that the vast majority of the political leaders throughout the Arab world, with the exception of such people as Emile Edde in Lebanon and Hikmat Sulayman in Iraq, belonged to the *middle road* school. Arab socialists, so far, are included in this intermediary school.

In politics, such a call for reforms was made by various people and movements. After demonstrating the ideas and writings of the most important Arab reformists and intellectuals, like Jamal Iddine al-Afghani and Mustafa Kamel, Raif Khoury concludes his book Al-Fikr al-Arabi al-Hadith (Modern Arab Thought), by saying that

our modern nationalism was born in a democratic atmosphere... It asked for ... free education, the raising of the standard of woman... the encouragement of constructive projects for improving agriculture and the peasant's condition, the encouragement of national industry and the improvement of the industrialist's conditions.¹

In addition to the demands of such reformists, political movements bearing the seeds of Arab socialism asked for social reforms. Early in the twentieth century, Shibli Shumayel called for the adoption of socialism. He believed that socialism was a logical consequence for the evolution of materialism. In 1908, Al-Hizb al-Ishtiraki al-Mubarak (The Blessed Socialist Party), which stressed on the improvement of the conditions of peasants, was formed in Egypt under the leadership of Muhammad Jamal. This party did not live long, because it did not deal with the national issues. Around that time, Salameh Mussa started declaring his views which called for a moderate form of democratic socialism. These and several other movements aimed at having social reforms in the Arab society.

So movements which aimed at reform existed before the creation of the present socialist parties. Hence, these socialist parties are linked with movements pushing for social reforms, which constitute the transition from social to socialist reforms.

1. Raif Khoury, Al-Fikr al-Arabi al-Hadith, (Beirut: Dar al-Makshuf, 1943), pp. 288-289.

In spite of the fact that the need for social and economic reforms was more urgent before the formation of these parties; yet these socialist parties were not created then. This was neither due to the unwillingness of the Arabs to adopt socialist reforms, nor to the absence of socialist principles and western thought from the Arab world, it was rather due to the concentration of the Arabs' efforts to achieve liberty and independence.

With the attainment of independence, there was a better chance to concentrate more on achieving the needed reforms, and to have organized parties dedicated for that purpose.

In so far as there is a growing consciousness towards, and a cry for social justice among reformers and writers of young generation, it is likely that Socialists stand a chance of winning additional followers. Parties which combine Socialism with Arab nationalism... are more likely to spread among the more enlightened groups of people in urban and semi-urban areas.¹

Although Arab thought was acquainted with the Western socialist thought, yet the growth of the Arab socialist movement in the first half of the twentieth century was due mainly to the discontent with the existing conditions. This movement started to develop at a time when the nationalist aspirations for independence had priority over any other problem. That is why we see that these Arab socialist parties started to emerge with the independence of some of the Arab states, and that their programs, as we shall see, are more nationalistic than socialistic. As Albert Hourani says:

1. Nicola A. Ziadeh, Syria and Lebanon, (London: Earnest Benn Ltd., 1957), pp. 206-207.

Most of the Arabs who profess Socialist principles are prepared to join forces with the nationalists for the attainment of self-government, either because of patriotic sentiment or else because of self-government is a necessary condition for the social reforms they advocate.

When these parties emerged, their leaders were familiar with some of the socialist principles and might have been affected by one socialist school or another, yet their programs were drawn to respond to the need of Arab society rather than to copy the principles of any particular socialist party or movement.

Having shown the origin of Arab socialism and the conditions under which the Arab socialist parties were created, we come to study these parties and to find out what reforms and remedies their programs offer and to what extent these parties are socialist. The following four chapters contain a study of the socialist parties in the Arab world which are listed according to their chronological order.

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1. A.H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 120.

CHAPTER IV

A. The Socialist Movement in Egypt.

The socialist movement in Egypt has not been significant. Up till 1953, it was represented by the Socialist Democratic Party (al-Hizb al-Ishtiraki al-Demoqrati) which had a little political influence. In addition to the Cooperative and Trade Union movements which were formed early in the twentieth century, the Revolutionary Regime has introduced some reforms, which are not specifically socialist, but which may be considered as having some socialist trends.

Before studying the Socialist Democratic Party, we shall throw some light on the history of the Cooperatives and Trade Unions in Egypt and on some of the important reforms introduced by the Revolutionary Regime.

One of the major objectives of the rebellion of 1919 in Egypt was "The establishment of a constitutional system of government to check the paramount authority of the palace and the influence of big landowners."¹ Egypt was declared an independent sovereign state in 1922. The following year its constitution was promulgated. It stated that property was inviolate, a reflection of the power and control of the landowners. At that time, the wealth of the Egyptian bourgeoisie was growing steadily together with their economic and political power. This class began to

1. Rashid el-Barawy, The Military Coup In Egypt, (Cairo: the Renaissance Bookshop, 1952), p. 52.

become monopolistic as was shown by the textile, cement, and sugar industries.

Since the revolt of 1919 until the army coup d'état of 1952, the Wafd Party dominated the political scene in Egypt.

The struggle for independence, which distinguished the Wafd from other parties, and the prestige derived from Zaghlul's memory, as well as an efficient party organization and its somewhat greater solicitude for the interest of the petty bourgeoisie and the welfare of the masses, assured its supremacy.... The Wafd included members of all classes of society among its followers. Its leaders consisted mainly of landowners and members of the petty bourgeoisie who had worked their way up through the law or politics, while some important financiers were among its backers.¹

Although it supported primarily the opportunist element of the middle class, as its cotton policy showed in 1951; yet, the party worked for the interests of the working classes and the petty bourgeoisie and introduced measures that benefited them. It reduced the land tax and produced the trade union law in 1942. It made the laws on workers compensation of 1950, and at the same year it abolished secondary school fees. But the people still complained of the taxation system, the low wages of agricultural labourers, and the low standard of living of peasants.

The bad economic and social conditions were one of the main causes of the army coup d'état of the 23rd of July 1952. Big landowners, who composed a very small percentage of the population, monopolized all power and wealth in the country, while the majority of people were living a miserable life. To reform these conditions and to restore for the

1. Charles Issawi, Egypt At Mid-Century, (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 261.

Egyptian people its dignity, the present revolutionary regime in Egypt has aimed at achieving social justice by relieving the lower classes of the tyranny of landlords and capitalists. It has limited agricultural property, reduced house rent, campaigned against high cost of living, and reformed the system of taxation.

The New Regime in Egypt has introduced important social reforms and practices. After the coup d'etat, civil titles were abolished; taxation system was reformed by raising the tax on commercial and industrial profits, and increasing the progressive income tax; and the agrarian reform law which was the most important of these reforms was introduced. The first article of this law reads as follows: "No person shall possess more than 200 acres of agricultural land. Any contract involving contravention of this provision shall be considered invalid and cannot be passed for land registration."¹ Exempted from this provision are Companies and Societies possessing lands under improvement, and upon which this law will be applied after twenty-five years from the date of possession; industrial Companies existing before the promulgation of this Law and using the agricultural land for industrial exploitation; and wakf land.

Requisition of lands exceeding 200 acres will take place within a period of five years, during which not less than one fifth of the extra land will be requisitioned each year. During this period, the proprietor has the right to retain existing crops until the end of the agricultural year, and he is entitled to compensation equivalent to ten times of the rental value of the requisitioned land plus the value of trees, machine

L. Rashid El-Barawy, op.cit., p. 228.

installations or any constructions. This compensation is paid in government Bonds within thirty years at an interest of 3%. A supplementary tax is imposed on lands in excess of 200 acres which is five times the original tax.

Requisitioned lands are distributed among small peasants each receiving two to five acres of land depending upon the quality of the land. This applies to peasants who do not own more than five acres of agricultural land and who had not been convicted of serious or dishonourable crimes. Priority is given to those who can cultivate the land and who have large families. On July 3, 1955,

the Premier distributed the title deeds of over 26,000 acres of confiscated land among small farmers in Naja Hamady and surrounding areas. Over 5,000 families totalling over 32,000 persons benefit from the newly-acquired land which formerly belonged to ex-King Farouk, ex-Prince Youssef Kamal, and Sayed Ahmed Abboud, one of Egypt's leading industrialists and landowners.¹

Rural reform societies, collective centres for rural services, and programs for cooperative health insurance in rural areas were established for reforming rural areas.

The co-operative movement in Egypt goes back to 1908 when Omar Lutfi Bey began to urge the formation of Co-operative Societies (known then as Agricultural Unions); after studying the movement in Italy he was convinced that it was the best means of raising the economic and social level of the people.

As soon as he met with a favourable response he began forming co-operative societies for different purposes, firstly the co-operative Financing Company in Cairo, followed by Co-operative Agricultural Societies.²

Most of these co-operative societies were dissolved because of lack of government support and supervision, lack of financial support, and

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1. "Nasser's Plans for a Parliamentary Life," Mideast Mirror, V. 7 - No. 7, (July 9, 1955), p. 2.
 2. Egypt, Government Publication, Social Welfare in Egypt, (Cairo, 1950), p. 37.

lack of experience of this kind in Egypt.

In 1923 the Government began to support the cooperative movement after realizing the sufferings of the people caused by the high cost of living as a result of the war. This Cooperative movement has been much encouraged under the present regime, and various cooperative societies were formed. Cooperatives and voluntarily societies were formed for improving labour conditions, for agricultural reform, for medical treatment in the countryside, for house building, for sale of crops, for the extraction and distribution of oil, and for industrial purposes.

As a result of the high cost of living caused by the First World War the labour movement was stimulated. But when conditions improved, it remained silent until 1930. In the next six years labour unions increased in number and became closer together; but they were weakened because of internal dissension caused by politics. After 1936, they started to organize themselves anew independently of political parties.

In 1942 the Egyptian Government of Nahas Pasha enacted a law on trade unions. This law was the first legal instrument laid down by Egypt enabling workers to bargain collectively with their employers. Previous to the passage of this law trade unions had in fact existed, and in the early 1930's a federation of trade unions had flourished. However, following a number of strikes, some of which were interpreted as being of political motivation, this federation was abolished and until the Trade Union Act was passed in 1942, organized labor activity was limited and to some extent underground.¹

The individual Labor Contract Law of 1944 contained provisions for annual leave, sick leave, dismissal indemnities and for similar security. In December 1947 the number of trade unions was 441 with a membership of

1. William J. Handley, "The Labor Movement in Egypt," The Middle East Journal, V. III, (Washington D.C., 1949), p. 279.

91,604, i.e., only about 1% of the adult population.

Although unions were legalized in 1942, government employees, hospital and agricultural workers were not allowed to form or join unions.

In December 1952, under the Naguib regime, agricultural and hospital workers were allowed to form unions; the same law provided that wherever 60 per cent of the workers of any given factory were listed as members of a Union that body should be deemed to represent all the workers of that factory.¹

The new labor legislation which aimed at achieving a higher standard of living for the working class gives more guarantees for trade-unions. It encourages their activities so that their number has jumped to 950 unions, provides more security for labourers, raises the standard of health and technical efficiency for workmen, improves labour conditions and methods of operation, and combats unemployment.

More social security measures have been introduced under the new regime.

When the law organizing the social Security Scheme was issued in 1950 its immediate aim was to cover the needs of destitute families caused by the death of the bread-winner, the relief of the disabled and incapacitated, the application of medical and psychiatric treatment to such people and the promotion of vocational training which would fit them to occupations best suited to their condition.²

But the scheme was not accomplished because of the failure to provide for its financing. The New Regime adopted this Social Security Scheme and emphasized vocational rehabilitation and the granting of pensions and financial relief to poor families.

1. Charles Issawi, op.cit., p. 174.

2. Egypt, Government Publication, Social Development Under the New Regime, (n.d.) p. 37.

On September 29, 1952, the Cabinet approved a bill for setting up a Permanent Council for the development of national production. This council came into being in January 1953. On April 6, 1954 the Permanent Council for Public Services took resolutions for social developments in all directions in order to raise the standard of living.

A credit of L.E. 14,582,000 was earmarked for the initial cost of carrying out these resolutions. This large sum was taken from confiscated money, which has thus reverted to the people in the form of enormous social reform schemes.¹

Some of those social schemes are the provision of drinkable water supplies in rural areas; the establishment of schools and guidance centres for social and agricultural education; the arrangement of a public health program for combating tuberculosis and for the treatment of cancer; the establishment of hospitals and medical centers; and the building of healthy houses for workmen located near factory zones at low and reasonable rents.

On July 26, 1956, President Gamal Abdul Nasser passed a law nationalizing the Suez canal company. The first article of the text of this law reads as follows:

"The Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez shall be nationalized to the State with all its assets and commitments."²

However, it is important to mention in this connection that this nationalization was not executed in fulfillment to a planned policy of nationalization, but it was mainly a political move and a reaction to

1. Ibid., p. 6.

2. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, V. X, (London: Keesing's Publications Ltd., July 1956), p. 15001A.

the withdrawal of the United States and the British offers to aid in financing the Aswan Dam on July 19 and July 20, 1956 respectively.

We have briefly demonstrated the efforts made by the Revolutionary Regime in Egypt to introduce social and economic reforms. These reforms were emphasized and supported by the New Egyptian Constitution of the 16th of January 1956. The followings are some articles of the Constitution that illustrate this fact:

Art. 12 - "The law sets a maximum amount for agricultural ownership which prevents the existence of feudalism."

Art. 16 - "The state encourages cooperation and takes care of all the different forms of cooperative organizations. Special rules related to cooperative societies are set up by law."

Art. 21 - "Egyptians have the right of support and assistance in case of old-age, sickness, and disability to work."

Art. 31 - "All Egyptians are equal before the law and in their general rights and duties with no distinction of race, origin, language, religion, or belief."

Art. 51 - "Education, in its first stage, is obligatory and free in the schools of the state."

Art. 54 - "The law regulating the relationships between employers and employees is organized on economic bases, taking into consideration the rules of social justice."

Art. 56 - "Medical care is a right for all Egyptians provided by the state through establishing different kinds of hospitals and health institutions and widening them progressively."

This reformist policy, adopted by the existing regime, is favoured by the vast majority of Egyptians; but, naturally, it is opposed by big landowners, former politicians, and persons who were exploiting the people and controlling power and wealth in the country.

After the coup d'etat of 1952, the prevailing thought was that the Government of the Revolution was on its way for establishing a socialist regime in Egypt. The introduction of the agrarian reform law, the abolition of civil titles, the setting of minimum wages for agricultural workers, and the achievement of similar reforms we have mentioned, together with the declarations and speeches made by the leaders of the Revolution, reflected that impression. On the 6th of July 1955, Gamal Abdul Nasser declared that "the revolution took place ... to get rid of feudalism, of exploitation, and of the rule of capitalism. It came to establish social justice and to lessen differences among classes."¹ In a speech delivered by one of the Moslem Brothers in Cairo on the occasion of celebrating the 3rd memory of the Revolution, the speaker said: "This blessed revolution has called for socialism... and has transferred us ... from the rule of monarchy and private ownership, feudalism, and corrupt reactionarism to a free political life and a just social one."²

But the Egyptian Government did not go any further towards socialism. So far, it has not adopted a socialist system in Egypt as it was expected. This may be due to the difficulty of establishing a socialist regime in such a short period of time, or to the willingness

1. Al-Ahram, No. 25057, (Cairo, July 6, 1955), p. 8.

2. Ibid., No. 25076, (Cairo, July 25, 1955), p. 11.

of applying only socialist measures which fit the Egyptian society.

Clarifying the economic and social policy of his government and its inclination towards socialism, President Abdul Nasser addressed five thousand members of Egyptian Cooperative Societies, who met in Cairo on the 6th of December 1957, saying that the purpose of the social revolution in Egypt is to establish a cooperative socialist and democratic society aiming at expanding social security for the welfare of the people. He declared that his government does not aim at abolishing private property, in so far as the latter contributes to the general welfare. "We do not aim at abolishing agricultural property, because our purpose is not to transfer landowners to employees cultivating the land, but to transfer the latter to the former."¹

He said that his government believes in the freedom of the individual and in his right to work and to own property; and at the same time, it believes that public ownership of a part of the wealth of the country is a necessity for building the democratic socialist society it is after.

We aim at building a socialist, democratic, cooperative society free from political, economic, and social exploitation We want to organize our economy according to a plan embodying the principles of social justice and designed for the welfare of the people and not for the welfare of a few individuals. We wish to coordinate between the public social activity performed by the state and the private economic activity performed by individuals. We want to use public wealth for serving national economy and not to employ it for individual benefits. We plan to encourage cooperation and make it replace separatism. We want to secure social security and to help in case of sickness and old age.²

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1. Gamal Abdul Nasser, Al-Akhbar, No. 1690, (Cairo: December 6, 1957), p. 1.
 2. Ibid., p. 6.

In order to achieve this socialist democratic and cooperative society, President Abdul Nasser said that the national income should be increased, the Egyptians should work in all fields and should use all their economic potentialities, they should use their national wealth for economic development and must exploit all their cultivable land to increase its products. As to the encouragement of economic cooperation, producers as well as consumers cooperatives should be established. Concerning the way which leads to such a society, he declared that they do not copy the same principles and methods adopted in other countries and apply them as they are, but they adopt principles and means which fit their own conditions and environment.

This policy demonstrates the fact that the present regime in Egypt, though it does not aim at establishing a complete socialistic society, advocates some measures with socialist tendencies, which is the characteristic of present Arab socialism.

B. The Socialist Democratic
Party

The Socialist movement in Egypt goes back to the year 1920. It started when a group of University students began to collect money for the industrialization of the country by establishing industries which would be owned by the people. These efforts were regularized by forming a political party known as Misr al-Fatat or Young Egypt in 1933 under the leadership of Ahmad Hussein. This party aimed at saving Egypt from foreign influences and getting rid of feudalism.

The fellah should be the object of special care, as he is the *crown of Egypt* and the mainstay of the economic life of the country. He should be educated in order to overcome his illiteracy and ignorance; his standard of life should be improved.¹

Its several thousand members were mainly students and young men; and it was not a party that managed to win popularity.

In 1940 the party changed its name to al-Hizb al-Watani al-Islami, or Nationalist Islamic Party; and in 1946 its name was changed to al-Hizb al-Ishtiraki al-Demoqrati, or Socialist Democratic Party. In the elections of 1950 the party won a seat in Parliament. Ibrahim Shukri, the Vice-President of the Party and its only deputy, began attacking the Farouk regime which resulted in his being deprived of his immunities and placed on trial. Thus, the voice of the party was silenced in Parliament; and all that was left to it was its paper called al-Ishtirakiah or

1. J. Heyworth - Dunne, Religious and Political Trends in Modern Egypt, (Washington: author, 1950), p. 103.

Socialism, which continued its attacks on the past regime and which was censored several times.

Ahmad Hussein, the President of the party, was accused of being a fascist during the Second World War, when he was arrested and put in a concentration camp for a period of three years due to this charge. In a pamphlet written by him in March 1947, while he was in New York City, he defended himself against this charge by saying that he had attacked Fascism and Nazism on several occasions. In 1934, the Italian Government protested to the Egyptian Government when Ahmad Hussein wrote "fascism is like an empty drum, full of air but makes a lot of noise..., it was knit to Mussolini as long as he was alive, but it will die as soon as he dies."¹ In June 1939, he sent an open letter to Hitler warning him "that his fate will utter annihilation for himself and for Germany ... if he did not give up his insane ambition to dominate the whole world."²

On January 26, 1952, the famous burning of foreign property in Cairo took place. A number of citizens, among whom was Ahmad Hussein, the President of the Party, and other party members, were accused of causing this incident. Although their guilt was not proved, yet Ahmad Hussein was accused of inciting the fire incident by his articles written in al-Ishtirakiah. But he was released from prison, together with other people, after the military revolution of July 1952.

The program of the party, which is translated in Appendix A, is not a socialist program. Even its economic section, which follows, can

1. Ahmad Hussein, Egypt's War Effort, (New York, March 1947), p. 25.
2. Ibid., p. 26.

hardly be called socialist.

Economic Democracy

Economic democracy, which the party seeks to achieve, replaces the feudal and the capitalist systems by the socialist system that makes the interest of the community prior to and above individual interests, and prepares for all individuals equal opportunities and a fair share of production according to the individual's efforts and his family circumstances. This can be achieved by securing the following basic rights:

1. The right of elementary and secondary education for all and the provision of higher education for those interested.
2. The right of work for all, and the provision of employment.
3. The right of rest and recreation after work.
4. The right of free medical treatment.
5. The right of economic and social security for all citizens unable to work because of old-age, disability, and unemployment.
6. The right to secure happy life for children.
7. The right to live in a modern healthy home.

The above mentioned rights are to be granted for all citizens with no exception whatsoever. These rights can be realized when production is organized according to a studied plan, whereby all citizens participate each according to his ability. The purpose of this economic planning is to fulfill the needs of the citizens according to capability and need. This could be accomplished under a free and effective democratic regime where the majority of the people decides the principal means of production that should be owned by the group. Private property should be allowed in important economic fields, such as land ownership; private ownership is an essential basis for agriculture provided that it does not exceed fifty dunoms and that the owner works it himself. Small-scale crafts should be left free from state control, which should see only that their responsible authority is going in the right direction.

Labour unions and other cooperative institutions for producers and consumers are an essential element for achieving democracy.¹

The Socialist Democratic Party was dissolved on January 16, 1953 when the Government of the Revolution dissolved all political parties in Egypt and declared that there would be a transitional period of three

1. See appendix A for a complete text of the program of the party.

years after which democratic life would be restored. Its head Ahmad Hussein, who is in Damascus at the time of writing, is still working for the party outside Egypt.

This party was a minor party in Egypt, and it did not play an important political role. Its political power was limited; hence, its influence on the Egyptian people was insignificant. Besides, the party, as its program shows, cannot be considered a socialist party. For, in addition to its belief in democracy and in Arab unity, it advocates social reform and not socialism. Therefore, this party did not contribute much to Arab socialism in general and to the socialist movements in Egypt in particular.

CHAPTER V

The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party

The formation of the People (Ahali) Group in Iraq in 1931, under the leadership of Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim and Muhammad Hadid who were socialists in belief, and the emergence of the Young Egypt (Misr al-Fatat) Party in Egypt in 1933 under the leadership of Ahmad Hussein, helped to influence the formation of Arab socialist parties as distinct from communist parties. Their aims and principles, which were spread through political and intellectual circles in the Arab world, instigated the growth of the socialist movement in the other Arab states. The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party, which was probably affected by these earlier socialist parties, was the first Arab socialist party whose program included the Arab world as a whole rather than a part of it. Unlike the other Arab socialist parties, it aimed at applying its socialist principles in all the Arab world united in one state and not only in Syria, the place of its birth.

The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party (Hizb al-Ba'ath al-Arabi al-Ishtiraki) was formed in Syria in November 1952, when the Arab Resurrection (al-Ba'ath al-Arabi) Party, led by Michel Aflek and Salah el-Bitar, combined with the Arab Socialist (al-Arabi al-Ishtiraki) Party, led by Akram al-Hourani. The constitution of the existing party is identical with that of the Arab Resurrection Party, that was formed

secretly in 1940 and proclaimed publicly in 1943. This party was formed by Michel Aflak and Salah el-Bitar who are educated men coming from the middle class.

Michel Aflak was born in Damascus in 1910. He got his Licence in Arts from the Sorbonne University in 1933 and came back to Syria where he taught in secondary schools for nine years, that is until 1942 when he, together with Salah el-Bitar, left the teaching profession. He was arrested by the French in 1939, by the Syrian government under the Quwatli regime in 1948, and by Husni az-Za'im in 1949, when the latter arrested all the leaders of the party and a great number of its members. He is not avid for popularity. He has failed three times to secure elections to the Syrian Parliament, in 1943, 1947 and 1949; and since that time he has not run for elections to Parliament. He was Minister of Education from the 15th of August 1949 till early in October of the same year. He is the brain of the party and its philosopher. He has read much and has secured a broad knowledge in various fields especially the political, economic, and social fields. His reputation as an intellectual stands high in the Arab world. He has contributed to Arab liberal thought especially through his speeches, lectures, and party publications. He places great stress on nationalism and considers socialism an important factor for bringing about Arab Unity.

Salah el-Bitar is about the same age as Michel Aflak and was also born in Damascus. He was at the Sorbonne University, together with Michel, and received his Licence in Sciences in 1934. He also worked as a secondary school teacher and left this profession in 1942. He is well

educated and a popular leader who began his political career, with Michel Aflak, since the time he was a teacher. He failed in the elections of 1947 and that of 1949, but in the last elections of 1954 was elected as a deputy for Damascus. He was arrested twice by the Syrian Government, in 1945 under Quwatli's regime and in 1949 under Husni az-Za'im's regime. He has been the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Syria since June 15, 1956; and he was the head of the Syrian delegation to the United Nations in 1957.

The revolt of Rashid Ali in Iraq in 1941 led these two men to form and organize their movement for supporting the "Liberation" movement in Iraq, and the Lebanese conflict with the French in 1943 brought their movement into the open by issuing publications calling for a common Arab front, leaving local politics aside. The conflict with the French in Damascus in 1945 was the occasion for the party to emerge with a popular appeal; for it participated with other organizations in leading the students and the people in demonstrations against the idea of treaty-making with France. It led the movement against the system of indirect elections that was used in Syria until 1947, when the government adopted the system of direct elections. After the evacuation of the French troops from Syria, the party opened an office in Damascus and began to publish its paper "Al-Ba'ath (resurrection) in July 1946. It held its first convention in April 1947 in Damascus and decided upon the program and the form of the party.

The party opposed the Syrian government Decree No. 50 which limited liberties, opposed the amendment of the Syrian Constitution to

legalize the re-election of the President of the Republic (which resulted in the arrest of Salah el-Bitar in 1945), and worked for the principle of direct elections. The party played an important part in preparing the people to accept the army coup d'etat of Housni az-Za'im on March 30, 1949, which it opposed later. Its means were demonstrations, publications, and propaganda. At that time the party was increasing its influence over the people and was gaining supporters among students, educated circles, and the Syrian army. The paper of the party Al-Ba'ath, has been suppressed on many occasions because of its attacks on the people in power. In 1949 three party candidates were returned as deputies in the Syrian Parliament.

As far as foreign policy was concerned, Michel Aflak wrote in al-Ba'ath on January 21, 1948:

If the Arabs today were in a situation which was free from imperialism, occupation, and division; and if they wished to determine freely that attitude towards the world conflict which was nearest to their ideals and national interests, it might be that this attitude would be more inclined towards the side of the democratic nations rather than the side of the totalitarian states because they know that freedom is the essence of their lives, and it was the strong basis for their past awakening, as it will be in the future. But the position of the Arab countries and the attitude of the Western bloc towards Palestine prevent the Arabs from being on the side of the Western bloc...;

and so he called upon the Arabs to adopt a neutral policy.

The party considered the question of Palestine the most dangerous problem in the national life of the Arabs, and it believed that the liberation of Palestine would not come through governments but through popular efforts. It believed that the governing group in Syria, represented mainly by the National (Watani) Party, was partly responsible for

the loss of Palestine; for its main concern, ignoring the will of the people, was to concentrate all authority in the hands of a few individuals representing the interests of the feudal families, instead of caring for the Arab national question in general and for the Palestinian question in particular.

In 1950 Akram al-Hourani formed the Arab Socialist (al-Arabi al-Ishtiraki) Party whose aim was

to revive the Arab nation and make it follow its real ideals, and to unite the Arabs and provide them with full sovereignty through neutrality between the two world camps. This party was spread first in Hamah, the electoral district of Akram al-Hourani then in some of the villages in the districts of Homs, Ma^rarra, and Aleppo. The influence and power of the party were derived mainly from the political character of al-Hourani who called upon the peasants to fight against feudalism and for the defence of the republican system.¹

Akram al-Hourani was on good terms with Colonel Adib Shishakli with whom he quarrelled after Shishakli had seized power in the coup d^eetat of December 1951. During the underground struggle opposing Shishakli's dictatorship he combined his party with the Arab Resurrection Party under the name of The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party which adopted the principles of the Arab Resurrection Party completely without the slightest change.

Akram al-Hourani is somewhat younger than his two other companions. He was born in Hamah of a bourgeois family. He got his Licence in Law from the Syrian University in Damascus. He has been a deputy in the Syrian Parliament since 1943. He was Minister of Agriculture in 1949,

1. Muhammad Harb Farzat, Al-Hayat al-Hizbyah Fi Souria, (Damascus: Dar ar-Rawad, 1955), p. 260.

and Minister of Defence in 1950. He and Ra'if al-Mulki secured election on the same program in the elections of 1943, for they both represented the liberal and progressive movement in Hamah and won popularity on this basis. But in time the liberal movement in Hamah became represented by Akram only, because he showed better political understanding. In 1943 he began leading a group of young men in Hamah in a progressive and nationalist way until 1950 when he formed the Arab Socialist Party. In 1951 he set an example for liberating the peasants in Syria by such means as the distribution of lands and the raising of their standard of living which was successful especially in Hamah. He scored a very striking victory in the elections of 1954 in Hamah, when all the members of his list were elected and all the other candidates, drawn from the big feudal families, failed. He was opposed by the Azem, Barazi and other feudal families, by the supporters of the Arab Liberation movement of Adib Shishakli, and by the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (P.P.S.); yet he was able to defeat them all. He is the politician of the party and the leader of its deputies in Parliament. On October 15, 1957, he was elected as the Speaker of the Syrian Parliament.

Standing so strongly against dictatorships, the party fought the Shishakli regime by all possible means. It distributed publications, led demonstrations, and threw explosives. As a result many of its members, especially teachers and students, were put in prison; and its leaders, Michel Aflak, Akram al-Hourani, and Salah el-Bitar, fled to Lebanon where they spent six months as guests of the Progressive Socialist Party. Having been asked by the Lebanese Government to leave Lebanon at the

request of Shishakli, they went to Italy and stayed there for four months. They returned to Syria after Shishakli's proclamation of the Constitution of the Presidential system in July 1953. They were again arrested and detained a month with other political leaders; but they had already instigated the armed revolt in the Suwaida Muhafaza which caused the downfall of Shishakli on February 25, 1954. In this, the party played a very important role through its strong influence in army circles. The party representatives signed the Homs Pact of September 1953, together with the People's (Sha'ab) Party and the National (Watani) Party, out of which a National Front was formed to represent the wish of the people to live a free and honourable life.

The party members did not share in the government that was formed after the Shishakli regime but asked for the formation of a neutral government to hold the election of 1954 in which the party gained sixteen seats held by party members and about ten additional supporters. The power of the party has been increasing since the downfall of the Shishakli regime. It has been sharing the responsibility of governing in Syria since June 15, 1956, when the Government of National Union was formed under the premiership of Sabri al-Assali. The party has been represented by Salah el-Bitar and Khalil Kallass who have been the ministers of Foreign Affairs and of National Economy respectively. When Sabri al-Assali formed the present cabinet on December 31, 1956, these two party members were retained with the same positions. The election of Akram al-Hourani, by the members of Parliament, as the Speaker of the House on the fifteenth of October 1957 and the appointment of Salah el-Bitar as

the head of the Syrian delegation to the United Nations for 1957 have increased the power of the party and its prestige. Although the party has been cooperating lately with the Syrian Communist Party and has been strongly supporting and pushing the policy of neutrality and of dealing with the Soviets for achieving Arab nationalist aspirations, yet it attacks communism and believes that it is a destructive ideology as we will see later on in this chapter.

While (as has been indicated) the party's main strength lies in Syria, it also has smaller organized branches in Jordan, Iraq, and Lebanon (in descending order of importance). The total number of the registered members of the party does not exceed fifteen thousand, but it has a larger number of supporters: not every candidate is accepted to party membership immediately, but there is a certain probationary period. The party is influential among the working classes and the peasants, and especially influential in the army and students circles.

The Ba^{*}ath party is a national popular socialist movement that struggles for Arab Unity and Socialist Liberalism. This party was called ^{*}The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party^{*} for it aims at reviving this glorious nation which, in its present conditions, is almost dead.

We believe that when this Resurrection is achieved, it would have accomplished for our nation three outstanding things: Freedom, Unity, and Socialism. When our nation is revived it will offer to the world a useful message considered as a continuation to its mission which appears in various distinct phases in the stages of history. Thus, this resurrection of our nation is not only a national service but also a sharing in the service of the world and of all humanity.

1. A Party Publication, Shareh Destour Hizb al-Ba^{*}ath al-Arabi al-Ishtiraki, (n.d.), p. 5.

The prevailing tone of the party's constitution, which is set out in detail in appendix B, is nationalist rather than specifically socialist, but its socialist character may be shown in the following articles from the Constitution of the party:

4. The party is socialist. It believes that socialism is a necessity arising from the foundations of Arab nationalism; because it is the best system that allows the Arab people to exploit their potentialities and to express most fully their creative power. It secures for the nation a continuous growth in its moral and material production and a brotherly cooperation among its individuals.

In addition to getting rid of the defects of feudalism and capitalism, the socialist system aims at increasing production, and at achieving a fair and just distribution of production among the producers. It makes it easier for the individual and for the nation to fulfill best their mission in an atmosphere of freedom and economic security by founding positive factors for a materialistic human life built on the common good.

The Economic Policy of the Party

26. The party is socialist. It believes that the economic wealth in the country must be owned by the nation.

27. The distribution of wealth in the Arab country is unfair; that is why a new and fairer distribution should be made among the citizens.

28. All citizens have an equal human value, so the party forbids the exploitation of the labour of others.

29. Institutions of public utility, natural resources, large means of production, and transportation means and facilities should be owned by the nation and managed directly by the state. Foreign companies and patents should be cancelled.

30. Land ownership must be limited according to the ability of the owner to work and exploit his land without exploiting the work of others. This is done under the supervision of the state and in conformity with its general economic program.

31. Small industrial ownerships should be limited in conformity with the economic standard enjoyed by the other citizens of the state.

32. Workers must share in the management of an industrial enterprise; and they are granted, in addition to their wage that is fixed by the state, a fair share of the profits as determined by the state.

33. Ownership of real property is open to all citizens on condition that they do not use it for rent or for its exploitation on the account of others, and that the state puts a maximum limit upon real property ownership for all citizens.

34. Ownership and inheritance are two natural and sacred rights within the limits of the national interest.

35. Usury should be abolished, and an exchange government institution should be established to issue money, which is backed by the national production, to feed the necessary agricultural and industrial projects.

36. The state should take care directly of local and foreign trade to prevent exploitation between producer and consumer, to protect them both, and to protect national production from competition by foreign production and secure an equilibrium between exports and imports.

37. An inclusive program should be drawn up in the light of the latest economic experiences and theories to industrialize the Arab country, develop national production, open new possibilities and direct its industrial economy in every state according to its potentialities and its material wealth.¹

This program is built on the following bases that are the primary bases for the socialist system in its contradiction to the existing feudal and capitalist systems:

- a. Considering that the sources of wealth should be owned by the nation.
- b. Forbidding the exploitation of the effort of others.
- c. Forbidding projects that allow exploitation such as large-scale industries and feudal ownership.
- d. The necessity for the state to interfere to direct and increase production and to organize its fair distribution among the citizens.
- e. The state guarantees to secure the needs of the society and to bring happiness for all by finding work for all, getting rid of employment₂ and providing old-age pensions and security for the disabled.²

39. Health of Society.

The state establishes, on its account, preventive medical institutions, sanatoria and hospitals for free medical treatment enough for the need of all citizens.

1. See Appendix B for a complete text of the Constitution of the party.
2. A Party Publication, Shareh Destour Hizb al-Ba'ath al-Arabi al-Ishtiraki, (n.d.), pp. 38-39.

40. Work.

- a. Work is obligatory for everyone who is able to work. The state has to find mental or physical work for every citizen.
- b. The worker's income should be enough for an average standard of living.
- c. The state ensures the livelihood of all those who are unable to work.
- d. A fair law for workers should be enacted stating the daily hours of work, granting them weekly and yearly holidays with pay, protecting their rights, and ensuring social security, old age-pensions, and full or partial compensation for accidents during the work.
- e. To form free guilds for workers and peasants and to encourage them to become a useful instrument to defend their rights, raise their standard, secure their potentialities, create a cooperative spirit among them, and represent them in the high courts of labour.
- f. To form special courts for labour in which the state, the guilds, the workers, and the peasants are represented. These courts are to settle disputes between the workers and the employers and the representatives of the state.

42. Abolition of class distinctions and differences. Class differences are the result of a bad social condition. Therefore, the party struggles on the side of the working and the suffering classes in society to get rid of these differences and distinctions, and to give to the citizens their complete human value and enable them to live within a fair social system without any privileges for some citizens, except for those with intellectual ability or useful skills.

43. Nomadism is a primitive social stage which weakens national production and makes a great part of the nation a paralyzed organ and a factor to hinder its growth and advancement.

The party struggles to urbanize nomads, to give them lands, to cancel tribal laws, and to apply the laws of the state to them...

46. Education, in all its stages, is free of charge for all citizens and is obligatory in its elementary and secondary stages.¹

The party aims at basic reforms by changing the whole structure of Arab society, and not at keeping things as they are and trying to reform

1. See appendix B for a complete text of the constitution of the party.

them through some changes. It is revolutionary in its means and not evolutionary. Only a widespread revolution in all fields can remedy the many illnesses of the Arab society.

This revolutionary outlook is shown in the political field where the people should revolt against the ruling classes in the various Arab countries whose rulers represent exploiting classes, that do not understand the real needs of the people. The people should rule themselves and be free in making their own decisions. It is also shown in

the economic field by achieving a socialist system which works for the interests of the whole people and destroys all obstacles that stand in the face of the awakening and the flourishing of the potentialities of the people.¹

As to its objectives in foreign policy, the party calls for neutrality between the Western and the Eastern camps, for the liberation of the Arab states from imperialism, and for their unification; in its internal policy, it asks for legislation that protects the rights of the worker and the peasant, and for the raising of the standard of living of the people. The party calls for a popular struggle whose leaders come from the people, refusing the leadership of the feudal class which still holds power, because this class is unable to give a true leadership for achieving the desired Arab goals. For this class is distinguished by three characteristics, that contradict with the Arab interest and its revolutionary outlook.

It is distinguished, first, in its authoritarian mentality. It tries to use power to guard its existence and interests, that is why it resists any movement which may enable the people to seize power. It is distinguished, secondly, in having an exploitive

1. Al-Ahzab as-Syasiah Fi Souria, (Damascus: Dar ar-Rawad, 1954), p. 235.

interest and bad financial inclinations; this class confronts the people with all that delays its economic and social liberation, and its revolution. It is, thirdly, characterized by preferring a policy of cooperation and acquiescence with imperialism.¹

The party's policy is best explained in general by the following statement given in one of its publications: "Our policy is: Arab nationalist in its thinking, revolutionary in its means, ideal and free in its spirit."²

The Ba'ath party, when established in 1940, was the second socialist party in the Arab world, and the first to aim at introducing socialism to all the Arab nation rather than to one Arab state only. Its understanding of freedom and of its basic effect in awakening the Arab nation was deep, mature, and clear. The difference between the Ba'ath and the other democratic and socialist parties in the Arab world is clear. The freedom sought by an Egyptian or a Lebanese party, and the socialism for which an Iraqi or a Syrian party works are different from the freedom and the socialism needed by the Arab nation as a whole.

The freedom sought by every separate Arab state cannot be as deep, inclusive, and positive in its meaning as the freedom that the Arab nation aims at ..., and the socialism, that limits and loses its effect - within the boundaries of every state - so that it limits itself to partial reforms, finds its theoretical and practical extent when its field is the Arab world as an economic unity and a popular and struggling unity.³

Regional and local parties in the different Arab states are not a stage towards unity but a new trend that weakens it.

On being asked by the writer about the difference between their party and the Progressive Socialist Party in Lebanon, Michel Aflak replied:

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1. Ibid., pp. 235-236.
 2. A Party Publication, Ahamiatt at-Tanzim al-Hizbi, (n.d.), p. 16.
 3. Michel Aflak, A Party Publication, al-Wihdah al-Arabiah wa as-Sifa al-Mumayzah li al-Ba'ath al-Arabi, (Damascus, 1953), p. 2.

The difference is clearly shown by the names of the two parties. The word "Resurrection" implies the changing of all conditions. We want to change almost everything in the Arab society and build a completely new society, while the word "Progress" implies the improvement of the existing conditions and the addition of new things upon them for reforming society. Since we believe in a "resurrection" and they are "progressive", then we are revolutionary in our means and they are evolutionary.

They favour an Arab unity and may work for it; but we emphasize more the national point of view and the importance of working to establish an Arab state. For we believe that socialism cannot be achieved without unity, because it is not likely to be fully realized in the separate Arab member states.¹

Answering the question whether socialism should be applied before unity or after it, Michel Aflak said:

It is not possible to apply the socialist principles completely in a country like Syria or Lebanon; because it is a small country with limited potentialities. Our socialism will be realized only in one united Arab state; that is, when the Arab people is liberated from foreign imperialism, the feudal system, and the existing political divisions. But this does not preclude some states from partially applying socialism before the others.²

As to the differences between their socialism and the Marxian socialism Mr. Aflak summarizes it in the following points:

I. Theoretical differences:

- a. Marxian socialism is not limited to economic organization, but it aims at revolution. As long as the world revolution is not achieved the economic system in the communist countries is subjected to limitations, objectives, and directions in conformity to the policy of the communist movement that is preparing for war and competing with other nations. That is why Tito was excluded from the Russian Communist movement; because he did not want to make Yugoslavia an instrument for realizing the communist end which is world revolution and did not subordinate the production of his country and its resources to the general communist policy directed by the U.S.S.R.

Our socialism, however, is limited to an economic organization

1. Michel Aflak, an interview, (Damascus, November 20, 1955).
2. Ibid., (Beirut, January 27, 1956).

that aims at a fair distribution of wealth in the Arab country, at laying down new economic bases to ensure equality and economic justice among citizens, and at achieving a revolution in the means of production.

- b. Marxian socialism is the result of a certain society which has its own needs, qualities, and circumstances. Our socialism is the result of the needs and circumstances of the Arab society and its historical background.
- c. The Communist philosophy bases every aspect of life on the materialistic concept. It explains the evolution of history and societies in terms of the economic factor which is the cause of every change. This causes a change in the intellectual and spiritual philosophy. Our philosophy does not believe in this materialistic theory, and it considers the intellectual and spiritual factors as important factors in the evolution of history and the progress of humanity.
- d. The Communist philosophy does not give much value and respect to the individual but limits his freedom to a large extent; because the whole is more important than the individuals who compose it. This theory results in dictatorship and in a mechanical materialistic society devoid of spirit; as it results in dis-equilibrium between the individual and society and between the Arab society and the other societies.

Our socialism depends upon the individual and liberates his personality; and it believes that all individuals are equal, so there is no reason for having a dictatorship.

2. Practical differences:

- a. Communist socialism has gone too far in abolishing the right of private ownership so that it has killed the personal instinctive initiative in the individual. Our socialism considers that the strongest power in a nation is stored in the personal initiatives of the individuals; that is why it has left in existence the right of ownership, but it has confined it within strict limits that would get rid of its shortcomings.
- b. Communism does not recognize the right of inheritance, while our socialism recognizes this right within certain limits...¹

Mr. Aflak went on to say that the U.S.S.R. is not working for world revolution but for its own national interest which is not the same as the original communist philosophy. He sees that the Communist Party

1. Michel Aflak, Hamel al-Ishtirakiah al-Arabiah, (Damascus: Manshurat al-Ba*ath al-Arabi, 1951) pp. 4-5.

is destructive in the Arab world for it promises the Arabs the fulfillment of their needs through socialism, while its real aim is to bind them to the Soviet policy; and because it is an international movement which does not believe in nationalism.

As regards the differences between the Ba'ath's socialism and national socialism Mr. Aflak says

national socialism in Germany and Italy are bound by the Nazist and Fascist philosophies. These two philosophies are built on the idea of racial discrimination among the nations where one race is superior to all others and has the right to dominate the world, and on the basis of discrimination among the individuals of the one nation which results in a dictatorship of the individual or of the class. Real socialism is not accomplished under this system. While the Ba'ath's socialism does not aim at imperialism and at the superiority of the Arab race over others, nor is it used for political purposes; it is simply used for its economic and social benefits.

The national socialism of Germany and Italy are bound by the Nazist and Fascist systems which aim at colonization; and since it is not achieved without this colonization, then it is an instrument for imperialism. While the Ba'ath's socialism aims at founding a fair economic system in the Arab country, helping to liberate countries under imperial influence, desiring to apply socialism in the other countries, and following an economic policy which will secure justice and raise the economic standard of all peoples with the preservation of nationalities.¹

So far the party has not introduced any socialist measures even in Syria, where it has a considerable power. All what it has done on this line was to support the peasants and workers. This tendency was shown by organizing the peasants and the workers' movements, by defending their rights and demands in Parliament, by fighting the feudal and the exploiting classes, and by the modification which its deputies proposed in Parliament in 1954 to amend the Labour Law in a way to achieve fairer

1. Ibid., p. 7.

conditions for labourers.

In addition to its emphasis on the liberation of the Arab nation and its unity and on socialism, the party emphasizes democracy and popular sovereignty. It believes in a parliamentary constitutional form of government, and it rejects dictatorship, as its history has shown. Even in its internal administration, the party prescribes democratic procedures. Officials and responsible members of the party are elected and not appointed; and all decisions are taken according to the majority will.

The party is the most important Arab socialist movement at present. It is the largest Arab nationalist and socialist movement that has appeared in the Arab world until now with organized branches in several Arab states. Its program appeals to Arab nationalists, to socialists, and to those who are discontented with the existing conditions in the Arab society. That is why we see that the number of its members and its supporters has been going up, and its power has been increasing.

CHAPTER VI

The National Democratic Party of Iraq.

Kamil al-Chadirchi, the head of the National Democratic (al-Watani al-Democrati) Party in Iraq, was a former member of the Ikha (Brotherhood) Party which he left in 1933. He was too liberal and progressive for the Ikha Party. Even at that time he advocated the necessity of participation in government by the general public. In 1934, he joined the Ahali (People) Group which, influenced by Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim and Muhammad Hadid, leaned towards socialism.

Under the influence of Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim and Muhammad Hadid, the group adopted socialism as its first article of faith. Abd al-Fattah had become a socialist, it seems, in 1930 as a result of his reading on the Soviet Union while a graduate at Columbia University. Hadid was a graduate of the London School of Economics and Political Science and was much impressed by its outspoken socialist tendencies.¹

This group was formed in 1931 by graduates from American and British Universities and from Bagdad School of Law. In 1932, the group started issuing a paper called Sawt al-Ahali (Voice of the people), which became the official paper of the National Democratic Party, when the party was formed. This group demanded social reform and more liberties. It also aimed at abolishing foreign treaties and liberating Iraq from foreign influence.

It was through al-Chadirchi's influence that Ja'far Abu-Timman and Hikmat Sulayman joined the Ahali group to which they added prestige

1. Majid Khadduri, Independent Iraq, (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 72.

and power. On August 12, 1936, these two men together with Kamil al-Chadirchi signed a petition offered to the King, on behalf of the Ahali group, requesting him to put an end to the government's rigid control and suppression of the press and to give them the right to issue a daily paper. This shows their dissatisfaction with, and opposition to, the existing state of affairs.

Al-Chadirchi was appointed Minister of Economics and Public Works in Bakr Sidqi's cabinet of the coup d'etat of October 1936. He was leading the Reformist group in the Cabinet. The demands of these reformists caused some coolness and misunderstanding with Hikmat who became more subordinate to the army. On June 19, 1937, Chadirchi together with Ja'far Abu't-Timman, Salih Jabr, and Yusuf Izz ad-Din Ibrahim resigned from the government of the coup d'etat, because its program was not being fulfilled, and because some arrangements were kept secret from them.

In addition to the need for a reformist party, the influence of the Ahali Group and, to a lesser extent, that of the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party and the Socialist Democratic Party had motivated al-Chadirchi and his group to form their party. Sawt al-Ahali had paved the way for it.

On March 14, 1934, Sawt al-Ahali, the official paper of the party, was founded to replace the Ahali paper which was suppressed by the Hashimi Government. This paper helped to spread the principles of the party before the formation of the latter. On April 20, 1946, the National Democratic Party was formed. It is a leftist party consisting

mainly of former Ahali members and led by Kamil al-Chadirchi. However, the National Union (al-Ittihad al-Watani) Party, led by Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim, and the people's (Sha'b) Party, led by Aziz Sharif, are further to the left. The programs of the last two parties are similar to the first; for the leaders of all these three parties are former Ahali members. They both advocate a kind of socialism, or rather social reform, similar to that of the National Democratic Party. The National Union Party emphasizes democracy even more than the National Democratic Party. Its paper, as-Siyassah (Politics), was suppressed in 1946 by the Umari Government, which also suppressed the People's Party daily paper, al-Watan (the Country). These three parties, together with the Istiqlal (Independence) Party and the Ahrar (Liberal) Party were formed on April 20, 1946.

The National Democratic Party advocates "Moderate socialist principles, but the main emphasis is laid on democracy rather than socialism. Among the prominent members of the party are Chadirchi, Muhammad Hadid, and Husayn Jamil. The official daily paper is Sawt al-Ahali."¹ Husayn Jamil, a young Iraqi lawyer and a founder member of the party, informed the writer that the party members, around ten thousand in number, come mainly from the labouring class, the educated people, small shopkeepers, and peasants.

The party believes in Arab Unity, the liberation and independence of the Arab states which are still under some sort of a foreign control, and the establishment of a democratic way of life based on parliamentary

1. Ibid., pp. 217-218.

form of government and direct elections. The formation of political parties and their active participation in political life, as well as freedom of speech, press, belief, and meeting should be guaranteed.

The economic policy of the party, which will be stated in the following paragraphs, shows that the party is not really a socialist party. This is also shown by its whole program, that is stated in appendix C.

The Economic Side

The party believes that poverty, of which most of the people complain is the disease which should be abolished in order that the nation may live a comfortable life. Since poverty is caused mainly by a lack of general production and a bad distribution of products, the party sees that there is no means for fighting poverty except by increasing production and improving the distribution of wealth through economic planning and through lessening economic differences, so that every individual may be secured with a minimum income sufficient to enable him to live without need or worry. That is why the party works:

1. To lay down and apply a constructive scientific program including agriculture, industry, commerce, communications and other fields of production for accomplishing a great increase in its quantity and a quick improvement in its quality.
2. To liberate the Iraqi economy from foreign exploitation and control.
3. To make government and civil financial institutions able to provide the financial sources in the country for achieving the required projects.
4. To have the state create industrial projects related to public services and direct individual initiative and national capital for reviving the economic and industrial movement in the country by establishing cooperative companies, whose capital is shared by the state and the public.
5. To introduce a new arrangement for landownership by distributing the lands of the state among small peasants, limiting large ownership to a fair and reasonable amount, distributing surplus lands

among peasants who should form cooperative societies to help them to exploit their lands and to regulate and improve their products.

6. To abolish the corrupt and tyrannical agricultural laws and rules, increase the peasant's share of production, establish modern villages, and improve the social conditions of the peasants.
7. To organize workers in guilds and unions that preserve their rights; and to support the labourers' movement in order to raise the general standard of workers' wages, to improve their conditions, and to make them an effective power in the life of the Iraqi society.
8. The party considers the existence of great economic differences in the Iraqi society as a violation of social justice; therefore, it works to lessen these economic differences by imposing direct and progressive taxes on all kinds of income and on inheritance, and to use the greatest possible portion of the budget of the state for social services as insurance against sickness, unemployment, old age and similar services that aim at improving the people's conditions.¹

The question of Arab unity had been treated by the paper of the party before the formation of the Arab League. Sawt al-Ahali wrote on July 21, 1943, asking for: "uniting all the Arab states in one political unit, which binds them in a way that fits their various conditions." When negotiations started in Egypt for that purpose, this paper wrote on the 4th of November 1943: "How is it possible to achieve this project or the negotiations taking place for its achievement --- when the Arab states forming that union do not enjoy what they should from liberty and independence?" When the party was formed, its program stated:

"The party works to achieve the unity of the Arab states in one federal state."²

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1. Program of the National Democratic Party, (Bagdad: Matba'at ar-Rabitah, n.d.), pp. 57-61.
 2. Ibid., Art. I, division 1, part 10.

On March 3, 1946, the National Democratic Party called the other political parties in Iraq to form a committee for working to defend the question of Palestine. That committee was called The Iraqi Parties Committee for the Defense of Palestine.

In July 1946, Kamil al-Chadirchi was accused of calling on Public opinion to revolt against the government in three articles that he published in his newspaper, Sawt al-Ahali on different occasions. On July 10, 1946, he wrote an article under the title of The Underlying Purpose Behind the Plan of the Present Government. The second article, The Sad Incident at Barkouk-, The Government's Report Illustrates its Offensive Deeds, was written on July 15, 1946. Three days later he wrote an article entitled: Shooting at the Demonstrators. As a result of a series of trials al-Chadirchi was sentenced to two months imprisonment and his paper was forbidden to appear for a period of four months.

When the party was asked to join the cabinet formed by Nuri as-Asa'id in November 1946, it accepted that offer on condition that the role of that cabinet should be to ensure free elections and the freedom of the press, meeting, and political activity. The party was represented in that cabinet by its Vice-President, Muhammad Hadid, who resigned very soon, when the conditions put by his party were not fulfilled.

In conformity with its policy of neutralism and of opposing foreign treaties, the party attacked the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of Portsmouth, which was signed on January 15, 1948. On behalf of his party, Kamil al-Chadirchi wrote:

The National Democratic Party believes that the conclusion of such a treaty is a clear aggression on the independence of Iraq and its future policy and is an obstacle for its national development and nationalistic aspirations. Therefore, the party calls the Iraqi people to refuse that new imperialistic deal and to resist it by all its power.¹

Following this same policy and asking for more social security, the party issued on June 1st, 1951, together with the United Popular Front (al-Jabhah as-Sha'biyah al-Muttahidah), another publication calling the Iraqi people to be aware:

Not to make Iraq a military base ~~----~~

To keep Iraq far from international blocs which may lead it to a war, that does not concern it ~~----~~

To get diet and clothing with possible prices ~~----~~ and to ensure better rights for workers and peasants.²

Upon the dissolution of the Iraqi Parliament by a royal decree on the 27th of October, 1952, the National Democratic Party, together with the United Popular Front, the Umma Socialists, and the Nationalists, addressed a letter, on the following day, to Regent Abdul-Ilah, demanding: direct instead of indirect elections, that Cabinet should be dismissed by Parliament instead of king, the non-participation of Iraq in the proposed Middle East Command, the abrogation of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1928, and the introduction of agrarian reforms similar to those made in Egypt. The last demand shows that measures taken in one Arab state or by one Arab party are likely to influence other Arab states and parties.

On November 24, 1952, General Nurreddin Muhammad dissolved all political parties in Iraq and arrested the opposition leaders. These

1. A Party Publication, (Bagdad, January 18, 1948).

2. Ibid., (Bagdad, June 1, 1951).

measures were taken after the serious riots and demonstrations which broke out in Bagdad on the 22nd of the same month, the date al-Umari Cabinet resigned. With the abolition of martial law in the autumn of 1953, the National Democratic Party convened and re-elected Kamil al-Chadirchi as its president.

In a speech delivered in the sixth Party conference on November 26, 1953, Mr. al-Chadirchi attacked the ruling class in Iraq saying:

The party believes that the Iraqi people holds important responsibilities. For the continuation of the rule of the governing class would lead to bad consequences and would injure the interests of the people whose duty is to work for strengthening popular organizations, and for struggling in one united national front to stand against the conspiracies of the ruling class and its supporters... It is the duty of the people to increase its efforts and continue its struggle for achieving its demands for political, economic, and social reforms.

Among the demands on the basis of which the party was planning to participate in the elections fixed for the summer of 1954 were: "Neutrality between the two blocs; nationalization of oil resources and industry; the right of workers to strike ---"¹

On September 2, 1954, the party was banned by the Iraqi Government, its licence was withdrawn, and its paper was suspended for one year. The government accused the leaders of the party, who run its paper, that they had "exploited the weakness of some governments to distort facts with the aim of directing simpletons toward anarchy and chaos."² Although the party has been dissolved since that time, it is still operating underground.³

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1. Walter Z. Laqueur, Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1955), p. 285.
 2. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, V. IX, (London: Keesing's Publications Ltd., September 1954), p. 13832B.
 3. In trying to get information about this party, the writer received a letter from a friend in Iraq on February 2, 1956, stating: "I was somewhat late in sending you the materials and information you asked me about, because all political parties are dissolved at present, especially this party which is put under a very severe control on the part of the government."

Kamil al-Chadirchi believes that both Arab unity and socialism should go together. He wrote in the Egyptian magazine Rose el-Youssef on the 16th of April, 1956, explaining the relation between Arab unity and socialism saying:

I believe that Arab nationalism should go side by side with socialism. If Arab nationalism is supposed to liberate the Arab nation from imperialism, this requires its liberation first from exploitation, need, sickness, and ignorance, and its making a human personality respected and effective in society. Therefore, I believe that most citizens cannot be freed unless they establish a socialist regime in their country to increase their production, distribute their products a fair distribution, and save them from their social diseases...

Thus, faith in Arab Unity should be accompanied with a strong faith in a sound democratic regime aiming at achieving socialism.

Kamil al-Chadirchi, who is one of the most important opposition leaders in Iraq, is not a communist, as he has been accused. But he has been dealing with the few Iraqi communists, the Ba^{ath} party members in Iraq, and all those who have been on the extreme Left in opposition to Nuri es-Sa^{id}'s policy. He has been arrested with others after the Iraqi demonstrations which followed the Suez crisis in the fall of 1956, and he is still imprisoned till the time of the writing of this thesis.

The National Democratic Party has been opposing conditions in Iraq since the time it was formed. Although it has never been in power, yet it has a considerable influence among the middle class. With a change of conditions, the restoration of political liberties and the resumption of party life in Iraq, the party is likely to play a more significant role on the political scene. For its program, which aims at welfare reforms, emphasizes democracy and adopts Arab unity. This program does not aim at

· establishing a socialist society; but it aims at securing better rights and conditions for peasants and workers and at raising their standard of living, the thing which makes the party more appealing to them.

CHAPTER VII

The Progressive Socialist Party

Historical Background

The Progressive Socialist Party (al-Hizb-at-Takadumi al-Ishtiraki) is confined to Lebanon. It is a leftist party that, since the time of its formation, has been on the opposition side. It joined the National Socialist Front (al-Jabha al-Watania al-Ishtirakiah) which led the opposition in defeating the former regime of President Sheikh Bishara El-Khoury in September 1952 and played an important role in bringing about the present regime in Lebanon, to which, however, it is now in opposition. It has clashed with the government on many occasions, and its newspaper, Al-Anba^{*}, (The News) has often been suppressed. It has around ten thousand members¹ spread all over Lebanon, but its strength is mainly in Shouf, the electoral district of Kamal Jomblatt, the President of the Party, and secondly in Beirut. The members of the party come from the peasants and workers, and from professional and educated people. Most of them are followers of Jomblatt from the Shouf district; but there is a tendency to convert these followers and make them true party members by educating them politically. The P.S.P., like most socialist parties, makes a great appeal to the masses by promising land to the landless, employment to the unemployed, and social security for all.

The idea of the party goes back as far as 1944. Indications of it

1. This approximate number was given by the President of the Party to the writer during an interview which took place on November 20, 1957.

appeared in articles in magazines like "Revue du Liban" in December 31, 1944 and "Cahier de l'etat"; lectures delivered in the "Cenacle Libanais" and speeches in Parliament. During the summer of 1946 Kamal Jomblatt began to work on the pact of the party and to consult thinkers and intellectuals about the subject. Dr. Tufik Rizk and Dr. Muhammad Talhouk helped in shaping the health program; Joseph Najjar and Sa'id Himadeh helped from the economic point of view; Said Akl, Fouad Boustany, Salah Labaki, Majid Fakhri, Dr. Georges Hanna and others helped from the cultural and philosophical point of view; Sheikh Abdallah el-Allayili polished the language and put the party convention in its final classical Arabic form. "The party was not formed as a result of an accident, but it is the fruits of investigation and research combined with knowledge and experience."¹

There is no doubt that the emergence of the other socialist parties in different parts of the Arab world had exerted some influence on the socialist movement in Lebanon. This influence together with the Western influence helped to spread the socialist thinking and crystallize it in a political party.

The party was formed and proclaimed on Labour Day, the first of May 1949, more than a month before the unsuccessful revolt of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (P.P.S.) of Antoun Sa'adeh which was dissolved on June 11, 1949. So the claim that Kamal Jomblatt formed his party to replace the Syrian Social Nationalist Party is not true. On being asked about this point, he informed the writer² that he had three meetings with Antoun Sa'adeh

1. Kamal Jomblatt, Al-Anba, No. 23, (Beirut, August 17, 1951), p. 3.
2. Kamal Jomblatt, an interview, (Beirut, November 7, 1955).

who offered him the position of a Vice-President in his party. Jomblatt made it clear that he might be prepared to join the party only if a revision of the Constitution were made with three main changes introduced into it:

1. To devise an economic policy for the party adopting socialism.
2. To give more value to, and put more emphasis on, the freedom of the individual.
3. To exclude Iraq from Great Syria, because Iraq, a late addition to the original concept, was included for its oil and wealth involving a contradiction of their original concept of unity based on the geographical factor.

After the execution of Sa⁷adeh, the leading P.P.S. members discussed with Kamal Jomblatt the idea of his joining the party, but he did not come to an agreement with them for they were unwilling to make any change in their party program. Hence, while there had been a fair chance of coming to an agreement with Sa⁷adeh himself, there was no hope of reaching an understanding with his followers.

Kamal Jomblatt was born in Moukhtara, Lebanon, on December 6, 1917. Both his father Fouad Jomblatt and his mother Nazira Jomblatt, known as as-Sitt, or the Lady, came from the noble Durzi Jomblatti family which is one of the leading families in Lebanon. It is a rich family possessing a considerable amount of land. He received his primary education in the village school and continued his secondary education at Aintoura High School, after which he went to France and joined the Sorbonne

University where he studied psychology and sociology for one year. He came back from France in the year 1938 and began to study Law at the University de St. Joseph of Beirut until he got his Licence en Droit in 1941. He studied economics and philosophy by himself, and he was interested in chemistry. He has been teaching the "History of Economic Doctrines" at the "Academie Libanaise" since the year 1953. He is influenced by certain Indian philosophies, especially that of Gandhi. He was a deputy in the Lebanese Parliament, representing the Shouf district of Mount Lebanon, from 1943-57, the time he was first defeated in elections for the first time in his political life. He was Minister of National Economy in the Ministry of Riad al-Solh in 1947. He resigned his position in May of that year, because, as he said, he could not put all his plans into execution; for he felt that the ministers could not administer their own ministries and exercise their power without the consent of Riad al-Solh and President Bishara el-Khoury. Another reason for his resignation was the bad functioning and misbehavior of the Committee chosen in Parliament to check the soundness of the 1947 elections.

Jomblatt was a prominent member in the Lebanese Parliament. Together with the present President Kamil Shamoun, he opposed Bishara el-Khoury's regime and began to criticize the governments of that regime as inefficient and weak. In 1951 Jomblatt and Shamoun formed the National Socialist Front, of which they were the leading figures, and called upon the opposition parties and personalities all over the country for a popular meeting that was held at Deir Al-Kamar, the home town of Shamoun, in September 1952. During that meeting, an oath was taken to compel the

existing regime to work for the interests of the people; otherwise, they would work for its destruction. Kamal Jomblatt made a fiery speech attacking the regime and the President of the Republic in which he apostrophized him personally, saying: "President, reform or resign."

When subsequently, President Sham^{*}oun deviated from the program of the National Socialist Front by not applying all its reformist measures and due to local conflicts, Kamal Jomblatt began his attacks anew on the existing regime. He said concerning the peaceful coup d^{*}etat of September 8, 1952:

The memory of the coup d^{*}etat is passing away as if it had never existed, and the people are still boiling with hatred... and it seems that those who are responsible are willing to obliterate this cherished memory of the coup d^{*}etat which freed the Lebanese from the inferiority complex that was dominating him and strengthened his belief in the power of the people.¹

An important reason for the opposition of Jomblatt to Sham^{*}oun's regime is that the former aimed at seizing power, or at sharing the responsibility of governing, in the country after the peaceful coup d^{*}etat of September 1952. He expected to form a cabinet, or to join in one, which would apply his party program or a part of it. But his aim was not attained.

During 1953-57, Jomblatt was the only representative of his party in Parliament. While he was opposing the internal policy of the government, he supported its foreign policy and favored the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Late in 1956 the party lost some of its prominent members and intellectuals. The resignation of Fouad Rizk was followed by those of Clovis Maksoud, Maurice Sakr, Jubran Majdalani, and a few others who dis-

1. Kamal Jomblatt, Al-Anba^{*}, op.cit., (September 18, 1953).

agreed with Jomblatt's Arab policy and due to personal reasons. During the 1957 elections campaign, Anwar al-Khatib, another prominent ex-member of the party and of the National Socialist Front and a representative of the Shouf district, left the party which declared that he was not its candidate in elections. Nasim Majdalani, a representative of Beirut, and Shafik Murtada, a representative of Ba'albak district, are the only party members who are deputies in the present Lebanese parliament.

The name of the party implies that its ideology is progressive socialism. Its socialism means "... your just partnership in the state's general wealth, that is the intellectual, spiritual, and material wealth; and in the profits of the state according to your status and ability."¹ The party is progressive. It adopts science and progress in all its fields. In order to have human progress, the party believes that the following conditions are necessary:² Freedom and knowledge, human aggregation, and planning for human unity and feeling more of the unity of the planet on which we live.

On the basis of this unity which aims at human cooperation for the good of all, the party works for world peace and security and for cooperation with all nations that share the same purpose, and it denounces national aggressions stimulated by narrow national interests that lead to wars and destruction.

The party believes that human societies remained, for thousands of years, in a vicious circle. First came the tribal system followed by the

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1. Program of the Socialist Progressive Party, (Beirut: Dar al-Ahad, n.d.), p. 21.
 2. Ibid., pp. 14-43.

feudal system then by the bourgeois system with handicraft and small property owners. Feudalism and bourgeoisie used to replace one another. With progress of time and the use of machinery this circle was broken, and the industrial system replaced it. Industry and trade developed coupled with competition among producers and traders. States tried to colonize other countries to use them as markets for their products, and capitalists began to exploit their workers. The party believes that socialism is the only solution to such situation existing under the capitalistic order. Another factor behind the advocacy of socialism is democracy which will be applied not only in political life but in economic life also; for the means of production will belong to the people in common. Socialism is a result of human progress. From a practical point of view it aims at a compromise between technical and demographic clashes resulting from the greater use of science, inventions, and industrialization on the one hand, and existing legal and social regulations on the other hand.

The party does not believe in the class struggle and in force or in revolution to acquire power; it aims at acquiring power legally. It does not believe that the end justified the means. It believes in educating the people to become good believers in its principles rather than in imposing these principles in the form of rules on the society after a successful revolt by a small party or a group of people, military or otherwise. It wants to achieve both liberty and social security. In a lecture delivered at the Cenacle Libanais on November 18, 1946 under the title of *My Message as a Deputy*, Kamal Jomblatt said that a deputy should work to achieve both liberty and security for the people. He said that in the Western

capitalist countries people enjoyed more freedom than people in the U.S.S.R., but they did not have as much security. In case of an economic depression, unemployment would result and people would be threatened by poverty. Whereas in Soviet Russia employment and social security were more certainly provided but there was no liberty. The party combined the two ways of life together by taking the best of each. It wanted to have the Russian security combined with the Western liberty.

Believing that the individual is the end to be served and that all institutions in society are only means whose aim is to serve the individual and to provide the suitable atmosphere for the best development of his personality, the party aims at building a society based on true democracy where social security, justice, well-being, peace and liberty prevail, and human rights are guaranteed and at achieving the greatest practical measures of human justice and establishing the highest possible civilization for present human society. For achieving these purposes, the party uses direct and practical methods.

From a social, political, and administrative point of view the party works for achieving equality of rights and duties, justice inspired by brotherhood and cooperation, respect for individual freedom as far as it does not interfere with the freedom of others and with the common good, equal political rights for all citizens, brotherhood cooperation and division of labor which permits everyone to do the best job for which he is best fitted, and the necessity of a creative responsible leadership.

On the international level the party works for cooperation with

nations that share its high idealism of universal understanding and cooperation, effective work of the nation in the human progressive movement aiming at human cooperation and the highest civilization, formation of individual value inspired by knowledge as the basis of all kinds of individual, national, and governmental activities; the party works also for securing freedom of thought in all circumstances.

In its foreign policy, the party works for international peace and takes part in every international project aiming at international security on the basis of equality among nations and respect of their legal rights.

The exact translation of the program of the party is set out in appendix D. Only items which may be considered socialist in character will be stated here.

II - 5. To fight against the existence of classes and against feudalism.

IV. Economy and Commerce

To raise the economic standard of the country by adopting a planned economic and commercial policy that aims at the following objectives:

1. Stabilizing and raising the standard of living and establishing a social security scheme by improving production in quality and quantity, reducing the cost of living, and securing an equilibrium in the balance of trade.

These can be accomplished through the following means:

- a) Improving production by encouraging skill and ability, by having the entrepreneurs using centers of research and experimentation, making the workers more trained and educated, and using the machine for standardizing of production.
- b) Encouraging individual ability to work by appropriate tax system, a generous loan policy for industrial exploitation and agriculture, establishing research institutions, and giving scholarships for talented people.

- c) Utilizing the talents of the citizens and employing them according to specialization.
 - d) Appropriate direction and encouragement of the useful branches of the national economy. In agriculture: specialization, a high quality, increasing of production as needed by the demand of the market. Encouraging tourism by founding good residential areas, enough recreation, sports and amusements. In industry: to have industries to meet the need of local and external markets.
 - e) Lowering the cost of living by lowering the cost of production, lowering indirect taxes as much as possible, and custom duties and tariffs for consumer goods produced in the country; by making transportation facilities cheaper and easier; and by forbidding excessive profits especially those of the middleman.
 - f) Having an equilibrium in the budget. Internally, by following a policy that aims at economic security and low cost of living; externally, by applying a marketing policy whereby production equals demand in outside markets. In the international field the party welcomes the admission and the employment of foreign capital, provided that it is used for the interest of the country.
2. Codification of an equitable law for property, capital, and employment assuring their harmonious collaboration that leads to the general prosperity.
- a) In the present stage of the evolution of human society private property is considered the basis of individual liberty and security, a means of support for the family, a factor of production, and a stimulus for personal initiative, provided that it is not a cause for the immobilization and sterilization of wealth, nor an instrument for social parasitism and laziness, nor a source of authority or a means of oppression, and that it does not come into conflict with public ownership.
 - b) Work, the duty of a human and noble life, is the essential condition for social productivity and utility. The one who is able to work and does not work should not have the right to eat.

For the fulfillment of these principles the following policy should be followed:

- Public ownership: nationalizing all institutions of a public character or of a particular importance for the economy of the country or for its social and political life.

- Distributing the private ownership of the state and imposing a progressively ascending tax on inherited wealth.
 - To get rid of very high incomes and of idle wealth the state imposes high taxes on them by using the system of progressive taxation.
 - To adopt the cooperative system, wherever possible, in all branches of production and consumption.
 - To adopt a stable financial policy and a free competitive commercial system.
 - Each worker is an owner whereby, in addition to his wage, he will get a fair share of the net profits which will be divided according to a just ratio between capital and labor.
 - To provide the worker with as much machinery as possible in order to increase the power of production.
3. To use taxes and public expenditure as factors for developing national economy and as means for security and social justice. Because of this, a system of finance and taxation should be adopted based on the principle of "work according to ability and expenditure according to need." To execute this principle the following arrangements should be followed:
- To reform the taxing system whereby enough money shall be collected to perform the constructive and social projects of the government.
 - To increase direct taxes and decrease indirect taxes as much as possible.
 - To run the financial affairs of the state on an economic and efficient basis.
 - To establish a permanent research institute.
4. An International Cooperation for economic exchange through international institutions and through unilateral and multi-lateral commercial agreements should be acquired.¹

Concerning the taxation system, Edmond Na'im says:

The party asks for a high inheritance tax because the inheritor did not work to gain this wealth... It aims at lowering the indirect

1. See appendix D for a complete text of the program of the party.

tax and at raising the ratio of the income and the inheritance taxes which do not exceed certain limits.¹

The party believes in the power of the people and in the domination of the popular will. Its leader says:

To achieve these progressive aims and this socialism in human society, it is your duty - before it is the duty of anybody else - to trust yourselves and to be your own master. If you have this in your power and in yourselves, nobody will stand in your way, and you will walk on the road to victory... and life is for those who are strong in themselves, not for those who are weak.²

Then he goes on to say "The things which build the citizen's personality are complete liberty from fear, want, vice, selfishness, and individual isolationism."³ In a set of questions asked by Kul Shai^{*} newspaper, Jomblatt answered the question whether socialism can solve the problems of Lebanon, as follows:

How could it not solve the Lebanese crisis and problems while it is solving world crises and problems? There is an international tendency driving towards socialism and soon it will reach the shores of Lebanon and the Middle East.⁴

In an interview with Mr. Jomblatt on November 15, 1955 the writer of this thesis asked him about the difference between the socialism of his party and communism and the extent to which the party principles depend on the teachings of Karl Marx. He replied:

We are not exclusively materialistic like the Communists, we are also humanitarians. We believe in humanity, and we do not admit that the material relations of production are the only determining factor of human behavior. Although we believe that the state should control many things for the common welfare, yet we want to secure individual freedom provided that the individuals and the groups within the state work in conformity with the common interest.

We are evolutionary and not revolutionary in fulfilling our aims. The Communists are revolutionary.

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1. Edmond Na'im, Progressivism and its Application in Lebanon, a lecture in the Cenacle Libanais, (Beirut: Muhadarat an-Nadwa, Michel Asmar, Nov. 23, 1953), V. VIII, pp. 62-63.
 2. A Party Publication, Muwatin Horr Wa Sha'ab Sa'id, No. 1, (n.d.), p. 29.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Kul Shai^{*}, (Beirut, November 14, 1954).

We agree that Marxism is an important stage in the evolution of socialism, and that Karl Marx is the father of modern socialism, and that we meet with him on many points, but his socialism, that was invented at a specific period of time for a certain country or countries, might not fit our country at the present time.¹

In a reply to a question concerning the extent and the degree of nationalization that the party believes in he said:

Institutions that are of common benefit and of special importance to the economy of the country or to its social and political life should be nationalized. This importance might change with time and place depending upon the existing conditions. In the present stage we believe that such institutions as the electricity company, Universities, social institutions, and productive enterprises should be nationalized.²

As to the financing of schools, universities, and hospitals in case they become non-fee paying as it is stated in the party program, he said that

appropriate measures are made varying with time. In Lebanon, we can save more money, at the present time, by reducing the number of government officials half of whom are able to run the government machinery efficiently, and by devising a better taxing system that will provide for the necessary expenses.³

Jomblatt has called for the formation of a third camp or a "Third Force" to mediate and keep the balance between the Western and the Eastern Camps. He believes in the neutrality of the Arab states in this world conflict and welcomes all sorts of cooperation with foreign powers, whether it is commercial or political, provided that it is based on equitable footing and fair treatment. Although it favors Arab unity, the party does not state this in its program, because its leaders believe that nationalism is out of date and is emotional, so they do not put emphasis upon it. They say that nationalist appeals are emotional and are not usually based on true scientific thinking, that extreme nationalism makes young people

1. Kamal Jomblatt, an interview, (Beirut, November 15, 1955).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

blind to the truth and to everything except nationalist extremism, that this emotional feeling takes possession of young people and make them lose the socialist aspect. The party, on the other hand, does not believe in stressing the national point of view so much, because, after all, the aim of all human beings is one, and they will all meet at their ultimate goal which is the welfare of all humanity.

The writer thinks, however, that the real reason for the Progressive Socialist Party for not including the question of Arab Unity in its program as one of its objectives, in spite of the fact that it favors this unity, is that it does not wish to lose membership and support in Mount Lebanon where its influence is greatest and where most of the people, especially the Maronites, are against such a unity. But they should realize the fact that their party will become much stronger in the other parts of Lebanon, namely the South, the North, Bouka^ra and even Beirut, if they adopt the question of Arab Unity both in deeds and in words. Asking the leader of the party why does not the party adopt nationalism along with socialism? He answered:

Because nationalism is the product of the selfishness of the group. It has been the cause of wars and conflicts among nations. Besides, our socialism is confined neither to Lebanon nor to the Arab world; it is for all the human race.¹

So far, the party, which has never been in power yet, has not achieved any part of its program. Its accomplishments, in that direction, have been insignificant. Its principles are not much related to its political life, which is concentrated, moreorless, around that of its

1. Kamal Jomblatt, Ibid., (Beirut, November 20, 1957).

leader. In theory, the party is progressive and universal; but in practice, it still revolves around the personality of Kamal Jomblatt and deals mostly with local and regional issues.

The power of the party has been declining since the split which took place late in the year 1956. This decline in power is due to several factors the most important of which are two. The first factor is the question of nationalism. The fact that the party does not believe in nationalism makes it unattractive to most Lebanese who believe in one kind of nationalism or another. Some Lebanese believe that Lebanon is an independent entity, which should not be merged in any type of complete unity with its neighboring Arab states. Others believe that Lebanon is a part of natural Syria, hence it should be united with the other countries forming Greater Syria. Arab nationalists believe that Lebanon is a part of the Arab nation, thus it should unite with the other Arab states. All these nationalists, who adopt different points of view, resent the belief that nationalism is out of date in this part of the world. The resignation of several prominent members of the party, which we referred to before, was due mainly to Jomblatt's Arab policy, which is related to this question of nationalism.

The other factor is that the party is a leader party rather than an institutional party. Kamal Jomblatt is the dominant figure in the party whose policy is directed mainly by him; and many of the party members are members not because they are firm believers in the principles of the party, but because they are the followers of Jomblatt. This fact does not appeal to socialists and to those who believe in the principles of the party as they stand.

CHAPTER VIII

Comparison and Assessment

After surveying and studying the organized socialist movements in the Arab world, we come to examine whether these movements are socialistic or not, and if they are to what extent. We have already set the criteria which may examine whether a certain ideology is socialistic or not in the first chapter of this thesis. On the basis of the definition we have given, which states that a socialist society is a society where the means of production are publicly owned and controlled, and according to the scientific meaning of the term "socialism", we can say that these socialist movements in the Arab world are not really and fully socialist. Their programs, as a whole, can hardly be called socialistic, although they have a socialist trend and they adopt some principles and measures which have a socialist nature.

The Arab socialist parties do not aim at having the means of production publicly owned and controlled, although some of them do say in the nationalization of important industries in the economy. The Progressive Socialist Party believes in nationalizing institutions which are "of a public character or a particular importance for the economy of the country or for its social and political life."¹ The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party "believes that the economic wealth in the country should be owned by the nation,"² but its program goes on to state that only

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1. Program of the Progressive Socialist Party; op.cit., art.IV., part 2, division b.
 2. Constitution of the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party, art. 26.

"Institutions of public utility, natural resources, large means of production, and transportation means and facilities should be owned by the nation and managed directly by the state."¹ The Socialist Democratic Party and the National Democratic Party do not even have articles related to nationalization of industries similar to the articles mentioned above. To include in its program nationalization of some basic industries does not necessarily mean that a party is socialist; for in a socialist society at least all basic industries should be publicly owned, and the public sector of the economy should be dominant over the private sector.

Two of these parties adopt the principle of profit sharing by labourers. The Progressive Socialist Party states that "Each worker is an owner whereby, in addition to his wage, he will get a fair share of the net profits which will be divided, according to a just ratio, between capital and labor."² In dealing with the same point the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party says: "Workers share in the management of an industrial enterprise; they are granted, in addition to their wage that is fixed by the state, a fair share of the profits as determined by the state."³ As to the ownership of land, it states that "Land ownership is limited according to the ability of the owner to work his land without exploiting the work of others."⁴ The adoption of a profit sharing system in a certain industry does not make that industry socialistic. For this system has become a common practice in many industries. The system of profit sharing has been used in the United State of America⁵ and in other non-socialist

1. Ibid., art. 29.

2. Program of the Progressive Socialist Party, op.cit., art. IV, part 2, division b.

3. Constitution of the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party, art. 32.

4. Ibid., art. 30.

5. The writer had the chance to visit some industries in the U.S.A. and to talk with their managers and share-holders or owners during the summer of 1957. He noticed that several of these industries have adopted that profit-sharing system in dealing with their employees.

countries.

As to private property, these parties consider it as a right and consider its protection as a duty of the community. However, they believe in the limitation of private property but not in its abolition. Although the complete abolition of private property is not absolutely necessary in a socialist community, yet its limitation does not bring about a socialist regime.

The Arab socialist parties demand more rights and privileges for the workers and peasants, which is the function of the trade and labor unions. It is true that the functions of the unions, which aim at the protection and promotion of the interests of the labourers, their occupations and their welfare, are one of the basic elements in a socialist movement; but the presence of these unions and their objectives does not mean the presence of socialism. It rather means the development of industry which requires organized movements to deal with problems arising from industrialization such as collective bargaining, freedom of associations, the settlement of labour disputes, and similar problems. With the growth of industrialization, these unions become stronger and secure better and more rights for the workers, regardless of whether the country is socialist or capitalist. The conditions of workers are getting better and better in capitalist countries and especially the United States, where the trade unions are influential in securing better rights and privileges for the labourers, an indication that better labour conditions are not asked for only by socialists.

Another fact, which is related to this point and which is worth mentioning, is that the trade union movements in the Arab countries started before the appearance of most of these parties and have been operating separately. The legal provisions related to the formation of unions in some of the Arab states are contained in the following laws: The Labour Law of 1936 in Iraq, the Labour Codes of 1946 in Lebanon and Syria, and the Trade Union Decree of 1952 in Egypt. As to the functioning of these unions, J.A. Hallsworth of the International Labour Office says:

The Principal object of trade unions is defined in the laws as the defense, protection or promotion of the occupational interests of their members. Various welfare and social activities are also laid down as proper to trade unions, for example, the establishment of mutual assistance funds and cooperatives (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria) ... the unions of Iraq are to contribute to the spreading of a spirit of co-operation and to industrial development; Syrian unions are required to devote special care to the question of apprentices.¹

So the objectives of these trade unions together with the demand for more labour rights, which are included in some articles of the programs of these parties, do not make these parties socialistic.

Hence, the present socialist parties in the Arab world are not, scientifically speaking, socialistic. Although some of their articles show socialist tendencies, yet their whole programs are far from being completely socialist. They are more reformist parties which aim at introducing reforms needed for the Arab society. They all believe in social, economic, and political reforms. Democracy, freedom of the individual, as well as the liberation of the parts of the Arab states which are still under some form of a foreign control are some of their basic principles.

1. J.A. Hallsworth, "Freedom of Association and Industrial Relations in the Countries of the Near and Middle East," International Labour Review, V. LXX, No. 5 (Geneva, November 1954), p. 380.

All of these parties, with the exception of the Progressive Socialist Party which does not state the contrary, believe in Arab unity, include it in their programs, and stress this point as one of the most important objectives.

In asking Kamal Jomblatt whether his party is a socialist party which aims at establishing a socialist regime in Lebanon, he said:

We are progressive. Our socialism is a humanitarian movement which is an out-product of our belief in human progress. That is why our socialism does not aim at establishing a full socialistic regime from the economic point of view and does not conform with the scientific definition of socialism.¹

Having examined the organized socialist movements in the Arab world, it is necessary to attempt an assessment of some parts of the constitutions of the parties studied in the previous chapters. The constitutions of these parties contain some vague principles and abstractions which should be more specific. Such an article in the program of the Progressive Socialist Party which reads as follows: "Each worker is an owner, whereby, in addition to his wage, he will get a fair share of the net profits which will be divided, according to a just ratio, between capital and labor"² should be more specific. A "fair share" and a "just ratio" are not specific terms. What is just or fair to one person may not be just and fair to another. Such adjectives as "fair" and "just" are not specific and their use to fix a share or a ratio is not scientific. According to Karl Marx the value of a commodity is equal to the amount of labour put into it; thus, for a Marxist a just share means the distribution of the products among the workers. According to a capitalist, a just share

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1. Kamal Jomblatt, an interview, (Beirut, November 20, 1957).
 2. Program of the Progressive Socialist Party, op.cit., art. IV, part 2, division b.

may mean to give the worker a fixed wage regardless of the amount of profit or loss of the enterprise. Here the word 'just' is relative; it is not specific but is interpreted differently by different people. So a fixed ratio or percentage should replace such vague adjectives.

The constitution of the party includes many measures for social and economic reforms, such as free education and free medical treatment, and promises important social security such as old-age pensions. But it does not state how these projects are to be financed. It, however, aims at nationalizing institutions of a public character; but this does not necessarily guarantee an income, for nationalization may involve a loss. The mention of the way of collecting public revenue for meeting the required public expenditures makes the program of the party more scientific, practical, and realistic rather than purely theoretical.

The party is humanitarian and idealistic as may be observed from some articles of its program. It believes in human cooperation and unity for the good of all, and it works for world peace and security by cooperating with nations that share its high idealism of universal understanding, which aims at the highest possible civilization; on this basis the party denounces narrow national interests that cause wars and destruction. Such a principle should be the aim of all individuals and groups living in this world. It is the end that should be sought by humanity which strives towards its achievement, along the line of human progress. This is a sound argument desired by almost every human being. What is important is to see the possibility of its application and the possible ways and means which

may bring this principle into practice. Such an end is possibly to be attained on the assumption that human nature is essentially good so that it seeks universal understanding. In order to be able to enforce this policy those who believe in it have to be powerful enough to protect their ideas and have to prepare the people to make them ready to accept such an idea.

Thus, in order to attain this goal the party should try to build a strong and independent state. It cannot jump to the stage of internationalism before passing fully through the stage of nationalism. If a people is not accustomed to live within a national society in an organized state, how can it possibly live in an international society in cooperation with other nations? Thus, this formative stage is a prerequisite and an essential step in trying to raise the level of human society in the world. Being in the formative stage, the Arab states should pass through this stage to be able to cooperate with other states to work for human welfare and perfection. To be capable of helping other societies a group has to reform its own society first; and by reforming its own society the group will be helping human society as a whole; because, after all, the various existing societies are nothing but parts of the one universal human society.

Although it is a humanitarian movement that cooperates with all similar movements in all countries of the world to establish peace and prevent the exploitation of man by his brother man, socialism is created primarily to fulfill certain needs and to make social and economic reforms within a certain environment. It works for the interest of the people and

and its prosperity, hence for the interests of the nation. A socialist movement cannot serve humanity unless it achieves first the primary purpose within its own community.

Therefore, due to the present Arab environment which is still in its formative stage, and in which the Progressive Socialist Party is operating, the party should stress the nationalist point of view and the construction of its own society more, in the short-run, in order to achieve its socialist and humanitarian principles.

Realizing this important fact the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party has adopted the nationalist point of view and stressed it greatly. As it stands, the constitution of the Ba^{*}ath Party emphasizes the nationalist point of view more than the socialist. At present the party is more nationalist, and it will continue like that until a united Arab state is established with full independence and sovereignty. After achieving the nationalist goal, socialism may be more emphasized.

In its economic policy the Ba^{*}ath Party, like the Progressive Socialist Party, has some vague and indefinite terms such as "Workers share in the management of an industrial enterprise; and they are granted, in addition to their wage that is fixed by the state, a fair share of the profits as determined by the state."¹ This is a similar example to the one given previously from the Progressive Socialist Party program upon which the same criticism holds good, i.e. a lack of decisiveness and accuracy in using the adjective ^{*}fair^{*} in defining the worker^{*}s share of the profits.

1. Constitution of the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party, art. 32.

Like the P.S.P., the Ba^ʿath Party fails to illustrate the way of financing the extra expenditures arising from applying a reformist system. It promises employment for everyone by making the state responsible for ensuring work for every citizen; but it does not show how this is possible in practice.

In general, the economic program of the Ba^ʿath Party is sound, and it is based on the needs of the Arab society; but it is general and brief. The reason for not stressing a more detailed socialist and economic program at present is that it does not wish to have every separate Arab state adopt its own socialist program in conformity with its economic potentialities. This might create different socialist systems in the different Arab states, which might make them stick to their individual economic programs rather than aim at having one socialist system for all the Arab world. Socialism covering the whole Arab society would use all the economic potentialities of the Arab world and would be more inclusive than socialism in the individual Arab countries, where it might not be possible to apply a complete socialist system due to the limited economic potentialities in some of the Arab states.

The Ba^ʿath Party is the only socialist party in the Arab world which has branches in more than one state. It aims at spreading its socialism in all the Arab society and at establishing its socialist system in one united Arab state. Although it does not emphasize socialism, yet it is the most widespread Arab socialist movement at present.

The National Democratic Party of Iraq, like the Socialist Democratic

Party of Egypt, emphasizes democracy. Its program, like the programs of the other three parties mentioned, fails to mention how the income of the state is to be increased to meet the extra expenditures involved in a reformist program. It does not make any mention of nationalization. In dealing with this, the party program makes this vague statement: "To make government and civil financial institutions able to provide the financial sources in the country for achieving the required projects."¹ Referring to land tenure in Iraq the party aims at "limiting land ownership to a fair and reasonable amount."² Again the adjectives "fair" and "reasonable" do not set a definite and accurate limit.

In spite of some of the reformist measures which have some socialist tendencies, it cannot be said that the Revolutionary Regime in Egypt is a socialist regime, although it has a socialist tendency. For these social and economic reforms and the economic policy of the Egyptian Government do not make Egypt a socialist state.

The same evaluation holds true and applies to the Socialist Democratic Party of Ahmad Hussein in Egypt. As its name implies, this party emphasizes democracy. It overemphasizes this point so that it states in its program that "The party believes in freedom and in democracy, without which socialism cannot be achieved; as there can be no true democracy without socialism".³ It is true that democracy may help the bringing about of socialism and that socialism may help the application of democratic principles, and that freedom may exist in a socialist state; but it is

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1. Program of the National Democratic Party, op.cit., art. II, part. 3.
 2. Ibid., art. II, part. 5.
 3. Program of the Socialist Democratic Party, art. I, part. 1.

neither true nor scientific to say that without freedom socialism cannot be achieved. For socialism usually implies more control in the hands of the state and hence less freedom for the citizens. A good example for this is socialism as it exists in the U.S.S.R. where freedom, as liberals conceive it, is almost completely suppressed. This statement may also imply that socialism is the result of democracy, and that democracy is the result of socialism, which is arguing in a circle.

The Socialist Democratic Party, like the other previously mentioned parties, does not show exactly how the various projects for economic and social reforms are to be financed. It does not even mention what industries should be nationalized. It also requires the state to ensure "the right of work for all, and the provision of employment,"¹ without showing how this is to be done.

From a study of the program of all the socialist parties in the Arab world, one can conclude that these parties do not devise a socialist program for the Arab people but rather a reformist program based on equity and social justice. They aim at achieving this program by having a fairer distribution of wealth, regulating labour, and ensuring social security, liberties, rights, and needs of the individual. They believe in collective control of natural resources and public utilities with the preservation of the right of private property and inheritance within certain limits, and with the encouragement of personal enterprises and free production and distribution of goods as far as these promote common prosperity and do not

1. Ibid., art. II, part. 2.

exploit others.

Arab socialism aims at the socialization of those institutions that are of common interest such as electricity companies and water companies; at making the worker a partner in the work by giving him in addition to his fixed wage, a certain proportion from the profits according to his efforts; at establishing industrial, agricultural, and other cooperatives for production and consumption purposes; at encouraging trade, labor, and other unions; at making a labour law fixing the hours of work, setting a minimum wage, and securing favourable conditions for labourers. It works towards providing free education with a compulsory elementary education for all citizens, free medical treatment, social security, old-age pensions, employment, and equal opportunities and rights for all citizens based on a democratic popular life with no class distinctions. It encourages marriage and family life; freedom of speech and thought; the formation of political parties, social institutions, clubs, and organizations that work for the good of society. The state has to manage for raising money through increasing public national ownership of wealth to finance these social and economic projects.

Arab socialism believes in a fairer distribution of land and in its ownership by its cultivators. The cultivator of the land should receive a greater proportion of the product than he is getting under the present system, and a minimum limit must be set to the cultivator's share of the product enough for securing him a good and acceptable life.

Work is a right and a duty. Every individual should try to perform

the work he is best fitted for. It is the duty of the state to try to secure employment for its citizens as well as it is the duty of every individual to work, if he is able. The problem of unemployment may be solved by increasing the sources of production through creating opportunities for national production, exploiting what has not been exploited yet of agricultural lands, mineral resources, and industries.

It is safe to say that the program of these parties aim at establishing a welfare state, which may be a step towards socialism, rather than a socialist regime. Among the important functions of the welfare state is the redistribution of wealth and the transfer of property from the rich to the poor.

Concerning the function of the welfare state in redistributing wealth... Pigou notes a very profound change of social thinking in the last century. Whereas at one time being poor was one's fault, if not one's crime, today, other people's poverty is no longer a crime; that is now the fate of other people's wealth. ... With regard to the transfer of wealth from the rich to the poor, Pigou argues that the cost has turned out to be smaller than once supposed. In giving up some luxuries as a result of higher taxation, the wealthy person suffers less than the gain which the poor person receives in satisfying more elementary needs of everyday life.¹

In order to guarantee its citizens a minimum standard of a decent life, the welfare state pursues this policy of property redistribution. As to what extent this policy is to be applied, there is no definite or absolute line which is set to be applied in every place and at all times. The extent of the program of the welfare state depends upon its needs for social security and upon the existing conditions in its society.

1. William Ebenstein, op.cit., p. 796.

After making an analysis of the socialist parties in the Arab world, we conclude this thesis with stating the features which are peculiar to the Arab socialist movement and which distinguish it from the other socialist movements in the world, and with suggesting some steps which may help to achieve the principles of the Arab socialist movement.

C H A P T E R IX

The Distinctive Features of Arab Socialism

Before discussing the distinctive features of Arab socialism, the writer wants to suggest some practical steps which help in applying the reformist principles of Arab socialism. These steps are the union of these Arab socialist parties, or at least their close cooperation, and the economic and political unity of the Arab states. In order to be successful in introducing reforms in the Arab society, any movement will meet a better success when it works for achieving Arab unity. Believing in democracy, liberation, and social and economic reforms, these parties should unite among themselves and should work to achieve economic and political unity among the Arab states, so that they can serve best their purposes.

Several meetings were held for the purpose of combining efforts among the socialist parties in the Arab world. The Progressive Socialist Party invited the Arab socialist parties for a meeting that was held in Beirut in March 1950. Leaders of the Socialist Democratic Party of Egypt, the Arab Socialist Party of Syria, the National Democratic Party of Iraq, and the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon attended that meeting. The Arab Resurrection Party was not considered a socialist party then, though its program has become the constitution of the Arab Resurrection Socialist

Party, when it was combined with the Arab Socialist Party in 1952.

In March 1953, some leading members of the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party and the Progressive Socialist Party formed a preparatory committee to invite prominent Arab politicians and intellectuals for holding a meeting to discuss the question of the "Third Force". But that meeting was not held.

The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party and the Progressive Socialist Party held a meeting on April 26, 1954 at Shtourah, Lebanon. As a result of this meeting the two parties issued the following declaration:

The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party and the Progressive Socialist Party met at Shtoura on the 26th of April 1954 and decided to establish the principles of cooperation among them in dealing with matters confronting the Arab countries.

The two parties, which feel in this historical and critical stage in which the Arab countries are passing that they respond to and represent the wish of the Arab people tending towards socialism and the resistance of imperialism, invite all the Arab socialist movements to form a front for unifying their popular struggle for the achievement of their aims in life, freedom and justice.¹

Such meetings, which aim at cooperation among the Arab socialist parties and at uniting their efforts, have been discontinued. This is due to the dormant position of the Socialist Democratic and the National Democratic parties which are dissolved, and to the different points of view of the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party and the Progressive Socialist Party on Arab policy. The former is an extreme nationalist party which aims at achieving Arab unity and liberation, while the latter does not believe in nationalism, and hence it does not work for the political unity

1. Al-Anba^{*}, No. 144, (Beirut, May 1, 1954), p. 5.

of the Arab states.

In order to achieve Arab unity and the social and economic reforms mentioned in the program of these parties, the first practical step that should be taken is to have an economic unity among the Arab states.

The Arab world used to have an economic unity.

During the Abbasid period, the Moslem world, of which the Arab world was a part, comprised one economic unit... That economic unity was to some extent the result of the then prevailing political unity of the empire, the marked progress of its industries, and the existence therein of some kinds of specialization in production, as well as the flourishing condition of its agriculture and trade. Simultaneously, that economic unity was one of the factors working for industrial progress, commercial prosperity and political unity itself.¹

The importance of this economic unity have been realized by the Arab states. Some of the practical steps that have been taken to achieve that unity were mentioned in Chapter III of this thesis.

One of the practical steps towards Arab unity was the joint debate in the Syrian Parliament, where forty Egyptian National Assembly members joined the Syrian deputies to debate the question of federal unity between Egypt and Syria on November 18, 1957. After a joint unanimous vote agreeing to urge the two governments to achieve this unity, they proclaimed that:

The deputies of the two assemblies reunited, while proclaiming the desire of the Arab people in Egypt and Syria to establish a federal union of the two countries, bless the practical steps already taken in that direction by the Egyptian and Syrian Governments and urge the Governments of Egypt and Syria to enter into joint negotiations at once to complete the elements necessary for the achievement of union.²

1. Nabih A. Faris and M.T. Hussayn, op.cit., p. 42.

2. The Arab World, No. 1016, (Beirut, November 19, 1957), p. 2.

This invitation for union was made open to all the Arab states that wish to join.

It is significant to point out that one of the major factors which helped in bringing about this step into practice is the insistence of the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party, which almost dominates political power in Syria at this time.

Socialism is the same everywhere with a difference in the degree of public control and in the means of achievement. Its application differs with a difference in time and place depending upon the existing circumstances, the needs, and the potentialities of the particular country in a certain period of time. A socialist movement is founded to fulfill some social and economic needs in its environment, and it cannot succeed without achieving the primary purposes of its own community. The primary purposes of the Arab community are: liberty, full sovereignty of the people, unity, and economic and social reforms.

Being affected by the existing conditions in the Arab countries, and operating in an Arab environment, Arab socialism differs in some of its means and purposes from the other socialist movements in the world. It is shaped by Arab cultural ideals and aims which are affected by the social, economic, historical, and geographic conditions of the Arab world.

Unlike Communism, Arab socialism aims at establishing an economic and social system in the Arab country which is just and suitable for the Arab society. Communist socialism is not practical and is more difficult

to achieve, for it aims at establishing one and the same socialist system for all countries of the world in a classless and stateless society, which can be achieved by a world revolution.

Arab socialism, with the exception of the Progressive Socialist Party, believes in nationalism; while Communism, which aims at a classless and stateless society, does not believe in nationalism.

Arab socialism emphasizes the importance of the individual and his freedom, in contrast to Communism which gives the individual little significance and denies him freedom.

Communist socialism aims at a full control of all the wealth of the community and its common ownership, and at a complete abolition of private property and thus inheritance; while Arab socialism limits but does not abolish private property and inheritance.

Communism designs a complete planning for national economy in all its fields with no free production and exchange. While Arab socialism is not strict and rigid in its economic planning and encourages personal initiatives and freedom of production and exchange within the limits of the national economic interests.

Communism gives economic security at the cost of individual liberty, while Arab socialism aims at striking the balance between security and liberty.

Taking these basic differences and contradictions into consideration

we realize that Arab socialism is not a step towards Communism; on the contrary, it refutes the Communist principles. Some Arab socialists, like the Arab Resurrection Socialists, believe that Communism is a dangerous doctrine for the Arab society, the subject which we have discussed in Chapter V, where Marxian socialism was compared with that of the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party.

Arab socialists condemn Communism at the present time. Whether they will be able to resist further Communist infiltration and to go ahead with their challenge depends, to a large extent, on the Arabs' relations with the Western bloc and the Soviet Union, and on the international communist activity and internal factors. The deterioration of the Arabs' relations with the West has been the main element in facilitating the Soviet interference in the Arab world. So far, the Arabs differentiate between the Soviet Union as a world power and Communism as an ideology. But the widening of the gap between the Arabs and the Western camp may make it difficult for the Arab socialists to continue their challenge for Communism and to check the communist infiltration in the Arab world.

Western socialism emerged in the nineteenth century as a reaction to the conditions brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The ownership of the means of production by a few capitalists as well as the bad conditions of the workers were the main reasons for the appearance of socialism, which was based on class rather than national differences. The struggle of workers against capitalists was a uniting factor for all socialists in any country. So in its elementary stage, Western socialism

developed to solve a social problem resulting from industrialization. This same problem does not exist in the underdeveloped countries including the Arab states, due to the lack of industrialization. That is why we see that socialists in such countries put more emphasis on conditions of peasants and reforms needed in their societies and on national problems they face. Therefore, Arab socialism, unlike Western socialism, is not concerned mainly with industrial classes and problems, but it is concerned as well with agricultural workers, national problems, and humanitarian ideals.

Western socialism, which believes in the public ownership of most of the means of production and in making the public sector of the economy dominant over the private, is more socialistic in degree than Arab socialism, which believes in the nationalization of some key industries and in providing social security.

Western socialism, which does not necessarily abolish private property and inheritance but limits them, is close in this aspect to Arab socialism, which believes in limiting private property and inheritance but not in abolishing them.

Arab socialism, like Western socialism, is evolutionary rather than revolutionary.¹

Arab socialism is different from Western socialism, because the existing conditions in the Arab world are different from those of the

1. The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party uses the word *revolution* to mean a social revolution which brings about a change in conditions to help bringing about socialism.

Western countries. Arab society is different from that of the Western states at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the time of the rise of socialist theories in Europe. By that time, the Western states had finished the formative stage in establishing their states and began a new state of expansion; while the Arab country is still in the formative stage and is not completely free and independent but divided into separate divisions.

The Western nations are fully free and sovereign, so nationalism is no more the motivating factor in their life, and they care more for the social and the economic problems. To the Arabs, these social and economic problems are very important; but at present nationalism is as important as these, it is even more important, for without achieving national unity and independence, the Arabs cannot have a well-organized society where economic and social reforms can be introduced.

Arab socialists fight against imperialism, because they feel its inhumanity more than other socialists in other countries; while the French socialists at the time of the writing of this thesis, are supporting imperialism by fighting against the Algerian people to suppress its national movement for liberation and independence. Another example of the difference between the policy of the Arab socialist movements and that of other socialist movements in the world is the Zionist question and the problem of Palestine.

There are socialist circles in Europe that support the Zionist movement and help Israel to survive. Some Western socialists believe that

the support of Israel is nothing but the support of progress in the Middle East. They do this because they believe that:

Firstly - Israel is the first experiment of its kind of social democracy.

Secondly- Israel is a solution for the Jewish problem.

Thirdly - Those who oppose the existence of Israel are from the ruling classes, which persist on not having a solution for the problem, in order to keep their old institutions as means to their influence and power.¹

In spite of the fact that Arab citizens are badly treated in Israel and that the Arabs, rulers and people, insist on having a fair solution to the Palestinian question which restores the Arabs' rights, we are not going to argue whether Israel is a real democracy or not and whether only the governing conservative classes in the Arab world persist on not solving this question, because this is besides the point. The important thing to note is that to give the greater part of Palestine to the Jews, in order to solve the Jewish problem, is not a humanitarian solution.

It is true that the Jews were persecuted by several people. But to correct this error, one should not commit a more serious one. To find a land for settling a persecuted people does not require the occupation of the land, property, and homes of an innocent people, and to make its original settlers refugees. "What Nazism was for the Jews, Zionism is for the Arabs."² The Western socialists may not consider this a crime against humanity as the Arab socialists consider it to be, because the former do not realize or feel the dangerous consequences of the existence of Israel as the latter do.

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1. Clovis Maksoud, Nahwa Ishtirakiah Arabyah, (Beirut: Dar Menayminah, 1957), p. 135.
 2. Walid Khalidy, Arab Neutralism, a lecture at the Arab Cultural Club, (Beirut, December 13, 1957).

Confronting, more or less, similar problems, Arab socialism, which is a part of Asian socialism, is very close to the latter. The former tends to emphasize more the humanitarian and the national points of view. "Socialism in the Arab nation is the essence of the national movement; for nationalism in the Arab states is the struggle to restore rights which were stolen by imperialism, and to achieve unity which is the motto of our human existence."¹

Arab socialism, like Asian socialism, puts emphasis on land reform and the improvement of the conditions of peasants. They both advocate self-determination and condemn imperialism. "They (Asian socialists) emphasize land reform, anti-imperialism and national independence."²

Both Arab socialism and Asian socialism believe in neutrality between the Western democracies and the Soviet bloc and in the creation of a "Third Force". "Both wings of the Socialist movement in Asia are neutralist."³ The National Democratic Party in Iraq was the first party to call upon Iraq and the Arab states to adopt a neutralist attitude between the two conflicting camps in 1946. The Progressive Socialist Party published a series of articles in its paper, Al-Anba³ in the year 1951, explaining what is meant by the "Third Force". The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party, as well as the other Arab socialist parties, have been adopting the policy of "Positive Neutralism".

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1. Clovis Maksoud, op.cit., p. 54.
 2. David J. Saposs, op.cit., p. 590.
 3. Ibid.

Having suggested some practical steps which help achieving Arab socialists' goals, and having compared and contrasted Arab socialism on the one hand, and communist socialism, Western socialism and Asian socialism on the other; the writer wants to emphasize the fact that although the concept of socialism was imported from the outside and the principles of the other socialist parties in the world were familiar to Arab socialist leaders, yet the principles of the Arab socialist parties were not copied from those of the other socialist parties. They were rather created to fit the needs of Arab society. At present, the Arab society needs economic, social, and political reforms rather than a socialist system. The Arabs need to liberate themselves and obtain full sovereignty and independence, so that they will be able to choose better the system they want to live under rather than import that system from the outside and apply it as it is; irrespective of whether this system is socialistic or capitalistic.

In addition to their social and economic reforms, the principles of these socialist parties, in general, are nationalistic rather than socialistic. For our national problems are not solved yet, and our nationalist aspirations have not been attained. So these social and economic reforms, which the Arab socialist parties offer, are accompanied with the Arab nationalist aspirations and conform with the Arabs' political struggles for liberty and unity, which help to bring about the needed reforms for Arab society.

Therefore, the Arab socialist movement, at present, is not really socialist and does not aim at establishing a socialistic regime in the Arab

world. It is a reformist movement advocating some measures with socialist tendencies. It aims at social and economic reforms as well as at national liberation, democracy, and equality, the basic foundations upon which a sound and healthy Arab society may be built.

A P P E N D I X A

The Program of the Socialist Democratic Party¹

I. Political Democracy

1. The party believes in freedom and in democracy, without which socialism cannot be achieved, as there can be no true democracy without socialism.

2. Citizens should enjoy full political rights, freedom of speech and opinion, and individual liberty.

3. The legislative and the executive authorities, including the President, should be elected by all people. Both men and women should be eligible to vote.

4. All those living within the state should be equal before law.

5. The majority should always rule with full respect for minority rights.

6. A neutral judicial body independent of the executive should be formed to ensure fair judgement for all.

7. Death sentences and other physical punishments should be abolished.

8. Democracy cannot be realized in a one-party system. It is necessary to have more than one party in the country in order to have opposition which is very essential for a democratic life.

1. Al-Anba^{*}, No. 215, (Beirut, September 9, 1955), p. 3.

9. Any kind of dictatorship, whether it be the dictatorship of one person, a group of persons, a political party, or a military dictatorship, is dangerous for the citizens of the state and for all humanity; because it threatens peace, lowers the spiritual and moral standard of the group, and suppresses individualism which is the basis of human progress.

II. Economic Democracy

Economic democracy, which the party seeks to achieve, replaces the feudal and the capitalist systems by the socialist system, that makes the interest of the community prior to and above individual interests and prepares for all individuals equal opportunities and a fair share of production according to the individual's efforts and his family circumstances. This can be achieved by securing the following basic rights:

1. The right of elementary and secondary education for all and the provision of higher education for those interested.
2. The right of work for all and the provision of employment.
3. The right of rest and recreation after work.
4. The right of free medical treatment.
5. The right of economic and social security for all citizens unable to work because of old-age, disability, and unemployment.
6. The right to secure happy life for children.
7. The right to live in a modern healthy home.

The above mentioned rights are to be granted for all citizens with no exception whatsoever. These rights can be realized when production is organized according to a studied plan, whereby all citizens participate

each according to his ability. The purpose of this economic planning is to fulfill the needs of the citizens according to capability and need. This could be accomplished under a free and effective democratic regime where the majority of the people decides the principal means of production that should be owned by the group. Private property should be allowed in important economic fields, such as land ownership; private ownership is an essential basis for agriculture provided that it does not exceed fifty dunoms and that the owner works it himself. Small-scale crafts should be left free from state control, which should see only that their responsible authority is going in the right direction.

Labour unions and other cooperative institutions for producers and consumers are an essential element for achieving democracy.

III. Arab Unity

The party believes that Arab Unity should be based on the following bases:

1. The Republican regime is the only regime that makes Arab unity possible in the form of a unitary state.
2. There should be only one Arab nationality.
3. All Arabs should have equal rights and duties.
4. Customs duties and all other limitations imposed on the movements of Arab citizens or on the movement of their wealth from one place to another should be abolished.
5. Socialist parties in the Arab world should be the first parties working to achieve Arab Unity.

IV. International Socialism

The Party Constitution states that human unity among all people, regardless of their color and nationality, is the goal that civilized humanity seeks. This goal can be realized by uniting all socialist parties and movements in the world in one international organization that works to fulfill the following objectives:

1. To fight against military treaties and coalitions and against the establishment of military bases.
2. To strengthen the people's front calling for peace, and to get away from the policy of alliances with either the West or the East.
3. To prevent the use of atomic weapons and wars, and to work for disarmament.
4. To get rid of imperialism and make the United Nations the only body concerned with helping backward countries, whose progress was stopped by imperialism...
5. To make the United Nations an effective international authority by establishing a permanent military police body under its control to keep international peace, and by establishing a budget, taken from the budgets of all states in the world in a definite proportion, to be used for raising the standard of living of backward and poor societies.

A P P E N D I X B

The Constitution of the Arab Resurrection

Socialist Party¹

Basic Principles

I. Unity and Freedom of the Arab Nation.

The Arabs are one nation that has its natural right to live within one state and to be free in using and directing its potentialities. Thus, the party considers:

1. The Arab country a political and economic unity that cannot be divided, and that no one state of the Arab states can possibly live all by itself separated from the others.

2. The Arab nation is a cultural unity, and all existing differences among its people would disappear with the awakening of the Arab conscience.

3. The Arab country is for the Arabs, and they alone have the right to manage its affairs, control its wealth, and direct its potentialities.²

1. The Constitution of the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party, (n.d.), pp. 2-20.

2. In its publication Shareh Destour Hizb al-Ba'ath al-Arabi al-Ishtiraki, (n.d.), (Explanation of the Constitution of the Arab Resurrection Socialist Party), the party states on pages 7-10 that it looks at the whole Arab nation as one family and sees that Arab Unity is based on several factors the most important of which are:

a. Unity of Language: The Arabic language is used by all the Arabs in all their states, the thing which helps to unite their feelings, culture, trend of thought, and ways of life. (Cont'd)

II. Character of the Arab Nation

The Arab nation is distinguished by certain characteristics that are apparent in its successive renaissances. It is characterized by its liveliness and creativeness, its tendency to progress and advance, and its ability to adapt itself, as the freedom of the individual grows, in accordance with the national interest. Hence, the party considers:

1. Freedom of speech, meeting, belief, and art as sacred, and no authority can limit them.

2. The value of citizens is determined - after granting them equal opportunities - by the work they do for the sake of the progress of the Arab nation and its advance, irrespective of any other consideration.

III. Mission of the Arab Nation

The Arab nation has an immortal mission that appears in new and complete shapes in the stages of history, and that aims at renewing human values, urging human progress, and developing cooperation among nations.

2. (Contd) b. Unity of History: The Arabs have been living in this part of the world for a long time, which makes them have one common history. They feel that the movement of Prophet Muhammad, the renaissance of the Umayyads, the civilization of the Abbasides, and the struggle of the Arabs against imperialism in recent history are the deeds of their fathers and grand-fathers, and this makes them feel that they are the descendants of one nation.

c. Unity of Present Feelings and Common Future Aspirations. A feeling and an aspiration to unite and awaken.

d. Unity of the Country. The parts of Arab countries are approximately similar in their nature and climate; and simple natural barriers would not stand in the face of the strong factors of unity especially with the new transportation facilities.

f. Economic Unity. The Arab country is one economic unit and no one state can be completely self-sufficient without the help of others.

g. Unity in Self-Defence. Any danger that threatens any state of the Arab country would threaten the other states which makes them unite for the purpose of defence.*

Because of this the party considers that:

1. Imperialism, and all that is related to it, is a criminal deed that the Arabs fight in all possible means, and they help all peoples struggling for their freedom in accordance with their possibilities.

2. Humanity is a cooperative whole for its own interest, coordinated in its values and civilization. The Arabs draw upon world civilization and at the same time they make their own contributions to it. They cooperate with other nations and help in forming just laws that provide security for all peoples' prosperity and peace, and high morality and spirit.

General Principles

1. The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party is an inclusive Arab party establishing branches in all the Arab states; and it does not deal with the local politics of individual states except from the point of view of the general Arab interest.

2. Damascus is the central headquarters of the party at present, which may be transferred to another Arab city if the national interest so demands.

3. The party is national. It believes that nationalism is a living immortal fact, and that the conscience that binds the individual firmly to his nation is a sacred feeling filled with creative powers inducing self-sacrifice, causing a sense of responsibility, and working to direct the human forces of the individual in a practical and useful direction.

The nationalism which the party calls for is the will of the Arab people to liberate itself, to unite, to be given the opportunity for realizing the Arab character in history, and to cooperate with other nations to secure for humanity its direct progress towards goodness and prosperity.¹

4. The party is socialist. It believes that socialism is a necessity arising from the foundations of Arab nationalism; because it is the best system that allows the Arab people to exploit their potentialities and to express most fully their creative power. It secures for the nation a continuous growth in its moral and material production and a brotherly cooperation among its individuals.

In addition to getting rid of the defects of feudalism and capitalism, the socialist system aims at increasing production, and at achieving a fair and just distribution of production among the producers. It makes it easier for the individual and for the nation to fulfill best their mission in an atmosphere of freedom and economic security by founding positive factors for a materialistic human life built on the common good.

5. The party is popular. The party believes that the people is the sovereign power, that it alone is the source of all authority and leadership, and that the importance of the state is derived from the will of the people, and the sacredness of the state depends on the extent of the people's freedom to decide the form of the state. On this basis the party depends, for fulfilling its mission, on the people with whom it seeks to remain in close touch and to raise its mental, moral, economic and physical standard in order that it may be able to realize its character and practise its

1. On page 28 of the party Publication (Shareh Destour Hizb al-Ba^aath al-Arabi al-Ishtiraki), it is stated: *we despise national theories of racial distinctions which lead to selfishness and to the superiority and control of one individual over another or of one nation over another. The nationalism of our party is a human and not an offensive one.*

individual and national rights.

6. The party is revolutionary. The party believes that its aims in awakening Arab nationalism and in bringing about socialism cannot be achieved except through revolution and struggle, and that to depend on the slow march of evolution and to be satisfied with partial reforms is to threaten these aims with failure and loss. Therefore, the party decides:

a. To struggle against foreign imperialism for complete liberation of the Arab lands.

b. To struggle to unite all the Arabs in one independent united state.

c. To revolt against the present corrupt conditions in all the mental, economic, social, and political fields of life.

7. The Arab lands are those tracts of land which are inhabited by the Arab nation. Their area extends between the Taurus Mountains, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea, the Mountains of Ethiopia, the Arabian Desert, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Mediterranean Sea.

8. The Arabic language is the official language of the state and of the citizens used in writing and learning.

9. The flag of the Arab state is the flag used in the Arab revolution of 1916 that aimed at liberating and uniting the Arab nation.

10. The Arab individual is the one whose language is the Arabic language, who lives on the Arab land or hopes to live on it, and who believes and feels himself to be a member of the Arab nation.

11. Anyone who claims or belongs to a racial grouping against the Arabs, and who lives in the Arab country for imperial purposes, should be obliged to leave the country.

12. The Arab woman should enjoy all the rights of a citizen. The party works to raise the standard of living of the woman in order to be able to enjoy her rights.

13. To offer equal opportunities in education and in economic life, so that all citizens may use their real potentialities to the farthest extent in all human activities.

The Internal Policy of the Party:

14. The system of government in the Arab state should be a parliamentary constitutional system. The executive authority must be responsible before the legislative authority that is elected directly by the people.

15. The national bond is the only existing tie in the Arab state which ensures coordination among the citizens and unite them in one unified state. It struggles against religious, tribal, racial, and regional extremism.

16. The administrative system in the Arab state should be decentralized.

17. The party works for developing the popular spirit and making the sovereignty of the people a living truth in the life of the individual; and it seeks to lay down a constitution that secures for the Arab citizens complete equality before the law, free expression of their wills, and free election of their representatives that will provide them with a free life within the limits of the law.

18. To lay down a unified legislation for the Arab state in accordance with the spirit of the present age and in the light of the past experience of the Arab nation.

19. The judicial authority is separate and independent of any other authority; it has an absolute immunity.

20. Rights of citizenship are granted completely for each citizen who has lived in the Arab country, who has been faithful to it, and who got rid of any racial grouping.¹

21. Military service should be obligatory in the Arab country.

The Foreign Policy of the Party

22. The foreign policy of the Arab state should be inspired by Arab national interest whose mission aims at cooperating with the other nations in order to found a coordinated, free, and secured world going towards a continuous progress.

23. The Arabs struggle with all their strength to destroy imperialism, foreign occupation, and any foreign political or economic influence in their country.

24. Since the Arab people is the only source of authority, all treaties, agreements, and contracts made by the Arab governments that infringe the Arabs full sovereignty should be cancelled.

25. Arab foreign policy should aim at representing the will of the Arabs to live freely and their true wish to help all other nations enjoy freedom.

The Economic Policy of the Party

26. The party is socialist. It believes that the economic wealth in the country should be owned by the nation.

1. "Racial grouping" is used by the party to mean such minority groups in the Arab world as the Armenians, the Kurds, and the Jews. This explanation was given to the writer by Michel Aflak during an interview which took place in Beirut on January 27, 1956.

27. The distribution of wealth in the Arab country is unfair; that is why a new and fairer distribution should be made among the citizens.

28. All citizens have an equal human value, so the party forbids the exploitation of the labour of others.

29. Institutions of public utility, natural resources, large means of production, and transportation means and facilities should be owned by the nation and managed directly by the state. Foreign companies and patents should be cancelled.

30. Land ownership is limited according to the ability of the owner to work and exploit his land without exploiting the work of others. This is done under the supervision of the state and in conformity with its general economic program.

31. Small industrial ownership is limited in conformity with the economic standard enjoyed by the other citizens of the state.

32. Workers share in the management of an industrial enterprise; they are granted, in addition to their wage that is fixed by the state, a fair share of the profits as determined by the state.

33. Ownership of real property is open to all citizens on condition that they do not use it for rent or for its exploitation on the account of others, and that the state puts a maximum limit upon real property ownership for all citizens.

34. Ownership and inheritance are two natural and sacred rights within the limits of the national interest.

35. Usury should be abolished, and an exchange government institution should be established to issue money, which is backed by the national production, to feed the necessary agricultural and industrial projects.

36. The state takes care directly of local and foreign trade to prevent exploitation between producer and consumer, to protect them both, and to protect national production from competition by foreign production and secure an equilibrium between exports and imports.

37. An inclusive program should be drawn up in the light of the latest economic experiences and theories to industrialize the Arab country, develop national production, open new possibilities and direct its industrial economy in every state according to its potentialities and its material wealth.

Social Policy of the Party

38. Family, children, and marriage.

a. The family is the basic cell of the nation; and the state has to protect it and make it happier.

b. Children are the concern of both the family and the nation, which should try to increase them and take care of their health and their raising up.

c. Marriage is a national duty which the state should encourage, facilitate, and protect.

39. Health of Society.

The state establishes, on its account, preventive medical institutions, sanitarium and hospitals for free medical treatment, enough for the need of all citizens.

40. Work.

a. Work is obligatory for everyone who is able to work. The state

has to find mental or physical work for every citizen.

b. The worker's income should be enough for an average standard of living.

c. The state ensures the livelihood of all those who are unable to work.

d. A fair law for workers should be enacted stating the daily hours of work, granting them weekly and yearly holidays with pay, protecting their rights, and ensuring social security, old age-pensions, and full or partial compensation for accidents during the work.

e. To form free guilds for workers and peasants and to encourage them to become a useful instrument to defend their rights, raise their standard, secure their potentialities, create a cooperative spirit among them, and represent them in the high courts of labour.

f. To form special courts for labour in which the state, the guilds, the workers, and the peasants are represented. These courts are to settle disputes between the workers and the employers and the representatives of the state.

41. Education of Society.

a. The party works to establish in the Arab country a general educational system which is national, Arabic, free, progressive, inclusive, profound, and human in its aims that should be spread among all classes of people.

b. The state is responsible for the protection of the freedom of speech, publication, meeting, protestation, and press, within the limits of the high Arab national interest, and for offering all means and possibilities

for the achievement of this freedom.

c. Intellectual work is the most sacred kind of work. The state has to protect intellectual peoples and thinkers and to encourage them.

d. To encourage - within the limits of the idea of Arab nationalism - the establishment of clubs, the formation of societies, parties, youth organizations, and tourist institutes; and to use movies, the radio, the television, and all means of modern civilization to spread national education and to entertain people.

42. Abolition of class distinctions and differences.

Class differences are the result of a bad social condition. Therefore, the party struggles on the side of the working and the suffering classes in society to get rid of these differences and distinctions, and to give to the citizens their complete human value and enable them to live within a fair social system without any privileges for some citizens, except for those with intellectual ability or useful skills.

43. Nomadism is a primitive social stage which weakens national production and makes a great part of the nation a paralyzed organ and a factor to hinder its growth and advancement.

The party struggles to urbanize nomads, to give them lands, to cancel tribal laws, and to apply the laws of the state to them.

The Educational Policy of the Party.

The educational policy of the party aims at creating a new Arab generation believing in the unity of its nation and the immortality of its message, using scientific thinking and freeing itself from myths and old

customs. That new generation should have a struggling spirit and should cooperate with fellow citizens to achieve the complete Arab revolution and the progress of humanity. On this basis, the party decides:

44. To mark all aspects of intellectual, economic, political, and artistic life with an Arab nationalistic colour that shall bring back to the nation its glorious historical tradition that urges it to build up an ideal and glorious future.

45. Education is the task of the state alone. All foreign and private institutions should be cancelled.

46. Education, in all its stages, is free of charge for all citizens and is obligatory in its elementary and secondary stages.

48. To confine the teaching profession and everything related to it to Arab citizens, except in the case of high and professional education.

Revision of the Constitution

The Basic principles of the constitution cannot be revised. Other principles can be revised with the consent of two-thirds of the Party Council after a proposal issued from the Executive Committee or from one-fourth of the members of the Council or from ten members of the General Council.

A P P E N D I X C

The Program of the National Democratic Party¹

The party aims at a complete and general reform in all political, economic, social, and cultural fields of Iraqi life according to a general scientific planning, which is based on socialist and democratic principles. The party seeks to achieve its goals through democratic means.

I. Political Side

1. Foreign Policy

a. The party works to liberate Iraq and make it fully independent; and to establish relations between Iraq and other states on the basis of friendship, mutual interests, and equality in rights and duties according to the charter of the United Nations.

b. The party works to achieve the unity of the Arab states in one federal state.

c. The party works to achieve full independence for the Arab states which do not enjoy complete independence, and to liberate Palestine with full rights for its Arab people.

2. Political System

a. The party works to build a democratic society that aims at making

1. The Program of the National Democratic Party, (Bagdad: Matha^aat ar-Ribitah, n.d.), pp. 31-48.

the individual an end in himself; to achieve social justice in a society liberated from misery, ignorance, illness, and fear, in which all citizens are free and equal in rights and duties before the law, with no distinction among them.

b. The party considers the Kurds and other non-Arab elements equal to Arabs and as having the same opportunities to develop their individual capabilities and direct the general policy of the country. It calls for a friendly cooperation between Arab and non-Arab elements.

c. The party works to secure for all citizens full civil liberties especially those of speech, publication, meeting, belief, and the formation of organizations, in so far as these liberties do not injure others.

d. The party works to achieve a democratic parliamentary life with direct and free elections; to have government subordinated to the will of the people through the House of Representatives; to have a separation of powers and a reformation of the machinery of the state by employing trained capable people; to ensure the various necessities for the people in order to enable it to guard its independence, sovereignty, interests, and liberties of its individuals; and to establish an authority for protecting individuals from the corruption and misuse of power.

e. The party works to preserve the independence of the judiciary and to raise its standards in a way which ensures the preservation of rights and justice, to eliminate what contradicts the above-mentioned goals and means, and to legislate for achieving them.

II. The Economic Side

The party believes that poverty, of which most of the people complain;

is the disease which should be abolished in order that the nation may live a comfortable life. Since poverty is caused mainly by a lack of general production and a bad distribution of products, the party sees that there is no means for fighting poverty except by increasing production and improving the distribution of wealth through economic planning and through lessening economic differences, so that every individual may be secured with a minimum income sufficient to enable him to live without need or worry. That is why the party works:

1. To lay down and apply a constructive scientific program including agriculture, industry, commerce, communications and other fields of production for accomplishing a great increase in its quantity and a quick improvement in its quality.
2. To liberate the Iraqi economy from foreign exploitation and control.
3. To make government and civil financial institutions able to provide the financial sources in the country for achieving the required projects.
4. To have the state create industrial projects related to public services, and direct individual initiative and national capital for reviving the economic and industrial movement in the country by establishing cooperative companies whose capital is shared by the state and the public.
5. To introduce a new arrangement for landownership by distributing the lands of the state among small peasants, limiting large ownership to a fair and reasonable amount, distributing surplus lands among peasants who

should form cooperative societies to help them to exploit their lands and to regulate and improve their products.

6. To abolish the corrupt and tyrannical agricultural laws and rules, increase the peasant's share of production, establish modern villages, and improve the social conditions of the peasants.

7. To organize workers in guilds and unions that preserve their rights; and to support the labourers' movement in order to raise the general standard of workers' wages, to improve their conditions, and to make them an effective power in the life of the Iraqi society.

8. The party considers the existence of great economic differences in the Iraqi society as a violation of social justice; therefore, it works to lessen these economic differences by imposing direct and progressive taxes on all kinds of income and on inheritance, and to use the greatest possible portion of the budget of the state for social services as insurance against sickness, unemployment, old age and similar services that aim at improving the people's conditions.

III. The Social Side

1. Health. The party considers a healthy life without illness or need as a right of every citizen; therefore, it aims at having the state ensure this right through increasing public health services in all its fields, securing free medical treatment for every individual, making the necessary projects for the protection of the people from sickness, and offering the necessary diet for mothers and children in need.

2. Education. To lay down and apply a plan for raising the standard of education; to make elementary education free and obligatory; to teach illiterates; to encourage professional, agricultural, and higher education; to achieve a free university life; to spread general education; to encourage the arts; and to take care of the teacher and of his intellectual and material standards.

3. Municipal Affairs. Citizens are to take care of their municipal affairs by electing municipal councils, participating effectively in directing their local affairs, organizing cities and villages according to modern planning, and ensuring the supply of electricity and healthy water.

4. Liberation of woman. The party aims at liberating woman and at granting her full political rights.

Internal Law of the Party

1. Membership. To be accepted as a member by the Central Committee one has to secure the approval of the party cell in his district; and if this is not available, a recommendation given by any three members of the party will do. The candidate should be an Iraqi, not below twenty years of age, of good conduct and reputation, and not deprived of civil rights. He should accept the party program and follow its principles and should not belong to any organization whose principles conflict with those of the party.

2. Headquarters. Bagdad is the headquarters of the party. It can be transferred to other places when necessary by a decision taken by the central committee. The party establishes branches in all the districts of Iraq.

3. Organization. The party has a central administrative committee, a general assembly, a general council for the center and for each branch, an administrative committee and an assembly for every branch.

The central committee, which is composed of seven to fifteen members, is elected yearly. These elected members elect from among themselves a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary-General, and a Treasurer.

The President heads the meetings of the Central Administrative Committee, the General Council of the center, and the General Assembly. He is responsible for the execution of the decisions of the General Assembly and the Central Administrative Committee; he represents the party before all institutions and supervises all its affairs.

The Vice-President replaces the President during the latter's absence and performs duties assigned to him by the President.

The Secretary-General organizes the meetings of the Central Administrative Committee and is responsible for the records and correspondence of the party.

The Treasurer directs the financial matters of the party.

4. Finance. The party is financed from the following sources:

- a. Entrance fees and monthly subscriptions of members.
- b. Contributions.

A member may be exempted from paying entrance and subscription fees.

The party has a legal character. It has the right to own property for the purpose of achieving its aims. In case of dissolution this wealth is disposed of as directed by the Central Committee.

A P P E N D I X D

The Program of the Progressive Socialist Party¹

Internal Policy

I. The State:

1. To draw up a document declaring the rights and duties of the citizens as a preface for the constitution.
2. To regulate existing organizations and respect their activities within the state, which is nothing but a representative of these groups through the different institutions that are sufficient to achieve their common ends.
3. To form a constitution in accordance with the party principles and the requirements of the time and place ensuring the rights and duties declared in the document and based on:
 - Separation of powers.
 - Strengthening of the executive.
 - Ensuring the legality of laws through the judiciary.
 - Equality of women and men in civil and political rights.
 - Ensuring the representation in the government of professional people, specialists, and the different trade and professional associations.

1. The Program of the Progressive Socialist Party, (Beirut: Dar al-Ahad, n.d.), pp. 65-93.

4. To make the judiciary the final authority and defender of rights and individual liberties. This body should possess responsibility, educational ability, promptness of execution, liberation from political pressure and materialistic need, easy and comprehensive regulation for citizens. This accompanied by:

(a) Determining the rights and the duties of the judge:

- To make the judiciary the highest position in the state composed of the selected few with high ability.
- To give the judiciary financial security.
- To secure the judiciary against the administrative authority, no expulsion or removal from one place into another without a serious cause.
- The judge is responsible for his legal mistakes.

(b) The formation of a continuous supervisory body to observe:

- The judge*s personal conduct.
- His performance of his duty.
- His legal ability.

(c) Division of the judiciary

- Decentralization.
- Separate responsible judges in every district.
- One high judicial authority to decide on judicial interpretations and to solve judicial differences.

(d) To ensure justice in judicial decisions.

- Law is a means for justice.

(e) Ensuring speed of execution.

5. To form an electoral law based on:

- Compulsory voting.
- Small electoral districts.
- An increase of polling stations.
- Sound elections through a judicial authority.

6. To base administration on:

- Simplicity.
- Decentralization.
- Widened authority.
- Clear definition of responsibility.
- Employing specialized people.
- A continuous independent supervision.
- Respect for the official, and impartial evaluation of his merit.

7. The state should respect freedom of thought and belief and abolish the system of distributing political positions according to religious sects.

8. To establish a democratic regime.

9. To educate people politically and socially in order to have a democratic regime in which citizens voluntarily practice self-discipline.

II. Society

1. To strengthen family formation by encouraging early marriage.

2. To safeguard posterity and the human race, especially by not allowing marriage except for healthy people and by combating diseases of all kinds.

3. To mould people in one social unit, and to consider religion as an important element in the building up of the best possible society by spreading the principles of human perfection.

4. To consider society not as a collection of individuals but as an organic whole in which every kind of work has its value in so far as it leads society towards perfection.

5. To fight against the existence of classes and against feudalism.

6. To adopt the system of obligatory social service.

7. To keep an approximate balance between residents of rural areas and those of urban areas.

8. To raise the standard of living in rural areas by placing legal restrictions on the movements from villages to cities and by building roads, bringing water and electricity, and establishing schools and clubs in villages.

9. To encourage local customs and ways of life.

10. Every citizen has the right to obtain education and work and make provision securing him against unemployment, old age, and disease.

III. Public Health

1. To try to keep individuals in a healthy state by disseminating among people a knowledge of elementary hygiene and by observing that necessary measures are taken in all fields to take care of public health.

2. To abolish hereditary diseases by requiring a health certificate as a condition for marriage and for enrollment in any institution.

3. To fight contagious diseases by isolating the sick and by applying necessary precautionary measures.

4. To facilitate the provision of medical treatment for all citizens by providing hospitals and medical treatment for the poor.

5. To make sure that the medical profession has a high academic standard with a sufficient number of laboratories for training purposes.

IV. Economy and Commerce

To raise the economic standard of the country by adopting a planned economic and commercial policy that aims at the following objectives:

1. Stabilizing and raising the standard of living and establishing a social security scheme by improving production in quality and quantity, reducing the cost of living, and securing an equilibrium in the balance of trade.

These can be accomplished through the following means:

a) Improving production by encouraging skill and ability, by having the entrepreneurs using centers of research and experimentation, making the workers more trained and educated, and using the machine for standardizing of production.

b) Encouraging individual ability to work by appropriate tax system, a generous loan policy for industrial exploitation and agriculture, establishing research institutions, and giving scholarships for talented people.

c) Utilizing the talents of the citizens and employing them according to specialization.

d) Appropriate direction and encouragement of the useful branches of the national economy. In agriculture: specialization, a high quality,

increasing of production as needed by the demand of the market. Encouraging tourism by founding good residential areas, enough recreation, sports and amusements. In industry: to have industries to meet the need of local and external markets.

e) Lowering the cost of living by lowering the cost of production, lowering indirect taxes as much as possible, and custom duties and tariffs for consumer goods produced in the country; by making transportation facilities cheaper and easier, and by forbidding excessive profits especially those of the middleman.

f) Having an equilibrium in the budget. Internally, by following a policy that aims at economic security and low cost of living; externally, by applying a marketing policy whereby production equals demand in outside markets. In the international field the party welcomes the admission and the employment of foreign capital, provided that it is used for the interest of the country.

2. Codification of an equitable law for property, capital, and employment assuring their harmonious collaboration that leads to the general prosperity.

a) In the present stage of the evolution of human society private property is considered the basis of individual liberty and security, a means of support for the family, a factor of production, and a stimulus for personal initiative, provided that it is not a cause for the immobilization and sterilization of wealth, nor an instrument for social parasitism and laziness, and that it does not come into conflict with public ownership.

b) Work, the duty of a human and noble life, is the essential condition for social productivity and utility. The one who is able to work and does not work should not have the right to eat.

For the fulfillment of these principles the following policy should be followed:

- Public ownership: nationalizing all institutions of a public character or of a particular importance for the economy of the country or for its social and political life.

- Distributing the private ownership of the state and imposing a progressively ascending tax on inherited wealth.

- To get rid of very high incomes and of idle wealth the state imposes high taxes on them by using the system of progressive taxation.

- To adopt the cooperative system, wherever possible, in all branches of production and consumption.

- To adopt a stable financial policy and a free competitive commercial system.

- Each worker is an owner whereby, in addition to his wage, he will get a fair share of the net profits which will be divided according to a just ratio between capital and labor.

- To provide the worker with as much machinery as possible in order to increase the power of production.

3. To use taxes and public expenditure as factors for developing national economy and as means for security and social justice. Because of this a system of finance and taxation should be adopted based on the

principle of "work according to ability and expenditure according to need."
To execute this principle the following arrangements should be followed:

- To reform the taxing system whereby enough money shall be collected to perform the constructive and social projects of the government.

- To increase direct taxes and decrease indirect taxes as much as possible.

- To run the financial affairs of the state on an economic and efficient basis.

- To establish a permanent research institute.

4. An International Cooperation for economic exchange through international institutions and through unilateral and multilateral commercial agreements should be acquired.

V. The Intellectual Life

1. To consider knowledge a value in itself, a center for human activity, a measure for every human deed, and a source of freedom and pleasure:

- To grant freedom of thought in research for truth.

- To consider the publication of knowledge as a duty of every individual.

- To ensure obligatory and free education in its elementary and secondary stages and free education in its higher stages.

- To establish night schools for elementary, secondary, high, and professional education.

- To use education for publishing the truth and for trying to create the best possible individual and citizen.

2. To consider knowledge as a source of social and national strength.

- To send missions abroad for specialized study and to benefit from them by establishing institutions in all branches of arts and sciences.

- To give prizes and establish local and international exhibitions for intellectual production.

- To strengthen the intellectual ties among the intellectual people in the country and their colleagues in other countries, especially through international research institutes and international, educational and intellectual centers.

VI. Journalism

To make a basic reform of the press law in accordance with the importance of the press as an effective connecting link between public opinion and government and as a means for publishing the truth.

Organization

The party is run according to the following system:

1. The general organization consists of:

a. The President, who represents the party before the legal authorities, heads the Board of Directors, appoints party officials and keeps an eye on the fulfillment of the constitutional provisions.

b. The Vice-President, who heads the judicial authority of the party and replaces the President during the latter's absence.

c. The Board of Directors, consisting of five members, forms the policy of the party, furnishes new laws that are not found in the party convention, supervises the party organization, and advises the President.

d. The Delegates, twelve in number, are chosen by the President to run the affairs of the party that are divided into: internal, external, financial, judicial, employment, economics and construction, education, health, social, propaganda and publication, youth and athletics, and legislative.

e. The Advisors, who are chosen to give social and technical advice.

f. The General Inspection Committee, that inspects party organs and receives complaints..

g. The Council of Honour, which consists of the highest and most distinguished party officials who have contributed useful services to the party.

2. The regional organizations consist of:

a. The Divisions, forty-two in number, consist of several branches each.

b. The Branches are found in towns and villages. Each branch is headed by a director with a secretary and an assistant director, and a treasurer.

To be admitted as a member the candidate must be twenty years old or above, must know the basic principles of the party, must not have been convicted of a serious crime, and must take an oath that he accepts the principles and the constitution of the party and that he is ready to abide by them.

The party is financed from the following sources:

1. Admission fees.
2. Subscription fees.
3. Contributions.
4. Profits from functions organized by the party.
5. Social help profits.
6. Interest on the money of the party deposited in banks.

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(Note: Ø indicates sources in Arabic)

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