

PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The revisionist journals and special issues of the so-called "World Marxist Review" have been devoting their columns to virulent articles attacking the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. The well-trained international clique of revisionists has sprung into action on command from the leading group in the C.P.S.U. In all areas the puppet chorns breaks out simultaneously in a chant of anti-China slander, picking up the tune in unison at the sound of the masters baton. There is a clearly discernible thread of similarity running through all the articles—the lies and slander are cast in a common mold; only the literary styles vary.

Many of these documents are liberally sprinkled with bitter tears over the alleged criticism of the music of Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, etc., those "high brow musicians so beloved by the petty-bourgeois sycophants who "suffer" through symphonies, not out of love and appreciation for music but only so they can chatter endlessly about "great musical experiences". It is these same middle-class charlatans who scan through the pages of 'Reader's Digest' and then attend cocktail parties where they can pontificate in sonorous phrases about the 'Great Books' they have read.

This kind of nonsense may provide a soothing balm for the dehydrated and crassly materialist souls of the petty-bourgeoisie but what the hell it has to do with the consolidation and advance of the Proletarian Revolution entirely eludes me. I find myself singularly unmoved by the plaintive wails of Walter Ulbrecht who breaks into the stream of his own invective to complain about 'invective outbursts against the great German composers, Bach and Beethoven, revered by all nations'. It may come as a surprise to Ulbrecht, but there are millions of oppressed and hungry people in Africa, Asia and Latin America, with a life expectancy of less than 30 years, who not only do not revere Bach and Beethoven but have actually never heard of them. For these millions, the downtrodden of the earth, Beethoven funeral march may be a fitting requiem for life as it now is under imperialist domination: but for the advance into mankind's bright, Communist future a revolutionary soldiers marching tune would be more fitting and a more suitable musical reflection of the mood of the builders of the new world. I would be more impressed if Ulbrecht showed some concern over the preservation and popularization of the songs sung by the German Voluteers in Spain.

These traitors are prepared to descend to any level, wade through oceans of filth, on their frantic effort to besmirch China and aid the imperialist aggressor. For example, we find this slander in the statement of the C.P. of Argentina: "The armed conflict with India which the Chinese leaders provoked over border issues and which could have been settled peacefully; their direct responsibility for adventurist policies in different Asian and African countries, policies which have had dire consequences. (Witness the sad example of Indonesia.)"

The leaders of the C.P. of Argentina are flying in the face of reality. It was long ago established that the Indian reactionaries, acting under directions of the U.S. imperialists, were solely responsible for the Sino-Indian Border dispute and that the Soviet revisionists aided in arming India against People's China. And these same against the impoverished masses who want to put an end to the regime of hunger.

The revisionists also undertake the virtually impossible task of whitewashing the blood-soaked imperialists in Indonesia. It is China, the revisionists claim, and not the C.I.A. and their puppet generals, who is responsible for the mass slaughter in Indonesia. They also say "if it were not for China's adventurist policies there would be

peace in Vietnam.' It is difficult to think of any greater service which the revisionists could render the imperialist aggressor. The leading group of modern revisionists in the Soviet Union, in a gesture of eternal friendship, clasp firmly to their bosom Adam Malik, the Trotskyite agent of the Indonesian fascist generals and provide him with a public platform from which to vilify People's China and at the same moment expel from the Soviet Union the representative of the embattled C.P. of Indonesia. The Soviet representative in the United Nations join with the imperialist assassins in welcoming the returning delegate of the murderers of the Indonesian people who enters the assembly with hands still dripping the blood of his victims.

KASHTAN'S CONTRIBUTION

The leading Canadian revisionist, William Kashtan, leaps into the fray like some bedraggled knight defending the honour of a maiden in danger of being seduced. In one of his submissions Kashtan claims to speak on behalf of 'progressive-minded Canadians' when all he really speaks for is a rapidly dwindling corporal's guard of bungling revisionists whose sole ambition is to win a share of the lucrative posts available in the U.S.-dominated trade unions and elect a few members to parliament from which vantage points they can better serve the ruling class.

In his anxiety to prove the value of his services to the master revisionists in Moscow, Kashtan authored a lengthy article which was published in the party journal, 'Canadian Tribune'. For outright viciousness this article has not been surpassed even by the most reactionary section of the capitalist press. The 'Sun' of Vancouver, one of the links in the reactionary Southam chain of newspapers showed its appreciation by reprinting a lengthy excerpt from this particular piece of anti-China vilification.

In 1917, and for some years subsequent to that, the imperialists paid premium rates to writers willing and able to manufacture lurid tales of 'Bolshevik Atrocities'; the looting and destruction of art treasures; acts of 'vandalism' and of 'violence'; stories of the 'undemocratic' removal of bureaucrats from office, etc. According to the Laureates of Imperialism of the period the cultural heritage of the ages was in the process of being vandalised and destroyed by illiterate, unkempt Bolsheviks who had no appreciation of fine music and beautiful statues. It was these writers who worked for hire to raise their eyes from the capitalist gutter to see the vision of a new world in birth.

But the literacy prostitutes of the capitalist press have fallen on hard times. It is difficult for them to find honest people who will any longer believe their fantastic

tales of horror about the revolutionary struggles of the people. The ruling class must find new ways and new forces to confuse and mislead the workers. It is for this task that the revisionists volunteer their services asking in return only a share in the 'democratic structure'. Masquerading as Marxist-Leninists and making pleas for 'unity', these traitors do for the imperialists what they could never hope to do for themselves.

In Kashtan's articles there are many examples of counter-revolutionary propaganda in the service of imperialism. He shows a total disregard for the truth and displays the most extreme contempt for the intelligence of the working people. Here, from his "Tribune" article is a quotation that could well have been datelined Riga, 1917: "...books, works of art, music, monuments—all part of the cultural heritage of China and of mankind—are being destroyed...acts of vandalism and of organized violence are being carried out by the Red Guards." As is

only fitting, this passage was afforded wide publicity in the capitalist press. No doubt the author collected his "thirty pieces of silver".

Having thus roundly condemned China for the alleged destruction of the heritage of the past the writer, a few paragraphs later, reverses himself and berates China in this manner: "Relying on one's own resources has made more difficult the task of over-coming heritages of the past. This adventurous course", states Kashtan, "brought defeat to the Indonesian Communists and split the Indian Communist Party." Thus he, like all the other modern revisionists, aids the designs of the imperialist aggressor in Asia by echoing the vile slander about the slaughter in Indonesia and covering up U.S. responsibility for the murder of hundreds of thousands of Communists, Progressives and Trade Unionists. The Indian Communist Party was split as a result of the revisionists acting as recruiting officers for the Indian reactionaries in the U.S.-Soviet-British sponsored war on China. At one time Caron B.C. organizer for the C.P., said: "Some of our Indian comrades talk like goddam imperialists."

Great concern is registered by the revisionist scribes over the so-called "arbitrary" removal of party and government officials from their posts. Their long years of party membership is often cited as reason why these officials should not be removed. Plechanoff and Kautsky were also Marxists and party members for many years before they betrayed the working class. Are we to say, then, that Lenin was wrong to split with Plechanoff and Kautsky over their particular brand of revisionism? Is it not true that, if Lenin had followed revisionist advice, there would have been no October Revolution. No doubt Kashtan considers that his 40-odd years of membership accords him the right to betray the working class and immunity from retribution for his treachery.

ON YOUTH IN REBELLION...

"How is it possible", queries Kashtan, 'to place in the hands of school children and students such a vital problem...?' The revisionists know that their only hope of even temporary success is to have the new generation forget about revolution and concern themselves only with their own personal well-being and enjoyment. It is for this reason that traitors like Kashtan work themselves into a frenzy when Marxist-Leninists advise the youth to keep alive the spirit of rebellion and carry the revolution through to the end. "Obey your elders, do not question orders however ridiculous they may seem, and do not dare to criticize actions of government or party leaders", is Kashtan's command to the youth. A not too surprising command coming, as it does, from the revisionist leader of a party that is dying of old age.

But such a command will have no influence amongst the youth who have taken up the banner of revolution and dare to march in the vanguard of the nation, are shaking off the dead weight of ancient and outworn traditions and daring to tackle the difficult but essential task of not only changing the world of men, but changing man himself. It is this most important task that the youth of China, the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party, have undertaken and for this they have organized the Red Guard units which the revisionists and imperialists hate and fear with such furious intensity.

Had the American fourteen year olds of three and four years ago dared to rebel and examine critically the actions of their elders in Congress they would not now be fighting, killing and dying 12,000 miles away in Vietnam. Instead of destroying the homeland of a peaceful and friendly people they would now be home building a free, peaceful and Socialist America. We can only conclude that Kashtan prefers to see them dying in Vietnam rather than displaying a spirit of rebellion and being disrespectful to those who have years of experience.

Canada's leading revisionist has spent his entire adult life reclining in an office chair and becoming involved in

nothing more energetic than working up a high gloss on the seat of his pants. He is completely out of touch with the real world of people. Were he in touch with reality Kashtan would have learned that millions of so-called "children" around the world are forced into back-breaking toil long before they have reached their fourteenth birthday. (The writer of this article was working on the waterfront before he was fourteen).

Even one so politically illiterate as Kashtan could hardly escape knowing that millions of fourteens and under are dying of hunger and diseases induced by hunger or that countless tens of thousands are being brutally murdered by the imperialists. The revisionists advise the youth to be obedient children, remain passive spectators and await deliverance by those "more experienced" or until they reach an age deemed fitting for them to participate in the struggle.

RELYING ON ONE'S OWN RESOURCES...

"Relying on one's own resources has made more difficult the task", writes Kashtan. But our enterprising journalists fail to inform us whose resources he thinks one should rely on. Past experience compels us to assume that Kashtan, and those who agree with him, are really demanding that China accept Soviet edicts without question and without regard to the effect they might have on China's development.

But there is another aspect to this question which Kashtan does not dare touch upon and perhaps is quite incapable of understanding. This aspect concerns the world crisis of the imperialist system and the ever-present danger of imperialism launching out on a new world war.

If a war should materialize then that nation which relies mainly upon others, cut off from their source of support and supply, would almost certainly quickly fall before the attacks of the aggressor. But those who rely mainly on their own efforts and only secondary on aid from others, would have all their own resources mobilized, feel complete confidence in their own ability to survive and render a good account of themselves in resisting the aggressor.

In order that one may grasp fully the importance of "relying mainly on one's own resources" and the emphasis placed on the concept in the People's Republic of China it should be understood that it applies to units much smaller than the nation as well as to the nation itself. Every Commune in China has become, or is in the process of becoming a self-contained unit relying on its own resources. The Communes are organized to exist entirely cut-off from the centre and to operate as fully independent economic, political and fighting units able to survive and give battle depending entirely on their own resources. This is an awesome prospect for the imperialist aggressor to contemplate and one that may well cause him to hesitate putting his plans for aggression into effect; or to face absolute certainty of defeat if he should attack.

Considering all aspects of the problem it appears to me that the most formidable resistance to aggression will result from application of the policy of self reliance. And it follows, therefore, that anyone undermining this policy is weakening the front of resistance to imperialist aggression and thereby strengthening the aggressor.

DESTROYING BOOKS AND MONUMENTS?

As pointed out above the enemies of progress and revolution have always considered lurid tales of wanton destruction of works of art to be a satisfactory substitute for the reasoned discussion of the aims and methods of the revolution. In this respect the modern revisionists act no differently than the reactionary propagandists of the past. Unable to discuss the real issues they make frenzied attempts to obscure them under a wave of hysterical accusations about the alleged destruction of "books, works of art, music, monuments".

I have no personal knowledge of what particular articles (if any) along these lines may be becoming engulfed



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and destroyed in the great tidal wave of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution now sweeping China. There is, in fact, no authentic information of any such destruction taking place. Revolutions are never neat or fully predictable events and errors and excess are possibilities that must always be guarded against and kept to an absolute minimum if not eliminated altogether. But the fact that such things can occur should never deter one from making revolution when necessary.

Instead of making hysterical accusations of a general nature the revisionist writers should be called upon to supply ample and unassailable proof that there has, in fact, been destruction; that such destruction has been of an extent and type entirely unjustified for the advancement of the struggle. I challenge Kashtan to specify what exactly has been destroyed if, in fact, he has any personal knowledge of such destruction and is not just echoing some Moscow-originated anti-China slanders. Our attitude will be determined on the basis of a detailed examination of the evidence—not on Kashtan's prejudiced ravings. We would not, for example, join in a condemnation of the Quebecois because of the destruction of a monument built to honour an imperialist brigand who aided in the conquest of New France, nor will we fault the Irish revolutionaries who blew Nelson off the column he roosted on in Dublin for so many years. By the same token we will not join in criticism of the Chinese Red Guards for destroying that which may be impeding the progress of the revolution. The point is not to become overly excited and agitated over the destruction of some inanimate objects during a period of great revolutionary upsurge but to concern oneself first of all with the safety and progress of the revolution itself.

Let us not be misled into thinking that Kashtan and his associates are opposed to destruction on any and all occasions. Where it serves the interests of revisionism and the ruling class they are quite in favour of destruction. The revolutionary works in defense of Marxism-Leninism that are coming out of China are being regularly seized and destroyed by the revisionist controlled governments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and Kashtan not only applauds, but participates in the destruction by refusing to print and distribute these works in journals under his control.

The revisionists place much of their faith and dependence on so-called "specialists" such as Luberman who played a leading role in restoring the profit motive to Soviet Economy and in leading the nation back to capitalism. When these "specialists" are curbed in their activities the revisionists protest the action as being "undemocratic". "Specialists in various fields of endeavour", says Kashtan in his anti-China article, "have been pillored, assaulted in many cases, and removed from office." This is entirely in line with his long held opinion that opponents of Socialism must be guaranteed the "democratic right" of opposition and that the Proletarian State must be abandoned since it does not guarantee that right and is, therefore, undemocratic. Speaking on this very question at a National Committee meeting in August, 1964, Kashtan declared: "When we speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat we speak of one class...with respect to guarantees against the abrogation of democracy for the people, such guarantees lie in the prospects of multi-party governments. We need to...make clear that our party is for a multi-party government."

For the revisionists anything that does not fit into this pattern of parliamentary democracy must be opposed. "Specialists" who work against the revolution are to be included in multi-party governments where they can more effectively carry out their counter-revolutionary activities and must not be "arbitrarily" removed by action of the masses. So far as we are concerned the fate of the revolution, of socialism, demand the removal of such counter-revolutionary specialists as Brezhnev, Kosygin and Lub-

erman and the working people of China are rendering important and essential service to the revolution when they take action to remove such elements from important and influential posts in the state.

But the revolutionary initiative of the masses, such as is being demonstrated in China, has no place in the plans of revisionists like Kashtan. They fear the revolutionary people and mass action the plague. All questions must be decided "democratically and carried out according to the administrative edicts handed down by government officials and parliamentary commissions.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE NECESSARY

We know from the historical experience of the proletarian revolution that the basic question in every revolution is that of state power. We conquered the enemy in the country and seized state power by the gun. They can all be overthrown, be it imperialism, feudalism or the bureaucrat capitalist class; millionaires, billionaires and trillionaires can be toppled, whoever they may be. And their property can be confiscated. However, confiscation of their property does not amount to confiscation of the reactionary ideas in their minds. Daily and hourly they are always dreaming of a come-back, dreaming of restoring their lost "paradise". Although they are only a tiny percentage of the population, their political potential is quite considerable and their power of resistance is out of all proportion to their numbers.

"It is not at all easy to eradicate the idea of private ownership formed in thousands of years of class society and the forces of habit and the ideological and cultural influence of the exploiting classes associated with private ownership. The spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeois in town and country constantly give rise to new bourgeois elements. As the ranks of the workers grow in number and extend, they take in some elements of the complex background. Then, too, a number of people in the ranks of the Party and state organizations degenerate following the conquest of state power and living in peaceful surroundings. At the same time, on the international plane the imperialists headed by the United States and the reactionaries of various countries are trying hard to eliminate us by using the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of war and "peaceful evolution". And the modern revisionist group with the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party as the centre is also trying by hook or by crook to topple us. If we were to forget about class struggle and drop our guard in these circumstances, we would be in danger of losing state power and allowing capitalism to make a come-back." (from: "Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Through to the End")

The Proletarian Cultural Revolution is not, as the revisionists would have you believe, a mass campaign of vandalism led by hooligans, a broken statue on Tien An Men, or a vase of the Ming Dynasty shattered in the storm of revolution, nor is it a movement interested only in the arbitrary removal of officials. At the centre of the struggle in China is the fight for the total eradication of bourgeois ideology so that there shall never again be a danger of a return to capitalism. The emphasis in the Cultural Revolution is being placed on the point that we cannot be content with changing our material conditions alone—man must also change himself, his way of thinking. A sharp break must be made with capitalism's jungle law of "everyone for himself" and a new concept of all working together collectively for the common good become the accepted rule of life.

History clearly demonstrates that the exploiters never voluntarily abandon the struggle to maintain their authority and class power. Even where their property has been seized and they are stripped of the power and the authority of the state, they still do not abandon hope of a return to their former positions of glory. They will use any available method, adopt any disguise in an effort to achieve their objective. Both armed terror and subter-

fuge and flattery; threats of war and offers of peaceful collaboration; even waving the red flag and posing as revolutionaries, (Hitler used the red flag and called himself a "National Socialist") are all included in the tactics of the ruling class trying to hold on to power or making desperate efforts to return to power after they have been dispossessed of their material possessions.

In the Paris Commune of 1871 the ruling class retreated to the countryside, regrouped, secured the aid of foreign reactionaries and returned to drown the Commune in the blood of the workers of Paris. In 1919 the Hungarian bourgeoisie pretended sympathy with the revolution, offered to surrender state power to the revolutionaries and, once they had the workers ideologically disarmed, took back state power and wreaked class vengeance on the revolutionary working class. In 1956, once again in Hungary, the ruling class, asserted by revisionists and Trotskyites, made an attempt at counter-revolution. In the U.S.S.R. the former ruling class, assisted by foreign capitalists and imperialists, have never given up hope or ceased their efforts to return. These, it is true, have involved a great deal of violence and threats of violence. But it is a serious error for one to believe that violence is the only, or even the chief, method used by the bourgeois. The re-arming of the German militarists is not the only way in which the imperialists have worked to undermine the Soviet State; they have also worked "peacefully" from the inside relying on the revisionists, Trotskyites, petty bourgeois vacillators and remnants of the former ruling class.

The bourgeoisie are, of course, only a tiny minority of the population and, in order to rule, must find support among other groups. Such support is found first of all among the petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeois-trained specialists but includes, especially in the imperialist countries, a corrupted section of the working class who are granted special concessions. These special economic concessions create an appearance of special sectional interests and make the group more susceptible to bourgeois propaganda.

When wide gaps in incomes exist it is clear that some will be able to accumulate wealth while others will have only a minimum standard of life. Idle wealth will look for areas of investment and, consequently, of exploitation. That such conditions would exist during the period of transition was well known to Marxists from the beginning. The problem was dealt with theoretically in many Marxist classics and in a practical way by Lenin in the early stages of the October Revolution. In his "State and Revolution" Lenin wrote: "Bourgeois law...continues to live... in the capacity of regulator or adjuster dividing labour and allotting the products amongst the members of society...For a certain time not only bourgeois law, but even the capitalist state may remain under Communism without the capitalist class."

It is clear that bourgeois elements will continue to arise and attempt a come-back during this period of the "Capitalist state without the capitalist class". To combat their influence a sharp and consistent struggle must be carried out on the economic front. But these bourgeois elements will not always fight openly and above ground, they will retreat into secret hiding places and work to undermine the revolution on the ideological front, weaken the revolutionary forces ideologically and prepare, when the time is ripe, for an overthrow of the Proletarian regime. They work quietly and in secret to occupy influential positions in the theatre, the literary field, in the art world, in important areas of education, etc., and they use these positions of influence to plant their bourgeois ideology in the minds of the people and undermine the revolutionary temper of the masses. This type of counter-revolutionary activity is a particular danger in those places where the arts, sciences and educational posts have been almost entirely in the hands of reactionary ideologists and bourgeois specialists. Failure to struggle consistently against this insidious use of bourgeois ide-

logy in the transition period will place the revolution in extreme danger.

There is absolutely no question but that the U.S.S.R. is not only not engaging in sharp struggle against the conditions which Lenin has referred to as the "capitalist state without the capitalist class", they are actually strengthening those conditions and this is a fact easily established, not just from articles of criticism, but from the speeches and articles of the Kruschovites themselves. The Soviet revisionists say that people will work only if they see the opportunity for self-enrichment, that individual incentive is the secret of success in the construction of "Socialist" society. They exclude revolutionary works of art from the U.S.S.R. and import the most decadent productions from imperialist nations, especially from the U.S. They encourage workers in the arts, sciences and education to learn from the bourgeois and feudal past, to model themselves on the U.S., and they persecute those who struggle for a proletarian and Socialist culture. There is no difference between this position and what prevails here in North America. How can one talk seriously of an exchange of culture between capitalism and socialism?

It is almost half a century since the Soviet State was founded and in that time one has a right to expect that the "bourgeois right of equality" which Marx spoke of in the Critique of the Gotha Program and the "Bourgeois law" to which Lenin referred in State and Revolution would at least have become modified if not totally eliminated. But, on the contrary, the gap in incomes is rapidly widening instead of diminishing as should happen.

As a result of the incomes policy some are able to accumulate wealth and are provided with areas investment through the state banks. It is no doubt of some significance that people in the cultural field—writers, artists, educators, movie stars, etc.—are amongst those receiving the most favourable treatment in the incomes policy. This tactic places them in a category of people with special economic interests and makes them more amenable to working for the propagation of bourgeois ideology.

Foreign companies, such as Fiat of Italy, are invited to establish plants in the U.S.S.R. and share in the exploitation of Soviet workers. A multi-billion dollar scheme is being plotted for joint exploitation of Siberian resources with the Japanese monopolists. The U.S.S.R. has already established investment banks in foreign countries thus sharing in the exploitation of workers abroad, and is planning more of the same. Profits and interests are as sacred with the revisionists as with the western capitalists. A Polish writer in an anti-China article exclaims in shocked tones: "The 'Red Guards' also insisted on...abolition of interest on savings-bank accounts". What an uncouth development, that anyone should suggest the abolition of interest and profit!!

THE REVOLUTION MUST GO ON!

An examination of Soviet development will readily show that bourgeois ideology still prevailed in the U.S.S.R. during most of the past 50 years. Writers like Sholokov and Pasternak occupied influential posts and grew wealthy—film producers such as Chukhrai made moves designed to undermine the proletarian outlook; poets of the Yev-tushenko stamp flourished unhindered. The class forces of the new bourgeoisie, strengthened by the bourgeois ideology being peddled under the label of socialist realism, were able to declare themselves openly after the death of Stalin and the revisionists, at the 20th C.P.S.U. Congress, seized control of the party and the state on their behalf. Now the Soviet workers who had once dispossessed the bourgeoisie of political and economic power find they must travel the same road over again.

Imperialists, revisionists, Trotskyites, the entire spectrum of the counter-revolution, are thoroughly alarmed over the launching, and initial successes, of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. They realize full well that once bourgeois ideology is destroyed, bour-

ideas eliminated from the mind, their hope of repossessing their lost power is greatly reduced and probably ended for all time. Consequently, they do everything they can to diminish the meaning and stature of the revolution in the eyes of working people all over the world. They do everything possible to encourage and develop counter-revolutionary elements inside China and threaten an imperialist attack in their desperation. In all of this they receive the loyal, and not inconsiderable assistance of the Soviet revisionists without whose aid their efforts would greatly diminish in effectiveness.

The Proletarian Cultural Revolution must go on to ultimate and irrevocable victory—Not only the fate of China, but the fate of the world hinges on the outcome.

The workers of the whole world should welcome the initiative of the Chinese youth mobilized in the Red Guards and greet their successes with joy. As an editorial in Renmin Ribao declared: "This is a great event which lifts up our hearts; a joyous event which fills us with a great happiness.

"The revolutionary spirit of the Red Guards will enable our country and people to preserve their revolutionary youth forever.

"The revolutionary action of the Red Guards is a mighty torrent that cannot be stayed by any old conservative forces.

"The proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit of the Red Guards is very fine indeed."